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The Press, the 2002 Miss World Protests in Nigeria and Counterdiscourses of Globalization

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The Press, the 2002 Miss World Protests in Nigeria and Counter-discourses of Globalization

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Abstract

Given the pervasiveness of religious conflicts in Nigeria, the protests that marred Nigeria's hosting the 2002 Miss World contest quietly passed as one of the numerous Muslim-Christian conflicts in Northern Nigeria. But considering that cultural factors were responsible for the protesters' strong reservations with Nigeria hosting the event, a closer examination of the coverage of the protests in the press reveals a wider cultural and global significance. The question as to why Muslims in Nigeria as well as their non-Muslim cultural groups vehemently opposed the idea of Nigeria hosting Miss World beauty contest raised an important question for cultural globalization. This study, conducted using critical discourse analysis, found that the articulation of the reasons for the protests in the Nigerian press was a construction of counterhegemony to the dominant globalization discourses. By giving voice to the protesters, the Nigerian press contributed to discourses on globalization from a non-Western perspective and provided insight into some of the practical and cultural issues involved in the process of globalization, which are not accounted for adequately by "abstract or totalizing narratives."

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Introduction

Given the pervasiveness of religious conflicts in Nigeria, the protests that marred Nigeria's hosting the 2002 Miss World contest quietly passed as one of the numerous Muslim-Christian conflicts in Northern Nigeria. But considering that cultural factors were responsible for the protesters' strong reservations with Nigeria hosting the event, a closer examination of the coverage of the protests in the news media reveals a wider cultural and global significance. The question as to why Muslims in Nigeria as well as their non-Muslim cultural groups vehemently opposed the idea of Nigeria hosting Miss World beauty contest raised important questions for cultural globalization. A study of Muslims in Nigeria and their responses to the globalizing forces of the Miss World in this paper provide a context for further interrogation and articulation of the global and the local. The study, conducted using critical discourse analysis, found the articulation of the reasons for the protests in the press as a construction of counter-hegemony to the dominant globalization discourses. By giving voice to the protesters, the Nigerian press contributed to discourses on globalization from a non-Western perspective and provided insight into some of the practical and cultural issues involved in the process of globalization, which are not accounted for adequately by "abstract or totalizing narratives" (Cvetkovich and Kellner, 1997:19).

The Context of the Protests

The Miss World contest was started in 1951 by an English couple, Eric and Julia Morley; and after 39 years of staging it in the United Kingdom, it has moved its venues the past few years "from London to lesser-known cities" (Parameswaran, 2001:54). Nigeria's metropolitan city of Abuja was billed to host the 2002 Miss World contest but this was marred by public protests and violence. In the period leading to the scheduled contest, two contesting positions about Nigeria's involvement with the Miss World contest were articulated through the news media. The Nigerian organizers of the global event argued that hosting the event was economically lucrative and it would raise Nigeria's position in the global community. Muslims and other cultural groups in Nigeria, however, expressed fears against the cultural influence on Nigeria hosting what they saw as a Western event.

The immediate cause of the violence was a newspaper article published in *This Day*, one of Nigeria's leading dailies, purporting that if the Prophet Mohammed was alive, he would have picked a bride among the beauty queens. This singular statement, interpreted by Nigerian Muslims as blasphemous, sparked off violence beginning with the burning down of the newspaper's bureau office in the city of Kaduna, Nigeria. This was followed by a proclamation of *fatwa* (death sentence) on the journalist by the Zamfara State government, the state that was the first to implement *Sharia*, the strict Islamic law, in Nigeria. From a cultural perspective, the response of Muslims and other

cultural groups in Nigerian to this global event challenged the dominant discourses of globalization, which privilege the Western culture as the analysis of the articulation of the reasons for the protest will show.

Discourses of Globalization

Globalization discourses are generally dominated by two positions, premised on Western culture. One position defines globalization as a homogenization of cultures, in which case one dominant culture takes over the world, such as Fukuyama's (1992) global triumph of Western capitalism. A second position defines globalization as heterogeneous, in which case some scholars such as Huntington (1993) argue that it invariably invites conflict as the interaction between cultures results in clash of civilizations. These two positions are too simplistic and fail to adequately capture the practical issues involved in the globalization process and as such a third position that is multicultural is necessary. A multicultural perspective, which integrates the two dominant positions and defines globalization as an admixture of the elements of homogenization and heterogeneity is more useful in interpreting the practical issues involved in cultural globalization, given that various cultures can co-exist in dialogue with each other without necessarily eating up the other or generating disagreements or controversy.

This study conceptualizes the multicultural perspective of globalization as a multicultural world system where every culture counts and no culture is exclusive. In this view, cultural globalization entails an interaction of global and local cultures on an equal footing by which each culture is valued and seen as offering something useful for the general well being of the global system; and it is only in this way that the talk about a global culture can be realized. This third way of conceptualizing globalization informs the framework for understanding the responses of Muslims in Nigeria to the country hosting the 2002 Miss World global contest. The responses of Muslims in Nigeria as this study will show in the analysis were not so much against Western culture but an appeal for consideration for the local culture in the staging of global events. Some of the research questions the study investigated include: What was at stake in the controversy over Nigeria's hosting of the 2002 Miss World contest? What was the basis for the objection of Nigerian Muslims to Nigeria's hosting of the 2002 Miss World contest? How was the cultural articulated in the media texts?

The next section will briefly review the negotiation of Islamic identity by Muslims in Nigeria in their previous encounters with some elements of globalization and modernity. This historical review will serve as a context for evaluating the responses of the Muslims in Nigeria in the present case.

Islam in Nigeria: Cultural Identity and Earlier Encounters with Modernity

The history of Islamic insurgence in Nigeria lends to the fact that Muslims in Nigeria become more conscious of their faith and belief when faced with an external threat to their Islamic values. As Hall (1992) argues, the construction of self-identity is necessarily pitched against the other and the need for a redefinition of Islamic orthodoxy becomes more urgent among Muslims with the threat of non-Islamic secular forces. According to Hall (1992) identity is constructed through cultural representation, which is always binary:

You go around the entire globe: when you know what everybody else is, then you are what they are not. Identity is always, in that sense, a structured representation, which only achieves its positive through the narrow eye of the negative. It has to go through the eye of the needle of the other before it can construct itself (p. 21).

In his study of the city of Kano, Nigeria, Watts (1996) examines the engagement of Islam with modernity in the period of groundnut economy; and making use of a well documented case of a Nigerian fundamentalist Muslim movement – the *Maitatsine* – he illustrates how the engagement of Islam with the West in Kano city was a "form of a struggle over Muslim orthodoxy" (p. 255). Watts (1996) argues that "at the heart of the revivalist movements worldview is the belief that the Muslim world is in a state of decline" (p. 255), and this realization becomes real in the face of the threat of the other. Watts (1996) gives an example of how Kano Muslims resisted Westernization in the colonial times by walling the old Kano city to keep away Westerners and "non-Muslim strangers" (p. 257).

The desire to maintain Islamic orthodoxy is the key element of most Islamic sects and revivalist groups. Islam holds

a long tradition of *tajdid* (revival) and *islah* (reform) which is as much rooted within its own traditions as it is a response to Westernization in its various forms. Clerics, scholars, and religious leaders attempt to redefine Muslim orthodoxy in the context of radical social, economic, and political change by engaging in a long standing Muslim tradition of public criticism (Watts, 1996:273).

This suggests that Islamic identity is not static but is built on a certain "moral economy" which has to do with "a search for justice in an unjust world" (Watts, 1996:274).

For example the *Izala*, a radical Nigerian Islamic sect known as "the new jihadists" are critical of the West's moral decadence, but are neither antimodern nor anti-materialist (Watts, 1996:275). The proliferation of their use of small media – cassettes – as their main tool for preaching indicates their modernist inclinations. The same argument holds for another Nigerian radical Islamic group, the *Maitatsine*, whose founder Marwa held unorthodox and

literalist interpretation of the Qu'ran that focused specifically on "the icons of modernity: bicycles, watches, cars, money" (Watts, 1996:278). But *Maitatsine* was more against the negative consequences of modernity than modernity per se. As rightly observed by Watts (1996),

it would be a mistake to view Maitatsine as antimodern or primevalist in any simple sense. The movement employed modern arms when necessary, Marwa emphasized the ill-gotten quality of goods and not their inherent illegitimacy. His desire to seize key institutions in Kano city – the radio station and the state electricity company – is hardly antimodern (p. 278).

This brief history of Nigerian Muslims' encounter and response in the past with modernity and globalization has shown that Islam is neither against modernity nor globalization given that Islam itself is a strong global cultural force. What can be deduced, therefore, is that Muslims are concerned with the consequences of modernity and how to put a check on these consequences for its adherents.

The Politics of the Global and the Local: Miss World and Cultural Identity

The staging of global beauty contests in the non-Western world is "an integral part of the process of economic and cultural globalization" (Parameswaran, 2001:53). Parameswaran describes Miss World contest as a global culture, alongside "a variety of such consumerist signifiers as the Barbie doll, McDonald's fast food, Coca Cola, MTV, and *Baywatch*" (p. 53). Parameswaran (2001) situates Miss World contest within the Western cultural site describing the staging of the 1996 Miss World in India as a "cross-cultural" importation of "Western rituals and artifacts in the developing world" (p. 59). The study of beauty pageants as a cultural phenomenon is however new with earliest studies stretching only as far back as 1996 (Banet-Weiser, 1999; Callahan, 1998; Cohen, Wilk, and Stoeltje, 1996; Thoma, 1999). Banet-Weiser (1999) explains why scholarship on beauty pageants has not received much attention in the academe, that "these events are often and easily dismissed as frivolous (and) meaningless and therefore unworthy of serious and sustained intellectual scrutiny" (cited in Parameswaran, 2001:57).

Early radical feminist critiques viewed beauty pageants as "events that embody the patriarchal and sexist objectification of women's bodies" (Parameswaran, 2001:58). And the history of beauty pageants (Miss World and Miss Universe) have shown that many hosted in non-Western countries have resulted in some form of controversy. For instance, the hosting of Miss Universe in Bangkok in 1992 was controversial as "thousand of the urban poor were evicted from the streets to avoid offending pageant contestants" (Parameswaran, 2001:54). Two years later, in 1994 in Manila, the controversy was over the enormous amount of money the government had agreed to invest in the pageant. The Miss World contest in India in 1996 raised controversies

around the issue of religion, culture, nationalism, gender and modernity (Parameswaran, 2001). The controversy over India's hosting the 1996 Miss World contest shares similar features with the controversy over Nigeria's hosting the same event in 2002. The similarity results in the fact that both India and Nigeria are multi-cultural and multi-religious, therefore, the findings of the Indian controversy are a relevant guide for this present study.

Parameswaran (2001) posits that the 1996 beauty pageant in India drew vigorous public protests. Some of the protest groups listed include a variety of women organizations, religious and cultural groups. According to her, reasons for these public protests included "charges that global beauty contests promoted cultural and economic imperialism, sexism, Western standards of beauty, immorality, and modes of consumption inappropriate for a Third World country where the vast number of its people still lived in extreme poverty" (p. 55). The reasons for the Indian protests situate the protests within the framework of the interaction between the global and the local in the globalization discourse, and renew the practical issues the process of globalization scholarship must address.

Globalization is a theoretical construct that varies according to the assumptions and commitments of the theory in question (Cvetkovich and Kellner, 1997:3). Scholars define it differently stressing particular aspects depending on the field of inquiry (Featherstone, 1990; Giddens, 1990; Robertson, 1995). For our purpose the sociological definition, which deals with issues of economics and culture will suffice. Globalization is

the expansion of the scope of our social relations to the planetary limits...(it is) the spatial integration of the world through increased communication and trade. It suggests that, we are pulled together into a global society and in the process of developing a *global culture* (Featherstone, 2002:1 - *emphasis mine*).

The idea of a global culture leads us to the question of what makes a culture global as the ambiguity of the expression global culture leaves the local cultures, in their interaction with the global, guessing about the outcome of such interaction.

The conceptualization of global culture is problematic. Though not explicitly defined, global culture is viewed in terms of Western modernity as posited by Parameswaran (2001) who associates it will "a variety of such consumerist signifiers as the Barbie doll, McDonald's fast food, Coca Cola, MTV, Baywatch, and Miss World contest" (p. 53). For Cvetkovich and Kellener (1997), global culture "involves promoting lifestyle, consumption, products, and identities" (p. 8). It includes "the proliferation of media technologies that veritably create Marshall McLuhan's dream of a global village in which people all over the world watch political spectacles like the Gulf War, major sports events, entertainment programs, and advertisements that relentlessly promote capitalist modernization" (pp. 7-8).

Global culture as conceptualized above takes for granted local cultures and is premised on the assumption that "the inexorable advance of the modern economy, technology, and politics would supposedly level out and homogenize all societies and cultures, producing a world global culture" (Cvetkovich and Kellener, 1997:8). This had made the question of cultural identity "an important dimension of the struggle between the global and the local" (Cvetkovich and Kellener, 1997:9).

The question of cultural identity is integral in the interaction between the local and the global. The result of the confluence of the global with the local is being experienced on two fronts. On the one hand, the intersection of the global and the local is producing "hybrid identities;" while at the same time global forces are "erod(ing) cultural traditions and identities" (Cvetkovich and Kellener, 1997:10). An example of the latter is that most of the new global images that produce resources for identity come from North America, thus making globalization from this perspective "a form of Americanization." According to Cvetkovich and Kellner (1997), "figures of the global such as Rambo, Madonna, Beavis and Butt-Head, gangster rappers, and other figures from U.S. culture produce seductive models for new identities that find their adherents all over the world" (11). The Miss World viewed from this cultural perspective as a Western model that presents the ideal of beauty from a Western perspective can account for the protests over the staging of this event in the non-Western world including India and Nigeria. As pointed out by Cvetkovich and Kellner (1997),

global models are confronted by national, regional, and traditional models in many parts of the world; and traditional culture and religion continue to play an important role in everyday life, so that compromises and syntheses are often constructed between traditional and modernizing global forces (p. 11).

In the analysis of the Indian case, Parameswaran (2001) shows that global forces must go through local cultures in a hybrid relationship to succeed. Citing Robertson, Parameswaran (2001) argues that, "discourses of globalization cannot be effective unless they actively participate in the production of locality – the cultural adaptation of global commodities, rituals, and ideologies to local consumers" (p. 62). For global culture to become part of the local, the ideological, material, and historical contours of global culture must be shaped for local consumption. Cvetkovich and Kellner's (1997) demonstration of the success of MTV's adaptation to local cultures and hybrid forms in Europe, Asia and Latin America demonstrates the need for such a hybrid cultural relationship between the local and the global. A consideration of both global and local cultures is very important in the multicultural conceptualization of global culture. A study of Muslims in Nigeria and their responses to the globalizing forces of the Miss World in this paper provide a context for further interrogation and articulation of the global and the local. The analysis of the study deals with some of the practical issues involved with the process of globalization, "which... abstract or totalizing narratives" cannot account for (Cvetkovich and Kellener, 1997, p. 19). The findings of this study will, therefore, have some theoretical relevance for discussions of the local and the global within globalization scholarship.

The next section will briefly discuss the method used in the analysis of the news media texts and this will be followed by the report and discussion of the findings.

Method

Stories of the protests over Nigeria's hosting of the Miss World were evaluated for how they articulated reasons for the protests. An academic search on Lexis-Nexis under search terms 'Nigeria and Miss World' returned about 161 stories between September and November 2002. This time frame corresponds with the period the controversy first emerged as a major issue in Nigeria and when it ended with riots in the far northern parts of Nigeria resulting in the shifting of the venue for the contest to London, UK. Using critical discourse analysis, the stories were examined for their articulation of the controversy over Nigeria's hosting of Miss World vis-à-vis globalization discourses. Critical discourse analysis, as a method for examining the role of language in "the production and transformation of social representations of reality (Carvalho, 2008:161)," enabled this study to examine news texts of the protests beyond their lexical structures and modality by interpreting the texts against the social contexts in which the texts were produced.

Essential to critical discourse analysis is its belief that language is not an isolated "self-contained system of signs, rules, and structures," but a complex system "embedded in societal, political, and ideological structures and processes" (Kitis and Milapides, 1997:558). To arrive at the ideologies in a text and the social functions the text performs, critical discourse analysis focuses on "the analysis of the structures, meanings and effects of discourses (texts)" (Brookes, 1995:461). It examines texts for how they build social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge or belief. The uncovering of meaning in texts is done by employing critical discourse analysis' tripartite formula for analyzing texts, which includes an examination of the processes of production and reception of texts, as well as an analysis of the social context in which texts occur (Brookes, 1995:462-463).

Critical discourse analysis, therefore, aims at the production of "explicit and systematic descriptions of units of language use" (Van Dijk, 1988:24). Such descriptions, according to Van Dijk (1988), have two major dimensions: the text and the context. While the text "accounts for the structures of discourse at various levels of descriptions; the context relates these structural descriptions to various properties of the context, such as cognitive processes or sociocultural factors" (p. 25). In the analysis of the controversy over Nigeria's hosting the miss world contest, the news stories provided the texts, analyzed

for their dominant themes, while the framework of cultural globalization provided the social context for the analysis.

Report of the Findings

The three dominant themes that emerged from the media texts examined were all related to culture. The first theme explained the protests in terms of cultural values, subdivided into the issue of morality and the degradation of womanhood. On this point the objection to Nigeria's hosting of the Miss World contest was not only coming from Muslims in Nigeria but also from other religious and cultural groups as well as individual Nigerians. The main point of contention was disparity in Western values and African values. As pointed out by an op-ed piece in the *Vanguard* newspaper the first objection had to do with cultural differences and the issue of morality. According to the publication, traditional institutions objected to Nigeria's hosting the global event because they saw the event as

capable of glorifying harlotry and magnifying nudity in the psyche of Nigerian youth." Traditional institutions also argued that the Miss World event will "not only encourage and enthrone moral ineptitude, but the event will also generate sexual pervasiveness in the life of the youths and some juvenile adults (*Vanguard*, Oct. 18, 2002).

Within the same morality framework, the Jama'atul Muslimeen Sokoto Society, a Muslim group derided the pageant as "nothing but a parade of nudity," which other Islamic groups argued "would further encourage the spread of HIV/AIDS in the country (Nigeria)" (*PANA*, Nov. 11, 2002). According to the Nigerian Muslim Umma, a group of Islamic scholars, "it was immoral to bring 92 women to Nigeria and ask them to revel in vanity" (*Associated Press*, Nov. 20, 2002). The National President of the Supreme Council for *Sharia* Implementation in Nigeria called on all Muslims to boycott the Miss World event, saying it was "immorality against the teachings of the major religions" (*Daily Trust*, Nov. 18, 2002). Muslims also saw the staging of the event close to the Islamic holy month of Ramadan as "insult to their faith" (*World Press Review*, Feb. 2003).

Cultural disagreements were therefore central to the protests. In this vein some described the Miss World contest as "a denigration of the women and an open confrontation to decency and moral uprightness" (*Daily Trust*, Oct. 23, 2002), "a paradox of womanhood" (*Vanguard*, Oct. 18, 2002), and "a sign of capitalist decadence" (*AP*, Nov. 12, 2002). According to an op-ed in *The Ambassadors Online Magazine*, the demonstrations against the Miss World in Nigeria with placards "Down with Beauty" must however not be interpreted that the protesters were against modernity or beauty in the literally sense. According to the online magazine, the very demonstrators were the ancestors of some of the most artistically inclined on the African continent. Their

mosques, churches, marketplaces and homes are masterpieces of decorative art. Their ornate surroundings are a testament to their innate appreciation for beauty. The issue being protested was Western beauty and culture, which they did not find appealing, represented by idiocies like the Miss World pageant. The "down with beauty" banner of the Nigerian protesters, therefore, meant "down with this sort of incongruous disrespectful cultural invasion" (*The Ambassadors Online Magazine, 2003*). This interpretation of the protests is correct because in response to the Miss World contest, Muslim extremists in Nigeria held their own "Miss World" under the theme: "Allah's Law is Supreme" in which contestants from eleven northern cities demonstrated the "Islamic ideals of womanhood" (*The Specious Report*, Dec., 2002).

According to *The Ambassadors Online Magazine*, the protests over Nigeria's hosting of the Miss World contest were

far more than religious objections to female nudity. The hostility was directed not at Christianity but at an encroaching Western culture (*The Ambassadors Online Magazine*, 2003).

The protests, therefore, were as a result of the insensitivity of the global to the local. And it is against this background that we will now turn to the discussion of the findings in view of the cultural politics of globalization.

Discussion of the Findings in the light of Cultural Politics and Globalization

The dominant meanings of globalization are built around communication and economics in which "the free flow of money, raw materials, information and commodities across national borders" is esteemed (Featherstone, 2002:2). Accordingly, "those who resist globalization are castigated with the blameword 'tradition', and seen as irrationally clinging to obsolete and negative values which stand in the way of the extension of human freedom and happiness" (Featherstone, 2002:2). But in reality the so-called resisters of globalization are only immanently critiquing the uneven trend of globalization that pays little or no attention to the local cultures. It is hoped that globalization will create a global culture, but many traditional societies are skeptical about the nature of the global culture. For example, the alliance of protesters from the various parts of the world demonstrating at the World Trade Organization (WTO) conferences is concerned with "the negative effects of global deregulation of trade, especially in relation to its impact on jobs, local identities and the conservation of nature" (Featherstone, 2002:3).

In a similar way, the reaction of Muslims in Nigeria towards the hosting of the Miss World contest should be viewed as an immanent critique of globalization, which is rooted in and through Western values and ways of life. The decision by the organizers of the global event to be insensitive to the feelings and customs of the local was a costly mistake. A "multicultural global world would need to be dialogic, not only in terms of content, through

encouraging interchanges between different civilizational traditions, but also in form, by interrogating and respecting a range of different cultural notions of public, citizenship, representation, and democracy" (Featherstone, 2002:3). According to Featherstone (2002), the concept of globalization, "which is based upon symbolic hierarchies which uncritically derive from Eurocentric notions is inadequate...as the universal claims of such globalization discourses are forms of 'globalized localism', a perspective from which the universal is seen as merely the view of the dominant particular, writ large" (pp. 3-4).

I agree with Featherstone (2002) that the "potential for cross-cultural dialogue has to work in the opposite direction and operate through the acceptance that all cultures are incomplete and partial. All cultures are not fixed, but are in process" (p. 4), as it is only when "each tradition is prepared to recognize its own incompleteness and weaknesses, that there is a basis for a cross-cultural dialogue which could be highly productive in opening up wider participation in the formation of a global (culture)" (p. 5). "Pax Islamica," which is the idea of generating Islamic identity globally is therefore not antiglobalist. It reflects the emerging postcolonial scholarship which is analytical, deconstructive, and critical, and which needs to be followed by "a synthetic, systematizing phase, in which the new scholarship currently excavating the various regional histories, (will) give rise to a process of re-conceptualization and development of new theories and models; theories and models which challenge some of the Western classifications of knowledge and generate new classifications and syntheses" (Featherstone, 2002:9).

The argument of tradition being at the polar opposite of modernity (Lerner, 1958) does not hold, therefore, in the case of Islamic tradition and modernity. Islam is not opposed to modernity, unless when it becomes synonymous with Westernization. As suggested by Thompson (1995), "tradition does not disappear in the process of modernity, but it is 're-moored' in new contexts" (cited in Karim, 2002:39). This means that "human beings have an innate need to make sense of the world around them and of their place in it...giving value and meaning to objects and relationships" (Karim, 2002:39). Accordingly, Mohammadi (1998) suggests that "the formulation of 'an Islamic cultural strategy" is aimed at protecting Muslim identities from the homogenizing effects of globalization, through a redefinition of knowledge according to Islamic epistemology" (cited in Karim, 2002:41).

Pasha and Samatar (1997) provide us with a useful framework for understanding Islam's relationship with modernity and globality. According to them the relationship between Islam, modernity and globality has two strands. First, they situate globality as a "feature of modernity, in a more interactive framework – as the product of a long historical exchange between different cultures, including elements that draw their inspiration from Islamic civilization." Second, they treat Islamic piety as "integral part of an alternative vision of modernity" (Karim, 2002:41-42).

Critiquing Thompson's (1990) history of the origins of globalization, which he traces to the expansion of trade in the late European Middle Ages, Karim (2002) argues from a postcolonial perspective that "the intercontinental

land and sea networks established by Muslims to link themselves with their neighbours in Asia, Africa and Europe had earlier origins" (p. 42). Pasha and Samatar (1997) call attention to "the long-standing inter-civilizational dialogue between Christendom and Muslims by challenging the 'presentist' readings of modernity" (p. 42). According to them Islam has been part of the global order and modernity, and the appropriation of globality and modernity by the West poses some serious problems.

Pasha and Samatar (1997), therefore, see Islamic piety not as an opponent of modernity, but rather as "an alternative construction of modernity that is cognizant of non-materialist dimensions of progress and their place in an ethical social formation" (p. 42). Islamic piety "registers a mobilizing tendency to move large populations to seek a better world, to put materialism in its proper place, and/or to negotiate a new relationship with modernity" (Pasha & Samatar, 1997:197). In this way, Karem (2002) argues "tradition interacts with modernity in a dialectical fashion rather than being its irreconcilable nemesis" (p. 42). Pasha and Samatar argue that Islamic piety offers a useful way to deal with the negative effects of modernity and globality that could lead to hedonism, narcissim and consumerism (p. 43). According to Pasha and Samatar (1997),

The role of Islamic piety in providing an alternative vision of the future cannot be dismissed on the mere basis that its use in fundamentalist discourse resurrects anti-modernist sentiments. In stressing the pitfalls of materialism, piety compels a language of propriety and pushes towards a humanization of the world. It qualifies the arrogance of reason with a gentle reminder that ultimately the content of any civilization rests on its capacity to organize social life on the foundations of justice and equality – above all, on humility. Islam does not propose an anti-rationalism, but emphasizes tempering rationalism to serve human need and dignity" (p. 200)

Viewed in this way, "Islamic piety becomes a practical mode for 'globalization-from-below' to deal with 'globalization-from-above'...The latter type of globalization is characterized by a relentless push for accumulation driven by a consumerist ethos, whose protagonists are transnational capital and political elites...Conversely, globalization-from-below highlights the dysfunctional and degenerative consequences of globalization-from-above by pointing to a corrosion of autonomy and the breakdown of cultural foundations" (Karim, 2002:43).

Conclusion

It will be appropriate to conclude this study with a statement by a Nigerian protesting his country's hosting of the Miss World Contest. The statement

sums up the cultural issues involved with globalization, which this study has discussed both in the theory and the findings:

It is important to point out that African values are different from European values. Negative cultural emulation could generate cultural confusion, where society will not have a clearly defined character. It is common knowledge that our youths through watching of Western television programmes spiced with sex and violence have become more loose in morality, violent minded and disrespectful both to parents and state institutions...One only hopes that the coterie that is planning this event (Miss World) should listen to the advice of our clerics to avoid the explosion of moral debauchery especially among our youths. We don't have resources to cope with the attendant problems this will generate in our national life, as the Western nations do. They can afford the luxury of it because they have relatively good programmes like the social security and functional national health insurance scheme that takes good care of illegitimate children and single parents (*Vanguard*, Oct. 18, 2002).

The above statement sums up the articulation of the protests over Nigeria's hosting of Miss World Contest in the news media in Nigeria, which was the focus of this study. The study found that by clearly articulating a practical mode for globalization-from-below and by highlighting the dysfunctional and degenerative consequences of globalization-from-above, the news media in Nigeria contributed to the globalization discourse from a non-Western perspective. The findings of this study have also provided insight into some of the practical and cultural issues involved in the process of globalization, which any theorizing of cultural globalization must take into consideration.

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