

MPC MAJOR RESEARCH PAPER:

Quiet Racism: Examining gendered Orientalism within Canadian Newspaper Editorial coverage of the
2012 New Delhi Gang Rape

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Abstract

This study employs Edward Said's theory of Orientalism and Norman Fairclough's three-part model of Critical Discourse Analysis in order to analyze *The Globe and Mail*, *The National Post* and *Toronto Star's* editorial coverage of the New Delhi Gang Rape that occurred on December 16, 2012 in New Delhi, India. Through a conceptual framework using Michel Foucault, Stuart Hall and Edward Said's seminal work of *Orientalism*, this paper highlights the key discursive strategies through which residual elements of imperialist ideology shape Canadian editorial discourse about the Delhi Gang Rape. The purpose of this MRP is to give closer attention to the way media represent events like the rape case, and the meanings and these representations have on molding Western views on gender and gender roles in the non-Western World.

This MRP is dedicated to my father, who taught me that the best kind of knowledge is knowledge which is continuously questioned. It is also dedicated to my mother, who taught me that even the largest tasks can be completed one step at a time. To my parents I say *dhanewad*.

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Introduction

A truly horrendous instance of sexual violence occurred in New Delhi, India. On December 16, 2012, a 23-year-old woman, named Jyoti Pandey was severely beaten with a metal rod and gang raped aboard a bus. Five adult men and one juvenile male were charged with assault and arrested immediately after the incident. The young woman died from her injuries thirteen days later on December 29, 2012. What followed was momentous; this event generated widespread international media coverage and outrage domestically within India. The UN Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women called on the National Indian Government to make India a safer place for women, and to radically change the social problems which make such treatment of women in the nation possible and commonplace, (UN Women, 2012). Numerous protests occurred in New Delhi, and other cities in India, demanding capital punishment for the accused, changes to India's Rape Laws, and the abolishment of corruption within the Indian government and police force that allows such incidents of violence to go judicially unpunished. This incident also brought international attention to a broader pattern of violence against women in India and South Asia, including killings over dowry disputes, sexual violence, domestic violence, and infanticide. The international coverage surrounding this event is the focus of this MRP.

This MRP will critically examine Canadian newspaper editorial coverage of the New Delhi Gang Rape. The international coverage that this event was and is receiving is an important reminder of how dominant Western media institutions have the power to frame news events which occur in the so-called "Third World" and consciously or unconsciously perpetuate long-withstanding colonial stereotypes of these nations. As a result, this MRP will examine Canadian newspaper editorials from a post-colonial perspective using Norman Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to identify patterns of colonialist discourse in these texts.

Noam Chomsky (2002) explains that people's opinions and beliefs are always formed and shaped by commercial media institutions, which usually further the social, political, and economic interests of dominating elites. Media representations are discursive events that are part of our everyday

culture. Not a day goes by in which we are not bombarded with print and television media representations of cultures and nations which are different to our own. The Canadian government and domestic media institutions convey Canada as part of a multicultural mosaic, and seemingly more accepting and less overtly racist in the media coverage of minorities than our southern neighbor, the United States. While Canada may be less overtly racist in its broadcast media, it is extremely important to understand how racist and prejudiced discourses can enter media representation in quieter, more oblique manners. This is important considering Canada's history as a British colony and the colonial underpinnings that created the nation. The media in Canada have had a long history and established roots during the time of colonization. Therefore, such colonial thought patterns have the power to persist. Their discourses have enormous power not only to represent social groups but also to identify, regulate, and even construct social groups in Canada.

The purpose of this research is to understand the way in which the Canadian print media represented India and Indians in coverage of the December 2012 Gang Rape. Specifically, I have analyzed the way in which major news publications in Canada have used editorials to depict gender-based violence in India. Studies of gender violence coverage in the Western media often indicate that the news tends to blame Western women for their own victimization while mitigating the assailants of responsibility, (Meyers, 1994; 1997). This MRP explores patterns of blame and framing found in Western media representations of gender violence which occurs abroad. This research is significant as it reports on a relationship between India and the biases of the Western news media. It considers how traditional colonial discourses may have changed, or the new ways in which they have been constituted for modern publication. This study makes use of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, which is his seminal work on the Western construction of the "Oriental" "Other," and Stuart Hall's critical analysis of "democratic racism" in the media. The study considers the power of media representation in the construction of knowledge about other cultures. Although many modern institutions participate in this structuring of knowledge over the "Orient," media is particularly critical in this process as they are central institutions in the distribution of knowledge. In this work, I consider how reactionary and ill-informed visions of India and Indian women and men are imbedded within a greater Orientalist framework and tradition.

I will start by laying out the context of the New Delhi Gang Rape editorials by outlining Canada's relationship with India, and South Asians in the media in Canada. This will be followed by the Theoretical Overview, Literature Review and Methodology. Finally, I provide a discourse analysis and discussion of the Canadian newspaper editorials on this event.

Canada and India: A Socio-Cultural Context

Norman Fairclough believes that by relating the social context of discourse, one can truly understand the nature of discourse (Fairclough, 2001). Therefore, this section briefly describes Canada's relationship with India, and the portrayal of South Asians in the Canadian media as related to gender-based violence. This discussion will provide the reader with context for the history of the Canadian media that has led to the patterns of framing of the New Delhi Gang Rape in editorials.

Canada's relationship with India is an important factor underlying Canadian media representations of India. Both nations were part of the British Empire, and therefore have many colonial ties to each other. Furthermore, India is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. This means that Canada had to open its immigration policies to Indian citizens, which contributed to the formation of an Indian diaspora in Canada. People of South Asian descent have now lived in Canada in large numbers for the last forty years, and therefore have become a visible minority in the Canadian context, with significant populations being found in British Columbia, Ontario and Alberta.

However, this history of South Asian immigrants in Canada has not always been a positive one. During the Komagata Maru incident, which took place in 1914, 376 British subjects of Indian origin were denied entry into Canada on racial grounds. During this time, the media undertook an overtly racist stance on maintaining a white Canada. Moving on to more recent events and in line with the topic of this MRP, the so-called honour killing of Aqsa Parvez in 2007, a South Asian Canadian Muslim teenager residing in Mississauga, raised the media alarm on gender violence in the South Asian Community in Canada. Parvez was killed by her father and brother in a violent attack for not following Islam according to their terms. The fact that religious beliefs motivated Parvez's father and brother to kill her figured strongly in the media coverage of the event. According to scholars, media articles that reported her murder emphasized her religion and cultural background and invoked several stereotypes

about Aqsa's religion and culture. Specifically, several articles created a dichotomy of "Us" versus "Them" by clearly distinguishing between Canadian values and South Asian or Muslim values, (Chesler, 2009; Haque, 2010; Henry, 2010). This brief overview on South Asia, Canada, gender violence in the South Asian community, and media coverage sets the context for the topic of this MRP, which focuses on the representation of Indians and gender in the Canadian media. The following section will focus on the Theoretical Framework this paper invokes.

Theoretical Framework: Knowledge and Discourse

My theoretical orientation towards (mis)representation and the formation of subjectivities in the media draws from various disciplines. This MRP's theoretical approach is grounded in the critical paradigm, specifically within critical discourse theory, in order to explore the complexities between language, representation, culture and public media discourse. More specifically it draws from Michel Foucault's power/knowledge approach, which posits that knowledge and power are not independent, but rather, inseparable. Foucault uses the term "power/knowledge" to signify that power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge, scientific understanding and "truth" (Foucault, 1980, p. 133). According to Foucault, truths are decided by types of discourse that accept knowledge and make it function as true. For example journalists create discourse on certain topics, and rely on discourses to inform their writing. Of interest here is what specific discourses influence the knowledge journalists and reporters then draw upon into their writing. Foucault notably shifted focus from the study of "language" to that of discourse. Prior to Foucault, the term discourse was synonymous with the term language and used as a linguistic concept (Hall, 2001, p. 72). Foucault defines discourse as "ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity, and power relations which inhere in such knowledge and the relations in between them" (Foucault, 1980, p. 38). He sees all knowledge, including historical knowledge, through the prism of discursive formations and techniques. This means that language not only conveys social experience, but also plays a major part in constituting social subjects, their subjectivities, their associated identities, their relations and the fields in which they exist. Subjectivity in this context is the way people become managed into certain kinds of power/knowledge, which creates their identity and meaning as a subject. The concept of subjectivity is important to this MRP. It links discourse to subject-formations in relation to this MRP, specifically how Indian men and women are represented as subjects within newspaper editorials, by the ideas, attitudes, and understanding of India that is internalized within the authors of the newspaper editorials.

Foucault states that knowledge or truths are the result of "scientific discourse and [*institutions*], and are reinforced (and redefined) constantly through the education system, [*the media*], and the flux of political and economic ideologies" (Foucault quoted in Rabinow, 1991). It is quite difficult to draw

absolute distinctions between discourse and ideology, yet it remains an important tension in Foucault's work. The relation between ideologies and discourse is complex and often quite indirect. For some theorists, discourse and ideology are seen as synonymous entities, while others state the two should be treated as different conceptualizations of power, and communication practices. Both concepts examine similar aspects of human actuality, including the development of subjectivity and the relationship between power, agency, and structure. Foucault broke with the traditional Marxist framework and regarded the concept of discourse as an alternative to the Marxist notion of ideology, which stated ideology is espoused by dominant classes and was a false consciousness associated with capitalism and liberalism. Marxist theory typically sees ideology as illusory and standing in opposition to true knowledge. Foucault, a post-modernist, explicitly demarcates discourse from ideology and states that ideology is based on a distinction between "*true* statements about the world (science) and *false* statements (ideology), and the belief that facts about the world help us decide between true and false statements" (Foucault, 1980, p. 118). For him, the notion of ideology contains several problems, and the discursive has no ideological dimension to it. He argues that ideology is invariably used in virtual opposition to something else that is supposed to count as truth.

Whereas, Foucault solely uses the term discourse to refer to the ways in which language and other forms of communication serve as vehicles for social processes, Stuart Hall states that discourse *is* closely associated *with* ideological reproduction and knowledge construction about a particular topic. Its analysis provides a way to examine how values are expressed in written texts, as well as how language and representation produce meaning and construct identities and subjectivities (Hall, 1996). Here one can see that there is a divergence between the two scholars. In fact, Hall states that "Foucault's use of discourse is an attempt to sidestep what seems an irresolvable dilemma, deciding which social discourses are true or scientific, and which are false or ideological" (Hall, p. 203). Foucault's research on discourse and ideology is not, of course, focused on the mass media. Yet, his concern for powerful discourse formations helps link how cultures come to be represented in a particular way through the usage of pre-existing discourses. It is these pre-existing, and powerful discourses that are constituted as "true knowledge."

Hall states that representations are defined as an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. Representation can be considered how meaning is attributed to things through language. This is how people “make sense of the world, of people, objects and events” (Hall, 1996, p. 17). Making sense of the world certainly must have an ideological dimension to it. Giving or creating representations of other communities and cultures different to one’s own must be intrinsically colored with one’s own ideological values. Stuart Hall’s premise is that media are critical sites for the production, reproduction, and transformation of representations that are, in fact, ideologically influenced. For Hall (1981) the media are part of the dominant culture’s means of ideological production. This is similar to Noam Chomsky’s (2002) belief that what the media reflect will support and reflect the ideology of the elite. Ideology consists of those beliefs perceptions, assumptions, and values that provide members of a group with an understanding and an explanation of *their* world. Stuart Hall defines ideology as:

mental frameworks - the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation – which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works (Hall, 1996, p. 26).

It is here that one can recognise the similarities to Foucault’s concept of truth and knowledge. However, whereas the concept of discourse displaces ideology in Foucault’s framework, Hall cannot speak of one without the use of the other. According to Hall, different classes and social groups deploy tools - such as media and education- to disseminate ideologies or truths. Hall builds upon the Althusserian idea that ideology is inscribed in social practices, such as language use (Althusser, 1971). Therefore, writing can be considered a social practice, and the power/knowledge perspective asserts that activities dedicated to producing knowledge, “simultaneously (re)produce social relations of domination and subordination” (Mumby, 1989, p. 291). According to Stuart Hall, this Althusserian concept of ideology as inscribed in social practices, “put on the agenda the whole neglected issue of how ideology becomes internalized, how we come to speak ‘spontaneously,’” or in the case of this research paper, how “We” write spontaneously (Hall, 1982, p. 483).

Heavily inspired by the work of Althusser and Foucault, Stuart Hall uses this model and argues that newspapers fail to produce any new knowledge of the world. Instead, "concepts embodied in photos and texts in a newspaper [...] produce recognitions of the world" (Hall, 1981, p. 186). These "recognitions" are supplemented by this historical knowledge and discursive practices that Foucault speaks of. They "reinforce generalities about people and places and reduces people [or places in this case] to a few simple, essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by Nature" (Hall, 1981, p. 257). Hall's ideas of power and knowledge as imbedded in discourse are congruent with Foucault's framework; specifically his understanding of subjectivities and social relations. Therefore, ideology can be considered an important factor in how Canadians and Canadian writers of these editorials understand their world in relation to the New Delhi Gang Rape. According to Hall, ideologies produce different forms of social consciousness and work best when people do not realize the way in which they formulate and construct their worldviews. This lack of realization will be central to understanding how Orientalist discourses circulate in media texts unconsciously. This MRP will align with Hall's idea of discourse and ideology as his understanding is geared towards studies of media representations.

The idea of historical and long lasting (powerful) discourses being utilized when shaping the representation of another culture are foundational concepts to this MRP. This MRP has linked the idea of representation to media texts, by the way of Stuart Hall's work on racist ideologies in the institutionalized media. Hall's extension of Foucault's concepts of power and knowledge are useful as Hall's work directly relates to how media discourses construct a definition of what race is for viewers, what meaning the imagery of race carries, and how race should be understood. His reconsideration of ideological reproduction as a key discursive process serves to strengthen the conceptual framework of this MRP. It closely aligns with the belief of many Critical Discourse Analysis scholars, such as Norman Fairclough, who also believe in the symbiotic relationship between the concepts of discourse and ideology.

Media discourses are what articulate, transform and elaborate on these ideas of race and consequently shape viewers' thoughts about race, and perpetuate these prejudices in today's multicultural world (Hall, 1981). This idea is extremely pertinent when thinking of the discursive practices

of the news media as it touches upon the biases of the media. Hall states that there are two forms of racism perpetuated through the media discourses (Hall, 2000, p. 271) – *overt racism* and *inferential racism*. Both are products of powerful ideologies, which have become accepted knowledge. *Overt racism* refers to coverage granted to openly racist arguments, positions or spokespersons. *Inferential Racism* is explained as the “apparently naturalized representations of events and situations related to race, whether factual or fictional, which have racist premises and propositions inscribed in them as a set of unquestioned assumptions” (Hall, 2000, p. 273). In order to discern these moments of *inferential racism*, one must examine the discursive events in which these racist discourses or views of the world are imbedded. Hall argues that *inferential racism* is more widespread, common, and subtle since it is largely invisible even to those who formulate the world in its terms. This can be related to Althusser’s belief that ideology becomes internalized, and how we come to write or formulate opinions is unconsciously affected by such internalization of beliefs.

The work of Edward Said provides an important point of entry into a more cultural approach to questions of discourse, ideology and power. Foucault’s concept of discursive practices laid the theoretical groundwork for Edward Said’s *Orientalism*.¹ Early in his book, Edward Said mentions Foucault, writing that “without examining Orientalism as a discourse, one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to [*manage* – and even [*produce*] – the Orient” (p. 3). Said analyzes the various discourses and institutions which constructed “The Orient” as an object of knowledge. This set of discourses, which Said calls “Orientalism,” are helpful for understanding how Western media institutions exercise power through the construction of non-Western cultures. According to Said, “The Orient” is an “idea that has a history and a tradition of thought, imagery and vocabulary that has given it reality and presence for the West” (Said, 1978, p. 132). Said states that “ideas, cultures and histories cannot seriously be understood without their configurations of power being studied” and suggests that the discursive construction of “the East” is possible because the relationship between the “Occident” and the “Orient” is an asymmetrical one. It is a “relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony” (p. 133) which

stem from colonization. Orientalism is an example of discourse in the Foucauldian sense, specifically, as Foucault's "power" in and through discourse is conceptualized as circulating and "centre-less" and permeating all levels of social life and working at every site thereof (Hall, 1996 p. 50). Similar to Hall, *Orientalism* suggests that the media, along with other societal structures and institutions, are able to dominate, configure and have "authority over the Orient" (Said, 1978, p. 3). One of the most important effects of this discourse is the relationship between the "Occident" (the Western world), in its dominance over media production, and the "Orient" (The Non-Western World), as a subject of this media production. Building on Foucault, Said argues that how one speaks of "the Orient" does more than merely describe it. The discourse also creates an idea of what the "Orient" and the "Oriental" individual are, and the media aides in perpetuating these ideas. Said's point is that Orientalism is not merely some "airy European fantasy about the 'Orient'" (p. 133). Rather, it is a:

distillation of essential ideas about the Orient- its sensuality, its tendency to despotism, its aberrant mentality, its habits of inaccuracy, its backwardness – into a separate and unchallenged coherence; thus for a writer to use the word Oriental was a reference for the reader sufficient to identify a specific body of information about the Orient. This information seemed to be morally neutral and objectively valid; it seemed to have an epistemological status equal to that of historical chronology or geographical location (Said, 1978, p. 205).

Here it is evident that Said's "system of knowledge" parallels Foucault and Hall. Foucault, Hall, Fairclough and Said all question the way language imposes *meaning* on objects of knowledge, and in doing so, how discourse does something more than provide a descriptive vocabulary. Said is concerned with how representations depict, manage and produce knowledge of people and places. Through this knowledge, he argues, the West is able to exercise immense power over its (former) colonies. Hall summarizes these parallels writing that "Said's discussion of Orientalism closely parallels Foucault's power/knowledge argument: a discourse produces, through different apparatuses of representation (scholarship, exhibition, literature, painting), a form of racialized knowledge of the "Other," and are deeply implicated in the operations of power (imperialism)" (p. 260).

In this study, dominant Canadian newspapers, as part of the broader notion of "the media" can be considered an apparatus of representation. Yet, one must stop to think whether Orientalism is a Foucauldian definition of "discourse", or rather something closer to Hall's definition of discourse and

ideology as closely intertwined. This MRP will look at Orientalism in closer conjunction with Hall's principles of discourse and ideology. This is for three reasons: (1) Hall's work on racism in the media is similar to the scope of this MRP, which intends to examine print media; (2) Said's definition of Orientalist discourse closely echoes the ideological dimensions of discourse as theorized by through his concepts of *inferential* and *overt racism*, which echo Said's *latent* and *manifest Orientalism*; and similarly to Hall, (3) "representation" is quite central to Said's understanding of the Orient, as:

Everyone who writes about the Orient must locate himself vis a vis the Orient translated into his text. This location includes the kind of narrative voice he adopts, the type of structure he builds, the kind of images, themes, motifs that circulate in his text - all of which add up to deliberate ways of addressing the reader, containing the Orient, and finally **representing** it or speaking on it's behalf (Said, 1978, p. 20).

Orientalism presents a valuable analogue to the way one comes to "know" about Indian culture, Indian women, Indian men, and the New Delhi Gang Rape. Said states that there are two forms of Orientalism: *manifest* and *latent*. *Latent Orientalism* is the unchangeable certainty about what the Orient is:

Its basic content is static and unanimous. The Orient is seen as separate, eccentric, backward, silently different, sensual, and passive. It has a tendency towards despotism and away from progress. It displays feminine penetrability and supine malleability (Said, 1978, p.3).

The non-Western world's progress is judged in comparison to the West and on the West's terms.

Therefore, it is always the "Other". *Manifest Orientalism* refers to the actions that come from *latent Orientalism*. It includes information and changes in knowledge about what is considered "the Orient," as well as policy decisions founded in Orientalist thinking (Said, 1978). While *manifest Orientalism* refers to explicitly official views and policies that change over time, the enduring *latent Orientalism* is much more problematic as it is accepted as conventional knowledge and is always something which is in an individual's roster of internal knowledge. This distinction between these two divergent forms of Orientalism is important, as Said seems to imply that *latent Orientalism* does not change; what changes are the apparatuses that are used to express it in discourse. *Latent Orientalism* here is important when referring the implicit inferences of preconceived notions and ideologies. Whereas traditional academic Orientalism focuses on Said's method of critical reading of classic literary texts, colonial history, and geopolitics, many contemporary post-colonial studies using Orientalism focus on analyzing institutionalized news media. In a study of journalistic practices, Hackett and Zhao (1998) examined

concepts of objectivity and neutrality, which supposedly govern journalism in North America. It is apparent that contemporary news media operate with journalistic norms and legal rules around the representations of minority or racial and ethnic groups. The concepts of objectivity, professionalism, and balance are crucial to the survival of media institutions. Gone are the days of news media representations that are overtly prejudiced and biased, as witnessed during Canada's news coverage of the 1914 Komagata Maru incident, which involved the prohibition of entrance of Indian nationals into Canada on the basis of race. Regulations of balance, impartiality, and neutrality as operators in the Western media have replaced these explicit biases. However, this is not to say that Orientalism is not still expressed in the media. It is important to consider that these institutionalized norms for reporting news have changed, and therefore overt racism is prohibited. Let us revisit Said's words that "this information [about the Orient and Oriental] seemed to be morally neutral and objectively valid" (Said, 1978, p. 208). Said's assertion is incredibly important in the context of this MRP. The perpetuation of Orientalist discourses in the news media are most effective when their ideological underpinnings appear natural, normal, and, as Althusser states, "common-sensical" (Althusser, 1971).

Here we will revisit Hall's ideas of *overt* and *inferential racism* in the media. *Inferential racism* is the naturalized representations of events and situations relating to race, which act as unquestioned assumptions. Perhaps it is apt to think of it as similar to *latent Orientalism*, which is also a form of "unchangeable certainty" of what the Orient and Oriental are. Similar to Said's *latent Orientalism*, Hall states that *inferential racism* is more insidious because it is largely invisible. It exhibits itself in manifest forms of racism, for example, representations in news reports. It is important to mention that Said also states that *latent Orientalism* cannot be accessed directly. Instead, it must be accessed through its articulation in manifest expressions, such as the physical documents with text and image, such as a newspaper editorial. Similarly, *inferential racism* must be accessed in manifest expressions of media events that involve the subject of race. To mobilize/operationalize the concepts discussed in this section, I will use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Since CDA seeks to examine the underlying inequities and social imbalances in a text that usually go unnoticed, it is an important tool to analyze instances of *latent Orientalism*.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Foucault used general research questions to illuminate the study of discourse. While his major works on discourse theory are very successful in constructing a theoretical framework for discourse, he does not address the questions of the relation between discourse and other social phenomenon, such as ideologies. Nor does Foucault discuss methodological devices for empirical research. Similarly, Hall and Said give no set methodological devices for how they understand discourse and its imbedded ideologies within their works. While Said states what he is searching for in the French Orientalist literature he analyzes in *Orientalism*, he does not give a set method for others to embark on the same process. This is where Critical Discourse Analysis enters the conceptual framework of this MRP. Norman Fairclough has long been considered a leading scholar on CDA. He considers discourse as an avenue to understand ideological forces. Fairclough's use of the term discourse includes two main streams. First he draws upon Foucault, and considers discourse "a form of knowledge and a social construction of reality" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 18). He refers to it as a "social action and interaction," which, similar to Althusser's beliefs, "both reproduces structures and has the potential to transform them" (*Ibid.*). This means that discourse is not only an avenue where knowledge forms about a typical topic are imbedded, but it is also has the power to create knowledge construction on a specific topic via oral and written communication practices.

Teun A. van Dijk was one of the first scholars to apply CDA to studies in the media, and touted ideology as an essential concern of CDA. He defines ideology as the interface between social structure and social cognition (van Dijk, 1987). He states that "the mental frameworks – the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation" (Morley, 1992, p. 25) that different groups use to understand and explain various social practices, are what make discourse synonymous with ideology. It is evident here that the concept of representation, which is integral to Hall and Said, is echoed within CDA's conceptual framework.

In more methodological terms, CDA is a type of research that mainly studies how social power, dominance, and inequality are produced, reproduced, or resisted by text and talk in the social and political arenas of society, such as the institutionalized media. In CDA, the researcher attempts to pin

both the explicit and implicit forms of ideologies underlying any text and alerts the reader to them.

Specifically, Fairclough is interested in how discourse embodies “common-sense” assumptions which treat authority and hierarchy as natural. According to Fairclough:

Such assumptions are ideologies. Ideologies are closely linked to power, because the nature of the ideological assumptions are embedded in particular conventions, and so the nature of those conventions themselves, depend on the power relations which underlie the conventions and because they are a means of legitimizing existing social relations and differences of power (Fairclough, 2001, p. 2).

It is evident here that Fairclough’s idea that ideologies are closely linked to Hall and Said’s concepts that powerful discourses play an integral part in the constitution of social subjects, their subjectivities and social identities. More significantly, ideologies function as symbolic systems of thought to organize, maintain, and stabilize particular forms of power relations (Said, 1978; van Dijk, 1991; Hall, 1996; Fairclough, 2001).

These aspects are powerful informants for this MRP as it will look directly at how India and Indian gender roles are constructed and represented in the Canadian print media landscape. Hall’s work on racist ideologies in the media highlights the institutionalized media’s role in dissemination of certain prejudiced discourses. News media and journalism can be considered a practice that perpetuates social ideologies of domination, and helps legitimize the discourse necessary to perpetuate representations of others that come to be seen as natural. It is these naturalized discourses that Said seeks to analyze and dismantle in *Orientalism*. This Theoretical Overview has sought to demonstrate that this conceptual framework of Foucault, Hall and Fairclough provides an ideal foundation for Said’s *Orientalism*. The subsequent sections deal with the great body of academic literature surrounding *Orientalism*. More specifically the following sections focus on *Orientalism in News Media Representations*, and *Orientalism and Gender*.

Literature Review

A variety of sources were consulted in order to have a fully comprehensive literature review. Sources to inform the topics of Orientalism in the news, Orientalism, gender, feminism, development and CDA were consulted in order to discern themes that will aid in my analysis of newspaper editorials covering the New Delhi Gang Rape. The initial section of the literature has been separated into distinct categories that will acquaint the reader with the representations of India in Orientalist discourses, and also on how Orientalist ideology has found its way into media representations. The literature review will then delve into the great body of literature that uses conceptualizations of Gender and Orientalism in their research. These sections focus on traditional conceptualizations of males and females within Orientalist discourse, and expand on how these conceptualizations of gender have changed via other scholars utilizations of Said's work. This will then lead to how these Orientalist conceptualizations of gender were foundational in certain strands of Western Feminism representations of the "Third World" women. This conceptualization of a singular "Third World" woman leads to the final section of this literature review, which focuses on Western development and Westernization as the sole opportunity for betterment for this "Third World woman." During the course of this literature review, I will seek to actively relate the literature back to Foucault, Hall, Fairclough and Said's conceptualizations of discourse, ideology, representation and culture.

India and Orientalism

Although Said concentrated mainly on European Orientalist's focus on the Arab Middle East and North Africa, Orientalism as an analytic concept is thought to be validly applicable to other parts of the non-Western world. Said makes his first reference to India in the introduction of *Orientalism*, where he says that the English first took interest in India to colonize it. Said concluded that characterizations of India could be found in the works of influential European philosophers, historians, and authors. These representations focus on depictions of India at once picturesque and simultaneously despotic (Heehs, 2003). It should be mentioned that traditional criticism of representations of India through the scope of Orientalism has been relegated to the arts and culture industry, specifically the new-age spiritual movements. South Asian inflections of Orientalism have been a visible aspect of "alternative" culture in

the United States and Europe (Durham, 2000). Orientalism is apparent in the examination of the Euro-American “hippie exodus” to India and many writers have concentrated on this aspect, (Hottola, 1999; Jouhki, 2006).

While many South Asian feminist scholars have used concepts of Orientalism to critique Western Feminist discourse on the lives of “Third World” women, there has been few studies on the media coverage of South Asian women in Western media, save for criticism of the West’s adoption of female Indian fashion such as the *bindi*, and female “sexuality” (Durham, 2004; Aftab, 2002). Female sexuality is the characterizing element of these popular culture media representations of Indian women (Durham, 2004, p. 144). It is evident that the scope of Orientalism as related to India is quite extensive in terms of a body of literature to review. However, it is relegated to a few key arenas of examination: representation in popular culture, and representations in tourism discourse.

Contemporary studies on the gendered Orientalist depictions of men and women in the present day Middle East are quite prevalent. It will be this body of literature which will be used as references when relating results of this research papers Critical Discourse Analysis to the Literature Review. Most beneficial about Said’s work in interpreting Orientalist texts in relation to CDA is he goes beyond a purely theoretical account. He integrates his analysis of the macro-structure of ideologies interwoven in the literature and texts he analyzes. He analyzes discursive strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other-representation, and the argumentative strategies of the “Othering” of Islam and the Middle East, by the West.

Orientalist Ideology in News Media Representations:

Many scholars have used CDA as a tool for deconstructing the ideologies of mass media and other elite groups. Media studies scholars have used CDA to discover the underlying ideologies of mediated racist representations of minorities and immigrants (Hall, 2000; Henry & Tator, 2002; van Dijk, 1987; 1991; 1993). Foundational in the CDA of media representations is the study of democratic racism within a nation’s representation of minorities. In addition to sustaining and reproducing the dichotomy of “Us” versus “Them” (van Dijk, 1991; 1993), the discourse of “democratic racism” (Henry & Tator, 2002), which is similar to Orientalist discourse, reproduces a lack of support for policies and practices that

“require changes in the existing social, economic and political order” (p. 24). Whereas democratic racism underlies the ideology of media representations of racial minorities, Orientalism functions as a Eurocentric ideology for media representations of Islam and Muslims (Said, 1978). While *Orientalism* has received a great deal of scholarly criticism (Abdel-Malek, 1963; Alatas, 1977; Djait, 1985; Hodgson, 1993; Said, 1985), few studies provide a thorough critical discourse analysis to study Orientalist discourse within the news media (Karim, 1997; Izadi, 2007; Joye, 2010). In addition, many of these studies give little attention to gender, aside from American popular media portrayals of the male Arab “terrorist” or the veiled “Muslim” woman (Khalid, 2011; Jiwani, 2005; Chacko, 2004). Yet these few studies are extremely beneficial when searching for the author’s conceptualizations of Orientalism and their approach to discourse analysis. Foad Izadi and Hakimeh Saghaye-Biria (2007) argue that “the process of identity formation and maintenance in every culture entails the existence of another, different, and competing alter ego,” (p. 144). This insight is extremely pertinent as they state that the relationship between the “Occident” and “Orient” is not simply black and white; The West also relies on their representations of “the East” in terms of cementing their own position as superior.

A quick glance shows that many of these discourse analyses focus on examining the central role Islam plays in Western representations of the Middle East and non-Western World, particularly in regards to the treatment of women (Karim, 2004). These are beneficial as these studies analyze specific lexical choices and argumentative strategies in order to discern how the concept of the non-Western “Other” is created. Stijn Joye (2010) uses Orientalism’s concept of “The Other” and breaks with the trend of typical Orientalism and news coverage, in that she covers crisis management of SARS. Similarly, many of the newspaper editorials on the New Delhi Gang Rape focus on India’s crisis management of the gang rape. Joye declares that although SARS was very negative by nature, a positive representation of the West was achieved in “emphasizing agency, apparent control over the situation and effective crisis management skills by the West, while Chinese people (“the Other”) were by contrast negatively depicted as passively undergoing misfortune and overpowered by a new, unknown force of nature” (Joye, 2010, p. 594). Here, it is the rational, and experienced “Non-Oriental,” Western figure who is valorized in this type of situation. Joye’s study is representative of how “the Oriental” figure

is represented in reporting in news discourses, and is extremely beneficial when examining instances of pedanticism demonstrated by the West towards the so-called “East” within these media discourses. This pedantic representation of Western versus Chinese reactions to SARS is an instance of what Stuart Hall would call of *inferential racism*. By highlighting China’s inability to manage their crisis, they are inferencing the concept of “Oriental deficiency” which is at the centre of colonial belief.

Izadi and Biri’s “positive self-representation” and Joye’s “pedanticism” are key elements underlying in contemporary forms of Orientalist discourse, which seek to quietly posit the “non-Western” as different to, and unable to emulate “the West.” Therefore, they will be always be considered the “Other.” These important concepts that will be encountered again in the subsequent sections of this literature review.

Gender Roles in Orientalist Tradition: What are the roles of Men and Women?

While *Orientalism* does not discuss gender in depth, Said’s work has been utilized by feminist scholars who have read women and gender into the uncovering of the relationship between power and representation in Orientalist discourses (Abu-Lughod, 2001; Hale, 2005; Lewis, 1996; Yegenoglu, 1998). Much colonial Orientalist literature references the Oriental male as the barbaric, irrational and licentious figure, while the female is viewed as submissive and in need of “liberation” (Said, 1978). Modern day representations of the Oriental male in popular culture have followed these descriptors as outlined by Said. Reina Lewis (1996) examines how gender roles are portrayed in traditional Orientalist literature and how language which is structured by binary oppositions of “Us” versus “Them” and “Man” versus “Woman” represents gender. She asserts that the Orientalist historical narrative leads to an exoticization or hyperbole of these gender roles. Again, the historical narrative that Foucault mentions in his work is echoed here. Lewis recognizes a shift from a narrative of an overly sexualized and exotic Middle Eastern woman, to one of victimization and suppression by the Oriental (Arab) Male. Orientalist descriptions of Indian women initially wrote about the Indian woman as overly sexualized and exotic. Interestingly, this narrative changed with First Wave British Feminists and their imperial project of liberating Indian women. This project of liberating Indian woman was an extension of imperialism in many ways. Firstly, the language of many of these First Wave British Feminists such as Eleanor

Rathbone and Katharine Mayo, while varying in representations of Indian women, generally depicted Indian women as enslaved, degraded and in need of salvation. The imperialist project of colonization was intended to acquire resources, claim land for the British Empire, and finally embark on a process of converting the South Asian Sub-Continent to Christianity. First-wave feminist accounts put forth another reason for the imperialist project: the salvation of women. This urgent call for the salvation of Indian women, as well as British feminists critique of Indian customs reinforced the idea that the British Raj should remain in India, as the natives were unable to care for and treat women in an adequate manner. This is how liberating Indian women became an extension of the British Raj – by giving it legitimacy and credibility.

The Orientalist gaze in general has had sexist blinders, rendering Oriental women objects of a male power-fantasy. Further traditional descriptors of the Oriental female are her docility and subservience as indelible markers of her existence, in the Western construction (Lalvani, 1995). The Oriental women have been seen as unlimitedly sensual, lacking in rationality, and, most importantly, willing (Hale, 2005; Lewis, 1996; Yegenoglu, 1998). Meyda Yegenoglu (1998) takes to a new level the under examined question of the gender and sexuality of Orientalism. She explores the neglected term in Said's important distinction between "*latent*" and "*manifest*" Orientalism. She suggests that *latent Orientalism* actually refers to "the nature and extent of sexual implications of the unconscious site of Orientalism," should be at the core of an analysis on Orientalist discourse. Drawing on Hall, Foucault, and Althusser, and other critical theorists, she faults Said for treating "images of woman and images of sexuality in orientalist discourse as simply a trope limited to the representation of the Oriental woman and sexuality" (Yegenoglu, 1998, p. 25). She challenges the way Said and others relegate gender and sexuality to a subfield in their analysis of colonial discourse. Hale, Lewis and Yegenoglu consider "representations of cultural and sexual difference as constitutive of each other" (p. 1). Yegenoglu's work is of extreme importance as after the War on Terror, many scholars began to understand that gender is the most important aspect when creating an "Us" versus "Them" representation of the non-western world. It is evident that treatment of women has become a measuring index of civilization in this respect. The idea of gender inequity as synonymous with the Orient is what led to many manifest Orientalist

discourses that justified the War on Terror. This is an extremely pertinent insight as this is the very type of *latent Orientalism* that this MRP seeks to tease out in the discourse analysis of the New Delhi Gang Rape editorials.

Halim and Meyer (2010) examine news coverage of violence against Muslim women in newspapers in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and Kuwait as a part of a greater theme of readings of news coverage of violence against women, as related to semantic structure. Halim and Meyer use discourse analysis to examine whether news coverage reflects a traditional Islamist perspective or Western perspective. Whereas, Lewis is looking at binary language and value frames within Orientalist literature, Halim and Meyer are more specific in terms of Orientalist tropes as related to non-Western women. A combination of indicators and descriptors including references to women's names, dress, culture, behavior, activities and religion were used. Continuing this research on the way semantic structure in news articles convey Orientalist meanings, Maryam Khalid (2004) examines representations of the men who attacked the U.S. on September 11, 2001. Her study of War on Terror discourses found male Arabs to be described as "faceless cowards" who demonstrate 'barbaric behavior' as they are bent upon 'slitting the throats of women" (Khalid, 2005, p. 23). The masculinity of the Arab male is deviant, barbaric and irrational, and is marked as such by implicit reference to "acceptable" performances of masculinity based on attitudes towards women. As Khalid writes, "in terms of the orientalist binary, "[Western] men" are benevolent and protect women (because women need protecting), whilst "barbaric men" have an irrational hatred of women" (Khalid, 2005; Lalvani, 1995). These descriptors are important in reference to the New Delhi Gang Rape. It is these tropes of deviant masculinity, and subjugated women that leads to the next aspect of the narrative in Orientalist discourses: the Western Feminist "salvation" narrative.

Issues of Representation: Western Feminism and Third World Women

The relationship between female liberation, Orientalism, and imperialism has been examined by many subaltern scholars (Abu-Lughod, 2001; Ahmed, 1992; Badran, 1995; Midgley, 2000; Spivak 1985). Subaltern studies scholars refer to the group of South Asian scholars interested in post-colonial societies with a particular focus of research on South Asia. Unique to subaltern studies is their "anti-

essentialist” approach to representation. Their approach is to examine a “history from below” and focuses on what is happening within the masses than the histories of the elite and upper echelons of society (Guha, 1982, p. 10). These works have demonstrated the importance of the language of women’s rights discourse in the ideology of building Empire. The notion of “saving brown women” was taken on by many British feminists as much as it was by male British colonialists (Spivak, 1985, p. 26). Drawing on Orientalist notions of civilization and barbarity, the colonial project put forward an image of victimized and subjugated women for whom the ‘civilizing mission’ of colonialism would spell freedom and liberation (Spivak, 26). According to Liddle and Rai, “imperialist discourses on the colonized woman were taken up in Western women’s writing at the time of “first wave” feminism, and reproduced in the “second wave” and “third wave” of the movement, within the context of the changing power relations between the imperial powers and the former colonies (Liddle & Rai, 1998). They state that Orientalist discourse can be (re)produced through the feminist author’s representation of her human subjects through the author’s uncritical use of earlier writers, and through the author’s failure to challenge established Orientalist cognitive structures in the reader (*ibid*). Liddle and Rai’s concept can be extended to the Orientalist “salvation” narrative in newspaper editorials, as these discourses will often be reproduced there unconsciously. Gayatri Spivak’s “Can the Subaltern Speak?” examines Western methods in order to criticize the way in which Western cultures, and Western academic discourse represents the “Third World” and the “Oriental” woman in particular. She explores the ethics associated with investigating a different culture based on a universal understanding by using the ancient Hindu practice of widow suicide (Sati). She examines how British women who championed for women’s rights within colonial India communicated Sati. The main argument of Spivak’s is the invalidity of the Western voice to speak about the “non-Western,” as their interpretations are always imbedded with their personal values frames. It is here where Spivak aligns with Said in order to criticize the methods and system of thought in which Western cultures represent the “Third World.” This idea of personal value frames will be important as this MRP is analyzing editorials, which according to van Dijk, include “evaluation or moral commentary” on what should happen or what should be done.

Following this theme of criticism of British imperial “liberation” of the Indian woman is Chandra Mohanty’s (1988) critique of Western feminism’s “production of the third world woman as a singular, monolithic subject” (p. 64). Mohanty’s critique is similar to Said’s assertion that representation of the “Oriental” is timeless and singular. Mohanty argues that the image of the “non-Western” woman in the West is an unconscious exercise which posits the more “liberated” Western woman as superior. It is here where we notice themes aligning with the very notion of what Orientalism is, where orientalist discourse is always reflexive in order to legitimize Western values and systems of thought. In referring to Western feminism, Mohanty states that Western self-reflexive discourse is “used to draw attention to the similar effects of various textual strategies used by particular writers that codify “Others as non-Western and hence “themselves” as (implicitly) Western” (p. 52). It is the implicit instances of Orientalist discourse that are important, rather than explicit. Drawing on Mohanty’s work, Radhika Parmeswaran (1996) addresses the tendency of journalists to see “Third World” women as a homogenous category, and looks at American news makes examples of these women as passive victims of patriarchal cultures. Parmeswaran illustrates how these women are exoticized and made into icons to stand in for whole cultures. This echoes Hall and Said’s notion that cultures can be reduced to few key points, which become emblematic of the entire culture. She outlines the descriptor words which are found in many news articles, stating that “any news stories about third world women also tend to overuse words like “tradition,” “ancient,” “custom,” and “culture” when they refer to practices and events in non-Western societies” (Parmeswaran, 1996, p. 130). These descriptors will be important in the discourse analysis of editorials on the New Delhi Gang Rape, as I will be looking for similar instances in the dataset.

Roksana Bahramitash (2005) examines two American novels published during the US War on Terror, and maps out “feminist Orientalism” and “Orientalist feminism.” Feminist Orientalism refers to the use of women’s rights by Orientalists as an “excuse to legitimate their colonial presence,” while Orientalist feminism is a “modern project and type of feminism that advocates and supports particular foreign policies towards the Middle East” (p. 221). Bahramitash’s method of close textual analysis based on thematic analysis and CDA is helpful for this MRP, as she points the reader to certain tropes of

Western superiority that are evident. These include “women as an already constituted group with identical interests and desires, regardless of class, ethnic, and other differences; the way which proofs of universality are provided in western writings, and the homogenous notion of women’s oppression” (p. 224). The authors discussed above highlight the problematic assumptions in certain strands of Western Feminism. Such assumptions include the notion that the average “Third World Woman” leads an essentially reduced life based on her gender. Her location in the “Third World” automatically makes her unaware, impoverished, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, and therefore, victimized. This is in contrast to the self-representative discourse of Western women as educated, modern, having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the freedom to make their own decisions. The implication is that “gender equality has been achieved “here” [The West] and that patriarchal violence is the domain of “the East,” and located in ‘their culture’ [The Non-Western World]” (Mohanty, 2004, p. 22), and therefore the presupposition is that gender equality is inextricably tied to Western values. This presupposition will be revisited in the discourse analysis section of this research paper.

Modernity and it's “Other:” Third World Women and Development

The idea of gender equality as contingent on the adoption of Western liberal values must be explored in relation to Orientalist discourse. Second wave radical Western feminist discourse and Orientalist representations of gender often rely on the traditional Women in Development narrative (WID), which is closely intertwined within the above two outlined themes in order to paint a more vivid representation of the non-Western world. The traditional WID narrative’s concept of women’s development became an integral part of the development discourses and policy initiatives beginning in the 1980s. The WID narrative is most popular for representing perceptions about women in the position of victims and passive objects. After liberation is achieved, they tend to represent Third World women as independent economic agents. Of note here, specifically in relation to Discursive Practices that Fairclough mentions, is the fact that the liberal economic discourses are prevalent in this WID Narrative. This means that literature that employs an Orientalist Narrative also employs various other discourses such as liberalism and radicalism. This points to the inter-discursivity that occurs within texts. Jane L.

Papart (2003) looks at the language surrounding Westernization, poverty, liberation and development in the “Third World” by first and second wave Western feminist writers, such as Katharine Mayo, Mary Daly and their writings which include the *Women’s Suffrage Journal* and *Votes for Women* (Callaway and Helly, 1992). “[T]he problem of development,” Papart states “became one of bringing “backward” colonial peoples into the modern (i.e. developed) world” (Papart, 2003, p. 447). This echoes Said’s emphasis on the colonial mission to “Westernize.” Similar to Spivak and Mohanty, Papart critiques language and development and the superiority of Western Feminists’ knowledge of the “East,” and relates it back to Said’s notion of the discursive practices used by the colonial powers. In recent WID narratives, tradition and social constraints are identified as barriers to women’s access to the market. Social constraints must be removed in order to make women more visible, inaugurate their modernization and their integration to industrial capitalism (p. 441). This critique of the insistence that social constraints must be removed will be important in my analysis of the New Delhi Gang Rape editorials. Editorials usually involve personal opinions or ideologies, and it will be important to see if this Orientalism-informed discursive practice is prevalent. According to Gita Sen and Caren Grown (1989):

invisibility and tradition are evoked as a hindrance to development, a constraint and symptom of traditional subordination by men. The idea of WID discourse rests on the same presumption of the colonial perspective of victimization of women, and Development is seen as a vehicle for eradicating male dominance (pp. 79-81).

They use the reference of the Gulf War as the beginning of such Orientalist narrative in women and development narratives. Similarly, Frederique Apffel-Marglin and Suzanne Simon analyze the reductive repetition motifs in development projects undertaken in Western led projects to bring development to the “Third World.” Similarly, Mohanty also discusses the “the homogenous and reductive notion of third world difference” (p.63) in *Under Western Eyes*, as well as reductive cross-cultural comparisons. The discursive practice of reductive repetition will be especially important when viewing the language surrounding Indian women in the news, and when looking for instances of comparison between Canada and India. Again this echoes Hall and Said when they state that entire cultures can be reduced to a few key descriptive points. Apffel-Marglin and Simon suggest that while the rhetoric of racial and cultural inferiority has been mitigated in modern representation, the concept of “Oriental deficiency”

remains at the conceptual and discursive levels surrounding treatment of women (Apffel-Marglin & Simon, 1997, p. 28). This statement can be linked back to Yenogolou's notion of *latent Orientalism*, and Stuart Hall's *inferential racism* in the media, and the dualism between the West and "non-West" that both these refer to. It is this dualism, particularly in the contexts of gender and treatment of women, which will be helpful in critically examining how the Delhi Rape Case was covered in Canadian editorials. Mridula Udayagiri (1995) draws upon Mohanty, Said and Foucault's insights into discourse and power/knowledge in order to "challenge the essentialism and universalism that undergirds much of the development and underdevelopment theory. Especially as these are applied to women's experiences in the Global South" (p. 160). She states that textual analysis and discourse analysis based on critical theory are important in this respect, in order to analyze which discursive practices related to Orientalism are evident. Continuing with this value frame of Westernization and adoption of women in development narrative as related to gender equality, Radhika Parmeswaran (2001) analyzes media coverage of Miss World events. She states that in 1996, Miss World organizers, in attempt to mobilize popular sentiment, used rhetoric that focused sharply on the potential empowerment that First World consumer culture (i.e. pageants) could have on Indian women's bodies, behaviors, and sexual identities (p. 386). Her work aligns with the argument made by many Subaltern studies scholars that Western "constructions of gender and sexuality are inextricable from discourses of nation, tradition, and modernity in postcolonial India" (Fernandes, 2000; Munshi, 1998; Oza, 2001; Parmeswaran, 2001).

The WID narrative plays an important part in contemporary Orientalist discourses and has been analyzed by many scholars through various tactics, including CDA. Most pertinent in this section and in my analysis of editorials that cover the New Delhi Gang Rape is the notion of tradition as a barrier between women and the economy, and the notion of development as a solution to eradicate barriers. Discourse analysis and contemporary-day Orientalism in newspaper coverage gained immense popularity after September 11, 2001 in order to analyze different forms of Orientalism prevalent in coverage of the U.S. "War on Terror." However these discourse analyses focus on Orientalism as related to American imperial justifications for foreign policies (Izadi & Saghaye-Biria, 2007; Khalid, 2011).

This paper will use the post-colonial, critical framework to explore *latent Orientalism*, but

specifically within the context of gender, Western Feminism, and discourses of development. These three themes: gender roles, Western Feminism representations, and discourses of modernity will be integral in examining the Orientalist implications within the media representations of the New Delhi Gang Rape. The objective of this MRP is to better understand of how gendered Orientalism shapes Canadian news representations of India, even though news media attempt to uphold objectivity and neutrality. Overt Orientalism and overt racism has turned into something more insidious and inferential, yet it still persists in representations of other cultures. Editorials are perhaps an exception to the neutrality and objectivity the news attempts to uphold. Opinion, rather than description is part of the editorial genre and this is what makes editorials a useful site for the kind of analysis this MRP will undertake. By adhering to the conceptual framework of knowledge as equated to power through the historical narrative, and Stuart Hall's "subtle power formations in the media," I identify these quieter instances of gendered Orientalism that circulate media discourses of the New Delhi Gang Rape. Many scholars (Hall, Karim, Izadi, Mohanty, Parmeswaran) have identified the media as an important site for the circulation of Orientalist Discourse. Therefore, the decision to look at the literature that uses Orientalism specifically within the context of print media and in relation to gender was made. Following the themes identified in the Literature Review, this MRP will address the following research questions:

RQ1: What themes of gendered Orientalism are the most prominent in Canadian newspaper editorials written about the 2012 New Delhi Gang Rape?

This question is geared towards identifying traditional Orientalist representations of gender embedded in the New Delhi Gang Rape editorials. The literature review has outlined the traditional views of gender that colonialists possessed, and how this has trickled into War on Terror discourses. This question will be an important starting point in the discourse analysis as it gives insights into the editorial authors' understandings of gender roles in India, and the related descriptors that describe Indian men and women's existence.

RQ 2: To what extent have the ideological frames of Western feminism been used when representing Indian women within Canadian newspaper editorials of the 2012 New Delhi Gang Rape?

This question relates directly to the second body of literature, which focuses on Western Feminism and

Third World Women. This question pertains to how Western Feminists have taken the traditional gendered Orientalist descriptors addressed in Research Question One, in order to use these descriptors in Feminist writings on India, and advocating for change. The first body of literature outlined what the West think of gender roles in the “non-Western” world, and the inequities associated with such roles. Question Two will look for the ideological frames, such as the homogenous notion of women’s oppression, which is outlined in the Literature Review, in the data of Canadian newspaper editorials that cover the New Delhi Gang Rape.

RQ3: What are the implications of the terms “development” and “modernization” in the coverage of these Canadian newspaper editorial coverage of the 2012 New Delhi Gang Rape?

As outlined in the Literature Review, modernization and acquisition of the Western ideal of economic development is seen as solution to the “oppression” that Western Feminists state that Indian women are hindered by. Editorials are different than regular news stories in that the author will give their own opinion, advice, or solution to the topic they are writing about. Therefore, this question will examine whether the WID narrative is prevalent in the language of the editorials on the New Delhi Gang Rape.

The preceding sections have served to outline Foucault’s major theoretical contributions to the study of power and knowledge, and Hall’s work on the study of discourse and racist ideologies in media representations. Most importantly it has served to outline the different manifestations of Said’s theory in varying academic fields of study. As Foucault states, discourse defines and produces the object of our knowledge. It governs the way this that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about. The following sections will further elaborate on Fairclough’s methodological role in this paper’s conceptual framework, and the discursive practices which Fairclough states must be identified before undertaking a thorough textual analysis.

Methodology

Discursive Practices of Editorials and the Process of News Production

In developing his theory of power and knowledge, Foucault (1980) problematizes knowledge as a power resource. He argues that there is a struggle as to which certain forms of knowledge prevail over others. Consequently, he is interested in processes whereby knowledge is produced as being legitimate. He sees these processes as rooted in social institutions. As previously stated, media and literary scholars such as Hall (1978), Said (1978) and Karim (2005) regard news as knowledge generated through power relations. These power relations are realized in the procedures that privilege certain sources over others. This pattern of selecting and framing what gets into the story and what is left out, as well as what issues are prominently placed, make news a powerful ideological agent of legitimization. As Said states, those in power have the choice to represent events and populaces according to their interests. This idea informs the choice of news media, particularly editorials, as a site of analysis in this MRP as it is those at the helm of these media institutions who have the power to represent this New Delhi Gang Rape in ways they deem appropriate.

According to Teun van Dijk (1987) editorials are probably the widest circulated opinion discourses of society, whether or not all readers of the newspaper read them daily. Editorial “opinion is generally institutional and not personal [and] editorials count as the opinion of the newspaper and not just a single columnist or reporter” (p. 25). Editorials give an extended narrative of the events which occurred in New Delhi, and will offer the author’s and by extension the newspaper’s viewpoints. Scholars such as Frances Henry and Carol Tator have stated that studying editorials is of importance when analyzing the role of news media, “as they often express the broader ideological stance of the newspaper’s owners and managers” (Henry & Tator, 2002, p. 93). Unlike news discourse, editorials are perceived to be conversations among a society’s economic and power elites, with the public being less of an addressee than spectators (Henry & Tator, 2002). This is more pronounced in the case of editorial coverage of the less familiar “East,” and the concept of the “Non-Western” woman because such coverage influences how the Canadian public perceives individuals and societies in other regions of the world, whether it is intentional or unintentional. Van Dijk (1991) categorizes editorials according to the

following three elements: (1) Definition, whereby the editorial defines a situation or event and summarizes what actually happened to create it; (2) Explanation, wherein the editor explains the situation; and (3) Evaluation or moral commentary, which includes discussion of what will happen, what should happen, or what should be done about an event or situation. It is apparent that an editorial cannot remain unbiased and uncolored by the writer's own personal value frames. The fact that evaluation or moral commentary is imbedded into the very structure of an editorial proves that it cannot remain ideologically untouched.

van Dijk states that decisions regarding *who* will write the editorials and publish them are extremely important, as the identities of authors and media institutions have the power to legitimize the discourses that their prose is espousing. Thus, it is important to look at *who* these authors of the New Delhi Gang Rape are, and *what* they represent. The author of one of the *Toronto Star* editorials is Judith Timson, who works as a freelance cultural, political and social commentator and writer for the newspaper. The author of the second *Toronto Star* editorial that I have selected is unknown. *The Globe and Mail* also names only one author of their editorial publicly, and this is Doug Sanders, who writes on International Affairs from the viewpoints of social democracy and liberalism. *The National Post* names both of its editorial contributors. Of note here is the fact that both of these writers are of South Asian, Indian descent: Gurmukh Singh, and Afsun Qureshi. van Dijk (1993) states that the choosing of opinions of particular individuals for publication in newspapers is not coincidental, but rather strategic (p. 26). A quick glance at other editorials that Gurmukh Singh has published in the *National Post* shows that Gurmukh Singh is an Indian expat living in Canada, and that he opposes ethnic enclaves, and favors immigrant assimilation into the Canadian multicultural context. Afsun Quershi is of equal interest, as she writes the column "How India's Rape Culture Came to Canada" in which she relays her personal experience of growing up in a Indian family, while living in a South Asian ethnic enclave of Toronto. Before embarking on this CDA, the researcher must note that perhaps this deliberate choice of using Canadian journalists of South Asian descent is used to validate their respective newspaper's dominant ideology and opinions on South Asia. This may communicate to the audience that reads the newspaper

the belief that if a South Asian believes this then it is appropriate that all Canadians acquire such opinions.

Selecting Texts for Analysis

Communications related to the New Delhi Gang Rape present an important case study in examining unconscious prejudiced ideologies that are present in the Canadian media. The dataset for this study will include editorials from three popular Canadian newspapers: *The National Post*, *The Globe and Mail*, and *The Toronto Star*. Six newspaper editorials – two editorials from *The National Post*, two from *The Globe and Mail*, and two editorials from *The Toronto Star* were selected to make up the data set, (Cf. Appendices). These editorials include:

1. “A Short History of Indian Misogyny,” by Gurmukh Singh, *National Post* (Cf. Appendix A)
2. “How India’s Rape Culture Came to Canada,” by Afsun Qureshi, *National Post* (Cf. Appendix B)
3. “Jyoti was an emblem of the new India,” by Judith Timpson, *Toronto Star* (Cf. Appendix C)
4. “Channel India’s anguish into change that empowers women,” Author Unknown, *Toronto Star* (Cf. Appendix D)
5. “Time to act against violence against women in India,” Author Unknown, *Globe and Mail* (Cf. Appendix E)
6. “Rape is a crime everywhere, but India’s crisis is unique,” by Doug Saunders, *Globe and Mail* (Cf. Appendix F)

The time frame in which these editorials were published over a span less than one month. The editorial “Time to act against violence against women in India” was published on December 27, 2012, two days before the death of Jyoti. The five remaining editorials were published January 3, 2013 to January 24, 2013, after the death of the young woman. Each newspaper only published two editorials each on the subject of the New Delhi Gang Rape; therefore six editorials will be analyzed.

The choice to analyze editorials over news articles was a strategic one. Editorials tend to be longer than news articles, and while they are a form of news discourse as they relay events which occurred, they are a richer site for discourse analysis for three main reasons: (1) Not only are they opinion pieces, but they also tend to be prescriptive in that they are telling what *should* and *could* be

done to mitigate the issue they are discussing; (2) they tend to be normative in the sense that the author compares the New Delhi Gang Rape according to their own norms or standards; and (3) they are argumentative, as they are critiquing, or taking a stance on the issue. Their intent is to persuade, and therefore, the effect they have on readers can be momentous as discussed in the Discursive Practices of Editorials section.

The three Canadian newspapers were selected for intensive analysis due to their reach and relative familiarity to the Canadian public. *The National Post* and *The Globe and Mail* are Canada's leading national dailies, and are considered elite newspapers amongst the largest media outlets of Canada. *The Toronto Star* is not a national newspaper but is the leading newspaper in Toronto, and in fact has the highest readership of any Canadian newspaper (The Toronto Star, April 2013). In addition, elite newspapers such as *The National Post*, *The Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Star* serve an intermediate agenda-setting function for other news sources, in particular with regard to the coverage of international events and issues (Golan, 2006). Ideologically, *The Globe and Mail* has the reputation of being positioned at the right of center in the political spectrum, as compared to its counterpart, *The National Post*, while *The Toronto Star* is known for being left of center, and tends to focus on more liberal discourses (Henry and Tator, 2002; Odartey-Wellington, 2004). This diversity of political leanings and national readerships among the three newspapers is important when considering the Apffel-Marglin and Simon's idea that racial and cultural inferiority has been mitigated in modern representation, but remains at conceptual and discursive levels. Therefore, the fact that these newspapers represent a wealth of political ideological discourses may affect the textual structure and topical choice of the editorials.

Analytical Tools of CDA: Grammatical use, textual patterns, and semantic structure

As mentioned in the Literature Review and the Discursive Practices of Editorials subsection, discourse is closely associated with ideological reproduction, and the knowledge construction about a particular topic. Its analysis provides a way to examine how values are expressed in written texts, as well as how language and representation produce meaning and construct identities and subjectivities (Hall, 1997). Therefore, Critical Discourse Analysis will be used as the main method of analysis for these

editorials. Fairclough's three-part model is an analytical framework for research on communication and society (Fairclough, 1995). For Fairclough, text analysis alone is not sufficient for discourse analysis, as it does not shed light on the links between texts and societal and cultural processes and structures. Text analysis cannot prove that a given text contains ideological frames, unless the analyst also considers the institutions that produce the text and their values (in the case of this MRP, the news media), as well as the socio-political/historical context in which it is produced (Canada's relationship with India). CDA is a valuable research tool in this instance, because as Hall argues, contemporary racism is not necessarily expressed overtly. With this reasoning, CDA will enable the researcher to research multiple contexts within which meaning may be inferred. By looking at specific grammatical, textual patterns, and semantic structure, it becomes possible to reveal meanings made latent through a combination of analytic strategies aimed at the elucidation of eight elements, as set out by Fairclough, and van Dijk: experiential values, overwording, expressive values of words, relational modality of grammatical features, presupposition, oppositional text structure, transitivity, and metaphor.

1. *Experiential Values* reflects the knowledge and beliefs of the producer of the text, which are evident in the choice of wordings. Often the semantic choices of texts are the clearest ideological pointers within it. Some words are unconsciously associated with certain ideological frameworks such as liberalism or social conservatism. Experiential values are important when considering Orientalism in media representation, as stories draw on a common stock of *knowledge* and culturally specific templates. The experiential values that an author may possess can be tainted by Orientalist visions of another culture. This can occur unconsciously, but as Foucault states, these powerful discourses, create culturally accepted knowledge.

2. *Overwording* is an aspect of experiential values and refers to the unusually high degree of wording, often involving many words that are nearly synonymous. Overwording shows a preoccupation with some aspect of reality - which may indicate that it is a focus of ideological struggle (Fairclough, 2002, p. 96)

3. *Expressive values of words* are interconnected with experiential values in the sense that the experiential values represent the text producer's knowledge and ideas, while the expressive values

represent the text producer's way of judging. The text producer's evaluations are expressed by drawing on classification schemes which are ideologically significant. (Fairclough, 2001, pp. 98-99).

4. *Relational modality of grammatical features*. Relational values is how a text's choice of wordings depends on and creates social relationships between members of a particular group. Modality is important both for relational and expressive values in grammar. Modality deals with the authority of the writer or speaker. Relational modality, which has to do with the authority of one participant in relation to others, is expressed by modal auxiliary verbs like may, must, should, can and so on, but also by adverbs and tense. There are two modal auxiliary verbs, namely "may" and "must." "May" signals that it has to do with permission, while "must" signals obligation. Implicit power relations and explicit authority claims are reasons why relational modality is a matter of ideological interest (Fairclough, 2001, pp. 105-106).

5. *Presupposition* is an implicit assumption about the world or background belief relating to an utterance whose truth is taken for granted. There are three kinds of presupposition according to Fairclough, and these include existential assumption, propositional assumption, and value assumptions. These will be further discussed and elaborated in the analysis section to follow, but it must be mentioned that both Hall and Said implicate the use of presupposition as related to the commonsense assumptions that individuals rely upon when "representing" the "Orient" or those different to oneself.

6. *Oppositional Text Structure* is based on the idea that one must go beyond the analysis of individual words and grammatical features. Text structure moves to the overall placement of paragraphs, and bodies of text within the editorials. It focuses on the way content is organized. Oppositional text structure focuses on the comparative language structure used in the editorials. This aspect will be important when examining what Said calls binary, or "Us" versus "Them" language, in which he states that the East is always judged in terms of the West's progress.

7. *Transitivity* refers to the way meaning is represented in a clause. The choices made in the system of transitivity indicate the way the writer sees the event that they are writing about. As transitivity is concerned with the representation of the mental picture that a writer has of the world, it involves the transmission of ideas and therefore belongs to the ideational function (Halliday, 1985). Since transitivity

portrays the writer's world-view, many critical analysts have investigated it as a means of uncovering the links between language and ideology and the meanings that are foregrounded, backgrounded, or excluded in a text.

8. *Metaphor* is the use of a figure of speech in which a word or phrase is applied to an object or action to which it is not literally applicable. The metaphoric representation of social problems is extremely common and each metaphor can have different ideological attachment because different metaphors reveal different ways of handling things. The investigation and exposure of racist metaphors has always been part of the critically oriented approach to language study. Hall considers metaphor a strategic use of language where directly racist statements can become less overt. He states that many right-wing European politicians, when speaking of ethnicity within their nations, have taken metaphor up as a strategy (Hall, 2000, p. 276).

Fairclough's three-part approach to CDA is much more detailed and useful for discerning power relations than other text-oriented modes of analysis used by other CDA scholars. Therefore, the choice to utilize his method was made, and the search for the above elements was made. Fairclough offers a functional guide for conducting discourse analysis in the media by setting out in a straightforward manner the methodology of deconstructing media text and talk (Cf. Appendix G). Fairclough (1998) states it helps "understanding from a specifically discursive and linguistic perspective, how people's lives are determined and limited by the social formations that we are blessed and cursed with" (p. 144). In Foucauldian terms, this means that foregrounding power distribution is a necessary factor in discourse analysis. Elements of Teun van Dijk's media discourse analysis concepts will be consulted in addition to Fairclough's. van Dijk has done extensive critical discourse analysis on racism and Eurocentrism in the media, specifically within reference to Opinions and Editorial pieces, and therefore his insights will be used alongside Fairclough when appropriate. However, van Dijk relies on the socio-cognitive approach to media reproduction, whereas this paper follows the critical approach to language and ideology as related to knowledge and power. Therefore, Fairclough's dimensions will be covered in a specific discourse analysis of the six newspaper editorials on the New Delhi Gang Rape that make up the communicative event. The analysis will focus on:

1. The linguistic features of the text (textual analysis), which will occur in the subsequent section
2. Processes relating to the production and consumption of the text (discursive practice analysis), which was covered above.
3. the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs (social practice analysis), which was covered in the Introduction of this research paper

To prepare the data for analysis, each individual editorial has been divided into numbered sentences to make it easy to refer to in the analysis and discussion section of this research paper. For the analysis I have selected five key discursive moments which draw upon the above-discussed literature, and are most salient with the semantic features that Fairclough states are key to understanding imbedded ideological values. A discursive moment can be described as a set of prominent claims, tropes, arguments, and evidence used to characterize, describe, or represent the New Delhi Gang Rape in all six editorials. These “moments” align with literature reviewed and the research questions asked. As indicated above, Fairclough (2001) identified three dimensions of CDA: text, discursive practice, and socio-cultural. In what follows I discuss the dimension of text separately for each discursive moment.

Discourse Analysis

The textual analysis of the Canadian newspaper editorials on the New Delhi Gang Rape will take place in this section with discussion to follow in the subsequent section. I will engage in an interdisciplinary analysis of the relations between the discursive practice of journalism and the social practices of interpreting discursive representations of the “Other.” It is one of the main purposes of the analysis to show the links between the textual analysis and the discursive practices and broader socio-cultural structures that have been outlined in the preceding sections of this paper. The achievement of the ideological roles of editorials is a function of persuasive strategies, of which semantic content is the most direct form (van Dijk, 1991). According to van Dijk, strategies include the use of polarized vocabulary to describe political actors and events and specific analytical tools of discourse, which were specified in the methodological section: experiential values, overwording, expressive values of words, relational modality of grammatical features, presupposition, oppositional text structure, transitivity, and metaphor. These techniques are used to make information that is unfavorable to “Us” (Canada) less prominent and to emphasize negative information about “Them” (India). The discursive moments are based on the analytical tools which were prominently used and each moment explores a different analytical tool. A textual analysis of the six New Delhi Gang Rape articles suggests that the following discursive moments are the most salient in relation to the themes outlined in the literature review.

Discursive Moment 1: Mitigating India’s Response to the New Delhi Gang Rape

Experiential Values

Throughout the six articles of the New Delhi Gang Rape, the instance of taking a pedantic stance towards educating India, on how “They” can do better by teaching “them” how to mitigate “their” rape crisis is prominent. Experiential values are considered “a formal feature with experiential value is a trace of and a cue to the way in which the text producer’s experience of the natural or social world is represented” (Fairclough, 2001, p.93). This means that when writing a text, the author will automatically choose words, which to a certain degree will reflect their own worldviews. In this connection we see the deciphering of these worldviews to be reliant on the social and cultural understandings of the “Other” that they are writing about, and reliant on the author’s social and cultural

understandings. In this example from the January 5, 2013 *Toronto Star* editorial we see the following instances of experiential modality via rewording of India's and Indian's actions in bold:

There have been **huge protests against the chronic abuse women face, calls in Parliament for reform**, and promises of tougher laws against sexual violence (Author Unknown, *The Globe and Mail*, Ln: 4-5).

Minor fixes have been promised or made in wake of this tragedy. In New Delhi there will be *special courts to expedite assault cases*. More **policewomen will be recruited**. A telephone *hotline has been set up for women in distress*. Buses will be better policed. But the sheer scope of **sexual violence resists easy solutions**. (Ln: 26-30).

The **outpouring of rage and grief** over this tragedy, the candlelit vigils, and the **calls for reform hopefully will usher in deeper change**. That begins by **calling sexual violence by its real name**. By **boldly confronting** the misogynists, "Eve-teasers," gropers and rapists. By **refusing to be shamed or bullied** into silence. And by **demanding that the politicians**, police and courts rise to the challenge of ensuring women's rights and security. That is the best way to memorialize India's brave lost daughter (Ln: 50-56).

The bolded expressions can be regarded as ideologically different formulations of precisely the same actions on the part of Indian society when protesting sexual violence. However, the "wrong" way and "right" of addressing the situation are distinguished through the lexical choices that are made by the author. The language for the first two wordings of what Indians have been doing is formal in nature and can be considered stagnant. Examples include: "Parliament reforms," "expedite assault cases," and "sexual violence resists easy solutions." The experiential value is that these actions are superficial, and therefore will be unsuccessful. The paragraph then shifts to the third wording of what can be done and this is marked by colorful, strong wording such as "deeper change," "boldly confronting," "refusing to be shamed or bullied" and "demanding." These are dramatically divergent lexical choices when describing the Indian actions in the previous paragraphs. This language choice is much more informal in nature and is highlighted by bold descriptors which describe to the audience what India *should* be doing. This language is rooted in struggle and challenge, or rather activist discourse that harkens back to language used by the women's liberation movement. It is evident that the author, and by extension the newspaper, is discounting the steps taken by Indians and India in this rape crisis, in favor of telling readers what the Indians should be doing to deal with this national crisis. The author occupies the position of a teacher or parent telling a child what can and cannot be done. Similarly, the January 5, 2013 *Globe and Mail* editorial by Doug Sanders states: "Indians **have begun to recognize** this

epidemic of sexual hatred in their midst [...]” (Ln. 9). He then recounts actions taken by Indians in response to the rape, but then goes on to discount these actions by stating:

Rape is a terrible crime everywhere, and probably remains under prosecuted an all too commonplace and hidden in many places in the West, so there’s plenty of room for activism. But, in part because that **activism has succeeded**, rape is considered a grotesque anomaly, universally recognized as a serious crime. This is not true at all in many parts of India. (Ln.: 26-27).

By adopting a strategy of avoidance for what the Indians have been doing, the authors use what Said describes as “Us” versus “Them” language. This posits Canada and the Western world as humane and superior, but also the more experienced and knowing what is the best for India. According to van Dijk, the media use a number of discursive strategies to distinguish between “Us” and “Them” groups. These are often framed in the context of examining the values and norms of the dominant population *vis à vis* minority groups. (These rewordings are prominent in all of the editorials. Further examples can be accessed in the Appendix H).

Relational Grammatical Values

Another discursive feature that mitigates India’s responses to the New Delhi gang rape is relational modality. Relational modality is “a trace of and a cue to the social relationships which are enacted via the text in the discourse. Relational value is [...] to do with relations and social relationships” (Ibid, p. 93). Relational values are one of the ways discourse produces and maintains what Foucault calls subjectivities and their social identities. This relational modality can be expressed through modal auxiliary verbs, which are indicative of the authority and power relations of the producer of these editorials. It is precisely these implicit authority claims and implicit power relations that are illustrated here that will make relational modality a matter of ideological interest in reference to the inferential and implicit character of modern day Orientalism. The following excerpts from the *Toronto Star* and *Globe and Mail* serve as small insights:

This **can** and **should** be a moment of truth and empowerment for Indian women. **This is not something the hangman can deliver.**” (Authour Unknown, *Toronto Star*, Ln: 20-21), and;

But if authorities in India, one of the world’s great democracies and a key emerging economy, really want to tackle the problem, they **should** work harder [...] Law enforcement and political leaders **must** lead campaigns to promote gender equality [...] (Authour Unknown, *Globe and Mail*, Ln. 14-24).

In this case, the authors of both editorials use the modal verb with the strongest degree of certainty. This makes these statements come as close to being presented as a categorical truth as they can when one uses modal auxiliaries. These exemplify how utterances that commit themselves categorically to the truth of a statement are formed. Firstly, the use of the modal verb “can” signifies an informal way of giving permission to Indian women on what this event should signify for them (“a moment of truth and empowerment”). This continues on the theme of pedantic language as it signifies that the editorial, which is published by a Canadian newspaper, is the voice of the West. This voice is giving India (the East) permission, but also telling India what must be done. Again telling the “Other” what is right and what is wrong. The statement “this is not something the hangman can deliver” is important as it mitigates India’s actions of fast tracking the rape trials and death penalty of the assailants as something that “cannot” or will not be beneficial. The author is asserting their judgement on what can and cannot empower Indian women. Value judgment is being passed here on India’s use of the death penalty. This instance of relational modality is also infused with experiential elements as the author’s personal judgments on capital punishment are being imposed on Indian society.

The modal verbs “must” and “should” signal obligation. The verbs position the author and the newspaper’s opinion with authority over the Indian women who are subjects in the first example from the *Toronto Star*, but also give them authority over the Indian government and police systems which are the subjects of the second example from the *Globe and Mail*. It is important to note here that these two examples suggest that the Indian system is in disarray but provide no context or reference to past situations to help explain this apparent disarray. The editorials simply state what needs to be done, in order to fix something that is being described as badly broken. The past situations that relate to this can include the backlog of cases in the Delhi court system; the competing forces in government which make passing laws incredibly difficult; and the religious and ethnic conflicts in the country which take up so many fiscal and governmental resources and which make women’s access to education difficult. Instead, the editorials suggest that women’s subjugation is solely related to sexual oppression. These strategies of representation confirm Hall (1978), Said (1978) and Karim’s (2005) claim that news as

knowledge articulates power relations. These power relations are created in part by media framing in which certain facts are privileged by positioning them at the front, whilst other important facts are relegated into the background of a text.

[Discursive Moment 2: Representing Indian Men through Animalistic Vocabulary](#)

Expressive Modality and Metaphor

Fairclough (2001) states that the “values of words and their representations of the world are coded in their vocabulary” (p. 94). This refers to the knowledge and beliefs that certain words represent within particular vocabularies. Expressive values are important to this project as they evaluate the identities within an editorial and places them between the qualities of either virtuous behavior or immorality. When describing Indian males, these editorials make use of metaphors, alongside expressive modality. Fairclough (2002) states “metaphors have different ideological attachments” (p. 100). The expressive descriptors used when representing Indian men within these editorials depict misogynistic and barbaric males. Here is an example of such a metaphor using expressive modality:

The forces - and men- that killed Jyoti are on the wane. They cannot maintain their deadly power[...] **We will see who the tiger is then.** (Timson, *The Toronto Star*, Ln. 47-51)

In similar vein, the *Toronto Star* editorial on January 5 makes use of metaphor to describe Indian males:

The culture in which they live notoriously privileges boys over girls. **It lionizes macho Bollywood heroes** who rarely take “No” for an answer. (Author Unknown, *The Toronto Star*, Ln. 24-5)

Further examples of this enclosing or surrounding of discursive events with specific words or utterances includes lexical choices with an expressive modality of animalistic inferences, such as “savage” (Author Unknown, *Toronto Star*, Ln: 1) and “monsters” (Ln: 7). The expressive values of these words have great implications when used as descriptors of gender. In his study of metaphor in early 20th century Orientalist literature Said (1978) states, “cultural, temporal, and human difference was expressed [with] metaphors of depth, secrecy, and sexual promise: phrases like “the veils of an Eastern bride” or “the inscrutable Orient” passed into the common language” (p. 222). It is apparent that metaphors implicate gender oppression and the mysteriousness or incomprehensibility of the Orient. Hall, and critical media scholars such as van Dijk state that metaphor has become a new vehicle for racism to be expressed in

the media. As the preceding discussion of animalistic metaphor illustrates, metaphor allows overt expressions of racism to become subtle. The link can be made to *inferential racism* in that it acts in much more subtle, quiet ways through the use of metaphor. This link will be returned to and discussed further in the discussion.

[Discursive Moment 2.1: Indian Women: Victimization Vocabulary](#)

Expressive Modality and Metaphor

Similar to the discursive practices related to the formulation of Indian male gender in these editorials, the authors took a similar approach in their use of expressive modality and metaphor to construct Indian females. The expressive values of the descriptor words which are used to describe Jyoti and by extension all Indian women imply victimization and subjugation. These expressive values (bolded), are evident in the following phrases:

Beleaguered Indian women have **long suffered** [...] But India is not fated to be a **woman-abusing culture forever** (Author Unknown, *Globe and Mail*, Ln: 31-41); and,

Women are seen as **little more than tools of reproduction** (Singh, *National Post*, Ln: 46-47)

These words are often associated with suffering, subjugation, and victimization. The use of metaphor occurs within the *Toronto Star* editorial, in which a Toronto-based filmmaker of Indian descent is quoted on her opinions of the rape:

There was a lot going on on that bus, says Pahuja: ‘a clash of different worlds, caste, class, gender, the traditional conservative India versus the new more western India. Many forces came together to create that specific nightmare.’ Jyoti’s body she said became ‘**a battleground**’ for these competing forces. Jyoti never set out to be a **battleground**. (Timson, *Toronto Star*, Ln: 55-59)

It is evident here that the referral to Jyoti as a “battleground” removes the victim as an agent in this situation, and instead she has become emblematic of ills of Indian society, rather than a victim of rape. Issues such as caste, class and traditional conservatism which may not have been forces which led to the rape, are now descriptors that are equated to this incidence of rape. The use of Pahuja’s quote is of extreme importance here too, as she, a South Asian Canadian, lends legitimacy for the author to use the metaphor of battleground in her text.

Discursive Moment 3: Indian Culture as “Perpetrator” of the Rape

Transitivity

Michael Halliday (2002) describes transitivity as a fundamental property of language that enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality” (p. 178). Fairclough also considers it an element that can help present a certain kind of reality, and it is a frequently used device by all authors of the editorials, and has yielded a great deal of data. Marianne Jørgensen and Louise Phillips (2002) note that, in looking for transitivity, researchers analyze “how events and processes are connected (or not-connected) with subject and objects and what the “ideological consequences” of these relationships could be” (p. 83). In the case of New Delhi Gang Rape, the perpetrators of the rape (the six men) are removed as agents in the rape act itself. An illuminating example of this is in *The Toronto Star’s* January 24, 2013 editorial where Judith Timson writes:

In a country in which **hundreds of thousands of female fetuses are aborted**, and an unknown number of babies are killed at birth for the crime of not being boys, **this young woman**, encouraged by her parents, was on track, not only to succeed but to pull up her family with her.” (Ln: 21-24, Timson, *Toronto Star*)

The Globe and Mail’s January 5, 2013 author, Doug Sander’s writes:

Indians have begun to recognize this **epidemic of sexual hatred in their midsts. Far from just a matter of rape, it is an environment where, in some regions, there are 800 girls alive for every 1,000 boys, because sex-selective abortion and female infanticide are so widespread**; where the physical abuse of women is seen as mundane, where even major sex crimes are usually described in major newspapers as ‘Eve-Teasing.’ India finally awoke this week to its national shame. (Saunders, *Globe and Mail*, Ln.: 13-19)

These sentences exhibit the element of transitivity, which Fairclough calls cohesion. He uses defines it as “various rhetorical schemata according to which groups of statements may be combined (how descriptions, deductions, definitions, whose succession characterizes the architecture of a text, are linked together” (Fairclough, 1992, p.77). It is evident here that issues of female infanticide and sex-selective abortion are considered active agents in the New Delhi Gang Rape. Instead of these six men being considered agents in the rape, the blame has now shifted to Indian culture, which is assumed to be entrenched with inherent sexual and gender biases. (Additional examples of transitivity and cohesion are highlighted in Appendix H).

The Discussion section will return to the problematic inclusion of issues such as rape, female infanticide and sex-selective abortion in a single thread. It is important to give focus to Hall's (1990) argument that coverage of deviant behavior on the part minorities is a common occurrence when looking at media representations of less than desirable behavior of minorities. He states that immoral or illegal behaviors are always linked to the culture rather than to the perpetrator of such behaviors. The attribution of agency to a culture rather than to the structural conditions surrounding an event resonates with the commonsense beliefs of an audience. This is particularly true in the contemporary period wherein racism operates under the guise of culture. With this being said, the Aqsa Pervez case², which occurred in Canada, similarly pointed to culture and religion as the cause of particular instances of gender violence, instead of blaming the assailants who committed the crime. In this way, these immoral behaviors (rape, gender violence, feticide) are becoming indicative or representative of an entire culture.

[Discursive Moment 4: Binary Oppositional Language: The West and the Rest](#)

Oppositional Textual Structure

Text structure refers to the way text is produced, structured and organized. This means that one has to investigate the way the text is designed and in what order the constituents are placed. The way text is organized can provide an analyst with knowledge about "systems of belief" and suppositions about societal relations and societal identities (Fairclough, 2002, p.78). The negative facts about India as stated by the editorial authors are highlighted in blue, whilst the positive facts about Canada, and the West are outlined in red. While all of the editorials exhibit binary language, *The Globe and Mail's* editorial is the most illuminating example:

A new report by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada suggests that India's reported rapes are "the tip of the iceberg," that the real numbers are extremely high and that they've likely been sharply on the rise for the past decade. We shouldn't pretend that this is an effect of poverty or a specific religion. In many poorer countries, rape is rare and taboo. In India, it's both Hindus and Muslims, the middle class and the poor, who participate; in fact, it's the less poor regions of India, in the north, where the murder of girls and the rape of women are most frequent. This hatred of women is a specific cultural development [...]

By contrast, rape has become dramatically less commonplace in the West. In one of the most comprehensive long-term studies of rape, the U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey (conducted for the Department of Justice) shows that the number of women who say they've

² Aqsa Parvez, a Canadian-Pakistani teen, was the victim of an honor killing that took place in Mississauga, Ontario, Canada on December 10, 2007. Parvez's father and brother claimed that they strangled Aqsa for refusing to wear the *hijab* (Islamic headscarf) outside the home. The case has brought up much debate regarding multiculturalism, religious rights, gender and culture clash.

experienced rape today is one-fifth the level of 1973. What that shows is that change is possible [...]" (Saunders, *The Globe and Mail*, Ln: 50-63).

The above section is indicative of what van Dijk calls "contrasting us with THEM, by emphasizing our [The West's] tolerance, help or sympathy, and by focusing on negative social or cultural differences, deviance or threats attributed to them [India]" (van Dijk, 1991, p. 23). This is exhibited through the positioning of Indian rape culture as the most prominent in this comparison, and attributing the rape to this "hatred of women as a specific cultural development." What van Dijk calls "hyperbolic enhancement" of "their" negative actions is accomplished by embellishing the negative argumentation which follows from the "facts" (outlined in blue) of India's reported rapes being the tip of the iceberg. Negative enhancement also when stating that rapes are happening in the less poorer regions, such as the north. These choices of words that follow the "facts" are infused with negative evaluations of the nation.

This editorial then moves onto the statement of "our" positive actions in the West, where rapes have decreased to one-fifth of the level of 1973. This fact is then followed by language associated with change. The descriptors are positive and there are understatement of the West's negative actions. The structural emphasis of India's actions is also apparent through the strategy of mentioning negative agents in a prominent topical position, and then mentioning the West's (specifically America's) long-term study of rape in a secondary structure. These polarized models, which are consistent with negative attitudes or ideologies, may be used to sustain existing attitudes or form new negative attitudes (Van Dijk, 1987, 1991, 1993). One of the strategic ways to make sure that such polarizations are made is to emphasize that the current model in India is typical and commonplace rather than incidental and exceptional, and this is what the authors of the editorials have done. With comparison to remaining editorials (Cf. Appendix C), it is evident that this example fits a pattern of binary oppositional language that contrasts "Us" with "Them" in Orientalist discourse.

According to Said and Foucault, facts about "them" operate as truths in powerful discourses generated by Western authors. Foucault states that true statements about the world are rooted in science. In the above examples, the editorials use quantitative data produced through social scientific

studies by the Refugee Board of Canada, along with a U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey. References to these studies help to legitimize this information as a fact, and thus this information comes to be known as an established truth when comparing India to the West. While the above information may indeed be factual, it makes sexual violence and “Oriental deficiency” to deal with this crisis synonymous with India. Through Foucault’s lens, these strategies of producing the “truth” of Indian society become reality to the West. As Said argues, the production of facts as truths has been key to the colonial project. The colonial project depended on the codification of British knowledge about India as truth through a great body of literature, paintings, geographical surveys, political documents and scientific studies. In a similar vein, these newspaper editorials and the authors exercise the same form of power by operationalizing the “Us” versus “Them” structure and by allowing facts to operate as truths.

[Discursive Moment 5: Westernization: What Indian Women Need, and the Cause of the Protests](#)

Presupposition

The very foundation of all texts and spoken language is based on presuppositions and “it is inconceivable for human beings to be able to communicate without a shared set of presuppositions, which are things that we take as given and things that form a fellowship of understanding” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 55). In other words, the writer assumes that the reader knows something about the subject at hand, thus sharing a common referential frame. In *Analyzing Discourse*, Fairclough divides these presuppositions into four different categories: assumptions, logical implications, standard conversational implicatures, and non-standard conversational implicatures. This section will focus on the first category of assumptions since this type of presupposition occurred most frequently in the data set. Fairclough (1995) divides assumptions into three subcategories:

1. Existential assumptions: Assumptions about what exists (simply stating what exists, or the obvious)
2. Propositional assumptions: assumptions about what is or can be or will be the case (With these propositional assumptions we no longer “just” assume the existence of these different matters, we are also able to make assumptions about something that has happened or will happen)
3. Value assumptions: assumptions about what is good or desirable

The use of assumption has been the most salient when looking at these editorials. While many parts of the text of these editorials include assumptive values, the most prominent are in the sections of the editorials that mention an explanation or moral commentary on how to alleviate this crisis:

But more leadership is required to challenge a patriarchal culture. *With women's growing economic clout, they are less likely to stay silent about violence. They expect authorities to take responsibility for keeping the streets, public spaces, and public transport safe. They expect equal rights. And that is something that benefits everyone in society.* (Author Unknown, *The Globe and Mail*, Ln., 30-34)

Highlighted in blue is the propositional assumption that women's growing economic status will prevent them from remaining silent about gendered violence. This is then followed by a value assumption (highlighted in red), which according to van Dijk, Fairclough and Hall, are the most prominent discursive element within "Us" versus "Them" language. A large assumption here is that Western progress is both beneficial and necessary (i.e., "we" are better but "they" WILL progress to where "we" already are). In this deterministic notion of linear progression "they" (India) can never catch up unless "we" (Canada) help them. Another instance of assumption is the attempt to describe the protests taking place in India. They assume that Western values and globalization are the catalysts for the protests against sexual violence:

But these protests also represent a new assertiveness by the country's middle classes, whose sexual mores and values have undergone a major shift since India embraced globalization two decades ago [...] It is this ascendant Indian middle class that is at the forefront of these protests. *This Westernized constituency represents the new India, and its women are asserting their new-found independence about sexual and reproduction choices.* (Singh, *National Post*, Ln. 27-43)

In the propositional assumption (highlighted in blue) the author makes the statement that the protest is representative of a new middle class, whose values are directly affected by globalization, which is a reference to Westernization. Further propositional values are that it is solely this ascendant middle class that is to thank for the protests. The author then shifts to a value assumption when stating that the Westernized constituency represents the new India. This middle class and Westernized individual is put forth as the desirable candidate to represent the new India. This presupposition, which valorizes Western values, mores, and standards of development, will be examined in relation to the literature in the Discussion section.

The textual analysis reveals the following discursive elements as most salient in the six editorials: experiential values as related to what should be done to counter this rape crisis, relational grammatical values as related to authority; expressive modality and metaphor as related to gender descriptions; transitivity in relation to constituting Indian culture as the perpetrator of the rape; oppositional textual structure in order to position India and the West as binary opposites; and finally, the use of assumption in order to give evaluation or moral commentary on what is happening, what will happen, or what should be done about the situation.

Discussion of Critical Discourse Analysis

Research Question One asked what tropes of gendered Orientalism are the most prominent in Canadian newspaper editorials written about the 2012 New Delhi Gang Rape? To explore this the textual analysis needed to reveal descriptors, expressive values and language usage that aligned with traditional representations of the “Oriental male” and “Oriental female.” Discursive Moments 2, 2.1, and 4 address this question directly. Discursive Moment 2 focused on expressive modality and metaphor as two discursive strategies in order to construct Indian men as animalistic and barbaric. This choice of vocabulary echoes Said’s (1978) idea that the Oriental male is “barbaric” and “irrational” (pp. 35-40). The expressive modality associated with words such as “deadly tiger” and “lion” in the two *Toronto Star* articles aligns with Maryam Khalid’s conceptualization of the masculinity of the Arab male as deviant, barbaric, irrational, and marked by their implicit reference to good and bad performances of masculinity. The performance of acting like a tiger or lion are considered animal like, non-human behaviors, and therefore unacceptable performances of masculinity. Descriptors like “savage” and “monster,” which are found in the opening sentences of the two *Toronto Star* editorials, can be understood as elements of a broader historical narrative. According to Reina Lewis, this leads to the hyperbolization of male gender roles via the use of heightened negative adjectives such as savage and monster. These elements of the editorials also align with what van Dijk (1993) calls hyperbolic enhancement of “their” negative actions (p. 264). All of these discursive strategies work together to create a homogenized notion of the Indian male that aligns with traditional Orientalist representations.

Victimization vocabulary was also evident in Discursive Moment 2.1 where descriptors such as “beleaguered,” “woman-abusing” and “tools of reproduction” were used describe Indian women. These descriptors confirm Said’s assertion that the Oriental woman tends to be represented as submissive, whereas the Oriental male tends to be represented as oppressive. These descriptors are also indicative of what Hall, Parmeswaran, and Mohanty call repetitive reduction, or the reduction of an entity to few facts. Hall (1990) states that through the use of *inferential racism*, descriptors of race or minorities become “repetitive, predictable, and over-coded” (p. 45). It is evident here that the Indian woman has been codified as beleaguered and oppressed by these repetitive descriptions. According to Halim and

Meyer, descriptors for Oriental Women often convey Orientalist meanings. It is clear here that the above descriptors become synonymous with Indian women. This then becomes what Foucault, Hall and Said call “accepted knowledge” - the way things are, or common sense assumptions. While Jyoti was indeed a victim of the rapists, these expressive values are depicting that *all* Indian women are victims. Through this, the editorials help create a overly-generalized notion of Indian women’s oppression by stating that it only occurs via sexual violence and not by other means.

The use of metaphor is echoed in Yegenoglu’s assertion that “non-Western” women have become a “site” for a measuring index of civilization. Judith Timpson’s relegates Jyoti’s body to the status of a “battleground” for competing forces and a “clash of worlds.” Therefore, Jyoti’s body is now considered a measuring index where competing forces within India are in conflict. This is a clear example of *latent Orientalism*; while not overtly stated, the idea of the exploitation of women as synonymous with the India’s identity is imbedded in this metaphor, suggesting that the clash between “traditional conservative India, and the new more western India” occurs through sexual violence. Louisa Schein (2000) states that such “metaphoric uses of women’s bodies in the news media to symbolize cultural narratives is indicative of the ways in which [Indian] women’s silent hyper-visibility in the public sphere further emphasizes their marginality” (p. 181). This is because they are automatically assumed to be victims of this marginality that is now indicative of Indian culture. Their very womanhood and existence is defined by this motif of being a “battleground.” In Foucauldian terms, it is clear that Indian women are now social subjects described only in relation to inequity and sexual violence.

In regards to Research Question One – “What themes of gendered Orientalism are the most prominent in Canadian newspaper editorials written about the 2012 New Delhi Gang Rape?” – the tropes of gendered Orientalism in the editorials include the representation of the Indian male as unable to perform masculinity appropriately. Representations of Indian women invoke similar tropes in the dominant Western media, which, as Lalvani (1995) puts it, paint women as “victims of a barbaric, anti-modernist” country (p. 275). This language is loaded with expressive values that victimize Indian women and imposes a singular monolithic identity on India women. This language is problematic in terms of

media discourse as these ideologies or systems of representation are then disseminated through the production of such texts such as editorials.

Research Question Two asked to what extent the ideological frames of Western Feminism were used in representations of Indian women in Canadian newspaper editorials of the 2012 New Delhi Gang Rape? The textual analysis revealed that Discursive Moments 1, 3, and 4, were littered with ideological frameworks of Western Feminism that were encountered in the literature review. In Discursive Moment 1 (Mitigating India's Responses to New Delhi Gang Rape) I highlighted experiential values that reinforce two important aspects of Orientalism discussed by Chandra Mohanty (1988): the idea of "non-Western Others" as coded in way that bolsters a sense of the Western self as superior, and the idea of "Oriental deficiency", or the inability of "non-Western Others" to deal with societal issues aptly (p. 62). In my case study, the construction of Western and non-Western identities occurs through the editorials continual rewording of the Indian populace's actions. In the quoted passages from the editorials there is positive self-presentation in the wordings and statistics related to Canada's treatment of women, and negative "Other" representation in descriptions of India's actions. The editorial by Doug Saunders (*Globe and Mail*) and both the *Toronto Star* editorials state that Canada has succeeded where the Indians have failed, and therefore "we" as Canadians must tell Indians how they should improve. As Mohanty argues, the implication of this type of discourse is that "gender equality has been achieved here" (1988, p. 63) in the West, and that the West must therefore educate or take a pedantic role towards the East using what many Subaltern scholars call the "language of women's rights discourses" (Abu-Lughod, 2001; Ahmed 1992, Midgeley, 2000), which uses affirmative and bold language choice in order to "[save] brown women" (Spivak, 1985 p. 127). In this regard, the editorials exemplify what Bahramitash (2005) calls Orientalist feminism, where modern feminist writing is inferentially infused with Orientalist discourse. Izadi (2007) refers this process of enhancing Western position in editorials as "the process of identity formation and maintenance" (p. 150). He insists that every culture entails the existence of another, different, and competing alter ego, and it is clear that India here is the lesser alter ego of Canada. Here the authors of the editorials position Canada (and the U.S.) as superior when comparing the two countries' actions when mitigating sexual assault.

Discursive Moment 3 (Indian Culture as the Perpetrator of the Rape) was exhibited through transitivity and cohesion in both examples provided in the analysis. This discursive moment puts forth a view of women as powerless victims of a patriarchal culture. Both authors, but more so Doug Sanders, use what Mohanty calls “proofs of universalism provided through the use of an arithmetic method, and sexual segregation” (p. 74) without giving adequate explanations of the socio-historic process that lead to such conditions. Second wave feminist writer Fran Hosken (1981) writes, “rape, forced prostitution, polygamy, genital mutilation, pornography, the beating of girls and women, purdah (segregation of women) are all violations of basic human rights” (p. 15). It is here that many writers such as Brahmitash and Parmeswaran state that by equating rape with domestic violence and forced prostitution, Hosken asserts that sexual control functions as the primary explanation for the situation that [Indian] women are in (Brahmitash, p. 55). While all of these issues are important, Brahmitash and Parmeswaran point out that they diverge from each other in significant ways. The topics of female infanticide, rape and domestic violence require deeper explanations, yet the editorials deal with them superficially. The authors have made them into cohesive elements that represent Indian culture. This mental picture of reality which is then built through these instances of transitivity that it is not these men who are the rapists or agents of the event, but rather it is the Indian “*epidemic* of sexual hatred” which is the agent in the semantic structure of editorials that is responsible for this incident of rape.

Discursive Moment 4 Binary Oppositional Language: The West and the Rest makes use of Said’s concept of separating the world according to the Western and the Non-Western dichotomy. By contrasting Canada’s positive actions regarding mitigation of rape against India’s negative actions, Saunders represents Canada in a seemingly progressive stance — respecting women’s rights—and simultaneously asserts the superiority of the Occident in consolidating the authority to regulate “Oriental” (Indian) men. This is reminiscent of Joye’s comparison of media coverage of European and Chinese efforts to manage SARS. She states that China was made to look as the backwards, incapable, and hopeless “Other” whilst Europe was positioned as “all knowing, equipped, and capable” of managing crises. The editorials that I analyzed also contrasted the West with the non-West by drawing from master narratives of Canadian society in relation to Western feminism. As discussed by

Yasmin Jiwani (2005), this narrative is based on a deeply binary mode of thought, wherein India is “positioned as the “Other” in relation to white Canadians who are now considered exalted subjects in such representations” (p. 62). Through the construction of binary oppositions of “Self” and “Other,” the evocation of a pedantic stance toward the women of India, and the figuration of modernity as liberation, these images participate in a set of justifications for India to be considered backwards, whilst Canada is considered progressive.

The discursive elements of mitigating India’s responses to the New Delhi Gang Rape, positioning Indian culture as the perpetrator of the rape, and using binary formations to position India in comparison to Canada were embedded within the frameworks of Western Feminist discourses. The use of positive “Self” presentation in combination with negative “Other” representation appeared frequently in the editorials in order to compare Canada’s and Indian’s progress in women’s rights. This strategy, which has been used by feminist writers such as Mayo, Daly, Callaway and Helly, is now being adopted by editorial writers. Stuart Hall states that the use of such language and structures is foundational to the “grammar of race,” meaning that these binary oppositions have been utilized for centuries when comparing races and civilizations. The concept of *latent Orientalism* suggests that this “grammar of race” has been circulating for centuries, spreading through various discourses and conceptualizations of India. Furthermore, the homogenous notion of women’s oppression and the homogenization of infanticide, rape, and domestic violence subsumes Indian women into a monolithic construction of a “Third World Woman” in need of liberation.

Research Question Three asked, what are the implications of the terms “development” and “modernization” in the coverage of these Canadian newspaper editorial coverage of the 2012 New Delhi Gang Rape? It is here that the use of presupposition, and assumption in particular, is incredibly prevalent. Said’s *Orientalism* and subsequent works inspired by Said are based on the idea that knowledge about the Orient is created by those in power, and this knowledge leads to assumptions and presupposition about how the “East” or “Non-Western World” exists and acts. Discursive Moment 5 (Westernization: What Women Need, and The Cause of Protest) acts as an extension of Research Question Two in order to examine what happens after the discourses of Western Feminism are used to

create the “Third World” and the “Third World Woman.” The discursive elements of propositional assumption and value assumption were the most salient when examining implications of the terms modernization and development in these editorials. Moral commentaries were prominent in this section, with assertions like “Women’s economic clout [will lead them to] remain less silent about sexual violence [...] This is something that benefits everyone in society” which is a value assumption from the *Globe and Mail*. Spivak outlines the invalidity of the Western voice to speak about non-Western individuals and problems as this voice is always embedded with personal value frames. Therefore perhaps Doug Sanders, the author of this editorial, is unequipped to discuss what will benefit India and Indian women. According to Spivak, as a “Western,” white male he is already writing from a place where there is an unequal power imbalance.

The assumption that economic clout will inspire women speaking out about sexual violence is exactly what Papart discusses in “Who is the Other.” She states “tradition and social constraints are identified as barriers to women’s access to the market. Social constraints must be removed in order to make women more visible, inaugurate their modernization and their integration to industrial capitalism” (p. 445). The anonymously authored editorial in *The Globe and Mail* takes the position of power in order to discern what expectations Indian women should have in this situation, and what they require from the authorities in India in order to remove social constraints. The lack of context and lack of analysis of the conditions underlying the apparent failure of the police and other governmental systems has the effect of privileging what Yasmin Jiwani calls a more emotive understanding. This imagery feeds into the classic stereotypical portrayal of “Third World” nations as places of underdevelopment and corruption. Therefore Canada is seen as the savior that can provide solutions (Jiwani, 2005, p. 52). Furthermore, *The Globe and Mail’s* assertion that “this is something that benefits everyone in society” echoes Papart, Apffel-Marglin and Simon, and Callaway and Helly in that the author of the editorial is speaking from a place of experience, and thus they know what will benefit these women. Using Hall’s concept of *inferential racism*, the author appears to assume that the Indian populace have a deficient understanding of what will benefit their society, and how to deal with this rape crisis effectively. As Apffel-Marglin and Simon point out, this “deficiency” is imbedded in the rhetoric of racial and cultural

inferiority. The inference is that “gender equality has been achieved “here” [Canada], and therefore the presupposition is that gender equality in Canada is related to our Western values, and “Us” as the pristine “Great White North” must pass along this knowledge to the inferior Indian society. This is how *latent Orientalism* operates - it is less aggressive in comparison to the War on Terror justifications which are directly racist in their arguments, and frame the Islamic Threat and Mistreatment of Muslim Women as a direct reason for creating specific foreign policies. Instead, *latent Orientalism* in these editorials operates in a “teaching” fashion in order to educate the Indians.

The themes of “patriarchal culture” and “silence” are recurring themes throughout all discursive moments and in all six editorials. These themes are direct references to Indian female passivity in response to sexual violence, and to Indian male dominance that needs to be dismantled. Apffel-Marglin and Simon state that this reductive repetition motif is often utilized in texts seeking to promote Western development. The propositional assumptions of Indian male dominance and Indian female passivity serve as the repetition motifs used by the authors of the editorials directly before promoting Western development as the answer to combatting this passivity (Sen and Grown, 1989, p. 81).

While the above *Globe and Mail* example provided insight into the authors’ assumptions about what Indians and Indian women in particular needed and should do, *The National Post* elucidated the way that Indian advancements are propositioned to be the cause of Western values that have made their way to influence India. *The National Post* makes the propositional assumption that this Westernized middle class “represents” the “new” India and automatically colors all other classes as the “old” India and as non-Westernized. The author describes this “middle class” at the “forefront of the protests” because of their “sexual mores and values have undergone a major shift since Indian embraced globalization two decades ago.” It is important to mention here that the opening of India’s markets in the 1990s meant accepting Western brands, such as Coca-Cola, into the country. Therefore it is imperative to understand that when the author writes about “embracing globalization,” he means embracing the West and Western values. What is troublesome here is that the author is stating that Westernization is responsible for the protests and that the West should take credit for this. Hall (1991) makes a profound observation on this point. He cites Foucault, who notes that statements about the

social, political or moral world are rarely ever simply true or false, “[because] facts can be construed in different ways. The very language we use to describe the so-called facts interferes in this process of finally deciding what is true and false” (p. 280). The editorial here has made the decision for the reader that Westernization is indeed the cause of this “sexual recognition,” further validating the Canadian reader and Canada as the superior nation. Parmeswaran states that Women in Development discourse rhetoric supports the potentially “empowering” First World consumer culture on Indian women’s bodies. It is clear here that the *National Post* author thinks that this consumer culture has led to Indian’s sexual recognition or revolution.

The authors of the editorials also suggest that Westernization provides value frames that will allow Indian women to speak out about sexual violence. Interesting here is that the fact, that “51% of Canadian women report having experienced at least one incident of sexual violence. [Only] two percent of these women who have experienced sexual violence have reported incidents of sexual assault (DeKeseredy & Kelly, 1993). It is evident that regardless of nation, or women’s position in the Western or non-Western world, that sexual violence remains a taboo topic which many do not feel at ease to discuss. However, the editorials give the presupposition that development and globalization leads to women’s economic independence. In turn, this mitigates sexual violence by allowing Indian women to speak about such acts. Secondly, what the editorials relay is that the only reasons that protests are occurring in India, is due to the fact that globalization in the nation has created a Westernized middle class, who are at the forefront of the activism.

Conclusion

This study examined Canadian newspaper editorials about the New Delhi Gang Rape, which occurred on December 16, 2012. These editorials allowed Canadian journalists to frame aspects of gang rape in certain gendered, Western Feminist, and development discourses, which were housed in the Orientalist binary. My research questions focused on my aim to seek out the most prominent tropes of gendered Orientalism that were present in these editorials. The three research questions that were posed from the literature were so closely intertwined that it was sometimes quite difficult to discern the differences between the three. However, this inability to discern between the varying fields of the literature proved to be important in this case study using Orientalism. Orientalism as a discourse operated in this case study in various ways. Often these instances of Orientalist discourse blurred the categories that Said considered to be mutually exclusive. More often than not, instances of Orientalism were imbedded with gendered, Western feminist and development discourse.

At first glance it felt as though these editorials did not exhibit what appeared to be overt racism and Orientalism. However, upon my discovery of Stuart Hall's "inferential racism" and recent conceptualizations of Said's "latent Orientalism," I realized that this study would require more than a thematic or content analysis. A deeper more thorough analysis was required in order to discern the elements of Orientalism that were imbedded in the very discursive conceptualizations and knowledge bank that these authors were drawing from. Therefore, the decision to undertake a critical discourse analysis was made. This strengthened this research paper as it showed how democratic discourses can actually function as racist and Orientalist by examining their articulation of power relations. Power relations were exhibited in lexical choice, semantic structure, quotations patterns, and information included and excluded in order to create a (mis)representation of India. This is essentialist and follows the tropes of traditional Orientalist depictions, but in more implicit ways.

Following Foucault, Althusser, and Hall, my discourse analysis revealed that editorial practices in the news media are indeed inscribed with ideology, whether consciously or unconsciously. The discourse analysis revealed that the Oriental women and men were essentially seen in the same configurations as they were seen in colonial times. Furthermore, it was revealed that the editorials

impose a monolithic identity on Indian women, who are represented as oppressed sexually and societally by men, making her life truncated. Lastly, in order to overcome this oppression, the editorials assume these women would have to adopt Western values of globalization in order to gain a new economic status, which would thus spell freedom from the sexual shackles of men.

From the outset, this MRP was not focused on the horrific act of rape that happened to Jyoti Pandey in New Delhi, but sought to examine how the event was communicated and consumed by the Canadian public. The Canadian newspaper editorials made the New Delhi Gang Rape less about the act of rape and the act of exerting sexual violence via rape on Jyoti, but more so emblematic of all social issues in India related to gender equality. Frequently readers tend to take news and editorials at face value. However, what readers should be aware of is that media and editorials can in fact reinstate colonial discourses and unconsciously perpetuate colonial stereotypes of nations and their citizens.

The *Globe and Mail*, *National Post*, and *Toronto Star's* editorials about the New Delhi Gang Rape provided a complex web of representations pertaining to Indian women, Indian men, and Indian society in general. Yet the preferred interpretation of this event for these authors emerged as a framing of Indian men as callous and devious and a framing of Indian women as passive victims. As passive victims they are depicted as requiring rescue, and therefore the editorials provide advice on how this salvation can be achieved: by emulating the "Western," neo-liberal, capitalist, and therefore more democratic Great White North.

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Appendices:

Appendix A:

Gurmukh Singh: A short history of Indian misogyny

Special to National Post | 13/01/03 | Last Updated: 13/01/02 5:35 PM ET



1. Few issues have convulsed India since its independence in 1947
2. more than the gang-rape of a 23-year-old medical student by six
3. men in a moving bus in Delhi on the night of Dec. 16.
4. The young student, who was going home after watching a film
5. with her boyfriend, was tricked into a chartered bus by the men,
6. gang-raped, then beaten up and finally thrown off the bus to
7. perish on the roadside in the cold winter night. She survived

8. briefly, but succumbed to her terrible injuries after being treated
9. in a Singapore hospital.

10. As the details of the crime emerged — that the six men had inserted a
11. rusted L-shaped iron rod (used to operate a jack to change flat tires on
12. buses) into the woman after sexually assaulting her — a nationwide
13. fury broke out.

14. Protesters marched on the seat of Indian government — the
15. presidential palace, the Prime Minister's office and Parliament
- 16.— to seek accountability from their leaders, and fought pitched
17. battles with security personnel even as the Prime Minister and
18. his government appealed for calm.

19. Thanks to the incessant media coverage of the issue, the Indian
20. government airlifted the victim (whose name remains unknown)

21. Singapore's elite Mount Elizabeth Hospital: the first time in
22. independent Indian history that a private citizen has been sent
23. abroad for treatment at the government's expense.

24. Why has this particular incident galvanized the Indian people, while
25. other crimes against women have remained rampant in the country for
26. generations?

27. One trigger was the sickening details of the crime. But these protests
28. also represent a new assertiveness by the country's middle classes,
29. whose sexual mores and values have undergone a major shift since
30. India embraced globalization two decades ago.

31. As a novice journalist in New Delhi, I was witness to those heady times
32. in the early 1990s: the advent of satellite TV in 1992, the crowning of
33. Indian girls (including Ashwariya Rai and Sushmita Sen) as Miss
34. Universe or Miss World in quick succession, and the growth of family
35. buying power.

36. By the end of that decade, globalization had catapulted India into the
37. league of the world's fastest-growing economies. As the ranks of the
38. Indian middle-class swelled, one could see a new openness about sex
39. and relationships. Live-in relations and pre-marital sex were no longer taboo.

40. It is this ascendant Indian middle class that is at the forefront of these
41. protests. This Westernized constituency represents the new India, and
42. its women are asserting their new-found independence about sexual and
43. reproduction choices.

44. But then there is the "other," poorer India — mostly rural — that
45. accounts for more than 70% of the country's population.

46. This "other" India is rooted in taboos and social conservatism. Women
47. are seen as little more than tools of reproduction. Educated and
48. independent women who assert their independence are despised as
49. "loose," and so must be subdued, including in sexual and violent ways.

50. The Delhi gang rape is the result of this mindset. All the alleged
51. perpetrators of the crime came from rural and feudal backgrounds. They
52. thought that a woman out with a man (other than her husband) late at
53. night must be available for whatever depravity they wished.

54. One is left to wonder why a country that gave the world its first sex
55. manual in the form of the Kama Sutra more than 2,000 years ago is
56. sexually so repressed today. Even erotic carvings on Hindu temples
57. confirm that ancient India was a liberated place. Moreover, Hindu gods
58. are considered incomplete without their female part. In fact, some gods
59. are depicted as half male and half female.

60. So what went wrong?

61. Many historians argue that India's descent into sexual repression began
62. with the Muslim invasions that began in the seventh century. Muslim
63. leaders abhorred the culture of eroticism in India. Later, the British, who
64. replaced Muslim rulers, brought with them Victorian prudery.

65. The good news is that India is re-discovering its past — though much of
66. this re-discovery is coming through Indians in the West such as
67. filmmaker Mira Nair (*Kama Sutra: A Tale of Love*) and spiritual guru
68. Deepak Chopra (*Kama Sutra: Including the Seven Spiritual Laws of*
69. *Love*).

70. The reawakening of enlightened and ancient Indian attitudes toward
71. sex, combined with the liberating effects of globalization and modern
72. feminism, could lead India away from the cruel misogyny that still
73. afflicts the majority of the country. In this important project, the recent
74. protests could serve as an important landmark.

National Post

Born in Punjab, India, Gurmukh Singh is a Canadian correspondent for several Indian newspapers. Previously, he was a correspondent with the Times of India in New Delhi.

Appendix B:

Afsun Qureshi: How India's rape culture came to Canada

[Afsun Qureshi, Special to National Post](#) | 13/01/03 | Last Updated 13/01/02 5:36

PM ET



1. Weeks before a young medical student endured a fatal Dec. 16 gang rape in
2. Delhi, my eight-year-old daughter announced that she wanted to visit India.
3. She'd become intrigued by her own Indian heritage, and by my frequent visits
4. there.
5. To which I replied: "Sure, but only if you are handcuffed to me or your father."

6. She laughed. But I was serious. Last July, during my most recent trip to India,
7. I endured getting rubbed up against, pinched and groped, whilst the offending
8. perverts took shelter in the formidable crowds to camouflage their crimes.

9. I am Canadian-born to Indian parents, and grew up in Toronto, the heartland
10. of the Trudeau-era Indo-Pak influx. I know that the attitudes that spawned
11. India's recent gang-rape tragedy don't just flourish in South Asia. Sadly
12. enough, there are common threads of cultural-based misogyny wherever the
13. Indo-Pak, and now Afghani, communities settle.

14. In their 50-odd years as Canadians, my parents rarely ventured out of that
15. community. Growing up in their household, I came to know this world
16. intimately. What I write isn't conjecture: It is personal experience.

17. The first rule in this deeply flawed patriarchal society: men rule. Getting a
18. first-born son is like striking gold. And in most cases, that child and any boys
19. that follow are spoiled to an extreme degree. What "needs" they have are met
20. — even if that means casting a blind eye to the law.

21. A few years back, one of the members of my community, a girl out of her
22. teens, endured the ordeal of an arranged marriage to a stranger in India.
23. Although Canadian-born, she was sent to live with her in-laws in a small
24. Indian town. India being what it is, various members of the extended family,
25. i.e., brothers, sisters, grandparents, uncles, etc., lived communally under one
26. roof. Within weeks of her arriving, a brother-in-law attempted to rape her.

27. The attitude from the rest of the household? A shoulder shrug and a "Get over
28. it. Boys will be boys." Her persistent protests finally spelled divorce —
29. ironically, instigated from the groom's family, who never denied the brother-

30. in-law's crime, but felt dishonoured by the fact that this Canadian harlot had
31. the cheek to protest it. (It was assumed that the attempted rape was all her
32. fault. She must have batted her eyelids; she must have showed an ankle.)

33. Within my own extended family, there was a "funny uncle" who took turns on
34. everyone, regardless of gender and age. Although he committed crimes in the
35. nature of Jimmy Saville (no exaggeration), today he is a free man living with
36. his family in a Toronto suburb. God help his children and the neighbourhood
37. kids.

38. The community simply shut their eyes to his twisted crimes, and ignored his
39. victims, many of whom later suffered PTSD as adults. Calling the police then
40. was never an option. Why? Because whatever happens in the hermetically-
41. sealed Indo-Pak community stays in the Indo-Pak community, where the
42. "honour" code has a chokehold. Growing up, I always wondered (and still do)
43. what would happen if the police or social workers ever knew what actually
44. goes on behind our closed doors.

45. The patriarchal elements of such societies not only serve to protect criminals,
46. but also isolate their female victims. Consider the young woman in India who
47. committed suicide a few months back because the police refused to act on her
48. allegations that she'd been raped during the Hindu festival of Diwali. They
49. believed the story, oh yes, but they just didn't care, and couldn't be bothered
50. to do anything about it.

51. Look at Shafiea Ahmed, the British-Pakistani girl suffocated to death by her
52. father in 2009 for being too "Westernized." In Canada, there are the Shafia
53. crimes, and of course the infamous case of Aqsa Parvez. I am deeply shamed
54. to say that when reading Christie Blatchford's reportage on the Shafias, so

55. much of it made me feel “right at home” — despite the fact that I escaped that
56. world decades ago (both by geography, and by marriage). It resonated to the
57. point where my heart ached.

58. The protests witnessed in India in recent days show that the country is
59. engaged in a rare moment of introspection. We need that introspection here
60. in Canada as well. Many of the South Asian immigrants who’ve settled in
61. Canada since the 1970s have been so afraid of losing their culture that they
62. have ferociously clung to some of their worst customs. Each time I visit India,
63. I notice that it progresses ever so slightly with each passing year. But when I
64. visit Toronto, as I regularly do, I sometimes feel like I have walked through a
65. time machine, sending me back to rural India, a village in Pakistan, or an
66. Afghan mountain cave.

67. As I write this now, I fear recrimination from that community — and certain
68. members of my own family. But I am also hoping to tap into a spirit of
69. solidarity. Perhaps a new generation will help push for change.

National Post

Afsun Qureshi is a Canadian-born writer living in London, England.

Related

- 1 [Gurmukh Singh: A short history of Indian misogyny](#)

Appendix C:

Jyoti was an emblem of the new India

The young woman who was gang raped in New Delhi last month was a modern young woman who aspired to live a better life than generations of women before her.



The women's compartment of the metro in New Delhi. Since a student died after being gang raped on a train, the issue of women's security has been under the spotlight.

By: Judith Timson Life Columnist, Published on Thu Jan 24 2013

1. Her first name was Jyoti and the details of her gang rape and murder in
2. Delhi last month are heartbreaking.
3. I don't mean just the unspeakable way she died. I mean the way she lived,
4. as a modern young woman who aspired to live a better life than

5. generations of Indian women before her.

6. Amidst public furor, in a country with a massive backlog of cases, five of
7. six men went on trial this week, accused of repeatedly raping this 23
8. year-old paramedical student on a bus, battering her with their fists,
9. using an iron rod to destroy her insides before throwing her and a male
10. companion naked out the door. The attack and her death 13 days later
11. have sparked massive demonstrations for social change.

12. Jyoti, who legally cannot be named in India but whose father went
13. public with her full name, Jyoti Singh, “to give courage to other women
14. who have survived these attacks,” represents the new India.

15. She was an ambitious young woman from a poor Delhi family, studying
16. to be a physiotherapist.

17. BBC correspondent Andrew North catalogued what he found in her
18. bedroom when he went to visit her family home: “Neat stacks of medical
19. text books, a sharply designed carrier bag from a clothes store, an
20. English novel and pairs of smart shoes in the draughty bedroom.”

21. In a country in which hundreds of thousands of female fetuses are
22. aborted, and an unknown number of babies are killed at birth for the
23. crime of not being boys, this young woman, encouraged by her parents,
24. was on track not only to succeed but to pull her family up with her.

25. The night of her attack, Jyoti had reportedly gone with a male
26. companion to see *Life of Pi* in an upscale mall. Returning home, they
27. were lured on to a charter bus by men who for a multitude of reasons -
28. sexual entitlement, ignorance, fundamentalism, outrage at the sight of
29. her, even their fear of the future — destroyed her.

30. Toronto film director Nisha Pahuja was in Delhi when Jyoti's rape
31. occurred, and as she told me in an email exchange, "like everyone in the
32. country I could talk or think of little else."

33. Her latest movie, [The World Before Her](#), which won best documentary
34. feature at New York's Tribeca Film Festival, documents the conflicted
35. lives of many young Indian women.

36. It ingeniously chronicles two supposedly divergent groups of fiercely
37. ambitious young women — the finalists in a Miss India pageant and
38. young women attending a Hindi fundamentalist camp where they are
39. being trained to be gun-toting warriors who will fight to save their
40. country from the corruption of modernization.

41. It explores a dangerous truth at the heart of these young women's lives:
42. They are still considered the property of men.

43. It doesn't matter if it's Prachi, a 24-year-old leader at the camp who
44. desperately wants to avoid marriage and children but who says with a
45. sad smile that her father has a right to beat her (he admits on camera
46. using an iron rod to brand her foot to punish her for lying); or Ruhi, who
47. submits along with other beauty contestants to Botox injections, skin
48. whitening and a degrading march in which her head is covered by a
49. white sack so only her legs are visible, who fiercely says "I'm in this to
50. win." Both these women remain thwarted by the power of the
51. patriarchy.

52. What struck Pahuja most about Jyoti's murder was "the desire to
53. completely annihilate another human being. I'm still trying to
54. understand what drove these men to such extremes."

55. There was a lot going on on that bus, says Pahuja: "a clash of many

56.different worlds, caste, class gender, the traditional conservative India
57.versus the new more western India. Many forces came together to create
58.that specific nightmare.” Jyoti’s body, she says, became “the
59.battleground” for all those competing forces.

60.Jyoti never set out to be a battleground. She set out to see an enthralling
61.mystical tale about a shipwrecked young man coexisting for weeks at sea
62.with a deadly tiger.

63.The forces — and men — that killed Jyoti are on the wane. They cannot
64.maintain their deadly power. Many educated young women are
65.determined to thrive in India, and as more women move into the
66.workforce, sheer economics, along with social outrage and shame, will
67.change resistant social attitudes.

68.We will see who the tiger is then.

Judith Timson writes weekly about cultural, social and political issues. You can reach her at judith.timson@sympatico.ca and follow her on Twitter @judithtimson

Appendix D:

Channel India's anguish into change that empowers women:

Editorial

As Prime Minister Manmohan Singh noted, emotions roused by the murderous gang rape of a New Delhi student should be channelled into making India “a demonstrably better and safe place for women to live in.” That is no small challenge.



Indian women protest in Bangalore on Jan. 4, 2013. They are seeking the death penalty for the men who gang-raped a 23-year-old student. The attack on the young woman, who died of severe internal injuries, provoked a debate across India about the routine mistreatment of the nation's women and triggered daily protests demanding action.

Published on Sat Jan 05 2013

1. Across India, people have been stirred to righteous fury by the savage
 2. gang-rape and horrific torture of a young woman on a New Delhi bus who
 3. was dumped on the side of a road with fatal injuries. There have been
 4. huge protests against the chronic abuse women face, calls in Parliament
 5. for reform, and promises of tougher laws against sexual violence.
-
6. Unusually for India, a fast-track court has been set up to try five of the
 7. assailants for murder, rape, kidnapping and other offences, and

8. prosecutors have just announced they will [press for the death penalty](#).
9. “The whole country is demanding that these monsters be hanged,” said
10. the father of the unnamed university student whom the media have
11. dubbed Damini (lightning), Amanat (treasure) and Nirbhaya (fearless).
12. “I am with them,” he added. The family has also called for the execution
13. of a sixth suspect, a minor, saying he was the most vicious of all.

14. This clamour for vengeance on behalf of a young woman President
15. Pranab Mukherjee hailed as “a brave daughter of India,” who fiercely
16. fought her attackers and battled for her life, is understandable given the
17. horrific nature of the crime. Even here in Canada, [voices have been](#)
18. [raised](#) to decry her slaying. Yet India’s searing national self-reappraisal
19. more truly honours her memory than does the prospect of executing her
20. assailants. This can and should be a moment of truth and empowerment
21. for Indian women. That is not something the hangman can deliver.

22. As Prime Minister Manmohan Singh rightly noted, the anguished
23. emotions roused by the attack would be better channelled into making
24. India “a demonstrably better and safe place for women to live in.” That
25. is no small challenge.

26. Minor fixes have been promised or made in the wake of this tragedy. In
27. New Delhi there will be special courts to expedite assault cases. More
28. women police will be recruited. A telephone hotline has been set up for
29. women in distress. Buses will be better policed. But the sheer scope of
30. sexual violence resists easy solutions.

31. Beleaguered Indian women have long suffered from political
32. insensitivity to their safety. The culture in which they live notoriously

33.privileges boys over girls. It lionizes macho Bollywood heroes who rarely
34.take “No” for an answer. It winks at “Eve-teasing” sexual molestation,
35.allows accused rapists to run for elected office, and routinely discounts
36.victims’ testimony or blames them for provoking their assailants. When
37.abused women refuse to be shamed into silence and do press charges,
38.they face ineffective police investigations and a sclerotic court system
39.that results in too few convictions.

40.There is no quick fix for such ingrained attitudes and systemic failings.
41.But India is not fated to be a woman-abusing culture forever. It is a
42.democracy that has had a female prime minister in Indira Gandhi and
43.many prominent female leaders and role models. It has a liberal
44.constitution. It has laws that nominally uphold women’s rights. It is
45.open to the world.

46.Most importantly, India has a vast, growing urban middle class in which
47.women are playing an ever larger role. They see the gang-rape case as
48.emblematic of much that is wrong in society, and they want better for
49.themselves and their own daughters.

50.The outpouring of rage and grief over this tragedy, the candlelit vigils,
51.and the calls for reform hopefully will usher in deeper change. That
52.begins by calling sexual violence by its real name. By boldly confronting
53.the misogynists, “Eve-teasers,” gropers and rapists. By refusing to be
54.shamed or bullied into silence. And by demanding that the politicians,
55.police and courts rise to the challenge of ensuring women’s rights and
56.security. That is the best way to memorialize India’s brave lost daughter.

Appendix E:



GLOBE EDITORIAL

Time to act against violence against women in India

The Globe and Mail

Published Thursday, Dec. 27 2012, 7:30 PM EST

Last updated Thursday, Dec. 27 2012, 7:30 PM EST

1. The tipping point in India for public outrage over violence against women
2. could have been any attack on any woman. But it has centred on the
3. horrifying rape of a 23-year-old Delhi medical student on a public bus.
4. She and her male companion were beaten with a metal bar and she was
5. then gang-raped by six men, including the driver, for more than an hour.
6. The Dec. 16 attack was New Delhi's 636th this year.

7. Hundreds of ordinary citizens have taken to the streets, furious at the
8. state's inability to make India a safer and more equitable country for
9. women. The government of Prime Minister Manmohan Singh failed to
10. respond quickly or forcefully enough and is now in the unenviable position
11. of trying to contain the public's fury by promising to bring the perpetrators
12. to swift justice, and to make police more responsive to crimes against
13. women.

14. But if authorities in India, one of the world's great democracies and a key
15. emerging economy, really want to tackle the problem, they should work
16. harder to change deeply ingrained cultural biases that begin at birth -- or
17. before. It is an embarrassment that selective abortion of girl babies is still
18. so prevalent, and that India is ranked 105 of 135 countries on the World

19. Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap report. Such disparity will stand in 20th
20. way of long-term progress. "The persistent health, education and 21st economic
21. participation gaps for women will be detrimental to India's 22nd growth," the 2012
22. report notes.

23. Law enforcement and political leaders must lead campaigns to promote gender
24. equality, and that means not tolerating age-old clichés that women are the
25. weaker sex, and must dress conservatively and not go out past sundown to
26. avoid being victimized. That is not good enough for any nation, much less for a
27. BRIC nation with global leadership aspirations.

28. The government's new measures, such as banning buses with tinted windows
29. and curtains and gender training for police officers in the capital, are welcome.
30. But more leadership is clearly required to challenge a patriarchal culture.

31. With women's growing economic clout, they are less likely to stay silent about
32. violence. They expect authorities to take responsibility for keeping the streets,
33. public spaces and public transport safe. They expect equal rights. And that is
34. something that benefits everyone in society

Appendix F:



DOUG SAUNDERS

Rape is a crime everywhere,
but India's crisis is unique

[DOUG SAUNDERS](#)

The Globe and Mail

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1. A truly awful thing happened in New Delhi. The horrendous gang rape of a
2. 23-year-old woman on a moving bus was sadly far from a rare crime in
3. the Indian capital, but this time it captured the nation's attention. Most
4. tellingly, when she died this week of her injuries, her last words were:
5. "Mummy, I am sorry ... I am sorry." In other words, as with a shocking
6. number of rape victims in the subcontinent, she'd been made to feel that
7. she was at fault in her own violation.

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8. That caused something to happen – first in Delhi, then across India –
 9. that's promising and long overdue: Hundreds of thousands of people have
 10. taken to the streets and the media to denounce a climate of widely
 11. tolerated sexual assault, and a police and judicial neglect of sex crimes,

12.that can credibly be called the worst in the world.

13.Indians have begun to recognize this epidemic of sexual hatred in their
14.midst. Far from just a matter of rape, it's an environment where, in some
15.regions, there are 800 girls alive for every 1,000 boys, because sex
16.selective abortion and female infanticide are so widespread; where the
17.physical abuse of women is seen as mundane; where even major sex
18.crimes are usually described in major newspapers as "Eve-teasing." India
19.finally awoke this week to its national shame.

20.But then an odd thing happened in Canada and other Western countries:
21.A number of prominent people, notably anti-rape activists and feminists,
22.rushed to declare that India's crisis wasn't notably severe.

23."Rape and sexual violence against women are endemic everywhere,"
24.[argued](#) writer Owen Jones, denouncing those who describe India's
25.situation as a national crisis, since it's just part of a global "pandemic of
26.violence against women." Discussions of India, Irish feminist Emer
27.O'Toole [wrote](#), are misplaced as they only serve to "minimize the
28.enormity of Western rape culture."

29.One Canadian activist told me, via Twitter, that Indians were wrong to
30.describe their situation as an epidemic. "Labelling rape culture uniquely
31.'Indian,' when it is ubiquitous, is unfair and ignores the real problem," she
32.said, arguing that Indians were overdoing it. "Does India need to navel
33.gaze about how its culture treats women? Yes, but so do all countries,
34.really."

35.Yet, it's not all the same. Not even close. To use the situation in New
36.Delhi as a way to draw attention to sex crimes in Canada is akin to using
37.the Rwandan genocide to make points about gang crime in Scarborough.
38.Rape is a terrible crime everywhere, and it probably remains
39.underprosecuted and all too commonplace and hidden in many places in
40.the West, so there's plenty of room for activism. But, in part because that
41.activism has succeeded, rape is a grotesque anomaly, universally
42.recognized as a serious crime. That's not true at all in many parts of

43.India.

44.In New Delhi last year, there were 635 rape cases brought to court, and
45.only one resulted in a conviction. That's a conviction rate of 0.16 per
46.cent; in comparison, English-speaking countries typically have rape
47.conviction rates of between 40 and 70 per cent. Of course, the situation
48.is actually far worse than that, because very few rapes in India are ever
49.reported.

50.A [new report](#) by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada suggests
51.that India's reported rapes are "the tip of the iceberg," that the real
52.numbers are extremely high and that they've likely been sharply on the
53.rise for the past decade. We shouldn't pretend that this is an effect of
54.poverty or a specific religion. In many poorer countries, rape is rare and
55.taboo. In India, it's both Hindus and Muslims, the middle class and the
56.poor, who participate; in fact, it's the less poor regions of India, in the
57.north, where the murder of girls and the rape of women are most
58.frequent. This hatred of women is a specific cultural development.
59.By contrast, rape has become dramatically less commonplace in the
60.West. In one of the most comprehensive long-term studies of rape, the
61.U.S. National Crime Victimization Survey (conducted for the Department
62.of Justice) shows that the number of women who say they've
63.experienced rape today is one-fifth the level of 1973.

64.What that also shows is that change is possible, that India's epidemic
65.isn't inevitable or natural. Activism can work – but talk of a "universal
66.rape culture" only helps perpetuate the problem.

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- [INDIA Gang-rape victim's family want six men accused of murder to be hanged](#)
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Appendix G: Fairclough's 10-question model for Textual Analysis:

Vocabulary:

Question 1:

What *experiential* values do words have?

- What classification schemes are drawn upon?
- Are there words which are ideologically contested?
- Is there rewording or overwording?
- What ideological significant meaning relations (synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy) are there between words?

Question 2:

What *relational* values do words have?

- Are there euphemistic expressions?
- Are there markedly formal or informal words?

Question 3:

What *expressive* values do words have?

Question 4:

What metaphors are used?

Grammar:

Question 5:

What experiential values do grammatical features have?

- What types of process and participants dominate?
- Is agency unclear?
- Are processes what they seem?
- Are nominalizations used?
- Are sentences active or passive?

- Are sentences positive or negative?

Question 6:

What relational values do grammatical features have?

- What modes (declarative grammatical question imperative) are used?
- Are there important features of relational modality?
- Are the pronouns we and you used and if so how?

Question 7:

What expressive values do grammatical features have?

- Are there important features of expressive modality?

Cohesion:

Question 8:

How are (simple) sentences linked together?

- What logical connectors are used?
- Are complex sentences characterized by coordination or subordination?
- What means are used for referring inside and outside the text?

Text structures:

Question 9:

What interactional conventions are used?

- Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others?

Question 10:

What larger-scale structures does the text have?

Appendix H: Further Examples of Discursive Moments

[Further Examples of Discursive Moment 1: Mitigating India's Response to the New Delhi Gang Rape](#)

Experiential Values

Law enforcement and political leaders must lead campaigns to promote gender equality, and that means not tolerating age-old clichés that women are the weaker sex, and must dress conservatively and not go out past sundown to avoid being victimized. **That is not good enough for any nation**, much less for a BRIC nation with global leadership aspirations. (Authour Unknown, Globe and Mail, In: 23-27)

I am Canadian-born to Indian parents, and grew up in Toronto, the heartland of the Trudeau-era Indo-Pak influx. I **know that the attitudes that spawned India's recent gang-rape tragedy don't just flourish in South Asia. Sadly enough, there are common threads of cultural-based misogyny wherever the Indo-Pak, and now Afghani, communities settle.** (Quereshi, National Post, In: 9-13).

Relational Values:

The protests witnessed in India in recent days show that the country is engaged in a rare moment of introspection. **We need that introspection here in Canada as well.** Many of the South Asian immigrants who've settled in . Canada since the 1970s have been so afraid of losing their culture that they have ferociously clung to some of their worst customs. (Quereshi, The National Post, In: 58-62)

We shouldn't pretend that this is an effect of poverty or a specific religion. In many poorer countries, rape is rare and taboo. In India, it's both Hindus and Muslims, the middle class and the poor, who participate; in fact, it's the less poor regions of India, in the north, where the murder of girls and the rape of women are most frequent. (Saunders, Globe and Mail, In. 53-58).
Further examples of Discursive Moment 2:

[Further examples of Discursive Moment 3: Indian Culture as Perpetrator of the Rape \(Transitivity\)](#)

"But if authorities in India, one of the world's great democracies, and a key emerging economy, really want to tackle the problem they should they should work harder to **change deeply ingrained cultural biases beginning at birth** - or before. It is an embarrassment that **selective abortion of girl babies is still so prevalent.**" (In: 14-18, The Globe and Mail)."

"Indians have begun to recognize this **epidemic of sexual hatred in their midsts. Far from just a matter of rape, it is an environment where, in some regions, there are 800 girls alive for every 1,000 boys, because sex-selective abortion and female infanticide are so widespread;** where the physical abuse of women is seen as mundane, where even major sex crimes are usually described in major newspapers as "Eve-Teasing." India finally awoke this week to its national shame" (Globe and Mail)

This "other" India is rooted in taboos and social conservatism. **Women are seen as little more than tools of reproduction.** Educated and independent women who assert their independence are despised as "loose," and so must be subdued, including in sexual and violent ways [...] The Delhi gang rape is the result of this mindset. All the alleged perpetrators of the crime came from rural and feudal backgrounds. (In 46-51: The National Post)

The community simply shut their eyes to his twisted crimes, and ignored his victims, many of whom later suffered PTSD as adults. Calling the police then was never an option. Why? **Because whatever happens in the hermetically-sealed Indo-Pak community stays in the Indo-Pak community, where the “honour” code has a chokehold.** Growing up, I always wondered (and still do) what would happen if the police or social workers ever knew what actually goes on behind our closed doors [...] The patriarchal elements of such societies not only serve to protect criminals, but also isolate their female victims. Consider the young woman in India who committed suicide a few months back because the police refused to act on her allegations that she'd been raped during the Hindu festival of Diwali. They believed the story, oh yes, but they just didn't care, and couldn't be bothered to do anything about it. (Quereshi, *National Post*, In: 39-50:)

[Further Examples of Discursive Moment 4: Binary Oppositional Language: The West and the Rest](#)

Oppositional Textual Structure

Many historians argue that India's descent into sexual repression began with the Muslim invasions that began in the seventh century. Muslim leaders abhorred the culture of eroticism in India. Later, the British, who replaced Muslim rulers, brought with them Victorian prudery.

The good news is that India is re-discovering its past — though much of this re-discovery is coming through Indians in the West such as filmmaker Mira Nair (*Kama Sutra: A Tale of Love*) and spiritual guru Deepak Chopra (*Kama Sutra: Including the Seven Spiritual Laws of Love*).

The reawakening of enlightened and ancient Indian attitudes toward sex, combined with the liberating effects of globalization and modern feminism, could lead India away from the cruel misogyny that still afflicts the majority of the country. In this important project, the recent protests could serve as an important landmark. (Singh, *The National Post*, In: 54-74)

Glossary of Key Terms

Discourse: A discourse is a group of statements that provide a language for talking about and representing a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. Foucault states it is a way of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations, which inhere in such knowledge, and relations between them.

Discursive Event: A discursive event is the topic that is being written about. The New Delhi Gang Rape is the discursive event that is being written about in these editorials.

Discursive Formation: Discourse doesn't consist of one statement, but of several statements working together which create the body of knowledge on a particular topic

Discursive Modalities: Modality, as an important resource of language, is used to express the writer's attitudes and judgments. Thus, modality is regarded as one of the important contents in the study of the ideological underpinnings of discourse, and it is where the writer's views of the world, and topic they are writing on reside.

Discursive moment: A discursive moment can be described as a set of prominent claims, tropes, arguments, and evidence used to characterize, describe, or represent the New Delhi Gang Rape in all six editorials.

Ideology: A system of beliefs, perceptions, assumptions, and values that provide members of a group with an understanding and an explanation of *their* world. Stuart Hall defines ideology as the mental frameworks - the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation - which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, define, figure out and render intelligible the way society works.

Inferential Racism: The naturalized representation of events and situations relating to race. These are quiet assumptions and unquestioned stereotypes of race, which are not as blatantly explicit as overt racism.

Latent Orientalism: The unconscious, untouchable certainty about what the Orient is. Its basic content is static and unanimous. The Orient is seen as separate, eccentric, backward, silently different, sensual, and passive. It has a tendency towards despotism and away from progress. It displays feminine penetrability and supine malleability. Its progress and value are judged in terms of, and in comparison to, the West, so it is always the "Other", the conquerable, and the inferior.

Manifest Orientalism: Aspects of Orientalism that are spoken and acted upon, including information and changes in knowledge about the Orient as well as policy decisions founded in Orientalist thinking. It is the expression in words and actions of Latent Orientalism.

The Orient: A system of representations framed by political forces that brought the Orient into Western learning, Western consciousness, and Western empire. The Orient exists for the West, and is constructed by and in relation to the West. It is a mirror image of what is inferior and alien ('Other') to the West.

Orientalism: According to Said, Orientalism is "a manner of regularized (or Orientalized) writing, vision, and study, dominated by imperatives, perspectives, and ideological biases ostensibly suited to the Orient." It is the image of the 'Orient' expressed as an entire system of thought and scholarship.

The Oriental: The non-Western person represented by Orientalist thinking. The man is depicted as feminine, weak, yet strangely dangerous because his sexuality poses a threat to white, Western

women. The woman is both eager to be dominated and strikingly exotic. The Oriental is a single image, a sweeping generalization, and a stereotype that crosses countless cultural and national boundaries.

Other: In Orientalism, the “Other” is the Oriental and is defined in opposition to the Western Self. The Other, is backwards, irrational, barbaric, and deficient, while the Western Self is rational, civilized, and intelligent.

Overt Racism: The explicit expression of racist attitudes or beliefs.

Pedanticism: Quite simply it's when one makes a show of knowledge, or makes a presentation or use of knowledge in order to position oneself as superior.

Repetitive reduction: Repetitive reduction is the reduction of an entity to few defining characteristics or “facts”

Representation: According to Stuart Hall, representation is the manner in which meaning is given to things through language. It is how one makes sense of the world of people, objects and events.

Textual Structure: The overall placement of paragraphs, and bodies of discourse and the structure of the text. It moves beyond the examination of semantics, and looks at the text placement as a