

GLOBALIZATION AND MEDIA REGIME IN THE GCC COUNTRIES

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

OMAIR ANAS



**CENTRE FOR WEST ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067**

2009



CENTRE FOR WEST ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

NEW DELHI - 110 067, INDIA

Phone : 2670 4372

Fax : 91-11-2674 1586

E-mail : cwaas_office_jnu@yahoo.co.in

Date: 25th June, 2009

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "**GLOBALIZATION AND MEDIA REGIME IN THE GCC COUNTRIES**" submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

Omair Anas
OMAIR ANAS

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that the dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

[Signature]
Prof. Ajay K Dubey
Chairperson



CHAIRPERSON
Centre for West Asian & African Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110 067, INDIA

[Signature]

Prof. Girijesh Pant



Supervisor
Centre for West Asian & African Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110 067 (India)

[Signature]

Prof. A.K. Pasha
Co-Supervisor



Centre for West Asian & African Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110 067 (India)

Acknowledgement

First I thank Almighty God on completion of this work as I felt His benevolent inspiration during all difficult times. I owe many thanks to my all teachers, colleagues, and staff members of the centre whose scholarly, material and spiritual help was always available to me.

I am not able to express my indebtedness to my supervisor Prof. Girijesh Pant whose generosity never lasted since I joined the centre, both as a teacher and supervisor. I had enjoyed discussing, arguing and understanding issues of West Asian region with him. Right from conceiving idea of this work to materializing into a full fledged document, I found his helping hands beside me. I am equally thankful to my co-supervisor Prof. A.K Pasha who always encouraged me and helped me whenever and wherever I needed.

Among my colleagues, I especially thank to Ms. S. Ahmed who took all pain of reading proofs, correction and giving me valuable suggestions during the work. I am also thankful Mr. Saleem Ahmed and Subhash Singh whose brotherly cooperation accompanied me since I joined the centre. Their help and assistance can not be compensated.

I owe very especial thanks to my family who always stand firmly behind my aspirations, dreams, and support when I feel discouraged and share my all pain and problems as theirs. My father Abdul Latif, brothers Mohammad Ahmad and Ammar Anas, my sisters Tahseen, Mariam, Aisha, Sumaiya and Muneera are all part of my successful dissertation work. The best thanks go to my late mother whose prayers, wishes and love I sense always around me even she departed us long ago.

May God bless them with finest rewards for their love, care and affection for me!

OMAIR ANAS

14, July 2009,
222, MAHI, JNU

Abbreviation list

AHDR	Arab Human Development Report
ArabSat	Arab Satellite Communication Organization
ASBU	Arab Satellite Broadcasting Organization,
APFW	Arab Press Freedom Watch
CMF-MENA	Centre for Media Freedom in the Middle East and North Africa
DIFF	Dubai International Film Festival
DTH	Direct To Home
ERTU	Egyptian Radio and Television Union
EDTV	Emirates Dubai Television
FGMA	Fujairah Culture and Media Authority
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
IREX	International Research and Exchanges Program
ICT	International Communication Technology
ICCPR	International Covenant on civil and Political Rights
ITSO	International Telecommunications Satellite Organization
LBC	Lebanon Broadcasting Center,
MBC	Middle East Broadcasting Center, UAE
MEMRI	Middle East Media Research Institute, Israel
NMC	National Media Council, UAE
SCFA	Supreme Council for Family Affairs, Qatar

Table list

Table No	Subject of the Table	Page
Table 1	Average scoring for all objectives in Arab Media	21
Table 2	News Paper, Radio and Televisions Penetration	22
Table 3	ITU Digital Access Index: World's First Global ICT Ranking	30
Table 4	Arabsat TV Channels / Genre	33
Table 5	Channels carried by Arab Satellite Providers	35
Table 6	Geographic and Sectoral Division of Arab Television	38
Table 7-9	Advertisement Trends 2007	42
Table 10-11	Advertisement Revenue Projection 2005-2011	43
Table 12	GCC Advertisement Market	44
Table 13	Advertisement Expenses in GCC	45
Table 14	Media Viewership in 6 Arab countries	47
Table 15	Aspects of Political Leadership to Promote use of ICT	52
Table 16	ICT Penetration in GCC.	55
Table 17	GCC Basic Facts	78
Table 18	GCC Media Laws	79
Table 19	Al-Jazeera Audience Profile	111

Contents

Declaration	
Acknowledgment	
Abbreviations/Tables	
Contents	
First Chapter: Introduction	1
Globalization and Media Regime: Overview	1
Media and Globalization: conflicting Paradigms	6
Globalization, Media and GCC	14
Second Chapter: Globalization and Mediascape in the Arab World	17
Satellite and broadcast industry in Arab world	32
GCC and Arab Medisapes	48
Third Chapter: GCC Media Regime: The Changing Profile	57
Arab League and Arab Media Regulation	68
Arab Satellite Broadcasting Charter	70
GCC Media Regime	74
Bahrain	80
Kuwait	81
Oman	82
Qatar	82
Saudi Arabia	83
UAE	84
Media Reforms in GCC: A Critique	85
Fourth Chapter: GCC Media Regime and Emerging Social Debate	88
Contextualizing GCC Media	91
GCC Media as Social Actor	95
Case Study: Controversy over Noor Soap	102
Fragmenting Landscape	106
Media and Woman	110
Media and Political reforms	111
Fifth Chapter: Conclusion	113
Engaging with Media Globalization	113
Media Regime	117
Mediascape	120
References	124

First Chapter

Introduction

Globalization and Media Regime: Overview

The process of globalization has emerged as one of the most important definers of human society in the modern history. Social relations around the world are undergoing qualitative and quantitative changes following the process of globalization. The definition of globalization has conflated all different aspects of human life, politics, economy, technology, and culture and most recently the environment. Breakthrough in communication technology development has initially deepened intensity and extensity of human relations across the territorial boundaries. Anthony Giddens, one of the chief exponents of globalization theories, defines the process, as 'the intensification of world wide social relations'.

Media has become the vehicle of this intensified world wide relations and people started forming new communities around media networks such as readers, viewers, media professionals as well as regimes to regulate these relationship by imposing restrictions or by removing them. The community networked by media is influenced by the events which they never watch through their own eyes; but they react wherever they live which subsequently affects local discourses (Giddens 1999 76).

The best way one can feel globalization is ever faster movement of images across the world through media of all kinds. In words of Anthony Giddens "when image of Nelson Mandela may be more familiar to us than the face of our next door neighbour, something has changed in the nature of our everyday experience" is now a reality which every ordinary human being is encountering in his daily life. This can be called as great transformation which the modern history has undergone. This experience, whatever name be given, is something which has not happened in entire human history. A single fibre optic wire has changed in to life line of human civilization which networks formal and informal relationship, economic engagements, security concerns and social identity. The world through which human being has arrived in modern era is history of nation state conflicts, tribal solidarity, territorial divisions, religious segregations and most recently ideological zones of communism and free markets. Communication networks have removed most of the gaps among all these divisions and allowed extended economic engagement vis-à-vis intensified social interaction. This is where the human civilization can not retreat from and can not escape from its consequences whatever be they and whatever name the phenomenon is given.

Entire discourse of globalization can be broadly categorized in four major domains, politics, economics, culture and technology. In economy, expansion of cross border trade, removing barriers and easing trade restrictions are main features of the process which has allowed spread of world wide corporate enterprise, economic interdependence, changes in economic patterns from agricultural to service based economy etc. Political issues of nation states, their sovereignty, and mainly centrality of nation state in international system has significantly under serious review. It is said that nations states have been forced to compromise with their sovereignty in favour of non state international and national actors like trans-national corporations, welfare organizations and also international threats like terrorism, environmental challenges etc. The very concept of democracy has also come under criticism as there requires '*democratising democracy* (Giddens 1999 76)' because earlier democracy was evolved in context of nation state system. Technological developments which have taken place largely in European and American societies have been regarded as most important makers of globalization. Communication technologies including Trans-border media, fibre optic driven internet services have bypassed nation states and have directly approached individuals and undermined states' capability to curb on freer communication. All of these developments in economy, politics and technology have intensified social relations across the globe through migration, cross border cultural flows and distribution of cultural products and producers as well which is some how called '*Network Society* (Castell 2000)' in which presents and absents are involving in same extent.

Along the way of economic integration of world, cultural integration is also discussed. Development in media technology has reorganized or rearranged entire human relations which have now manifested in centrality of media technology and cultural products in process of globalization so much so that it is said that 'the process of globalization can simply be reduced to the consequences of development of media and communication technologies, which creates also a need to reassess fundamental presuppositions of social theory- presuppositions which boil down to the question of what factors are most essential in explaining social change (Ampuja 2004 59-76).

As anthropologists like Faye D. Ginsburg, Lila Abu Lughod and Brian Larkin recognize that 'certain sweeping technological and institutional changes have had

irreversible consequences over the past decades. The strong historical link between broadcast television and twentieth century nation building, for example, relied on a capital intensive terrestrial technology that could be controlled and tied to state interests with relative ease. Satellite and internet technologies, however, have created new markets. They have also facilitated new social configurations (Ginsburg, et al 2002 2).

Now the debate is over 'new social configurations' itself which has taken place in the process. Has globalization enables media to do so, can media reconfigure the social relations and can globalization redirect media and society relations are the main questions in the debate. Has media's capability to redirect human relations increased in the process? Secondly how the media consumers or audiences are reacting in that process? How far they are forced to accommodate or reject the 'media imperialism'. All these questions have ideological overtones and hence deeply divided on theoretical spectrum of media and globalization.

Rise of capitalist economy was regarded as the main driver behind the process of globalization and economic division of the world in to working class and producing class in Marx's view which pushed entire critical school of thought in media and cultural studies. Marx's view that "the class which has the means of material production at its disposal, consequently also controls the means of mental production, so that ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are on the whole subject to it (Marx 1970 64)", was at helm of entire critical school which explained the ideology (Althusser 1971) and Hegemony (Gramsci 1971). Political economy of media industry was itself became evidence of what critical theorist like Noam Chomsky and Herman have examined through five media filters e.g. 'ownership, ads, sources of news, flaks and anti communist mechanism' and subsequently manufacturing consent. Patterned consumer behaviour is supposed to be the direct result of control of media which is supposed to manifests in to homogenizing the world culture, according to this perspective.

The dependency school also defined the cultural and media production around the world in the same frame including other factors behind the process. Samir Amin's model of Centre and Periphery became another model to define media flows around the world which supported the claim that the Centre dominates and decided what

periphery should and would use for its entertainments, information and intellectual work. Laden with ideological overtones, these themes fail to identify many other problems as well as social phenomenon which emerged out of globalizing process. Globalization itself is deemed as a 'neo-liberal project' invented to establish neo-liberal economy on the world through Americanization or westernization, in which though America is dominant player but not the sole player. "Greater diversity is emerging in the new forms of new hybrid of global and local".

It is wrong to subscribe to the myth that globalization and Americanization are one and the same. Yes the US has probably benefited more from globalization than any other country. Globalization is surely heavily American. But not all global products are American forms. Consider reggae music, the croissant and Japanese animation. How many young Americans, Europeans and Asians of different nationalities are growing up watching not Bugs Bunny or Mickey Mouse but Japanese cartoons from Doraemon to Dragon Ball and Crayon Shinchan? Also, like other parts of the world, mid America is experiencing shocks of globalization, as formerly tightly knit neighbourhoods absorb new waves of immigration and job market changes to a certain degree prompted by plant closing in favour of cheap labour overseas (Mittleman 2004 7).

What is most important to identify in the process is cross border flows of cultural products through media vehicles. Assuming audience as passive masses leads towards a conclusion which excludes the ethnic, racial, and different nationalities and minorities own cultural specificities which make them interpret same cultural product in different ways. Cultural flows are also assumed to originate only from west and predominantly from the United States given their capacity to dominate the cultural industry through investing huge amounts and work forces. But in reality cultural flows are originating from other than western societies too like in India, Latin America and Egypt. Some times receivers are also originators. Audiences are now more active rather than passive. In fact soft media *electronic media* (Marshal McLuhan 1964) has eased shackles of ideologies and nation states based jingoism which was being imposed through Hot Media i.e. print media which was creator of imagined community (Anderson 1991). Technological transfer has allowed producers in peripheral societies to challenge western cultural flows by creating their own flows in global cultural industry. So the cultural flows are neither unidirectional nor unitarily consumed.

The numbers of producers of media content and of countries producing such content are steadily increasing, contributing to the diversification of global culture. The impact of Western global cultures is being offset by the development of regional cultures within global cultures. Some scholars claim that world television is not so much global as regional (Sinclair et al. 1996), consisting of several distinct regions in which television programming

circulates. Regional cultures represent shared communities of language and culture. Each major region, Asia, Middle East, and Latin America, is dominated by one or two countries that are centres of audiovisual production, such as, Mexico and Brazil in Latin America, Hong Kong and Taiwan in Chinese Asia, and India in Indian Asia and Indian Africa. A Francophone market links France to its former colonies and an Arab market links the Arabic speaking countries. The decreasing cost and increased flexibility of television production technology have led to an expansion of television production in these countries. A few developing countries (e.g. Brazil, Egypt, India, and Mexico) have become exporters of film and television programming (Sreberny-Mohammadi 1991: 121; Straubhaar 1997) cited in Quoted in Diana Crane, (2002

It is how the entire 'imagination as an organized 'social practice' (Appadurai 1997) has come out from American and European control, though they still enjoy greater influence. Imagination as a 'social practice' was among most crucial factors in order to inculcate nation based solidarity, sense of togetherness and belongingness with people whom one had never met and never seen. Border and territory may not be a big problem pre Westphalian era, but development in industrial societies necessitated a different imagination which took place through news papers in the European nations. Imagination as a social practice continues till now but technological development and spread of media reach via globalization forces has greatly diluted one-man show of the imagination industry. Even the United States despite all its technological and financial supremacy is not able to control or restrict the imaginary landscape. Now there requires a new role for this imagination practice as Arjun Appadurai elaborates:

The world we live in today is characterized by a new role for imagination in social life. To grasp this new role, we need to bring together the old idea of images, especially mechanically produced images (in the Frankfurt School sense); the idea of imagined community (in Anderson's sense); and the French idea of imagery (*imaginaire*) as a constructed landscape of collective aspirations, which is no more and no less real than the collective representation of Emile Durkheim, now mediated through the complex prism of modern media. (Appadurai 1997)

The argument is supported by material development in cultural industry where share of other regions Africa, Latin America, Asia and West Asia as well has remarkably increased. Now the global cultural industry is no longer dominated by western producers. The change is at both vertical and horizontal level. In horizontal level, make up of Hollywood and Disney land themselves would not remain Americanized. Artist Diasporas in western countries are becoming active participants in western cultural industry. Vertically, unlike cultural or media imperialism model, global network model do better explain how the availability of cheaper technology, new producers have come in cultural industry which was dominated by the west.

Emergence of Bollywood in India, Egyptian cinema and Latin cinema is in the same series.

Since the realm of international studies is itself study of nation states' relations, global paradigm to assess global changes is largely absent in the debate of globalization. Moreover difference between neo-liberal economic values and globalization is often blurred. Interplay between globalization and media is also often studied in that ideological prism which conflates neo-liberalism with globalization as same sides of one coin which may not be true. In most of the cases, this interplay of globalization and media has brought significant changes in human relationship in present and absence as well. All concepts around '*Network Society*- Manuel Castells', '*Information Society*' '*Global Village*-Marshall McLuhan' '*Mediascapes*-Arjun Appadurai' have evolved out of recognition that media's role in global and domestic politics is no more unilateral.

Media and Globalization: conflicting Paradigms

James Schwach has briefly elaborated history of technological development in media technology which has evolved from wire, to terrestrial networks to satellite to fibre optic wires in digital age. These developments, though with political burdens, have greatly declined states' capacity to control media contents. The standard distribution technology for broadcast networks, since the early 1920s was wire. In the 1930s, however, a wave-based system of synchronous networking emerged. Simultaneous with the emergence of frequency modulation (FM) radio broadcasting, experiments began in using higher frequencies in the electromagnetic spectrum—commonly known as microwaves—to distribute electronic communications in a network system.

The communications satellite solved the logistical problems of crossing oceans, and was delivering transoceanic television feeds by 1964. The communications satellite, and the 1967 Outer Space Treaty, brings another change to television, not in the realm of technology, but in the realm of geopolitics. The 1967 Treaty, guaranteeing the peaceful uses of outer space as well as guaranteeing the right to disseminate a satellite feed over the planet, marks an important transition for American policy (James 2002 28).

The concept of global television networks is usually considered to be a recent phenomenon, emergent in the last years of the Cold War. Seen as an outgrowth of the expansion of the communications satellite, the worldwide plunging costs of television set ownership, the recent global cross-investments involving media industries, and the collapse of the superpower conflict, global television networks represent, for most observers, a relatively new idea (James 2002 28).

This is what one can call Media Technology paradigm to assess the changes within and without in social discourse of the world. This unprecedented technological growth in domain of communication has allowed not only individuals' communication but also mass communication to masses. There have been three major technological development in the field of mass communication which have undermined states' ability to stay alone definers of public sphere.

First: Miniaturization of technology which enabled news crews move around the world with back-pack satellite links

Second: This development has also allowed audience to have greater and cheaper access to the media as the cost of hardware significantly decreased.

Third: the cheaper communication technology also attracted integration of technology and economy. Cable, satellite and telecommunication have dominated all terrestrial television transmitters (Wheeler 1997).

This development has caused extensity and intensity of communication among all social, cultural and political groups. It is estimated that television receivers in period of 1965 to 1986 have increased from 192 million to 710 million (Sreberny 1991 118). Later on, revolution in internet via 'Information Superhighway' has intensified the communication among distant locations of the world.

Homogenization vs. Hetrogenization: Most of the anti globalization slogans are about its assault on culture which many call cultural imperialism. Media is considered vehicle of that cultural imperialism which invade 'cultural territories' with weapons of Mc-Donaldization, Dizney Theme Parks and Hollywood movies etc. Onus of this cultural onslaught is put on media and demands to regulate control or restrict its flows

gain momentum in all traditional societies of the world like in India, Arab world, East Asia etc. But the theoretical foundation of this claim is always contested, whether media bring homogenization or cause ruptures through heterogenization. Can media of globalization era direct or dictate cultural norms for any given society, is also under scanner.

Thesis of cultural imperialism stems from the globalization as a purposeful project initiated by western nations to dominate peripheral or developing countries cultural industry through open cultural market, media with its overall capacity to create social effects is regarded main engine of this cultural imperialism project. Contrary of that thesis, if globalization is considered as a journey, a process, rather than destination—which stipulates idealist notion with it, media's capability to create homogenized culture would need re-examination. As Marjorie Ferguson argues about definition of globalization that “there is broad census that globalization denotes both a journey and a destination: it signifies an historical process of becoming, as well as an economic and cultural results; that is arrival at the globalized state.

There are questions about “selectivity” of media which makes it an exclusive but “window on the world”. Selectivity in media is prime concerned most of the media studies circles which concludes with thesis of media imperialism. But media's alone selectivity is causing homogenized and patterned way of thinking, is far from reality. There is selectivity on sides of audiences, producers, owners and multiplicity of owners; producers as well as audiences make the media imperialism “inapplicable”. Neither global cultural homogeneity nor its national or regional variants fit the emerging conflict models of the nation state, or the exclusiveness imperatives of ethnic or regional entities. Explaining Canada's media policy attempts to nurture a national identity, Ferguson, says:

Being neighbour to the world's most prolific provides of audio visual entertainment, Canadian's have never enjoyed cultural sovereignty and have developed a broadcasting system that is materially American with over 90% of Anglophone television drama being imported, there is minimal evidence that program quotas and production subsidies are changing Canadian audience taste for US primetime. But, equally there is considerable evidence that Canada continues to maintain a value system and way of life distinctive from the US (Ferguson 1992 69-93).

Coming to very issue of imagination as a social practice which has been part of socialization process through family, peers, schools and of course media, many have

criticized controlling this social practice. Referring to imposing imagination, Arjun Appadurai has famously remarked “one mans imagination is another mans’ political prison”. To him forces and fears behind efforts of homogenization “can be exploited by nation states in relation to their minorities by posing global commoditization, (or capitalism or some other such external enemy) as more real than the threat of its own hegemonic strategies (Appdurai 1997). In response to feared homogenization or media invasion in broder terms, there are indigenization initiatives like *Indonesianization, Japanization* which may be as dangerous as external one.

Media’s capacity to establish homogenize cultural system is again reversed by audiences who are found no longer passive, according to most of the audiences surveys, it has been accepted that audiences receive information and reproduce them according to their own context which many times goes exactly against what media might have meant. That the audiences are active participants in mass mediated culture and the different national, ethnic and racial groups interpret the same materials differently as Diana Crane has argued in her paper mentioned above. This is what has been called as tension between globalization and localization which eventually emerges in glocalization as Roberstson defined.

Mediascapes: In course to study interplay of globalization and media, there are theoretical limitations identified by many scholars. One of the main problems is about the methodology to study media and globalization. International communication, for example, does not deal with people in media. It focuses on communication laws, systems etc. Bulk of media literature has been produced by cultural studies experts in Frankfurt school. They have studied, as Terhi Rantanen pointed out, people in one location not media. Globalization does not study media, anthropologists faced with same limitation in dealing with media studies.

One would find that most of the methodologies in media studies were developed not for media per se; rather they were developed for cultural studies, sociology, international studies etc. Those methodologies brought debates of all those disciplines in media studies also. Dependency, world system, class analysis etc all came in media debate on existing ideological demarcations. Media which can no longer stay as national media requires examination beyond nation state’s limitations because media

is in position to influence people beyond nation state. In her seminal discussion on *Theorizing Media and Globalization*, Terhi Rantanen took special consideration of this limitation and devised a media specific methodology *global mediagraphy*. The methodology is significantly inspired by Arjun Appadurai's theory of *scapes* in which he particularly devised '*mediascape*'. Mediascapes as a phenomenon has been identified in course of globalization which consists of the 'junctions and disjunctions of five *scapes* (Appadurai 1997 27).

Ethnoscape consists of the persons who are on the move like tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles and guest workers

Technoscape is both mechanical and informational technology that moves at high speeds across the previously impervious boundaries.

Financescape is currency markets, national stock exchanges and commodity speculations that also move at high speed

Ideoscape is composed of elements of the elements of the Enlightenment world view, which consists of ideas, terms and images.

Mediascape refers both to the distribution of electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information and to the images created by these media.

He emphasizes on media's capability to create communities with "no sense of place" (Meyrowitz 1985). He elaborates the idea behind scapes

These landscapes are building blocks of what (extending Benedict Anderson's imagined community), I would like to call imagined worlds that is, the multiple worlds that are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe. An important fact of the world we live in today is that many persons on the globe live in such imagined worlds (and not just imagined communities) and thus are able to contest and sometimes even subvert the imagined worlds of the official minds and of entrepreneurial mentality that surrounds them (Appadurai 1997 33).

The term *mediascape* has no similarities with neither Public Sphere of Jurgen Habermas nor Information Society or Network Society of Castells. It is also not extension of Global Village which has its own limitation, instead this framework successfully explores into 'relationship among five dimensions of global cultural

flows' in form of different *scape*. The makeup of *Global Mediascape* is determined by some media dynamics:

Mediascapes refer both distributions of electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information (newspapers, magazines, television stations, and film production studios), which are now available to a growing number of private and public interests throughout the world, and to the images of the world created by these media. These images involve many complicated inflections, depending on their mode (documentary or entertainment), their hardware (electronic or pre-electronic), their audiences (local, national, or transnational), and the interests of those who own and control them. What is most important about these *mediascapes* is that they provide (especially in their television, film and cassette forms) large and complex repertoires of images, narratives and *ethnoscapes* to viewers throughout the world, in which the world of commodities and world of news and politics are profoundly mixed (Appadurai 1997: 35).

With these questions, the *mediascapes* frame can examine cultural shapes or cultural configuration of Arab world in general and GCC in particular. As discussed above, globalizing forces have pushed Arab society towards internal disputes and reconfiguration of their socio-cultural construct and the process has been pressed by Arab *mediascapes*. Issues of education, democratization, social reform, women and so on are now under intense debate by all media society which include producers and consumers all along.

Given the global effects on Media, there have emerged a strong non state media which operate without any significant influence of state and some times against state also. The non state media are so pervasive that they influence mechanisms of public opinion and thus media regulation has emerged as one of the important exercise of state affairs and sometimes democracy and freedom of expression are checked through media regulations. With emerging global media, national media laws remain incapable to regulate trans-national media, especially in the Arab countries where Arabic is common media language across the Arab territories. Content and administration of Arab media share common concerns in the Arab states. The earlier national media were largely regulated in national framework but the new media *satellite TV and internet* necessitated reviewing the media regime all over the world as well as in the Arab region. Media in age of globalization pushed states to have their regulation taking care of international audiences, global business administration and national interests as well. Towards global media regime there are certain discernable developments in last few decades.

International laws and treaties: Outer space treaty provided states peaceful use of space especially for media, weather forecast and education. Apart from Universal Declaration for Human Rights which include freedom of expression, General Conference of UNESCO, at its twenty-seventh session - 1993. (Resolution adopted on the report of Commission IV at the Twenty-eighth plenary meeting, on 13 November 1993) Recalling 25 C/Resolution 104, also contained in the Medium-Term Plan (1990-1995), "which lays emphasis on the promotion of 'the free flow of ideas by word and image ... at international as well as national levels'.

Satellite administration: Satellite communications developed in US and UK initiated range of UK, EU, International and ITU regulations, policies and activities. The UK takes an active and influential part in all three of the intergovernmental satellite organizations. Satellites TV transmit for larger global audiences and states and private media companies hire them to launch their TV networks. Many Arab stations in start were transmitted from EUTELSAT IGO, which is a residual intergovernmental organisation founded as the European Telecommunications Satellite Organization in 1985. It now represents 47 member countries of Europe. In 2001, EutelSat structure was separated into two tiers: EutelSat, S.A., a private limited company (société anonyme) headquartered in Paris and an intergovernmental organization which ensures that basic principles of pan-European coverage, universal service, non-discrimination and fair competition are observed by the company. EutelSat was the first satellite operator in Europe to broadcast television channels direct-to-home. Another global satellite service provider is International Telecommunications Satellite Organization (ITSO), previously known as INTELSAT, was formed by a group of nations to establish a satellite based global communications system (www.itso.int) in 1964. ITSO is an intergovernmental organization that aims to ensure that communications satellites should be available to the nations of the world as soon as practicable on a global and non-discriminatory basis. It also incorporates the "Outer Space Treaty," which states that outer space shall be used for the benefit and in the interest of all countries.

Assembly of parties comprises 148 member countries, is the highest decision making body and meets at least every two years. The United Kingdom and United States are the two countries selected by the Organization to manage licensing issues.

Deregulation initiatives: Deregulation of communication implies easing state control from broadcast sector and allowing more private actors in public broadcasting network. American deregulation initiatives are mainly used as models in most of the countries which have been adopted in two stages and Reagan had virtually broken up shackle of state control over broadcast media by allowing and ending most of the restrictions (MBC 2009),.

Deregulation resulted in expansion of satellite media industry led by private media corporations around the globe. The Satellite industry is reportedly expanding by 7.4 percent according to 2005 report of Satellite Industry Association. Overall the industry generated \$88.8 billion in revenue globally in 2005, according to SIA's 10th annual "State of the Satellite Industry Report" (Rains 2006).

The fastest growing satellite service is DTH direct to home television and radio. DTH satellite TV subscribers worldwide are projected to be over 133 million in 2010, as stated in a recent report published by Global Industry Analysts, Inc (GIA 2008).

West Asian region with its thriving economy is vying in satellite industry both in telecom and TV broadcasts. A number of operators — from industry heavyweights such as SES, Intelsat and Eutelsat to emerging regional players Arabsat, Nilesat and Yahsat are active in the Middle East, and all agree there is strong potential in the region for satellite players. Given phenomenal growth of direct to home (DTH) services, satellite pay-TV operators like ART, Orbit Satellite Television and Radio Network and Showtime Arabia also are commercially engaged in number of the countries in the region. Samir Abdulhadi, CEO of Orbit says "the challenge for the industry as a whole is to sustain this growth and also to keep the momentum going. If you look at the structure of the industry, you have the three major players in pay-TV. The challenge is to create a viable industry. Most of the [free-to-air] channels do not have the ability to continue because the environment has become extremely competitive. Advertising revenues in the Middle East are some of the lowest per capita anywhere in the world (Satellite Today 2008).

Arab American Institute has recently reported that the number of Arabic satellite channels have risen from one in 1990 to over 200 today, second only to the number of satellite channels in English language internationally. The density rate of DTH

satellite broadcasting is nearly 34% across the GCC (Satellite Today 2008). The figure is likely to increase due to deregulations in the four regional broadcasting hubs of Dubai, Egypt, Lebanon and Jordan.

With increase in trans-national media actors, there requires international media standards through laws, treaties and media watch dogs. Global Media has brought all of them which are now operating beyond nation states' control. Organizations like 'Reporters Sans Frontiers, Arab Press Freedom Watch, Index on Censorship, Institute for War and Peace Reporting etc are not only protecting media organizations' freedom, also pressing states to confirm international standards in respective territorial authority. It is not the case of only developing countries who often fail to meet international standards in press freedom, the debate is reversing to developed nations as well as excessive media freedom has allowed larger manipulation of information for vested interests individuals and groups. Apart from their efforts to curb Al-Jazeera to operate in the USA, there are debates that deregulated media encroaches democratic rights of American electorate in last presidential election 2008.

This is the extent of deregulated media which is seemed problematic in developed nations while in west Asian region, many think that satellite channels are increasingly becoming alternative of political parties (Hafez 2004). These are two paradoxical extents of media as a regime in all over the world. It is because media has undergone tremendous structural, legal and technological changes over the year due to intensified globalization of communication.

Globalization, Media and GCC

Like all other regions of the world, GCC region also is not unaffected by the media waves which the world has undergone. In theory, it is supposed that the region should undergo the changes which the other world has also gone. The differentiation in opinion, active role of media in political issues, exercising right to freedom of expression etc are supposed to manifest in media development of the region. But globalization and media debate in the region has its own inconsistencies which make it under serious introspection and as well as in scanner of global media watch dog to whom GCC media is still far away from the standard globalized media. In most of the report by global media watch dogs like Reporters sans Frontiers, Arab Press Freedom

Watch (APFW), etc GCC media has improved a lot only in comparison of other Arab media (IREX 2005). Despite all economic prosperity, outcomes of globalization and media interplay in the region are not as they brought in other regions like Asia and Latin America. So the inconsistent globalizing processes require serious inquiry in order to find out the reason of gap between processes and outcomes. The intensity of Globalization and media debate in the region would manifest in to the ongoing world attention towards Arab and GCC media. Kristin McHugh in her seminal report on Arab media “24/7 The Rise and Influence of Arab Media” starts with following lines:

The information revolution that has swept the western world over the last two decades is now transforming the Arab world. New Radio stations, websites and text messaging are just a few of the mediums breaking down cultural barriers and challenging the hardened old order. But none of these innovations is having more of an impact than hundreds of Arabic language satellite television stations. They come directly into homes, and even the most repressive governments in the region find them almost impossible to block. And because they are easily available at low or sometimes no cost to the viewer, rich and poor alike now have a dizzying array of TV choices (The Stanley Foundation 2006).

Globalization forces and their impacts on the social engineering of the region have now under serious evaluation by regional academics as well as industry. Husain Y Amin, a scholar at American University Cairo captures interplay between media and globalization in the region which engendered cultural disputes:

Globalization forces in general and Transnationalization movements in particular illustrate the new model for media economies, which depend on the following processes: privatization of culture; deregulation; and mergers across industries and nations for global penetration and commercialization. These global forces now challenge Middle East societies. Countries in the Middle East have begun to sense the dangers of global communication as well as the opportunities. Critics have stated that these media messages hurled from space bring social complications, engender cultural disputes and erode their identity as coherent cultural and religious groups (Hussein: 2004).

Media in the West Asia was once considered as propaganda tool of ruling regimes which exercised greater control over them through ministries of broadcasting. Most of the media have been used ‘as a device to promote nationalism or Islamic universalism’. Foreign policies affairs were strictly regulated in media and controlled during all international reporting in the region (Rugh 1989). Now arrival of translational media has significantly dodged severe censor laws and undermines local authorities as Mc Hugh commented.

The change in media regime of the region would not go without change in social and political debate. There are some very common facts which are being recognized by the region. In response to the globalization, Arab media in general and GCC media in particular are articulating their own version of globalization embedded with regional distinctions and disjunctures. That Arab media must respond in same way as western media did would be naive supposition. Since globalization is not always an homogenizing factor, rather it opens old problems, suppressed identities or overdue concerns, Arab media can be seen involved in that juncture of globalization. Glocalization (Robertson 1995 28) is all visible in GCC media landscape, not only in production of content also in its consumption.

The oil boomed GCC Media is not immune from other socio-political dynamics of the region. Hence comparing GCC media with those in the Western and European countries would not reveal complexity of the region. Instead, the societal debates which media has caused in the region are still there and this dissertation will focus on those questions in next chapters.

Second Chapter

Globalization and Mediascape in the Arab World

Globalization and Mediascape in the Arab World

The trajectory which globalization process came in the world varies region to region and country to country. Process of industrialization was the main factor behind economic transformation of the world which eventually forced the European societies to come out from traditional economic systems to modern economic values. Technological developments and scientific developments were carried out in Europe in order to fulfill new and urgent requirements of industrializing societies in the Europe. This great transformation happened along with political transformation of the region which culminated in to opening up their political systems and allowing people's participation in the process and branding this change as democratization. What this transformation has brought to the western societies, has been studied in different approaches from Marx's class struggle to Adam Smith's free market economy to international system. Even the colonial expeditions were justified in the context of their economic requirement to sustain their growth through hiring cheap labor and raw material from their colonies. It is more often than not said that the process of globalization itself is a European Phenomenon (Ferguson 1992 69-93). As Mohammad A Bamyeh's critical analysis of Post-nationalism, Trans-nationalism elaborated the idea of interdependence among European powers not among all nations; a key principle of globalization.

For European polities, the abandonment of the principle of mastery in favour of interdependence was further implicated in decolonization, which proceeded at a remarkably rapid pace after the war and which was meant to replace colonialism by all kinds of commonwealth arrangements; however, the commitment to interdependence was most strongly manifested within Europe itself, rather than between Europe and the former colonies (Bamyeh 2001).

The question lies whether the development in the Arab societies or the GCC particularly, can be understood in the same context even though they never undergone same economic, social and political transformations. The great transformation (Polany 1957) which culminated in capitalist democracy, did not match with events and phenomena of the Arab and GCC region. The emergence and collapse of 'Natural State' (Naqeeb 1990) in Arab and GCC region signifies the existing socio-political structure of the region to which globalization has posed serious challenges.

Media in the region has evolved in different direction from that of in Europe; as major tool of resistance to colonial powers with strong ideological overtones. Conflicts rather than industrialization have been main defining force of Arab media in last century; colonial legacies, Arab Israeli conflict, tensions in tribal social structures, Gulf wars, influx of Diaspora population etc. Now it seems that after collapse of Natural state in 20th century Arab Gulf states are on the verge of second most important transition stage-though not collapse. The transition phase is marked by acceptance of Arab and Gulf States the global changes came out through the economic transformation. In all of the socio political debates around reforms, economic diversification, jobs for local population and empowerment of women has all evolved out of recognition willingly or unwillingly. It demonstrates that there is:

- ◆ Principal acceptance and willingness to be part of globalization rather than staying isolated: many countries are active part of global financial engagement like WTO, IMF and other regional economic grouping like creation of Free Trade Areas (MEES 2002 XLV) talks with European nations and among GCC itself.
- ◆ Allowing globalization forces in the region including international financial institutes 18 Arab states are members in WTO including all GCC states despite the Israel Boycott policy of Arab League (Kontorovich 2003)
- ◆ Realizing that the process has positive as well as negative outcomes and requires innovative and protective measures
- ◆ Recognition to non state actors especially media though with suspicions

Having said that, media's role in political culture, political accountability and freedom of expression in the Arab world has not evolved in European context where the typical Globalization phenomenon, democracy and other political discourses have originated. Expectations from Arab and GCC media, despite all economic growth and prosperity, cannot be same of that of CNN, BBC, and other western media ventures.

Social change and social discourse which Arab and GCC media facilitate may not be identical with that of in Europe and America. Interestingly, Arab media are kept in parallel with their western counterpart in question of globalization. In a workshop held in Paris March 2008 under the auspices of European University Institute, organizers have put same questions like:

For example, early steps towards licensing of privately owned radio and television stations are beginning to erode government broadcasting monopolies from North Africa to the Middle East. Do these steps reflect decentralisation of political power? Does liberalisation and restructuring of broadcasting foster transparency in state, business and civil society institutions? Does diversification in the industry promote more effective communication within and between local, national and pan- Arab communities? Does expansion of broadcasting capacity bring more autonomy for programme- makers, editors, presenters and journalists? If so, what manifestations are there of greater scope for indigenous editorial initiative and creativity? To what extent is the proliferation of viewing and listening options forcing owners and advertisers to take audiences seriously and what do we learn from audience research? Are Arab broadcasting systems following similar or divergent development trajectories, and are there lessons to be learned from experiences of Commercialisation and (so-called) deregulation in Europe (Sakr 2009).

With these questions, particular answers are sought like which category media do belong; liberal, corporatist and pluralist as identified Hallin Mancini (2004). But answers in Arab media dynamics come disappointing since they only fit in very loose categorization of such models. With this interface of globalization and media, complexities of globalization process in the Arab world require separate examination as the phenomenon has come through its own trajectory which many Asian and European nations have undergone. Globalization and media debate in the region has developed its own inconsistencies which sometimes creates confusion over the nature of transition itself and thereby create a gloomy and pessimist picture about the future of the region. In most of the report by global media watch digs like Reporters sans Frontiers, APFW, IREX etc GCC media has gone far from expectation in many ways. At least GCC media has topped the Arab region in registering unique progress in field of media. That the Arab media has not responded to all features of globalization because of their very nature of politics has come out of expectation of an ideal media in liberal democratic societies. Despite these appointing answers, many international organizations have reported institutional development in Arab media. IREX and institution to check media trend in various countries has given the following picture of GCC and Arab region. The scoring has been done on Free Speech, Professional Journalism, Plurality of News Resources, Business Management, and Supporting Institutions.

AVERAGE OBJECTIVE SCORES, 2005

GULF

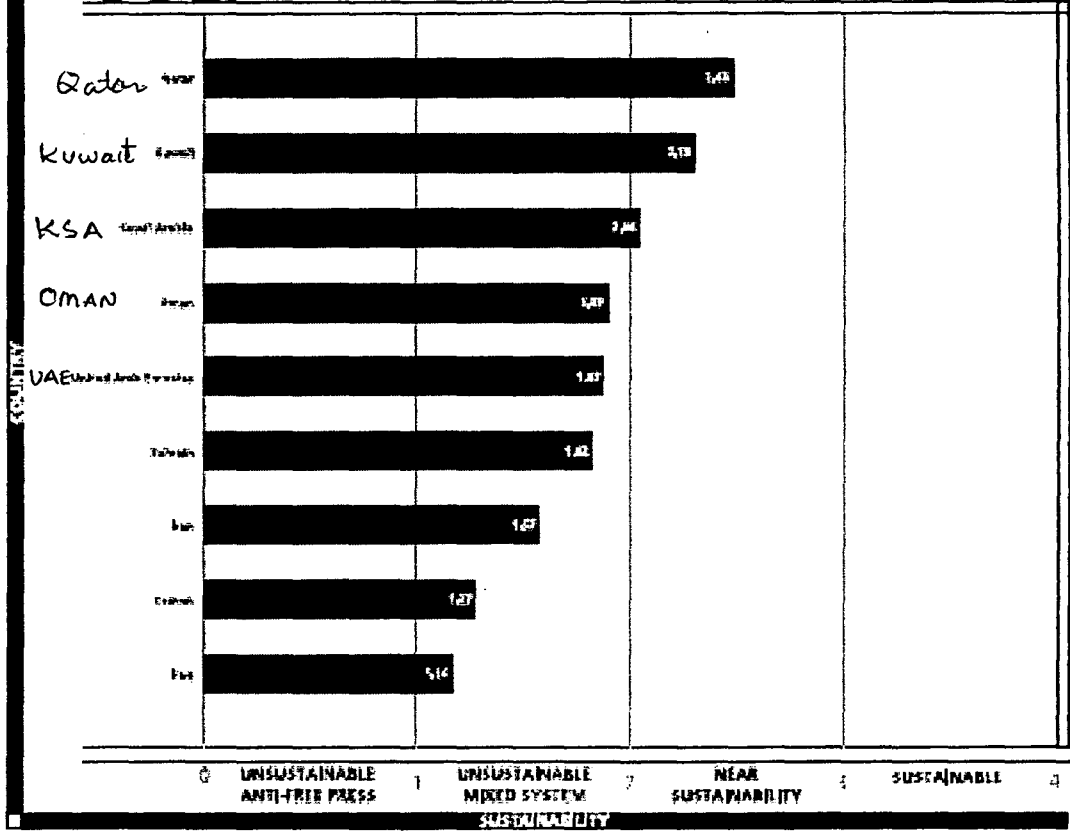
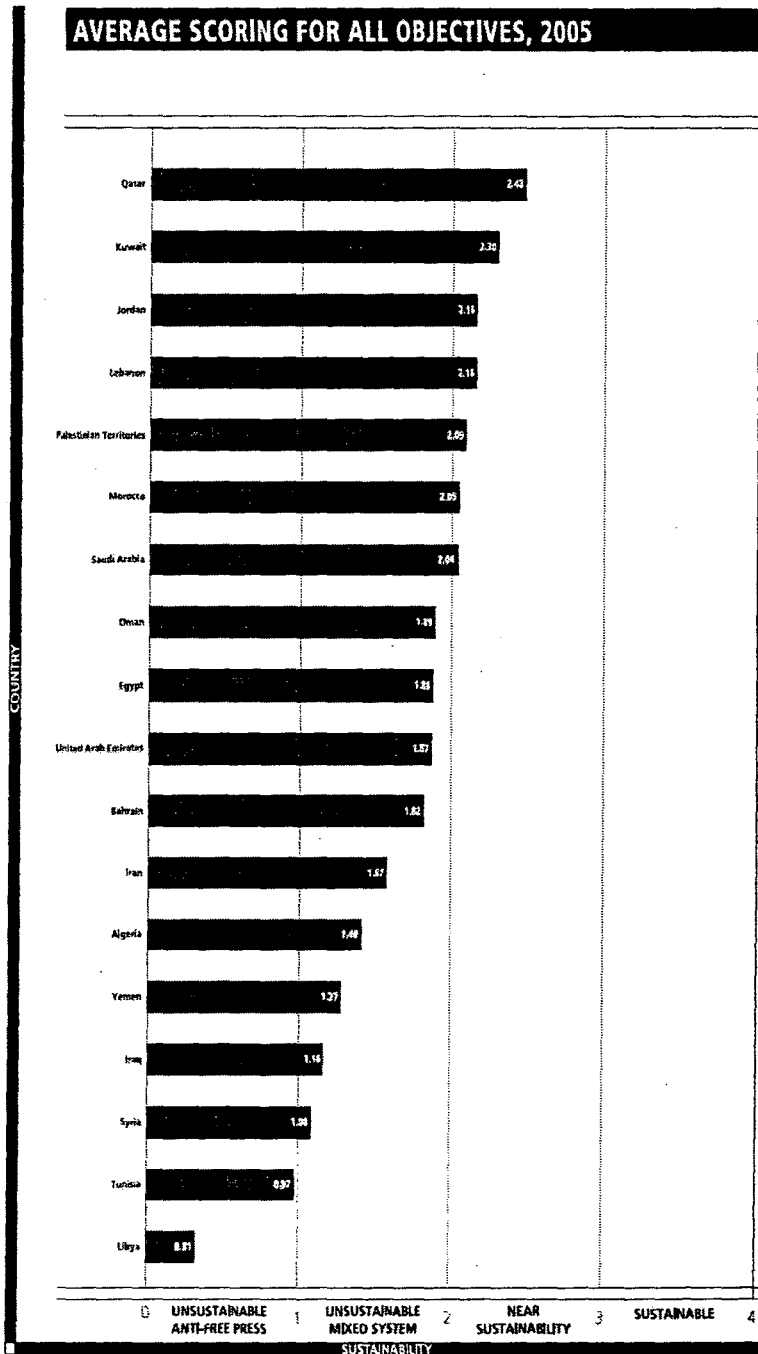


Table 1

Average Scoring for All Objectives in Arab Media



Source: Media Sustainability Index, 2005, the development of sustainable media in the Middle East and North Africa, www.irex.org/

TH-17538



Table 2

Newspapers, Radio and Televisions in Arab world: 2004

Country	Daily Newspapers per 1,000 people (2000)	Radios per 1,000 people (2001)	Television		
			Sets per 1,000 people (2002)	Cable TV subscribers per 1,000 people (2002)	Home satellite antennas per 1,000 people (2001)
Algeria	27	244	114	0.0	109
Bahrain	117	NA	440	11.8	97.4
Egypt	31	339	229	0.0	11.7
Iraq	19	222	83	NA	NA
Jordan	75	372	177	0.3	46.5
Kuwait	374	570	418	NA	288
Lebanon	107	182	357	29.9	79.4
Libya	15	273	137	NA	NA
Morocco	28	243	167	NA	24.8
Oman	29	621	553	0.0	NA
Palestinian Territories	NA	NA	148	0.0	71.5
Qatar	NA	NA	421	40.5	NA
Saudi Arabia	326	326	265	0.3	79.9
Sudan	26	461	386	0.0	2.1
Syria	20	276	182	0.0	50
Tunisia	19	158	207	NA	156
UAE	156	330	252	NA	NA
Yemen	15	65	308	NA	NA

Source: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2004), *Statistics on Arab Media Arab Reform Bulletin*, (2:11)

Inconsistent globalizing processes in Arab world require serious inquiry in order to find out problems within processes and outcomes. Diversity of reactions is eminent due to differentiation of social and political changes in given region or country and capacity to curb on outcomes of globalization and media interplay has significantly

decreased across the globe. Media of Arab world in general and of GCC in particular has acquired a position to influence domestic politics of not only Arab nation also of European and American countries. GCC region is not immune from the global debates and intensified human relations and its consequences, furthermore GCC is participating in that global *mediascapes* and influencing the discourse as well as getting influenced by the discourse. But there is strong tendency of Glocalization which brings new versions of same phenomenon. This difference well manifests in their reluctance to “Greater Middle East Program” an initiative for spread of democracy by Bush administration and insistence on Arab Israeli conflict instead of starting immediate political reforms. Having identified these different ways of integration in to the globalizing world, role of media in both Arab and western world should not be examined in same paradigms. Neither Al-Jazeera is CNN nor is Qatar the United States. Examining Arab or GCC media in very western parameters may lead to confusing results. This is the paradox in ongoing debate in Arab media which is in desperate/ disparate search for a genuine role for media. Can media in the Arab world replace political parties; notions like “Satellite Democracy” are key indicators of great expectations from Arab and GCC media. Kai Hafez notes in his paper “Arab Satellite Broadcasting: An Alternative to Political Parties” notes:

While in the West the identification of mass media with or as ‘political parties’ easily discredits their legitimacy as objective information hubs, the media in authoritarian countries have to face a double challenge. While their basic aim is still ‘objective’ and ‘neutral’ information, the extraterritorial situation of satellite television enables them also to take over a number of the functions of political parties and political movements. The idea of Arab broadcasting being able to articulate and mobilize civil society and to encourage democratic transformation is surely part of the fascination about these media (Hafez 2004).

One of the important outcomes of globalization is variety of responses to the globalization phenomenon. Every region and country has tried to evolve its own response to the phenomenon in order to maximize gains and minimize losses. How media of different cultural zones have responded to the phenomenon has been studied through Marxist approaches which generalize many facts and ignore some. Audience’s passive nature is now accepted as wrong notion as audiences are influencing producers also. So the Arab Media’s response to the globalization is also not one dimensional. How Arab states have responded towards globalizing media? In an abstract of his paper Arab media scholar Muhammad I. Ayish has identified four basic strategies adopted by Arab states (Sakr 2009).

1. Re-inventing state broadcasting in to more independent structure
2. Emulating private broadcasters' practices, especially in entertainment
3. Launching alternative "state affiliate" broadcasting services with private character
4. Allowing "non state affiliated" broadcasters to operate

Evolution of Arab media regime has to be analyzed in its own cultural, political and economic contexts which have allowed it to articulate an unprecedented response to media globalization. No reports say that Arab countries are evading joining greater media involvement at global and regional level. Their search for a 'proper' response in which they could preserve their Arab-Islamic values, ideals as well as political stability, Arab world has gradually has reached at 'no u turn highway.' Keeping Muhammad I Ayish's answers, one can identify three layered response of Arab world to the broadcasting media. After passing each destination, Arab world has been forced to adjust and restructure their media regime according to given challenges. The Gulf war is often regarded as main stimuli behind emergence of Middle East Broadcasting Centre, the Saudi owned first pan Arab broadcasting service. Earlier it was Iranian revolution which had brought counter revolution Arab Islamic religious programs. The road of transformation or transition has been successfully made peaceful by getting engaged at every juncture, rather than staying out of ring. The three layered response to the broadcasting in particular and to the media in general are as follow:

National regime: Arab nation devolved in different state entities which have emerged only after collapse of Ottoman and subsequently European colonial Empires (mainly Portuguese, Dutch and British). This was called as 'Pax Britannica' era in which Arab world has shifted from 'natural state' economy to the rentier state economy (Naqeeb: 1987 24-118). So the legal legacy of broadcasting and press in the region has descended from that past. Ottomans Press Law had been a source of legislation for a long period when broadcasting sector was not pervasive. Ministries were created to control information flows in order to avoid war time information tensions which have not ended in the Arab World even after Second World War stopped. The region perpetuated in sporadic war type situation mainly because of Arab Israeli conflict.

Traditionally it is still states to come ahead in joining the information order of the world. Arab states have along with other states joined many international and regional declarations, agreements and charters to promote free flow of information and confirm freedom of expression. Of them establishment of Arab Satellite (Arabsat) in 1976 by member states of Arab League, UNESCO'S General Conference at Belgrade in 1980, Sana Declaration in 7-11 January 1996 can be counted significant state initiatives towards proliferation of media in Arab region. Press Laws which have now being redefined to incorporate broadcasting industry Laws have been adopted in continuation of existing political problems in which states' role was and is projected essential to protect 'public interests'.

The main feature of these Press Laws was the supremacy of ministries and state apparatus to regulate and control press. Ministries were supposed to run news papers, televisions and other information, culture and entertainment industry in accordance of their cultural peculiarities.

However, post 'Pax Britannica' era has marked with significant changes due to other forces of change topped by developmental pressures to cope with immediate internal problems rather than external threats. The era is marked with a historical move by Qatari government which has become first Arab state which has formally abolished its ministry of information in 2003. The Media Regime of the Arab world in general and of the GCC in particular, has to be dealt with detail in the next chapter.

Regional involvement: Arab world has been regarded as single cultural and linguistic entity which speaks Arabic and practice Islam and identify themselves as primarily as Arab rather than from their own countries. Failure to create single Arab state after Second World War, inception of Arab League was major outcome of region's desire to stay as united as possible. This unique political understanding among the leaders and people of the region has also manifested in their response to the regional and international problems which they have faced time to time. Among many Pan Arab bodies of Arab League, information and press is also important sector of pan Arab cooperation and regulation. Arab Satellite Communication Organization and Arab Broadcasting Union, Council of Ministers of Information in Arab League has all facilitated the pan Arab broadcasting initiatives and regulations. Establishment of Arab Telecommunication Union, declaring Arab Charter of Human Rights to

maintain their differences with International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966. Along with regional efforts, there is increased WTO-Arab interaction over audiovisual industry.

Failing to comply with member states' expectations, Pan Arab initiatives have also been challenged by individual Arab states as in case of competition between Pan Arab Arabsat and Nilesat of Egypt which it established after her expulsion from Arab League following peace treaty with Israel in 1989. Pan Arab bodies have also become part of global initiatives to promote press freedom in the region like the Sana'a Declaration for 'Promoting Independent and Pluralistic Media' adopted by, 29th session of the UNESCO General Conference in Paris.

International involvement: In theory, Arab governments had a long before confirmed need of a free media and endorsed many international and regional declarations. In 1946, like other governments many Arab countries also accepted United Nations General Assembly Resolution 59 (I) of 14 December, which clearly states that freedom of information is a fundamental human right, and General Assembly Resolution 45/76 A of 11 December 1990 on information in the service of humanity.

Again in 1989 Arab countries fully supported the UNESCO's 25th general conference proposition of Press freedom focusing on the promotion "the free flow of ideas by word and image at international as well as national levels.

In 26th session of General Conference of UNESCO, Arab countries along with other states adopted 4.3 resolution "recognizing that a free, pluralistic and independent press is an essential component of any democratic society", and inviting the Director- General "to extend to other regions of the world the action ... to encourage press freedom and to promote the independence and pluralism of the media"; The 27th session of UNESCO general conference in December 1992 in Almaty took a step further which made the way for "the joint UNESCO/United Nations... regional Seminar on Promoting Independent and Pluralistic Arab Media to be held in Sana'a, Yemen in early 1996. Most regarded and Historical declaration was made in the Sana'a Declaration of 1996 that is considered the only international

document on freedom for the Arab media. It was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at its 29th Session in Paris, in 1997.

The participants in the United Nations/United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Seminar on Promoting Independent and Pluralistic Arab Media, held in Sana'a, Yemen, from 7 to 11 January 1996; "Bearing in mind Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media, and regardless of frontiers (Sana'a Declaration 2006)."

- ◆ Arab countries there pledged to enact and/or revise laws with a view to: enforcing the rights to freedom of expression and press freedom and legally enforceable free access to information
- ◆ Initiate action to remove economic barriers to the establishment and operation of news media outlets
- ◆ improve and expand training of journalists and managers, and other media practitioners,
- ◆ Seek the assistance of national, regional and international press freedom and media professional organizations and other relevant NGOs to establish national and regional networks aimed at monitoring and acting against violations of free expression⁹. But despite all this declaration, media watch dogs regularly reported that the situation is as worst as possible.

Though the movement of New International Information Order could not reorder the structure of global media flows and especially global news flows, they reflected responsiveness of states and non state media to the globalization. This responsiveness manifested in their willingness to be part of global communication flows instead to stay isolated. International mechanism may not have succeeded in regulating or controlling the media at international level, yet efforts have been done to facilitate universal values like freedom of expression. Universal Declaration of Human Rights, signed in 1948 was the foundation of media functions. Article 19 has confirmed 'right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any

media regardless of frontiers' has been accepted as basic principal in defining state's role in media operation.

In this international engagement over freedom of expression, media issues, Arab States have found themselves forced to join or reject. Arab states joined the international initiatives and defined the treaties in their own context and subsequently remaking the regional system to oblige their international responsibilities, especially the uniqueness of freedom of expression contradicts with their political system and religious issues and they declared Arab Charter of Human Rights to include their concerns as well. The charter was consented by international organizations. In the wake of Danish Cartoon, their stand on freedom of expression came in to force and made divide in the world over the limits of freedom.

Given all three layered state-media interplay, modern history of Arab media has observed major upheavals restructuring of *communication space* in the region. In all these three level media policy, states were the primary decision makers. But the globalizing forces have unleashed non state media actors in the region to cope with challenges inside and outside. With introduction of Al-Jazeera, Qatar became the first Arab state which formally declared dismantling of ministry of information, the first major step toward remaking of media regime in the Arab world. The Media Regime which has revolved around state monopolies of communication space has gone tremendous pressures and competition as well from Al-Jazeera phenomenon which forced Arab states to respond the pressure wisely rather than abruptly. Media Regime now has been in steady transformation and transition period which is emerging around largely non state initiatives. The change has marked with introduction of several restructure programs; creation of institutions, allowing media organizations etc, and the remaking of media regime is to be dealt in detail in Chapter 3.

Finally, that the Arab media must respond in same way as western media did would be a naive supposition. Since globalization is not always an homogenizing factor, rather it opens old problems, suppressed identities or overdue concerns, Arab media can be seen involved in that juncture of globalization. Glocalization is all visible in GCC media landscape, not only in production of content also in its

consumption. In response to the globalization, Arab media in general and GCC media in particular, are articulating their own version of globalization embedded with regional perceptions of cultural and political values.

Arab mediascape: Arab response to the globalization of communication networks and information system has been positive both in Arab region as well as in other regions. Arab rulers as well as people have demonstrated shown greater interest in joining hands with the world through media and communication. A report published by RAND corporation in 2003 “The Information Revolution in the Middle East and North Africa” had underlined the deficiencies in proliferation of information infrastructure in the region “Most of the countries of the Middle East and North Africa show no signs of impending information revolution (IRs). The proliferation and even more sophisticated employment of information and communication technologies (ICTs) are critically dependent upon economic factors and the nature of government and its role in ICT development.” (Bokhart, F. Grey & Susan Older 2003 9)

With recognition of ongoing positive trends in adaptation of ICT by the region the report had expressed sceptical analysis. Since the report was prepared in order to examine security concerns for the United States from these developments, the report failed to capture driving forces behind the fastest growing media industry in the world. Problem with other media experts in Western side is similar. The Israeli foreign ministry published its Diplomatic Notes on “The Development of Arab Media” prepared by Haim Koren concluded that the Arab media is still obsessed with ideological overtones which are hindering its way towards integration in to the global Media:

The existing tension between the two forms of Arab nationalism is fascinating but not without problems. To that one may add the characterization of the language and the culture stratum in its wider context, creating a journalistic culture whole which constitutes the Arab agenda. These parameters in turn characterize the Arab media as culture dependent, since it contains normative codes and cultural attributes which do not go hand in hand with McLuhan’s concept of global village (Haim 2007)

The above mentioned pessimist observation contradict with “real change” recognized by Dr. James Zogby in more than one surveys that are taking place in Arab streets. Acceptability for women to work and looking inwards are the new changes in Arab

attitude. (Zogby, James 2005 1) The Stanley Foundation reached to a conclusion that also supports the idea that cultural barriers are being threatened by the change:

The information revolution that swept the western world over the last two decades is now transforming the Arab world. New Radio stations, websites and text messaging are just a few of the medium breaking down cultural barriers and challenging the hardened old order. But none of these innovations is having more of an impact than hundreds of Arabic language satellite televisions. They come directly into homes and even the most repressive governments in the region find them almost impossible to block. And because they are easily available at low or sometimes no cost to the viewer, rich and poor alike now have a dizzying array of TV choices (The Stanley Foundation 2006).

International Telecommunication Union has declared its ranking of countries according to their rate of media access. The list comprises three category; high access, moderate access and low access. No Arab country could have entered in the High Access category which includes only few countries like. However most of the Arab countries and especially Gulf countries have been ranked in second category of moderate access.

Table 3

Digital Access Index 2002

Country	Category	Rate	Global Ranking
UAE	Upper Access	0.64 (Highest access is Sweden with 0.85)	34
Bahrain	do	0.60	42
Qatar	do	0.55	48
Kuwait	Do	0.51	60
Lebanon	Medium Access	0.49	67
Jordan	Do	0.45	
Saudi Arabia	Do	0.44	
Oman	Do	0.43	
Libiya	Do	0.42	
Tunisia	Do	0.41	

Egypt	Do	0.40	
Palestine	Do	0.38	
Algeria	Do	0.37	
Morocco	Do	0.33	
Yemen	Low Access	0.18	
Sudan	Do	0.13	

Source: ITU Digital Access Index: World's First Global ICT Ranking

Given the increased mediated interaction across all identity borders (national, ethnic, linguistic, time etc) social scientists have employed different theories to examine nature and consequences of this intensified and extended human interaction. Though theoretical spectrum of media studies is deeply divided on ideological grounds, yet their methodologies have greatly helped media studies to emerge as particular scholarly domain beyond cultural and journalism studies. Arab media has also been examined by same methodologies. Jurgen Habermas's "Public Sphere" has faced many limitations in analyzing Arab media. Most of the media studies scholars in the region have employed Arjun Appadurai's much discussed *Mediascapes* in relation with global cultural flows and globalization of culture. The concept of *mediascapes* has succeeded in detecting the inconsistencies of globalization in the region and disjunctures in cultural globalization debate in the region. Arab media's diversified responses towards globalizing media can better be identified through *mediascapes*. To define *mediascapes*, Arjun Appadurai makes following points:

- Distribution of electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information newspapers, magazines, television stations and film production studios
- These images involve many complicated inflections, depending on their mode (documentary or entertainment), their hardware (electronic or print), their audiences (local national and transnational), and the interests of those who own and control them.
- They provide (especially in their television, film and cassette forms) large and complex repertoires of images, narratives and ethnoscapes to viewers throughout the world (Appadurai: 1990 2-2).

Arab Mediascapes involves massive distribution of electronic capabilities. The electronic capabilities are disseminated through electronic and digital images

produced by more than 350 Television and film channels are broadcasted by half dozen regional satellites like Arab Sat, Noor sat, Nile Sat, Al-Barka sat etc. 'The sheer speed, scale and volume of people, machinery, money, images and ideas (Appadurai 1997 37) in the Arab world and especially in the GCC region can be easily observed with thriving satellite and broadcasting industry in the region. Here the electronic capabilities of the region will be analysed in order to underline Arab *mediascape's* emerging phenomenon which is subsequently transforming the entire region not in one-dimensional, but with specific disjunctures created by outpacing movement and interaction of electronic images in the region.

Now the making of Arab *Mediascapes* involves fast growing media industries in general and electronic media in particular. To know the intensity of massive distribution of electronic capabilities growth of satellite industry, transnational broadcasting channels, film industry and advertisement market as financial backbone of all this imagination industry would clearly draw a picture of Arab mediscap and its direction.

Satellite, broadcast and advertisement industry

Overall worldwide industry revenue growth was 16% from 2006 to 2007, compared with a 19.5% increase from 2005 to 2006, led by the Satellite Services sector. Satellite Services increased slightly more than 18% from 2006 to 2007, largely due to growth in satellite television revenues. World satellite industry revenues had average annual growth of 11.5% for the period 2002-2007. Share of broadcast industry in total satellite revenue (123 billion USD) at world level is 57.5 billion USD which shows the pace of growth in broadcast industry in the world.

In global satellite industry, MENA (Middle East and North Africa) is emerging as one of the most dynamic emerging markets for satellite and broadcast use. Euro consult estimates that transponder demand throughout MENA has risen 12 percent per year for the last five years. Commercial satellite-lease revenues have also grown by 17 percent per year on average since 2003, reaching US\$ 752 million in 2007. The report states that 42 per cent of Ku-band satellite usage within the MENA region was from television and radio broadcasts, while the remaining was made up

from voice and data traffic (Zawayya. Com 2008 21st December). A total of over 1,350 channels were broadcast in the region with a net addition of 330 channels, i.e. a 32% growth driven by both free to air and pay-TV broadcasters.

Among Arab key satellite players in broadcasting sector are Arabsats which are carrying nearly 350 TV channels and 160 Radio stations to 164 million audiences of 21 Arab countries as well as in 79 non Arab countries (IPSOS-Sats 2007 MENA Sat-TV Landscape). Arabsats have also “maintained strategic partnership with most of the world’ leading satellite companies”. BADR-6, BADR-4, BADR-3, and Arabsat-2B are in orbit and delivering telecommunication services in the region and controlled by Arab league rather than a particular country. Arabsat was launched with the help of huge investment by Saudi Arabia and other Arab and gulf countries. Saudi Arabia invested 29.9%, Kuwait 11.9%, Libya 9.2%, Iraq 8.3 Qatar 8.0% and Egypt. 5.2 percent in the Arab League project. (Naomi Sakr 2001 9)The largest share of Saudi Arabia gave it significant say in determining the operation of the satellite even today. Arabsat digital television bouquets now includes following genres of TV channels:

Table 4
Arab Satellite Channels Genres

Genre	Channels	Genre	Channels
Children	9	Documentary	3
Educational	2	General	81
HD-TV	5	Interactive	38
Movies	10	Music	9
National/Public	32	News & Buisness	24
Religious	22	Sport	14
Teleshopping	12		

Source: Adapted Arab Satellite Communications Organisation <http://www.arabsat.com>

Nile sat: Nilesat is an investment Egyptian Company established in July 1996, for operating DTH broadcasting satellites and unliking facilities. It has launched two satellites in the orbital position 7 degrees west (Nilesat 101 and Nilesat 102). Using digital technology, Nilesat can broadcast Egyptian, Arabic and international channels, open and encrypted channels, general and thematic channels, educational, health and

scientific channels, live news exchange anywhere within the coverage area. According to Nilesat website, it is broadcasting 385 digital TV channels in the KU band and 98 Radio channels. Nearly 60% channels are free to air (<http://www.nilesat.com/aboutus.htm>).

NoorSat: In December 2004, NOORSAT Co. W.L.L. (a limited liability company incorporated in Bahrain) was established as a private company to develop and operate a satellite-based communications infrastructure for the Arab World. It is first fully privately owned satellite service provider, and uniquely positioned to serve the growing demand in the media and telecommunications sectors in the Arab World. (<http://www.noorsat.com/>)

Yahsat: Al Yah Satellite Communications Company PJSC (Yahsat) is a private joint stock company fully owned by Mubadala, an investment arm of the Government of Abu Dhabi. Since being incorporated in 2007, the first satellite, Yahsat 1A, will be launched in the fourth quarter of 2010 at 52.5° east. Yahsat 1B will follow in the first half of 2011. The satellite control will be operated from our gateway in Abu Dhabi, UAE. Yahsat is a wholly owned subsidiary of Mubadala Development Company. Mubadala is an investment company at the forefront of the transformation of Abu Dhabi's economy, evolving it beyond oil and gas into a global diversified economy. (<http://www.yahsat.ae/home.htm>)

Gulfsat: Though Gulfsat has not entered in broadcast industry till now, but there are strong possibilities that Gulfsat can provide broadcasters facilities and services. Utilizing Gulfsat uplink facilities in Kuwait, news crews and agencies would be able to send the news material to their Headquarters. This can be live broadcast or scheduled. Over the years, Gulfsat spread its operations beyond the Middle East to other countries such as Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Iran, Belgium, Sweden, UK, USA, Peru, Seychelles, Bangladesh and Morocco. Future expansion plans include Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, and Dominican. The first Middle East based VSAT service provider, Gulfsat started operations in 1995, established in partnership with the Ministry of Communications, Kuwait and global industry leader Hughes Network Systems, USA. (<http://www.gulfsat.com/>)

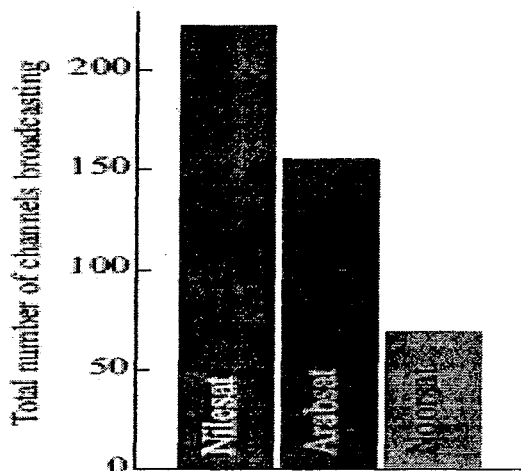
Apart from abovementioned key players in satellite industry in Arab world there are

other companies which are focused to telecommunication like Abu Dhabi based Thuraya which covers nearly 110 countries over the globe. Another group from Kuwaiti and Jordanian TV companies have joined the satellite club recently with announcement of \$500m investment in satellite operation which will be based in Dubai. 'SmartSat' will be region's first privately-owned satellite (Rapid TV News 17 February 2009).

Broadcast industry: Broadcast industry in the Arab world is also thriving with unprecedented pace. According to Arab Advisors Group Satellite TV Channels have grown by 270% between 2004 and August 2007 and the number of channels in the small region of 432 million population have grown to 370 while pay channels have reached to 140. GCC region is emerging as engine of broadcast industry in which UAE alone hosts 22% of all TV channels in Arabsat, Nilesat or Noorsat followed by Saudi Arabia which hosts 15% and Egypt hosts only 11% of all TV channels in the region (Arab Media Information 2008 20 February). These satellites are the major career of televisions in the region. More than three hundred channels are being carried by these satellites.

Table 5

Number of Channels Carried by Arab Satellite Service Providers



Source: Middle East Broadcasters Journal, May-June, 2007 pp. 5

and international conflicts which have always differed country to country. Though

there were many terrestrial televisions and radios, intensifying globalization process brought many Arab audiences in the western world as well as in the Arab world direct interaction of globalized media. Its instantaneous coverage of news from their next door like in the Madrid Conference and Gulf war in 1991 brought another sense of alienation towards their domestic channels which were under censorship. Saudi viewers could know the Gulf war only through CNN after three days of starting the war. Egyptians were also to satisfy their remote populations. Earlier Saudi Iranian competition over Islamic leadership was also chief driver behind Saudis' huge investments in coverage of religious programming.

Apart from terrestrial Televisions, Arab satellite channels can largely be grouped in five categories which are representative of each groups' political problem which they tried to address through their satellite adventures. Naomi Sakr has identified these groups (Sakr 2001 28-60) which have emerged in troubled 1990s amid Egypt's expulsion from Arab League and Arabsat and re-entry in 1989, Madrid peace talks and Iraqi aggression against Kuwait which ends with second Palestinian Intifada covered by Al-Jazeera.

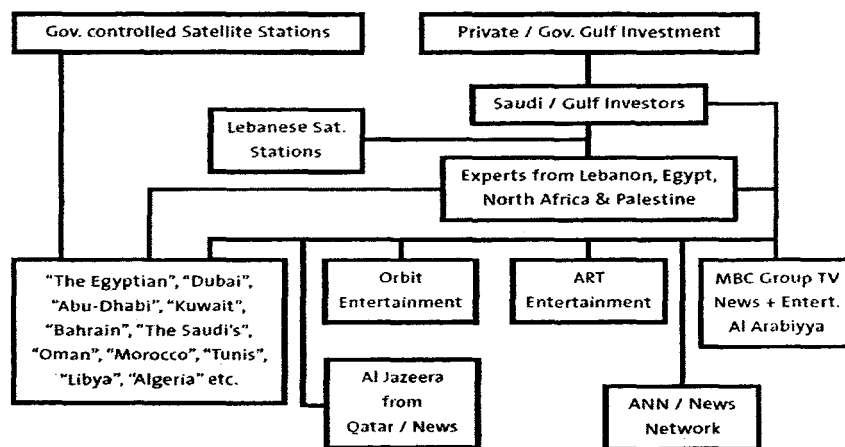
1. **Egyptian:** State owned Egyptian and Television Union (ERTU) ministry of information was regulating body over the organization in accordance of Law No. 13 of 1979 and Law No. 223 of 1989. On December 12 1990 Egyptian Space Channel was launched as first Arabic satellite channel available to most of the Arab population. Other Arab governments like Bahrain and Kuwait provided terrestrial distribution of the channel following Iraqi aggression against Kuwait.
2. **Saudi Arabia:** The 1990s saw a lot of satellite initiatives by Saudi princes. Launch of Middle East Broadcast Corporation by Prince Walid Ibrahim in London and Arab Radio and Television jointly by Saleh Kamel and Alwalid bin Talal and Orbit by Khalid bin Abdulla were all privately initiated and out of Saudi territory enjoying deregulation in London and Rome. Despite all local laws against satellites, all three channels enjoyed relative freedom as being fully Saudi channel. A silent rivalry soon ran between Egyptian and Saudi satellites over number of economic and cultural gains in the region. But Saudi satellites were also internally in competition. MBC was close to the King Fahad but deteriorating health of King

Fahad impacted on funding of the MBC which was running in loss. The news based channel soon shifted from News to entertainment to sustain the channel. ART heavily invested to gain special rights of Egyptian movies and producing nearly 6000 hours of programming.

3. **Lebanon:** The bloody civil war in Lebanon has seen emergence of terrestrial channels in disproportionate way while competing sectarian domains by one over other. Rafik Hariri passed a new Audio Visual Law in 1996 which allowed private channels in first Arab country but also regulated illegal channels. Five new channels were allowed on sectarian lines; Lebanon Broadcasting Corporation for Christian population, Future TV owned by Rafik Hariri for Sunni population, Christian orthodox saw Murr TV and Shia Muslims satisfied with NBN and the last license was given to A-Manar TV. These channels were more than enough for small country of three million populations. After the satellite operation began in 1996, LBC involved in Pan Arab broadcasting with help of ART the Saudi channel based in Rome and gradually evolved serious challenge to MBC's own audiences in Saudi Arabia. Thus LBC gradually emerged as Pan Arab media player with strong Saudi backing. A rivalry which culminated in to nine months ban on LBC by Rafik Hariri government. Meanwhile Future TV continued Saudi support for it.
4. **Qatar:** The troubled 1990s of Arab satellites televisions with attached political conflicts in the Gulf, Palestine. The bloodless coup of Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani against his father in 1995 came with announcement of uncensored media. Qatar became the first Arab country by removing ministry of information and introduction of Al-Jazeera as a private satellite TV. The experiment of uncensored television made Qatar at the top of freedom index in the Arab region added with multiple controversies. Al-Jazeera now known as Al-Jazeera phenomenon will be discussed later in next chapter.
5. **Syria:** Arab News Network initiated as all News Channel by Sawmar al-Asad son of Rifaat al-Asad, estranged brother of Hafez-al-Asad then the Syrian president. The station was privately established in May 1997 by Sawmar in London in advancing his power struggle with President Hafez al-Asad. Channel's spending around 30 million dollar remained unknown but personal contacts of Rifaat al Asad with Saudi prince Abdulla were always in news who was in desperate search for an alternative to uncensored Al- Jazeera. Later in years many other channels in Arab Gulf came, like Emirates Dubai TV (EDTV) October 1992 and it got Eutelsat,

Interlsat as well as Asiasat and was available to most of the Arab and European nations. Without going to the politics involved in all of these groups of satellites televisions Arab *Mediascape* has also encountered many non regional media actors who have actively produced and reproduced ideas and cultural language. The geographical and sectoral division of these channels can be better illustrated as following which has been accomplished by German Arab Media Dialogue in Oman.

Table: 6



Source: Mass Communication sans frontiers? Gloclaization, Media and Cultural identity, papers presented in

German Arab Media Dialogue held at Masqat, Oman 25th 26th April 2006, PP 30. (in Arabic)

Non Arab Arabic broadcasters: Emergence of Arabic channels from the western countries is another phenomenon which signify the importance of Arab *Mediascape* at global level. BBC's Arabic service was once started in 1994 with help of Orbit which suffered a major setback after broadcasting of a controversial program. BBC's Arabic service is resumed in 2008. European Union's Euro News, Italian TV's Arabic service Rai-Med, Germany's Arabic service DEUTSCHE WELLE and Israeli's Arabic service, France's Arabic service and Russia's Rusiya-al-Youm has also joined the non-Arab Arabic media. Though most of these projects are started mainly to win public opinion and defuse cultural conflicts which the modern world has observed in last decade. None of them has immediate commercial interests in their services. See for detail: 'Western Channels into Arab world' a talk at Al-Jazeera on 28 July 2002 (Al-Jazeera 2002 28 July).

Film industry: Apart from satellite industry, film industry has also welcomed by Arab and especially GCC states. Dubai Studio City, Ras Al Khaimah Media City and Creative City in the Fujairah Media Free Zone all in UAE have started attracting international film makers and producers. The newly established cities are not only providing world class studios and shooting sites also production services. The Ras Al Khaimah Media City is going to expand its services by investing Dh80 million into building 10 studios, 10 dubbing theatres and 20 shooting stages for films and TV productions (Arab Media Information 2007 12 December).

Mirage Holdings, a Hollywood-based production company, is reported to invest \$1 billion (Dh3.67bn) on a two million sq m area as part of its international expansion. Mirage Holdings said earlier this year. The project will produce both local and Hollywood productions. Establishment of the Dubai International Film Festival (DIFF) in 2004 manifested the will to join the global cultural industry rather than staying victim of stereotypes of Hollywood. The DIFF has adopted its mission statement as “Lead in building cultural understanding through creative achievement in film” (Seymour 2008 70-71). Earlier it was Egypt which was considered capital of Arab culture and entertainment industry but the new economic transformation in Arab Gulf region has also brought it in to focus of cultural production to cater audiences of new age entertainment. Films like ‘The Kingdom’, ‘Syriana’ are the new films directed by Hollywood film makers, produced in Dubai. Warner Brothers, Universal and Paramount are among prominent who are looking in to the region with great interest. The rush for film making in Dubai has offering new investment opportunities in film industry, especially after many films have achieved international fame and recognition. ‘Strategic partnership’ is completed between Warner Bros, Aldar, and Abu Dhabi Media Company in September 2007 (Arab Media Information 2007, 12 December). The three will establish a theme park, hotel and multiple cinemas in Abu Dhabi. It will have the facilities to make movies in the region.

Advertisement: After having identified Arab *Mediascapes* drivers; satellite and broadcasting industry and emerging film industry., there emerge another key driving factor which is base point for all of media industry; advertisement. The entire media boom has brought advertisers, advertising companies, and advertisement production activities paralleled with media growth. Earlier role of media was merely known as

an instrument to educate, inform and entertain people now the media's role has significantly shifted from this idealist approach to more market oriented responsibilities. It came with arrival of private media outlets in broadcasting and publishing industry which was earlier a taboo due to states' overpowering role on educating people according to their national interests. Given the global media interaction, the idealist roles of media are no longer either desired or achievable. Instead media's basic driving force is the profitability which it always take care for that. The new role of media is defined as mediator between producers and consumers rather than between 'state' and 'citizens'. It is concerns of producers and consumers are above all other concerns theoretically-though not always practically.

There has been done a lot of study about how advertisers do influence media and its policies on different issues. Especially the well known work of Naom Chomsky and Edward S. Herman is very impressive in order to build up theoretical understanding about function of media which has gradually become been victim of different 'flaks' which media suffer time to time. In a liberal democratic regime, media is supposed to be privately run which requires huge investment, legal patronage and competitive space to draw audiences and special packaging to change them in to consumers.

Given the nature of private sector in the Arab and particularly in GCC region, emergence of private sector is characterized as state dependent of state supported. The Kafala system, some how close to license raj of south Asian countries, is main feature of oil producing countries in the GCC. According to Kafala "there should be a contract and or a sponsor as prerequisite for obtaining visa, residence, and work permit. When the employer is the state, it acts as an impersonal organizational sponsor. But it is in the private and informal sectors that the class of individual sponsor emerges full blown ass a novelty of oil based societies." (Ibrahim 1981 11) Perhaps private sector of the Arab Gulf is most debatable part in growth of capitalism in the Arab world which has drawn notorious citations from many scholars of the region. How to characterize the private sector in Arab Gulf is still a serious case. "Lumpen Capitalism" (Ibrahim 1981 11) or "dependent state capitalism" (Naqeeb 1987 110) have brought "superficial prosperity" (Naqeeb 1987 84) and have uncovered inconsistent relation between "growth and development" as uneven growth has been mistaken for development in the region due

to its particular nature of economic structure. The editorial independence and financial dependence cannot go paralleled. Arab broadcasting industry has many 'missing links' have been found in question of transnational television and development (Sakr 2001 99). Role of advertisement in Arab media is of very unique character. It is still to be seriously enquired who real advertisers are and who consumers are. If advertisers are really producers or they are actually states. Market oriented media and state run media have different directions of interests thus follow different set of outlook. Relation between Arab advertisers and Arab consumers is another crucial and complicated font of media studies which is largely ignored in most of the media studies in the region.

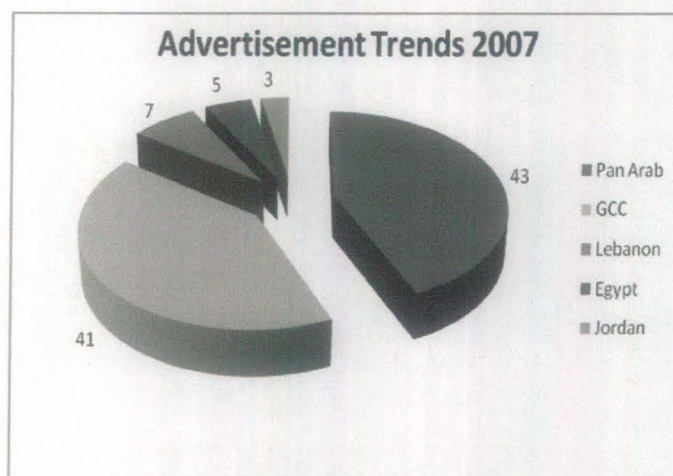
The recent report released by Ipsos shows that the Arab region has spent 8 billion USD on advertisement. The report has divided the region in three major parts; Pan Arab, Levant, GCC. After pan Arab advertisers, GCC is seconded by Pan Arab spending 43% followed by GCC spending 40% and the rest Arab world spends only 18%.

Table 7-8-9

Advertisement Trends in Arab Media: 2007

IPSOS-STAT		STATEX - MULTI COUNTRY CUMULATIVE QUANTITATIVE MONITORING	
Date : From January to December 2007			
Amount in : USD			
Country	Amount	Amount %	
PAN ARAB	3,675,703,670	43	
UAE	1,470,032,979	17	
KSA	1,081,974,526	13	
LEBANON	571,343,957	7	
KUWAIT	500,692,915	6	
EGYPT	427,455,293	5	
JORDAN	275,033,900	3	
BAHRAIN	198,537,428	2	
QATAR	188,324,325	2	
OMAN	95,882,640	1	
SYRIA	18,001,492	0	
Totals	8,502,983,126	100	

IPSOS STAT / Statex © Printed 13/02/2008



Ad Spends 2007 By Country

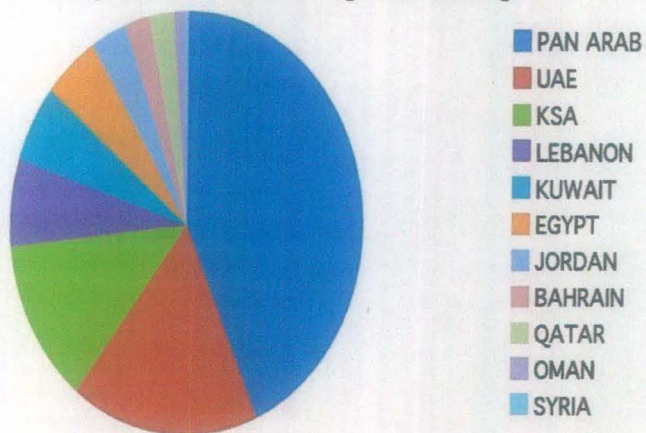


Table 10

	Value	Sh%	Value	Sh%	Value	Sh%	Y2007/2006
Television	363	39	422	40	558	42	32
Newspaper	424	46	473	44	572	43	21
Magazine	103	11	118	11	133	10	13
Radio	9	1	13	1	19	1	48
Outdoor	30	3	38	4	47	4	25
Cinema	2	0	3	0	2	0	-30
Total	931	100	1,066	100	1,332	100	25

Overall Media Split Analysis [GCC & Pan Arab Markets - Jan-Mar 2007]

Table 11

Advertisement revenue projection by countries 2005-2011

(US\$ Millions)	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	CAGR 06-11
Egypt	312	367	408	463	519	575	639	11.7%
% growth		17.4%	11.2%	13.4%	12.1%	10.8%	11.2%	
Kuwait	217	273	297	323	352	384	418	8.9%
% growth		25.4%	8.9%	8.9%	8.9%	8.9%	8.9%	
Lebanon	147	151	160	177	193	211	231	8.9%
% growth		2.7%	6.2%	10.3%	9.3%	9.3%	9.3%	
Morocco	136	151	164	173	184	199	216	7.4%
% growth		11.3%	8.3%	5.4%	6.5%	8.5%	8.2%	
Saudi Arabia	429	510	574	623	670	721	776	8.7%
% growth		18.8%	12.4%	8.5%	7.6%	7.6%	7.6%	
UAE	536	747	851	993	1,130	1,281	1,424	13.8%
% growth		39.4%	14.0%	16.6%	13.8%	13.4%	11.2%	
Pan Arab (Regional)	1,123	1,314	1,532	1,780	2,058	2,367	2,708	15.6%
% growth		17.0%	16.6%	16.2%	15.6%	15.0%	14.4%	

Source: Arab Media Outlook 2007-2011, Dubai Press Club pp 39

In these advertisement expenses the breakup of broadcasting and print publication is another important aspect of analysis before one see the broadcasting industry's dynamics in the region. According to Pan Arab Research Centre's recent report the break-up of advertisement revenues in the region are as follows:

The Media splits in different level shows a set of inconsistencies which may unveil many other questions in the politics of Arab *mediascapes*. News papers are still dominant in advertisement market with 43% of total share while televisions' share in the cake is 40% contrary to global trends which makes televisions are sweeping out newspapers. The projected advertising trends in region show that the broadcast industry as well as internet and other media are likely to grow by nearly 10% annually. GCC region is going to contribute as growth engine role given to its high budgets projects for next couple of years. Saudi Arabia is reported to invest 300 billion dollars in different projects and UAE as well has declared many projects.

The regional break up of advertisement is another interesting point of analysis which uncovers the silent tensions in region's media industry and its quest to reconcile between political interests vis-à-vis globalization forces.

Table 12

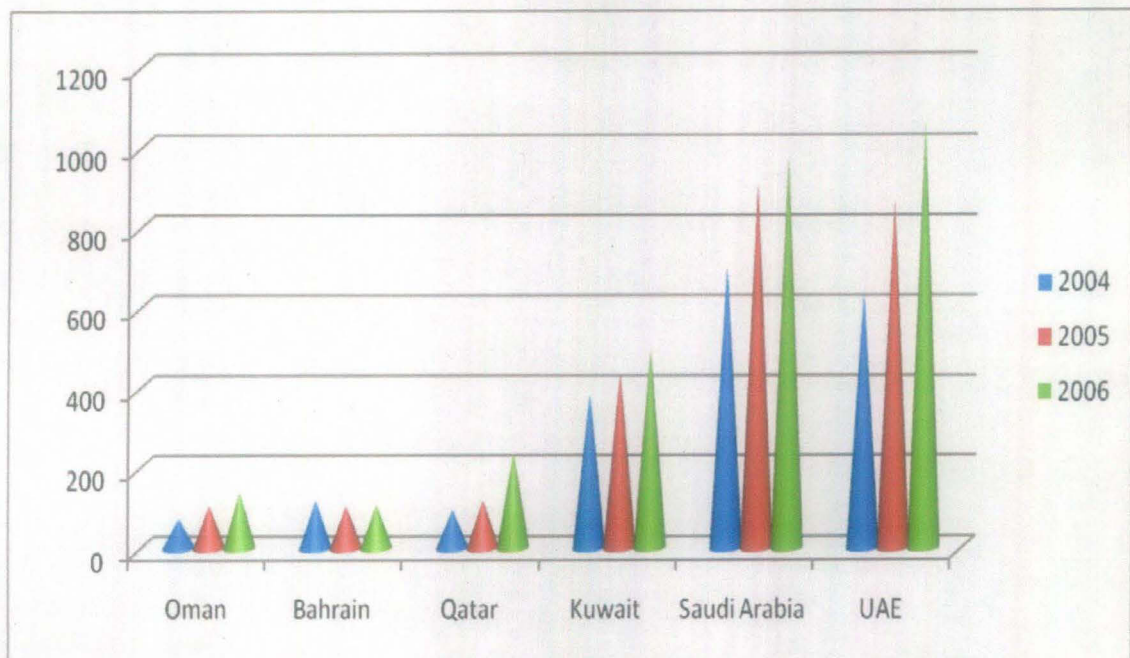
GCC Advertisement market (US\$ Million)

	Bahrain		Kuwait		Oman		Qatar		Saudi Arabia		UAE		Total GCC	Pan Arab	Total Arab
	2004	116	2004	382	2004	72	2004	93	2004	699	2004	634			
Ads market	2005	103	2005	438	2005	105	2005	118	2005	911	2005	869	3018	2316	6557
	2006	107	2006	496	2006	139	2006	237	2006	978	2006	1063			
	TV	20		58		15		7 (2006)		59 (2006)		119			
News Paper	67		355		117		219		751		701		2210	28	2753

Source: Adapted from Pan Arab Research Centre 2004-2007
<http://www.arabiandemographics.com/servlets/aemi2004gcc.jsp>

Table 13

Advertisement expenses in GCC (amount in Million \$)



Source: adapted from PARC 2004-2007

These tables show some consistent trends.

1. Despite impressive growth of Arab satellite broadcasting, news papers will continue having large slice in the advertisement revenue pie in next some years.
2. Though boom in satellite broadcasting industry is taking place in GCC region, but advertisement share of GCC satellite television industry is lower than Levant and North African Arab countries, particularly than of Egypt.
3. Global projections are against this growth trend as broadcast industry is dominating the advertisement pie and share of newspapers in advertisement revenues is decreasing. In United States 34.9% increase has been registered in electronic publication while printed publications have registered only 0.3% during the first quarter of 2006¹.

¹ GCC advertising an expert predicts that there will be 3\$ billion advertisement expenditure due to long list of costly project initiated in recent years and are likely to be completed by 2011. will be the volume of advertising in Saudi Arabia, 02 September 2006 accessed 1st February 2009 URL: <http://www.ameinfo.com>

These inconsistent trends or “missing links” are very much obvious in entire GCC media industry which requires further enquiry of the dynamics of satellite television boom in the region. First question in this regard is about the relation between advertisers and television owners. Second is the relation between audiences and consuming attitudes.

With regard to continuation of newspaper advertising amidst increasing satellite boom, Faisal Abdullah CEO of Visuals Marketing Communication Group says that ‘Relatively, this will continue in our region for a longer time than in the West in view of the loyalty of people of the region to the sources of news and information, unlike the West in which I expect shorter life for newspapers’ (Arab Media Information 2006). The huge difference in advertisement revenues between News papers and Televisions underlines the ongoing political problems which televisions are engaged in the region. For example, among top advertisers in Televisions, state owned or states supported business groups are almost absent (PARC 2007).

Apart from audience-consumer conversion issue, there are many political problems lying with advertisement inconsistencies. Naomi Sakr point out that “moreover, if companies are seen to be advertising on a channel that may be popular with audiences but is unpopular with governments, their contracts from government departments may be jeopardized” (Sakr 2002 113). This very fact reveals the nature of satellite channels if they emerged either as agent of symptom of globalization. Naomi Sakr’s observation that trans-national televisions in the region have ‘provided a novel vehicle for interaction between contenders for powers inside and among Middle Eastern states’ (Sakr 2000 65) is confirmed by events happening in the transnational televisions landscape in the region. Before the conclusion of this chapter comes, some evidence of these ‘contention inside’ needs to be elaborated.

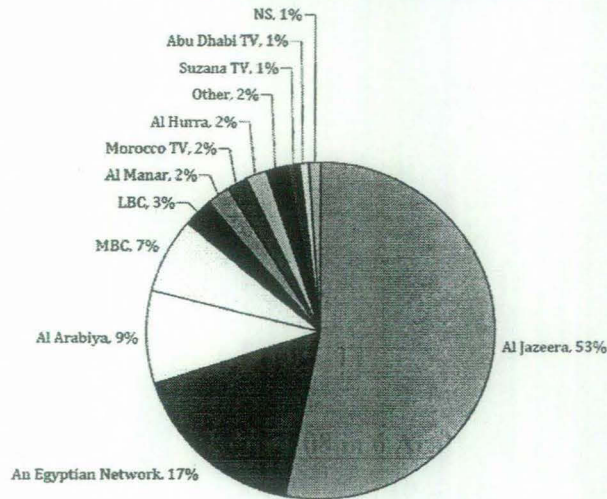
A recent survey done by media scholar Professor Shibley Telhami with Zogby international in 2008 concludes that Al-Jazeera network enjoys more than half of the viewership of the Arab television followed by Egyptian network and Al-Arabiya whose share is 17% and 9% consequently. Qatar based Al-Jazeera is seen as harbinger of freedom of opinion in entire Arab world. So much so that the

network is itself regarded as an phenomenon. The survey is contended by other TV networks especially by Al-Arabiya who have blamed Prof. Zogby of partiality as the channel once refused a program of Mr. Zogby. Despite the contention, the survey has adopted methodology whose error percentage will not make any significant difference in the results.

Table 14

Media Viewership 2008 in 6 Arab countries

When you watch international news, which of the following network's news broadcasts do you watch most often?



Sources: 2008 Annual Arab Public Opinion Poll, Survey of the Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development at the University of Maryland (with Zogby International) Professor Shibley Telhami Telhami, Principal Investigator

The survey, at least, shortlists the leading channels of the region which are Al-Jazeera of Qatar, Saudi owned Al-Arabiya, Egyptian government owned ERTU, Saudi owned MBC, LBC which has huge Saudi investment, Hizbulla's Al-Manar, American state departments' Al-Hurra and UAE's state owned Abu-Dhabi TV, all are closely attached with political establishment of either country. Disputes around their stories, news have always drawn states' sharp reactions which sometimes have led to expulsion of networks' journalists, temporary suspension of diplomatic relations, counter news programming and starting new ways of resistance and opposition to a particular version of news.

GCC and Arab *Mediascape*

This very unfathomable political involvement in translational television spectrum, especially in news channels, has discouraged advertisers directly or indirectly, to advertise through a particular channel. The rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Qatar has been on Al-Jazeera's news stories which have disturbed Saudi ruling families times and again. Their realization of inability to stop Al-Jazeera manifested in re-starting 24/7 news in MBC with launching news based Al- Arabiya just before Iraq war in 2003. Both rival channels are heavily dependent on funds of their governments or individual investors from ruling families. The case of foreign Arabic channels like BBC, Al-Hurrah, Paris based TV 24 and Russian TV Rusiya Al-Youm are also of same political nature rather than being business projects.

Among constitutive factors of these *mediascapes* are their latent natures of being 'image centred' 'narrative based accounts of 'strips of reality'. These *Mediascapes* are converging in to a global *mediascape* through the vehicles of satellite channels, online newspapers and films industries. This global *mediascape* seems to be free from western dominance relatively. Many would have remembered when United States has formally banned Al-Jazeera to be broadcast in the US due to perceived threats to American interests. It was first time when a global media power has faced such threat from a non US media.

"Since the United States is no longer the puppeteer of a world system of images but is only one node of a complex translational construction of imaginary landscapes" (Appdurai 1997 31) the other nodes are still insufficiently studied and examined.

Appadurai's hypothesis that the relationship of these various flows to one another as they constellate into particular events and social forms will be radically context dependent, seems to more close to disjuncture in the Arab world. The global forces, economic challenges, demographic pressures and cultural rigidity in the region are not leading towards a pre-decided cultural order. The tension within cultural players of the region is manifested in their different responses to the global cultural flows. Hence each response is contributing in Arab *mediascape* which is collectively converging into global *mediascape* making it more troublesome with attached conflicts. The global *mediascape* contributed by Indian, Latin *mediascapes*, has received significant media flows from Arab and Islamic world which are somehow obsessed with terror talks, reform debates, Bin Laden's tapes and conflicts images of the region. Coverage of Afghanistan, Iraq wars in last 21st century, Arab media have supplied disturbing images from conflict zones to the Arab and non Arab world. It is how the Arab *mediascapes* has evolved throughout the modern history, accelerated by satellite channels. Most important fact of Arab *mediascapes* is that it is no longer state controlled. Private sector is also major part of imagination industry. Of all general genre channels, 56% are from private sector, and 54% music channels are also of private sector (Ameinfo 2008 20 February). There are 28 Arab networks broadcasting via satellite either their own programmes or retransmissions of other channels, 17 of which are state-run and 11 owned and managed by Arab private capital (ASBU 2008).

It also shows that Arab countries have surrendered some of their sovereignty to Arab League's controlled Arab Satellites as well as to other private sectors' satellites which have become both driving forces of their economy as well as transition point for their politics. This is why Arab countries do discuss time to time the matter and try to make some laws which could prevent their dear interests. The last Arab Broadcast Commission passed in Cairo was an attempt to reduce TV channels influence. The attempt was forwarded by Egypt and Saudi Arabia and opposed by Qatar the home country of Al-Jazeera which cited the attempt against freedom of expression. The restructuring of media regime will be discussed in next chapter in detail.

The immediate consequences of this sheer speed of image movement in the world and

in Arab world especially is that the 'public sphere' is unevenly active with circulation of disturbing images from Israel-Palestine conflict, Iraq war, Afghanistan and other places of the world. In absence of any role to play in deciding their own political and social decisions the Arab *mediascape* has become battleground not only against western forces also against their own leaders, cultural taboos, religious and social authorities.

The medium can take on certain important functions in the Middle East society. These include its role as a forum for the exchange of thoughts and ideas between citizens or the different social groups of a democratic community; its function as an integrating influence upon children and young people; its importance as a platform and agent for all kinds of cultural forms and expressions; its function to advance understanding, speed recognition and enhance development, and finally, and perhaps most importantly, its function to promote peace, as only in peace can the enormous potential of the Middle East be realized. (Hussain 2004)

As Appadurai's focus is on the '*imagination as a social practice*' Arab *Mediascape* has been defined in the very context of socio-political contexts and economic compulsions. Arab *Mediascape* is neither unidirectional, nor preoccupied of ideological prepositions. It is as contested internally as any other media of other regions. Hence the imagination of Arab world is likely to come a new out of these *scapes* which needs a further inquiry. How the new imagination is likely to emerge depends on the way of media exercises in the region. It can be concluded that those who see the above-stated interplay of politics and broadcasting as an obstacle in the way of Arab media may find emerging dynamics of GCC media which contradicts the picture they view. The pattern of responses which many Arab and Gulf states have espoused to perceived emerging 'media threats' is itself has created ample opportunities for further freedom and democratization of the regime rather than disrupting the process. 'Looking inside' is major step that Arab world has taken in order to make a proper response to the changes happening around them. In a survey question about 'most significant challenge to Arab journalism' has drawn maximum responses about internal issues except US threat which only 30% people have cited as a threat (Pintak 2008). Most of the surveyed journalists have included internal issues as their part of journalistic duties like political reforms, educating populace, civic issues etc.

GCC region which is the main are of this enquiry is emerging as an engine of re-profiling media regime. A region which controls more than 40% of world oil

reserves, irreversible integration process started, heading towards single currency of *Khaleej Dinar*, connecting with the global community through ICT, with half dozen of world class commercial cities like Doha, Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Jeddah, Kuwait city etc are all pretext of a New Gulf. “A new educated, competitive, adaptable workforce could see off competition from China, India and other emerging markets in Asia” remarked Middle East Economic Digest. The Gulf Region will have 80 million population, double than today’s, will produce 30 million a day b/d of oil, but will be fraction of the economy in 2030 (MEED 2007).

Reforms in financial sector are taking place, political reforms and allowing women in politics in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, intense reform moves can be seen in Qatar which has now largest number of foreign universities and research institutes, embattled Pan Arab Media “ Al-Jazeera” in the country. Burgeoning middle and entrepreneurs’ class in the Gulf are been seen in at international bids for construction, pipe line and other projects from India to Turkey, to the United States. Arab Human Development 2005 report appreciates Gulf Education especially women advanced well to men (AHDR 2006). Along with this trend, GCC countries have demonstrated greater willingness towards integration in to global economic interaction through Information and Communication Technology (ICT).In its report ‘The Global Information Technology Report: Readiness for the Networked World’ published in 2002–2003, by World Economic Forum, ICT challenges for the Arab world has been dealt with detail. The report prepared the index of readiness of Arab states which shows that Gulf countries are at the forefront of readiness despite all odds.

Table 15

Aspects of Political Leadership to Promote Use of ICT

Aspects of Political Leadership to Promote Use of ICT								
	ICT Strategy Clearly Spelled Out*	ICT Implementation Plan Clearly Articulated**	Operational ICT-Dedicated Research Facilities	Plan of ICT-Dedicated Research Facilities	Operational Technopole Initiative	Plan of Technopole Initiative	Existence of Technology Incubator	Planned Technology Incubator
Gulf								
Kuwait	✓	x	✓	✓	x	✓	x	✓
Saudi Arabia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	✓
Bahrain	✓	✓	✓	x	x	✓	✓	✓
Qatar	✓	x	x	x	x	x	x	✓
U.A.E.	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Oman	x	x	x	✓	x	x	x	✓
Levant								
Lebanon	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	✓	x	✓
Syrian AR	x	x	x	✓	x		x	x
Jordan	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Egypt	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Maghreb								
Tunisia	✓	✓	✓	✓	x	✓	x	✓
Algeria	x	✓	✓	✓		✓	x	✓
Morocco	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Key: ✓ = Yes, x = No

* Our definition is that an ICT strategy is clear when individual countries publish a set of strategic objectives in the field, either through a national plan or some other medium, and mark measurable and quantifiable accomplishments unto a milestone path.

** Our definition is that an ICT plan is clear and operational when budgets have been dedicated to the ICT strategy, a task force, whatever the format, is operationally in place, and when clearly published implementation process is underway.

Source: World Economic Forum Report, The Global Information Technology Report 2002-2003, URL: http://www.weforum.org/pdf/Global_Competitiveness_Reports/Reports/GITR_2002_2003/Contents.pdf

Now the biggest question is how they will sustain this growth if they have not enough skilled work forces in their ranks. As the UNESCO reported in 995 that the Arab countries are at lowest rank in spending on R&D, the youth population will turn to liability rather than asset had they not provided them with market required education and skills. Arab Gulf states have to respond the challenge in three ways. The key drivers for the change in the region are:

1. Demographic limitations: Gulf countries have huge deficit of human resources both in terms of quality and quantity. With lowest Research and Development expenses, they are depended on expatriate work force and keep their traditionally educated workforce in public sector only to satisfy their aspirations. Extensive development work have been planned and initiated after first and second oil boom has been facing shortage of population, building infrastructure, services which requires them enormous human resources which was not possible without allowing foreign workers

from across the world.

2. On the other hand, population growth rate is highest in the world and it is projected that Arab countries have to create 100 million jobs up to 2025. Youthful Gulf population is more advanced and experiencing global consumerism unlike earlier generations. Arab leaders are concerned to adjust this youth population not only economically also social and political empowerment. Local population, especially youths have complains of joblessness in private sector because of their skill deficits.
3. Diversification of economy as principal way to face the challenge has been recognized. Their over-dependency on oil revenues in their national economy has kept away their local population from participating in productive activities. Their requirements are increasing and their options are limited. Engaging local people in non-oil sector is the way to be part of globalized economic interaction.
4. Another key driver of change in the GCC region is normalizing the political transition also. The political system which has evolved out of historical problems in the region and out of the region has brought authoritarianism and patriarchal relationship between state and citizens. With increased global interaction of local people, emerging entrepreneur class and private sector which is now contributing in national economy now seek more participation in state affairs. Educated women are at the forefront of political re-adjustment programs. In recent years all GCC states have introduced gradual political reforms. The way GCC states are responding to the political aspirations of local people will decide the nature of political transition of the region. To make this transition smooth, economic and development oriented, they are forced to employ new strategies rather than suppressing the opposing voices as to suppress opposing voices has become out of their role.

The recent economic make-up of the region is being developed more diversified, less dependent on expatriates and economic participation of local population. Many Gulf leaders have started expressing concerns over oversized expatriate workforce and few of them have realized this as “tsunami”. Depreciation in international economy, dwindling dollar, search for alternative currencies and global efforts for oil alternates have all created a situation for Gulf leaders to rethink and reconfigure their entire economy along with freer political gestures. It is projected that in next some decades,

Gulf region has to open its economy more for global forces, strengthen Gulf entrepreneurship.

GCC countries are intrinsic part of Arab world and there is strong sense of belongingness to the pan Arab identity. As many other have elaborated idea of nation states in the Arab world could not break sense of single Arab community spread over 22 states and two continents from Iraq to Morocco. Because of this popular imagination of being part of same nation, pan Arab identity infrastructures have been developed. But the Arabs' societal structure which was deeply impacted by four 'big waves' of social changes (Ibrahim: 1981, 1) namely the colonial experience, modern science and technology, the national struggle for emancipation and oil, is now being reordered. Saduddin Ibrahim's hypothetical conception point of the of the 'New Arab Social Order' has now being intentionally realized through endorsing stratification system among Arab states and creating Gulf Cooperation Council the GCC of super rich Arab states in 1980s. Elaborating the New Arab Social Order Ibrahim had written in 1981:

The Arab world has had several revolutions in this century. Some have been loud with sound and fury. Others have been silent. Loud or silent, a revolution is primarily defined by its impact. Oil and movement of manpower and money across country lines is one of the Arab world's silent features of that order is a new stratification system among the Arab states and within each state. The novel phenomenon of a "country-class" in the Arab world is discussed in chapter 6. The new inter-Arab stratification system has, in turn, generated new links and interdependence among the poor, the middle, the rich, and the super-rich Arab states. Such links, we argue in chapter 6, give the Arab world a level of socio-economic unity unprecedented since the zenith of the Arab-Islamic Empire of the eighth century A.D. But the quality of this unity is a far cry from what Arab Nationalists have dreamt of in this twentieth century. (Ibrahim 1981 3)

The GCC states top the inter Arab stratification today also with some more new features and challenges which were not being felt that time including demographic pressures in form of youth bulge, making oil dependent economy more diversified and responding globalization forces.

Table: 16

ICT Penetration in GCC Countries

	Bahrain	Kuwait	Oman	Qatar	Saudi Arabia	UAE
Population	694,100	2,484,334	2,599,500	706,300	22,538,900	4,040,300
Phone subscribers per	90.60	76.76	31.67	79.43	47.65	101.68
Computers		400,000				
Internet hosts	1,334	2,709	726	221	15,830	56,169
Internet users	150,000	567,000		140,760	1,500,000	1,373,217
Internet subscribers	48,925	227,000	51,769	31,053	700,000	317,202
Radio household			300,000			
TV household	104,200	450,000	300,000	78,200	3,563,000	500,000

Source: UNESCO Portal on Communication and Information in Arab States
 URL:http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.phpRL_ID=1298&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

Land of desert capitalism or lumpen capitalism (Ibrahim 1982) media has undergone contradictory developments. The cliché “Written in Cairo, Printed in Beirut, and Read in Baghdad” seems to change in favour of GCC nations as “Produced in GCC, watched by all Arabs”. Given several economic, demographic and social and political factors, GCC region is forced to respond globalization forces more actively than their Arab counterparts. In his seminal work *New Arab Social Order*, Saduddin Ibrahim has already stratified Arabs and the GCC region was registered as fastest growing region. Acceptability to new media, satellite media in the region has increased with significant rate. Among most recognized facts by all media experts around the world is that GCC media regime has shown significant institutional changes in order to have greater say in global *mediascapes*. Among them following points can be noted with importance.

- Acceptance and willingness to be part of globalization rather than staying isolated
- Allowing globalization forces in the region including international financial

institutes

- Realizing that the process has positive as well as negative outcomes and requires innovative and protective measures
- Recognition to non state actors especially media though with suspicions

Data presented about media development in the GCC countries show that GCC region is now well ahead of other Arab countries. Whatever the reasons are and whatever the motives are there, GCC countries are more open to allow broadcast media in the region. Increasing investment in media sector is not only from state, also from private groups who are financing many religious and entertainment channels. On the top of media index in the Arab world, GCC region is destined to influence and been influenced by the media bound social and political outcomes. Media have become as part of daily life for majority of the population in the region unlike other Arab countries where majority of population is still far behind in terms of household television ownership. Advertisers, sponsors, presenters, producers and variety of people are engaged in the media proliferation. Social and political institutions, religious and cultural authorities are in interactive relation with media. Sometime Media are defined by society and some time media become definer.

The question how the GCC Media regime would look like would be determined by above said factors which have already impacted the regional media functions both at state and non state level. The next chapter will deal with specific questions regarding changing profile of Media Regime in the region with evidences from recent developments in their approach towards media.

Third Chapter

GCC Media Regime: The Changing Profile

GCC Media Regime: The Changing Profile

Media Regime in the GCC region has encountered with growing media market trends, economic changes, political complexities which influenced regional media in many aspects. Media regulations, media market trends, audience's participation, contents and format have all undergone significant new experiments in order to respond globalization forces in the region. In the world of '*Global Mediascapes*' GCC media can not stay in isolation given the interdependency of satellite technology to run transnational media outlets. Al-Jazeera network despite its Arab specificities did engage with global news actively with difference of political and social context of the content. Now Al-Jazeera has become major news provider to the world news outlets from the Arab world, replacing CNN and other western channels' dominance over the news market. Coverage of Operation Desert Storm of 1990 was in favour of western media as no Arab channel has presence in the coverage and Arab as well as world audiences has all information through CNN and BBC, in contrast coverage of Iraq war 2003 was disturbing for the alliance forces when Al-Jazeera could have access of remote areas of in Iraq unlike CNN and BBC. Arrival of Al-Arabiya at the same time has further increased disturbing images from Iraq to the world audiences which the other western channels were not showing. Through coverage of Afghan and Iraq wars, Arab media entered in global *mediascapes* with different political and social context. From global media *scapes*, GCC satellite channels have also challenged Arab world's leading news papers which were maintaining their strong presence both in readership and advertisement industry. Earlier pan Arab print media outlets like Saudi owned Al-Sharq Al-Awsat, and Al-Hayath, and Al-Quds were the only source for pan Arab news. The growth of advertisement in satellite channels has nearly reached to the news papers which still enjoys larger share of advertisement due to their lineage to political establishments. In 2007 TV advertisement expenditures have increased by 32% compared to 21% of news papers in the GCC and Pan Arab media outlets. Since the media laws have been framed in context of publications of news papers during seventies, explosion of satellite channels in nineties afterwards necessitated moderation of existing media laws to include satellite media in media regime. Since news papers in all of the GCC countries were run privately by people close to ruling ranks and broadcast media were strictly regulated by states' Ministries of Culture, Interior or Information, satellite TV channels could not be regulated in existing media

regime given its capacity to cross state control. Arab governments together initiated for joint regulation of TV through Arab League and ArabSat. Joining ArabSat and creating pan Arab regulations was recognition of the change which came through globalization in the region. The dialectic of private newspapers and state controlled broadcast created a situation for Arab and GCC states to adopt a safer position. Further as be elaborated in this chapter how Arab and GCC states are changing their regulations to allow private televisions gradually vis-à-vis safeguarding their interests threatened by private broadcast media. In economic terms, the region is potentially profitable market for broadcast industry but the political compulsions are also to be taken care of. The direction of media law changes have been set by these political consideration to under the pretext of protecting public order and culture. The new media laws are in their evolutionary phase which would remain under new experiments, changes and moderation in coming years because of various economic, political and cultural challenges. Their approach to address emerging *mediascapes* globally and locally, are context of Local vs. regional approach to respond global *mediascapes*. There seems a lot of interest and a degree of consensus over media dynamism provided that the dynamism would not form any threat to political status quo. A regional approach for media regulation, rather than national or global seem economically and politically viable option for the GCC states. This is the clash of globalization which many have argued that the way of globalization in the Arab world is not through Washington Consensus. Arabs' response to the global *mediascapes* is unique as most of the countries have responded it nationally as in Latin America and African and South Asian countries. GCC and Arab countries' regional approach to the globalization is driven by their common political, economic and perceived cultural problems. For example, given the small size of population Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar have not domestic media market unless they allow pan Arab media companies. Potential for media investment in the region is still high. MBC has shifted itself from London to Dubai Media City and Orbit has transferred its part of business from Rome to Bahrain only after they received better operational environment. The regional approach towards global mediascape is manifested in cross border movement of journalistic skill in the Arab world. Most of the journalists in the GCC countries have come from North African and Levant countries.

Secondly, globalization in media sector has also come with its phenomenon of 'fragmentation' and 'recombination of identities'. That the Arab world is 'single imagined community' or Arab Nation or part of unified Islamic Ummah, has proved wrong by media responses of the GCC countries. New identity is being debated by the respective regions in the Arab world. Maghreb, Levant, Gulf and North African Countries are contributing in the debate. Their fractured responses to various social issues have further deepened the identity debate. Important fact is that the state as 'identity agency' has been undermined by the *mediascapes* where mediated communication through satellite as well as internet has empowered people for self defining. The phenomenon is to be dealt in fourth chapter in detail. But the bottom line is that GCC states have chosen to take part in the global *mediascape* through establishing their own media networks, rather than isolating themselves and banning foreign media. Their media response is defined largely by political and cultural considerations, especially for news and current affairs channels which have opened plethora of controversies in the region like Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya's rivalry. In entertainment genre, there is relatively more freedom. Freedom given to entertainment genre's channels has drawn attacks from traditional cultural forces, especially from religious establishment. Number of Fatwas against such programs has increased over the years. Instead of banning entertainment genre programs, there is surge of religious channels to pacify reactions from cultural forces as well as providing more space for internal religious debate. Those who have invested in entertainment channels have also invested in religious channels and state governments are more tolerant to the religious channels. Media Regime of the GCC can be understood in this context and the expected changes and regulation restructuring as well as features of GCC media regime.

Proliferation of media industry and adjacent industries like advertisement, printing, social events etc have come with major breakthrough in the attitude of GCC rulers towards media reforms. Earlier the media had been regarded as protected and prevented zone where only a few were allowed. The restricted media activity within state has been proved times and again by consecutive poor rating of Arab states in ICT index despite the huge wealth that they enjoyed, communication networks didn't reach to each home. But the picture started changing after first Gulf war when many Gulf citizens, especially Saudi were not able to know the American attacks for at least

three days. The anger demonstrated in those days allowed Saudi investors from ruling family to establish first satellite network Middle East Broadcasting Centre in London. The change started and within these two decades, the region has half dozen pan Arab satellite including Al-Jazeera (Arabic, English) Al-Arabia, Abu Dhabi TV along with dozens of channels of sport, entertainment and religious genres. The new media growth is dominated by satellite TV networks rather than print news papers except some English news dailies like The National (UAE) and a few Arabic dailies. This proliferation of satellite TV channels in the GCC countries underlined the change which is likely to come gradually at media landscape of the region. Scholars like William A Rough who has witnessed the change of Arab media from its early days now finds it difficult to predict what the certain change is to happen to media systems in coming years (Rough 2007 18). Changing media regime profile of the GCC is coincided with economic diversification compulsions, tackling perceived cultural threats from non Arab media and also from internal political pressures posed by dissident forces or hardliner Islamists. The GCC response to the socio-economic changes in the region and the world through media has helped region to ease economic pressures as well as soften hardliners' approach towards regimes, though it didn't help bringing democracy at home, an expected outcome of media proliferation in western media scholarship. Their response to the changes has resulted in to re-writing profile of the media regime and adopting new structures. Proliferation of media networks necessitated redefining investment issues in media sector, advertisement and publication regulations, defining journalists' rights and duties, state and media relations, state and foreign media relations, auditing media outlets to maintain transparency, creating media supporting institution and other issues which have emerged during expansion of media sector in the region. Unimpeded flow of information in by regional media has been met with relatively confusion as the earlier press laws were designed only to control national media. To face perceived threats from regional and international media, countries require regional media structures (Alterman 1999 30-32). The changing media profile is visible at regional (GCC) level as well national level. This chapter is an attempt to outline the interplay of media, media regulators; state and changes within each country and the direction of changes to which change is heading.

History of Arab press can be grouped in to three main segments; Levant and Egyptian Press, French controlled North African countries press like Algiers, Morocco, Tunisia and British controlled Iraqi press. It is characterized by strong nationalist movements spread initially against Ottomans and later against European powers; France and Britain who were controlling the Arab region after collapse of Ottoman rule. Levant and Egypt based Arab intellectuals and journalists promoted nationalist feelings through their journalistic works. Ironically the leaders of these nationalist movements later ascended to the power in their independent states and introduced repressive press laws in the name of public order and security. Except Lebanon and Palestine, all countries in North Africa and Levant have reversed the freedom of expression initially facilitated by freedom movements. One party system in Algiers, Egypt and Iraq, coups and counter coups inflicted fatal attacks on media regime of the region.

Generally Arab media have been dealt under single catch all term 'Arab Media', although the region has much dissimilarity which is more visible in Arab stratification model of Saduddin Ibrahim (Ibrahim 1981). There requires to conduct enquiry of each group separately. GCC countries which constitute the upper strata of Arab stratification are not only economically well to do, they also face serious challenges from socio-political forces emerged from economic well being. GCC media was not known for its anti colonial political movement which largely evolved in Levant and Egyptian press. The first ever Arabic-Turkish newspaper Iraq Journal was started by Ottoman governor Daowood Pasha in 1816 followed by publication of *Al-Waqaie-al Misriya* by Muhammad Ali Pasha, the Egyptian leader in 1928. After Iraq fell under British protectorate, British authorities took control of all government publication in Basra province. Though the Ottoman Publication Law was maintained but the British government controlled the news papers including release of its own newspapers like weekly bilingual *Mirror of Iraq* in Arabic and English in 1919. After British control over Baghdad in 1917, *Jareedatul Arab* Arabic daily was started by British only to counter *Al-Zawra* the most influential Iraqi news paper started in 1867. Many news papers appeared in the Arab Gulf during war and post war period were either controlled by Ottoman or British authorities under whom the Gulf States remained as Protectorates for a period of time (Naqeeb 1990 50).

Evolution of media regime in the GCC countries has coincided with intense political manoeuvrings of pre and post world war period when Ottoman have been controlling most of the region and were facing strong Arab opposition every day which had culminated in gradual collapse of Ottoman caliphate and emergence of several Arab states and protectorates. Even internal politics of Arab world was not unitary in their direction which further led to formation of tribal alliances; hence the state formation process took a different path unlike that of in Europe. State which is meant to be a sovereign authority, sovereignty based on both consent and coercion, with clear territory and legitimacy to rationalize to authority (Khouri, Koshener 1991). The tribes constitute a different solidarity based on Kinship unlike states which require only 'mechanical solidarity' (Khouri 1990). The modern nation state had posed serious threats to the basic social structure based on tribes in the Arab world. The post war political settlements and discovery of oil further necessitated the state formation which finally resulted in to formation of federation of tribes mainly in Gulf countries, based on tribal solidarity and legitimacy is taken from religion; the only standard in the Arab world. The tribal chieftainship and state authority often clash each other in modern Gulf States. Identity of Arabness continued as a major identity beyond the modern and newly formed nation states in the Arab world (Ibrahim 1981), newly emerged states search for their own national identities and media provided with best tools to create a sense of national identity through controlling and regulating media content (1999 30-32).

Since Arab Gulf States gradually lost their political gravity following the collapse of natural state, from commercial ports to the tribal interior, interest groups were reconstituted and reformed which led to emergence of state in which tribes rather than sea trader, played determinant roles. (Naqeeb 1990 50) Circulation of tribes in the ruling system was salient feature of 'Natural State' existed till its collapse in mid of nineteenth century mainly due to entrenched sea power of Britain and losing control of Ottomans. Crystallization of the system of dynastic rule was direct outcome of end of circulation system which existed in the period of Natural State. The changing political economy of the Gulf States further allowed border disputes in Gulf region which seemed never important during Ottoman period. The period between the treaty of 'Perpetual Truce' in 1853 to Uqair Conference in 1922, marked with appearance of new boundaries in Arab Gulf in which concepts of territory based sovereignty and

nationality were newly born. France and Britain have facilitated the emergence of Arab states on the global map without Ottoman control. Religion became important source of legitimacy as Ottomans were blamed of violating Islamic rules and thereby causing decline of Islam. (Naqeeb 1990 50-75)

The most important change in media law in the GCC region has been seen in Qatar; abolition of its Ministry of Information and formal media censorship in 1996 by Qatari Government itself. Imposing prison sentences for offences as 'criticising the ruler', 'disseminating false information', 'disturbing public order', or 'harming' national unity, public morality or relations with friendly states" are quiet common features of the region's media laws. The only difference from one country to the other is about the length of the prison sentence imposed.

All countries have active information ministries running the broadcast media and enforcing press censorship through licensing of publications, obligatory deposit of newspapers before (or, in the UAE, at the time of) distribution, registration of journalists and so on. Modest steps towards partial relaxation of press and publications laws took until the end of the 1990s in the UAE and 2000-2001 in Kuwait, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia. In many respects these steps were inconclusive. The UAE, for example, has traditionally eschewed heavy-handed censorship, preferring informal consultations between editors and the minister of information to guide media content. The new press law approved in Saudi Arabia in 2000 allowed the creation of a journalists' association, opened the way to local publication of foreign newspapers and stated that local publications would be censored only in emergencies. However, it retained censorship for content deemed defamatory to Islam or harmful to public morals or the interests of the state. As a result, previous censorship practices appeared little changed (Sakr 2003 15).

Any quest for direct foreign control by French or British authorities in GCC region met with strong indigenous resistance led by religious leaders, unlike Egypt and Levant nations where Arab nationalism played vital role. Zaidi movement in Yemen from 1676, Ibadi movement in Muscat from 1718 and Wahabi-Saudi movement in Najd from 1744 dominated the political landscape of the Gulf region till today in one way or other. Border disputes among newly demarcated Gulf States mixed with the religious sensitivities and thus the duo played vital role in upcoming cultural face of the region mainly the domain of freedom of expression in which media constitute key position. Oil, Religion and security issues have marked lasting effects on media regime in the GCC region. The three factors will be dealt in detail later in these pages.

Among important political developments which have affected Media of the GCC are civil war in Oman, Dhofar rebellion in 1962-1975, Iranian revolution in 1979, Iran Iraq war from 1980 to 1988, Iraqi aggression on Kuwait and subsequent Operation

Desert Storm against Iraq in January 1991 have always exposed vulnerability of GCC states and thereby forced them to define press laws unlike European states. Impact of the CNN during operation Desert Storm was so pervasive on Arab audiences that it created immediate call for their own media networks to face CNN. Members of the ruling Saudi family came forward and invested to install satellite Arabic television channels in Europe. Other countries followed suit by launching their own channels.

Key features of state formation process in the Arab Gulf were security religion as major concerns, to protect from external influence (from Ottomans initially then other security threats), also from internal tribal dissents which were roaming around the Gulf region. Before the emergence of new boundaries, these tribes knew no borders and territories and introduction of borders was strange for them and they resisted such new political identities. Being the land of the Prophet and subsequently Prophet's companions' propagation of Islamic values, the tribal social structures remained closely attached with religion and religious authorities. Tribal values co-opted religion easily and Islam did not dismantle the tribal structure at once, rather the neo-patriarchal structure prevailed and religion and tribalism helped each other. Hosting the pilgrimages like Hajj and Umrah were not only the source of their annual income, also part of their religious duties which they voluntarily shouldered being the residents of holy lands.

Oil: Oil era started in late 1930s when oil major companies explored and started producing oil. Gulf countries fell short of any preconditions of producing oil self dependently; technology, capital and skilled and non skilled workforce. The limitations on their side necessitated western investment and technology as well as importing expatriate workforce. Despite nationalization of oil companies in eighties, no substantial change occurred at social and political makeup of the region. Persistent dominance of oil revenues in national income has opened doors of prosperity from one side and negative consequences of rentier states' economy on other side. (Luciani: 1994) The oil phenomenon has affected the social order of the Arab world, creating more conflicting points between Arab and external world as well as among Arabs themselves.

Oil has not only altered the global reaction between Arabs and the rest of the world, but also has triggered manifest as well as latent forces of change in the inter Arab equation within each Arab society, and inside most men and women of the Arab world, oil has been affecting

the social landscape in a score of producing countries for the previous three decades. But it is in the last ten years that the oil related social changes have been phenomenally accelerated within those countries. (Ibrahim 1981 2)

Private sector which seems having greater stakes in the regional economy is characterized by the oil phenomenon. The paradoxical relation between private media and media freedom is quite opposite from that of in the western or Asian societies where allowing private press is democratic transparency and accountability. But the case of GCC media would come with reverse conclusion where most of the print media are owned and run by private hands. In Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar, Oman and Bahrain, all major newspapers are run by private companies. Here the problem lies with the 'Lumpen Capitalism' which has grown around the huge oil rents granted to family members of rulers. They owned most of the GCC media and thus, have developed a private media which was ready to reconcile with realities of the systems. Emergence of Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya and other Pan Arab networks of the GCC region can be seen more as political projects rather than commercial ones. Many analysts have argued that in this satellite boom in the GCC region, only a few have commercial calculations (Stanhope House 2003).

This very nature of private media of the region has developed some common features like self censorship, ignoring local news, emphasizing extraordinary coverage of international news. This is the dichotomy in which commercial and non commercial media of the region lie. Finally the media has co-opted with oil supported media moguls of the region rather than playing role which it is expected in a western democracy. Generous distribution of oil rents among citizens as well as in social sector has reversed the popular adage of democratic barometer 'No Taxation without Representation.' (Sakr 2003 2)

Religion: In most of the media laws of GCC, religion and religious issues are given sacrosanct positions. Since the region has been centre of Islam and holiest Islamic cities and shrines, religion has been point of attraction for Muslim of all over the world, irrespective of their sects, nationalities and political identities. Arab rulers in mid and last centuries have remained closely attached with religion and religion provided them with greatest source of legitimacy, religion played as uniting force for warring tribes and factions. Most of the struggles against colonial powers or anti

religious activities were raised by popular Islamic movements like Abdul Wahaab in Najd, the modern political history of the region are closely linked with the religion.

Idea of freedom of expression in its European definitions, contradicts with that of the religious standards in the region. Religious forces have always resisted liberal press in the region and have issued Fatwa against many media institutions and journalists. Given the complex relation of state and religion in the GCC region, states are bound to take care of religious forces in exchange of mutual benefit. Despite this fact, the media landscape of the region is deeply divided between liberals, Salafist and moderate Islamists. The complex interplay of religion and media would be explained in next chapter while dealing with specific social discourses in the region.

For many in the west, freedom of media implies to have structures that will permit such pluralism to become stronger. But the region's most liberal editors reject the term and do not want to be known in either category to avoid a tag which could destroy their credibility in their society. (Interview with Jamal Kashoggi, Editor of Saudi Alwatan Daily in Al-Sharq Al Awsat on 25 April 2007). In today's gulf politics, religious groups, though divided in moderate, Salafist, Wahabi, political Islamist, their influence has dramatically increased. Post 9/11 American policies, especially American attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq have further enhanced their influence. Only relief for authorities is that most of religious forces in the region are working with the government rather than plotting against them. The case of Danish cartoon which saw strong opposition all over the world and violent opposition in many Muslim countries, but in the GCC countries, official condemnation and religious groups' boycott appeal did not go beyond media opposition. In national politics of all GCC countries, there is significant share of Islamic blocs in Shouras, Majlis Ummah or other elected consultative bodies. The reform debate in the region is deeply influenced by these forces which sometimes show their frustration against media also which gradually increased its reach in the society. Issuing Fatwa against certain TV channels, newspapers or a journalist has become common. (Qatar and Saudi religious authorities have shown frequent tendency of issuing Fatwa against media)

Clauses like blasphemy, criticizing Islam, prophet or religious authorities are very common in media laws of the GCC countries. Islam is official religion of all of the

GCC states and states have special responsibility to promote religion and have special ministries like (Islamic propagation, prohibition of wrongs and propagation of good). Since states are responsible to protect religion and propagate it, anti religion discourses would create problems for the state.

Finally, religion is also diplomatic tool for most of the GCC states to pursue their pro-Arab and Pro-Islamic foreign policies. Ministries of Waqf and Ministry of Islamic Propagation and similar ministries are engaged in trans-national Islamic work which includes religious programming in televisions and Radio. Saudi Arabia's religious Channel is dedicated to broadcast live prayers from the holy city Mecca and live telecast of Hajj. But the volume of religious programming had significantly increased after Iranian revolution which tried to discredit Arab rulers as un-Islamic. Saudi Arabia started its special Radio service after it faced threats to its religious authority by continuous Iranian religious programs after the revolution. The same competition over religious media space can be seen between Nasser led Egypt and Saudi Arabia (Sakr 2001 9)

Security: Security can be seen as major concern in most of the media laws of the region in which any publication which violates security of the country is harshly punishable. Under any pretext, security is not compromised. But the question lies why and how press can pose serious dangers to the security of a country. Neither ideology of nationalism nor charisma of leadership has been driving force of political process in the Arab Gulf. Instead, the traditional tribal system of the region has shaped the region's legal architecture, added with discovery of oil which empowered traditional leaders' capacity to buy people's support through huge public expenditures.

The huge influx of oil revenue which strengthened the state's capacity to win legitimacy through religion and abundant public expenditures, externally the creation of state of Israel in heart of Arab land and subsequent military conflicts between Jewish and Arab states, Iran's 'Islamic revolution' and Iraq Iran war have become key determinants of media regime in the Gulf region (Sakr 2001 67). Most of the media laws have been adopted amid serious political and military conflicts in the region. Kuwait became the first country to have its Press law in 1961 soon after its creation which remained always under threat from Iraqi claim. Saudi Arabia seconded with its

Publishing and Printing Law in 1963 in its massive urbanization program after oil revenues started pouring in the state.

Some Gulf States got freedom in late eighties and have their own laws with strong ministries of information. The very nature of state formation always reflected in their laws in the domain of media and culture which is considered as a profane and sacrosanct. Blasphemy, criticism of head of the state and libel remained serious crimes, thereby were not allowed in any of press laws of the region. The contradiction between western concept of freedom of expression and Arab's press laws should be traced in the peculiar political evolution of the Arab states.

Among key security issues which always remain flashpoint for GCC leaders are internal as well as external. Over the time the security concerns have been shifting from one point to other. Internally, today the GCC countries are facing huge internal pressure for political openness and political rights. Several countries have started introducing political reforms; however, dissident voices in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and other countries are demanding a radical change which poses serious threats to the existing regimes. So that maintaining 'public order' a popular clause in most of the GCC press laws is to prevent open debate about politics and political rights, as 'survival is the dependent and the independent variable of security in the Arab Middle East world' (Hayajneh 2006). At regional level, heightened tension between Iran and the US, demise of Saddam Husain and changed power equations in Iraq, rising Shia Islamic trends from Levant to Gulf States (Mourning of Hizbulla leader Imad Mughniya in Kuwait in 2008). Terrorism has also become a regional security threat since 9/11. Bombings in Saudi Arabia have further allowed authorities to tighten their grips through security measures. Enshrining absolute authority to the King or Emir is a common feature in most of the GCC countries' constitutions (Basic Law Saudi Arabia 1992). Emergency or security laws are very common in Arab world as well as in the GCC country which gives authorities extraordinary rights as well as places them in an unquestionable position where criticizing Emir and King become violation of press law.

Arab League and Arab Media Regulation

Since the trans-national broadcasting has gained central position in modern media, it

also forced nation states to come closer in order to connect with trans-national media. Arab world which see itself a separate cultural zone and national identity keep stick with terrestrial TV and satellite channels were not seen suspicions and regional preoccupations (Sakr 2001 133) which shaped government policies towards trans-national broadcasting.

While western countries fell under outer space treaty agreeing on principal of national sovereignty in outer space. Geneva based International Telecommunication Union became UN agency to look after trans-national cooperation in 1967. With limited choices in international communication, Arab world started corporatization and privatization of telecom operations in 1990s (Sakr 2001 135). Preoccupations and protectionist tendencies for national sovereignty, Arab States joined Arab League's initiated and Saudi administered Arab Satellite Communication Organization, ArabSat. Though expulsion of Egypt from ArabSat in 1979 following Egyptian Israeli peace treaty, it allowed Egypt to have its own satellite NileSat in 1995, Arab Sat still maintained it leading position among Arab satellite providers and also maintained its position to define media regulation (Sakr 2001 136). UAE became another Arab country from GCC region which notified the ITU in 1996 of her desire to have its own satellite EamarSat which finally started in 2004. Now other non state satellite providers are in fray in the region which has opened the space for competition. Apart from ArabSat, other set of regulation after technical administration of satellite broadcasting was civil rights without which exercising media is impossible. UNESCO provided with international framework for political and civil rights particularly to ensure freer access and reception of information. Article 19 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights signed in 1948, declares right to "seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. International Covenant on civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) came into force after its ratification by 144 UN members in 1976. The covenant along with other UN initiated human right regimes provided with software for journalistic activities.

None except Kuwait in GCC countries signed or ratified the ICCPR till mid 2000. Among other Arab states who signed, ignored their obligations because of weak global human regulation. Arab states have always expressed their reservations for international human rights regimes which came in materialized form in their

declaration of Arab Charter of Human Rights under auspices of Arab League in 1994. The charter included regional reservations like 'national security, preservation of public order, religious sentiments etc (Sakr 2001 149). The upcoming media laws in the region have included these concerns as well. Interestingly, the Saudi-Egyptian and Lebanese triangular dominated over Pan Arab broadcasting regime which focused on control over production, restriction on reception. But at the same time increasing people's aspirations for freer information, especially after arrival of Al-Jazeera in 1996 and subsequent competitors opened the Arab broadcasting regimes' vulnerability. Arab Broadcasting Union's refusal to grant membership for Al-Jazeera was one example.

Arab League further formed the Council of Arab Ministers of Information which tried to regulate satellite broadcasting media at regional level rather than national level which seems quite difficult for any national government. The council aimed to serve for Arab nation, Palestinian cause and informing the world with Arab views, promoting and approval of inter Arab media cooperation and tackling with negative effects of media posed by Zionist and Enemy media to the Arab states.

Arab Satellite Broadcasting Charter

On February 12, 2008, Arab states have signed "Charter of Principal for Regulating Satellite Broadcasting in the Arab Region". The Charter attracted intense criticism from media section as well as human rights groups from all over the world because of its certain clauses which further backtracks freedom of expression in the Arab region. The charter has come out of joint Arab struggle to face the new challenges posed by pan Arab broadcasters like Aljazeera and Al-Arabiya. The charter outlined the code of conduct for satellite channels 'for the supreme interests of the Arab world and a common perspective for human development and modernization in all fields'. The quest to adopt a common code of conduct for satellite channels, the charter claims that it has evolved through the text and spirit of "The Pledge and Solidarity Document" and the "Development and Reform Path" statement issued by the League at the summit level in its ordinary 16th session in Tunisia, group of decisions and documents on modernization and development of the Common Arab Action, particularly those issued in Sharm el-Sheikh 2003, Tunisia 2004, Algeria 2005, Khartoum 2006, Riyadh 2007, in addition to those stated by the Council of Arab

Ministers of Information, in particular, the Arab media strategy to face challenges of the 21st century; the Arab Media code of ethics; the Framework document for the integration of media and cultural policies in the Arab world and the international related charters, particularly those issued by the World Information Summit, the charter reads.

Article four, five, six and seven consist of the detail of the do's and don'ts for satellite channels in which consideration of social peace, national unity, public order (article 4/5), compliance with comply with the religious and ethical values of Arab society and maintain its family ties and social integrity (article 6/9), refrain from insulting God, revealed religions, prophets, Mazhabs (religious sects), and religious symbols (article 6/10) have figured prominently. Beside it, the charter empowers states embers of the League of the Arab States to 'adopt in their domestic legislations all necessary measures to fix any violation by the parties referred to in the subject document according to the principles herein' (article 13). A long list of restrictions has been created in which

"refrain from jeopardizing social peace, national unity, and public order"; to "respect... the sovereignty of each Arab country over its property, and acknowledge the right of each Arab League state to propose and pass laws [regarding the principles set out in the charter] at its own discretion..."; to "devote no less than 20% of their scheduling to [programs in] Arabic..."; to "refrain from programming that incites to terrorism or violence of any sort, while distinguishing between [terrorism and violence], on the one hand, and the right to resist occupation, on the other..."; to "preserve the religious and moral values of Arab society, [including] the family unit and social integrity"; to "refrain from calling for religious and sectarian extremism"; to "avoid all programming that disrespects God, the monotheistic religions, the prophets, religious sects, or the religious leaders of various groups"; to "refrain from producing or broadcasting materials that include explicit images or manifestations of wanton or sexual [behaviour]"; to "avoid programming that encourages smoking or consumption of alcoholic beverages..."; to "protect the Arab identity from the negative influences of globalization and to preserve the unique characteristics of Arab society..."; to "refrain from all programming that contravenes or jeopardizes inter-Arab solidarity or cooperation and integration among Arab countries..."; to "refrain from defaming their

national and religious leaders"; and to "stress Arab abilities and strengths, especially those that receive international recognition and acclaim..." have been included with much emphasis. The charter allows originating states to suspend or revoke the licenses of satellite channels involved violating the charter.

For example the text of Article 6 says:

The satellite broadcast transmission or rebroadcast transmission entities and service providers shall adopt the following rules and regulations in terms of the broadcast content that is transmitted:

1. To respect human dignity and the rights of others in all the forms and the content of satellite television programmes and the services provided.
2. To respect individual privacy and to abstain from any violations in any way.
3. To avoid inciting hatred based on ethnic, colour, racial or religious discrimination.
4. To prohibit the satellite broadcasting transmissions material that would incite violence and terrorism and to differentiate between them and the resistance of occupation.
5. To refrain from describing crimes of all forms and kinds as an alluring act or portraying the perpetrators as heroes or justifying its motives.
6. To consider the professional ethical codes in conducting dialogues and to respect the right to respond for concerned parties.
7. To consider the rights of people with disabilities in receiving the media and information services that are suitable to them in order to promote their inclusion in their societies.
8. To protect children and youngsters from all that would abuse their physical, mental and ethical growth or would incite corruption of their manners or indicate and encourage wrongdoings and negative behaviour.
9. To comply with the religious and ethical values of Arab society and maintain its family ties and social integrity.
10. To refrain from insulting God, revealed religions, prophets, mazhabs (religious sects), and religious symbols.
11. To prevent from satellite broadcasting transmission and satellite broadcast programming any materials that would include obscene scenes or dialogue or

pornography.

12. To eliminate from satellite broadcasting transmission or satellite retransmission any material that would promote smoking and/or alcohol drinking, but rather highlight their dangers.

The adopted charter manifests emerging dynamics of Arab media landscape in which states are forced to allow private satellite channels as well as freer access to their citizens in the world of globalization. Al-Jazeera phenomenon has weakened states' capacity to control and regulate the media landscape like print media. Since Al-Jazeera is a Qatari project whose relation with Saudi Arabia have gone strained since last years and many Arab governments had recalled their ambassadors after controversies created due to Al-Jazeera's coverage of given country. Egypt and Saudi Arabia initiated the move to adopt such charter to put limitations on satellite TV networks. Interestingly the document was signed by all the Arab League countries except Qatar and Lebanon. Qatar was the only country opposed the Charter and abstained from the conference.

Saudi Arabia and Egypt both have been enjoying deep media influence over the Arab region. Saudi media companies like MBC, Orbit and other Lebanon based Saudi media ventures have dominated the Arab media since long time. Egyptian entertainment industry also has enjoyed similar clout in the region. Emerging countries like Qatar have tried to challenge the dominance by adopting bold policies. Qatar refused to sign the charter presumably to protect the Qatar based satellite network Al-Jazeera from outside interference. Qatar's ambassador to Arab League represented the Qatar and he said "Qatar is unwilling to adopt this charter at present since it is still studying its content and examining its compatibility with Qatari law." The ambassador also stressed that his country's opposition to the charter was not politically motivated. (Al-Quds Al-Arabi (London), February 25, 2008.) Al-Jazeera called the Charter as a collective Arab assault on free speech. (Azuri, L.: MEMRI: May 23, 2008 No. 440) The open opposition from two Arab countries Qatar and Lebanon, the limitations of the Arab states to restrict the satellite channels has become visible.

GCC Media Regime

The media regime in GCC is linked with three tier Arab GCC and national level media laws regulations. As part of the Arab nations they all are part of Arab league and other Arab initiatives. On regional level GCC countries have also included information and media among field of cooperation in the Gulf Cooperation Council. In their common effort for media cooperation, GCC countries have introduced programs even before establishment of Gulf Cooperation Council in 1988. There were eight media institutions namely (GCC Secretariat);

1. Institute of Common Program Production
2. Gulf TV
3. Gulf News Agency
4. Centre for People's Heritage
5. Centre for Television and Broadcasting Training Coordination
6. Centre for Information Verification
7. Committee for Petrol Media Planning and Coordination
8. Committee for International Media Relation

In April 1988 12th Information Ministerial conference of GCC countries, last two programs were dropped. So the fate of fifth program was dropped. Soon after Iraqi aggression against Iraq in 1990, Iraq's membership from these GCC institutes was suspended and GCC countries also withdrew from Information Verification Centre. Besides that, Bahrain took over Gulf News Agency as Bahraini News Agency and only two programs of Gulf TV and Institute of Common Program Production remained in GCC's information minister's agenda.

Prime motive behind common media programs in GCC countries is realisation of their limitations as separate media markets given their limited national audiences and preference to trans-national media by respective national audiences rather than national media. Secondly, their increased economic cooperation, common economic problems and potentials are forcing them to adopt common strategy in media sector also. Thirdly, there is spread concerns over expatriate journalists in the GCC countries whose political opinions are affecting GCC audiences (Fandy 2007), potential for

GCC journalism employment in common media industry is greater. Nationalization of media sector is emerging as major concerns among GCC leaders. Though Gulf media has emerged as third media school after Egypt and Lebanon,

The failure of regional media cooperation is that despite advancing towards greater regional cooperation, there are strong reservations to allow non state media actors at regional level like allowing news agencies by private media groups. The success of their cooperation in media sector at regional level is their common regulatory framework for foreigner media which they agreed in 1986 and in 1998. The regional media cooperation, thus, remained limited as public relation tool at international level rather than creating a strong media market.

Looking at GCC level the picture of GCC media would come with many positive developments in recent years; discussed in last chapter, as well as many impediments still remain in the way. Of them, prior censorship in UAE, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and strict control of Ministry of Information or Interior ministry have repeatedly discouraged freer media practice in the region. There are some common taboos in all of the GCC countries as well as other Arab countries which Media is supposed to care of; religion, sex and politics. Any ambitious reporting of any of three taboos may bring the career of a journalist to immediate halt. Public peace and security are mentioned in most of the press laws of the GCC countries.

Most of the GCC countries also require licensing prior to establishing printing press. Among most problematic clauses for journalists in the region is persistence of direct regulation of journalists. Countries Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman and UAE require journalists to be licensed and without license nobody can exercise the writing or broadcasting work. Licensing regimes strictly regulate and watch journalists in person. It also rules out possibility for freelance journalists.

At most all press laws in the region and constitutions include provisions guaranteeing freedom of expression, yet the constitutional freedom is also subject to the limitation of "According to law." Another common thing among GCC states is that private ownership of print media is largely allowed but the broadcast media is controlled, run by states. Now the satellite signals are crossing sovereign media boundaries. To

control the transnational media, appointment and administration are used rather than law and regulation. Since Ownership of a satellite dish allows the owner to receive international signals, having satellite dishes is closely regulated and it also pushed illegal business of satellite dishes, mainly in Saudi Arabia. It seems that satellite dishes would be more available than might be expected. (Stanhope Centre 2003)

Development of media regulation in the GCC countries have been in the background of print media in which they have allowed private media companies run by ruling family members. But the broadcast media was strictly put under state control. Since broadcast media globally has marked tremendous growth, Arab world is not an exception. After 1990, GCC countries have allowed “offshore Arabic channels” like MBC, Orbit etc, and the formal recognition of opening door for broadcast media was granted. Strategy to adopt broadcast media in their regulatory regime was manifested by four different ways mentioned by M. I. Aiyesh, the strategy deeply embedded with Arab politics.

1. Re-invent state broadcasting in to more independent structures in place of centralized and tightly controlled bodies.
2. Emulate private broadcasters’ practices, especially in entertainment.
3. Launch alternative “state affiliated” broadcasting services to operate alongside state services
4. Permit “non-state affiliated” broadcasters to operate on the basis of pure commercial revenue.

These strategies resulted in increase of satellite channels at national regional level along with Pan Arab networks. The strategies further pushed restructuring of the media regulation according to newly arrived satellite media. In Kuwait, for example, print media is private since a long time the first private Kuwaiti satellite television channel Al-Rai was only allowed in July 2003 and started in October 2004. Al-Rai has tried initially to compete pan Arab networks like MBC, LBC and also considered to join Dubai Media city for the purpose but it failed. Bahrain and Oman are also reviewing their press regulation ‘to accommodate the new political, security, economic and technological environment’. (Khlail 2006).

Bahrain Supreme Privatization Council has allowed private radio broadcast while

Oman has granted licenses to private radio and television stations in accordance with its Private Radio and TV Companies' Law of 2004. UAE has gone through different way by creating Media cities and Saudi Arabia has already huge offshore media outlets in Dubai (MBC and Al-Arabiya), Bahrain (Orbit) Lebanon and Europe.

The changing media strategies are propelled by political and economic imperatives. Economic imperatives like diversification of economic base, employment opportunities of locales have further necessitated political reforms as well as social change to transform the society from traditional one to knowledge society. In its quest to shift from tribal-traditional society to knowledge society, tension between several interest groups within society is likely to come. The internal debate over media's role in the Arab Islamic societies and hardening religious reactions towards liberal media are merely manifestation of this transformation.

A brief appraisal of ongoing media reforms which are part of democratization and political reform process in the region will be useful to further discussion. Here country wise media reforms are being discussed:

Muneera Fakhroo, a Bahraini journalist and social activist, counts three taboos of GCC media; Religion, Sex and Politics (Al-Waqt 2007 12 February). Media is prohibited to deal these three taboos freely which has obstructed evolution of GCC media as freer media. Added by ownership pattern, these taboos and other political and cultural considerations invites stringent media laws, self-censorship and unknown media regulation. In case of Saudi Arabia, for example, dismissal of editors and journalists is very common. In 2003, Jamal Kashoggi a leading intellectual and editor of liberal newspaper Al-Watan was relived and reinstated after four years in 2007. Here lies the much hyped success story of Al-Jazeera which learnt better use of self-censorship in favour of channel which can be identified in Al-Jazeera's excessive coverage of international news and least attention to local news as criticizing local government would cost without any substantial results in popularity. Even the very debate of democratization and reform in Al-Jazeera is packaged in format of international politics and as part of American project which is not the only aspect.

Though the media laws of the GCC countries are well written and have given freedom to an extent which can be exercised to pursue media practices within laws. But there

lies problem beyond written laws where journalists are undergoing self-imposed censorship by media outlets. The “red lines” have been outline by all media outlets for their journalists which are not to be crossed. Issues like ruling family, Islam, and national unity are treated with great sensitivity and fell under the red lines. Criticizing friendly nations or presenting views that challenge the state’s position on particularly sensitive national issues is also discouraged (The Stanhope Report 2003).

Table 17: Basic Fact: GCC

Country	Population (UN, 2008)	GNI (World Bank, 2007)	Growth rate (CIA Fact book)	GDP Sector Composition (CIA Fact book)
Bahrain	766,000	\$19,350	6.1% (2008 est.)	Agr. 0.3%, Industry: 43.6%, Servs.56%
Kuwait	2.9 Mn	\$31,640	8.5% (2008 est.)	Agr.0.3%, Inds.52.2%, Servs. 47.5% (2008 est.)
Oman	2.6 Mn	\$11,120	6.7% (2008 est.)	Agr.2.1%, Inds.37.2%, Servs. 60.7% (2008 est.)
Qatar	855,000	NA	11.2% (2008 est.)	Agr. 0.1%, Inds. 79.4%, Servs 20.5% (2008 est.)
KSA	25.2 Mn	\$15,440	4.2% (2008 est.)	Agr. 3.1%, Inds. 61.6%, Servs. 35.4% (2008 est.)
UAE	4.5 Mn	\$23,770	7.7% (2008 est.)	Agr. 1.6%, Inds. 61.8%, Servs. 36.6% (2008 est.)

Table 18 GCC Media Laws

Country	New Press Law	Last Press Law	Regulator	Journalist Association	Private Media Print/Broadcast	Membership of Arab Journalist Association	International Journalist Associations	More than one Journalist Association	Number of Journalists
Bahrain	2003	No. 14 1979	Ministry of Information (MOI)	Bahrain Journalist Association	Print/TV	Yes	Yes	No	280
Kuwait		1961	MOI	Kuwait Journalist Association	Print/ TV (2004)	Yes	No	No	1920
Oman	1984	2004 Private Radio and Television Companies Law	MOI	Omani Journalist Association (2005)	Print only	Yes	No	No	NA
Qatar	Ministry of Information is abolished	1979	MOI	Pending	Print only	No	No	No	110
Saudi Arabia	1963 Publishing and Printing Law	1963 Publishing and Printing Law	Ministry of Culture and Information	Saudi Journalist Association (2003)	Print only	Yes	Yes	No	1115
UAE	New Media Law Draft is under process	UAE Federal Law No. 15 of 1980 for Printed Matter and Publications	MOI	UAE Journalist Association	Print only/ TV in Media Cities	Yes	Yes	No	535

Sources: Report on Arab Journalists 2005, Arab Federation of Journalists, <http://www.faj.org.eg/reportinfo.asp?which=37>
IREX, 2005

Media Reforms: Bahrain

History of press law in Bahrain goes back to 1930s when the press began and maintained independent status till 1965 when the government curtailed all independent press functions due to political turmoil in the country. In 1965 another press law was issued which allowed for newspaper production to start under strict regulations which restricted for criticism of state interests. The 1965 press law continued till the country underwent major reforms facilitated by the Emir. The 2002 Press Law is currently enforced which still restrict the rights of the media. An alternative law was drafted in 2005 by a group of member parliaments and submitted to the parliament.

In August 2005, the government announced that it would replace the Information Ministry with Bahrain Radio and Television Commission, which would be the new regulatory commission for the media. The announcement has indicated possibilities for private broadcast media.

Though private print media is allowed, broadcast media outlets are still run by the government. A special draft law regulating the licensing of private television and radio channels was endorsed by the Shura Council in 2004 and submitted to the parliament for consideration. But there is no fix deadline to reach the decision.

There are 17 categories under which Journalists are accountable to their editors, media owners, and to the government, and can be penalized. According to the 2002 press law, offences “against the Islamic faith, the unity of the people, and the person of the king” and “inciting division or sectarianism” and undermining country’s security and libel are punishable by prison sentences of six months to five years.

The upper house of the parliament passed a revised draft press law that would decriminalize press offences, protect the confidentiality of sources, ensure access to official information, and end criminal responsibility for publishers. Nevertheless, the draft law still needs to be passed by the lower house, an elected body heavily influenced by conservative religious perspectives, which rejected a similar bill three years prior.

The government in May 2008 proposed amendments to decree-law number 47 of 2002 to parliament which is to study them at its next session starting in October. According to these proposals all prison sentences for media workers will be abolished along with other offences. Appointment of an independent monitor, rather than government official, would look after media businesses.

Among key articles amended in recent media reforms are article 16 and 86 according to which prison sentences are abolished for distributing publications without a licence, before they are granted or after being banned or cancelled (Articles 16 and 86). Abolition of Article 21 under which foreign publications could be seized and even though distribution of these publications still has to be authorised, a refusal can in future be appealed (Article 17). Likewise, under Article 4 paragraph 5, a reason must be given for any refusal to grant a licence to a printer. Opening up printing, publishing and press activities for foreigners has been allowed with some precondition in Article 7. (IREX 2008, IREX 2005 133-147, Freedom House 2008, RSF 2008)

Kuwait

Kuwait's first Press law was introduced in 1956, second law 'Press and Publishing Law' was announced in 1961 which provided sanctions as fines and imprisonment and the third press law came in 1976 which continued many restrictions common in other GCC countries like for criticizing Emir, allies of Kuwait or religious figures etc. The 1976 amendments further empowered authorities to suspend the licenses but later these restrictions were softened. Now Kuwait is in process to revise its 1961 press law in which first package of amendments has been introduced in 2006.

The 2006 Press law has the prohibition list in which publication of material that insults God, the prophets, companions of the prophet, family of the prophet, Islamic beliefs, criticism of the King, disclosing secret or private information, or calling for the regime's overthrow are prohibited and subject to criminal charges. Citizens also can point out such charges and press legal action against press persons, authors. Ministry of information control and regulate the media, the ministry approves license to media outlets. However the new law includes that license is issued within 90 days of application or gives an explanation of delay or refusal. The new law also restricts

ministry's right to cancel the license without approval of a court order. (IREX 2005 182-193)

Article 36 and 37 of Kuwaiti constitution protect freedom of speech and freedom of press; "Freedom of opinion and scientific research shall be guaranteed. Every person shall have the right to express and propagate his opinion verbally, in writing or otherwise, in accordance with the conditions and procedures specified by law." But the conditions of "in accordance with the conditions and in the circumstances defined by law" restrict the freedom. (UNHCR) Now Kuwait seems most tolerant country for media where private broadcasting has been allowed in 2006. Private newspapers were already allowed. (IREX 2008, IREX 2005 182-193, Freedom House 2008)

Oman

In a major breakthrough for media reforms, the 2004 Private Radio and Television Companies Law has allowed for the licensing of private broadcast media for the first time in last 35 years. As a result of Private Radio and Television Companies Law of 2004, now there is one private television started in 2005 and three private radio stations besides two state-owned television stations. Most of the newspapers are owned by private owners with close links in royal family. Among prohibited practices in media, Libel, voicing criticisms of the sultan, or for printing material that leads to "public discord, violation of the security of the state, or abuses a person's dignity or rights are treated as criminal offences. The Ministry of Information (MOI) authorizes to regulate and monitor media and may censor any material regarded as politically, culturally, or sexually offensive. MOI also issue license for journalists to exercise journalism profession which disallow freelance journalism. Revocation of Journalists' licenses is decided by the ministry. (IREX 2008, IREX 2005 195-208, Freedom House 2008)

Qatar

Qatar is known for its forthright pan Arab satellite Al-Jazeera network and many political reforms carried out by the Emir Khalifa after his accession to the power in 1995. The 2003 constitution includes freedom of expression as constitutional right. Among most striking feature of Qatari media regime is revocation of ministry of

information which was earlier controlling body of all media activities. Qatar became first Arab country without ministry of information since 1995.

Criticizing the government, the ruling family, or Islam are subject to prosecution under the penal code for such violations. By law, all publications are subject to licensing by the government.

Before revocation of the ministry of information, Law no. 8, 1979 was enforced which included 102 articles with similar features that of other GCC countries. (IREX: 2005: 211). In absence of any formal press law, the old press law is still being practiced which allows the Qatar Radio and Television Corporation, and customs officers to censor both domestic and foreign publications and broadcast media for religious, political, and sexual content prior to distribution. However Qatar gave strong message to Arab countries by abstaining from a meeting of minister of Information of Arab League, which approved a new charter to control and censor satellite channels and transmissions. (IREX 2008, IREX 2005 209-222, Freedom House 2008)

Saudi Arabia

Print and Publishing regulation passed in 1963 regulates both print and electronic media. The Press law elaborates three main areas; establishment of any media outlet, rights and responsibilities of journalists and penalties. Ministry of Culture and Information is empowered to issue the licenses, regulate media activities, revoking licenses and controlling the Saudi Journalists Association's governing board through allowing only approved candidates to run in its elections. The Ministry also appoints the editor-in-chief and the chairman-of the-board in all companies from among candidates chosen by each board. It also has the power to dismiss those chosen for these positions.

The press is also closely checked by the Director General of Broadcasting, Press and Publications. A 1982 royal decree also requires journalists to adhere to stringent self-censorship specifically dealing with foreign or national heads of state.

The press is basically considered as a tool to educate people, inform government views, and to promote national unity. Criticism of the royal family and the religious authorities is forbidden, and press offences are punishable by fines and imprisonment. (IREX 2008, IREX 2005 224-236, Freedom House 2008)

UAE

UAE is engaged in reshaping its media regime profile to make it more media friendly. Redrafting exercise of existing press law UAE Federal Law No. 15 of 1980 for Printed Matter and Publications has just concluded after approval of new draft law by the president. The new law has cancelled penalizing journalists. The UAE law like other GCC press laws prohibits criticism of government, rulers and ruling families, and friendly governments. All publications are required to have licenses from state.

UAE in her effort to reshape media has undergone a unique experiment which has resulted in to three types of media; private media, media cities, and state media. The experiment of Media Cities proved to be economically vibrant and profitable. Currently there is one operational Media Zone; Dubai Media City started working in 2004 and is now home of nearly 550 media companies including CNN, Sony Broadcast and Professional, McGraw Hill publication, Al Arabia and London based Saudi company MBC has also shifted to the Dubai Media City. The Dubai Media City based media companies are not under jurisdiction of local laws and enjoys greater freedom to function. For example 100% foreign ownership is allowed unlike outside of free zones which has limit of 49%. Fujairah, another emirate has also commenced 40,000; square meters media free zone, Creativity City, under Fujairah Culture and Media Authority (FCMA). Abu Dhabi government is also working at opening of such media city in competition of Dubai.

Ministry of information and government run news papers and Televisions etc. The closure of ministry of information and culture in 2006 resulted in establishment of National Media Council (NMC) and creation of a separate ministry for culture, youth and community development. National Media Council's role is to supervise all media developments in UAE, all jurisdiction of earlier ministry of information came to NMC. Private media is closely linked with ruling families. (IREX 2008, IREX 2005 237-250, Freedom House 2008)

New Media Law 2009: The UAE Federal National Council (legislature) had passed a new Media Law in January 2009 whose draft has been approved by the supreme council and the president in April 2009 after cross section debate in UAE's civil society, rights groups and government officials. The new UAE Pres law is a revision of the Press and Publications Federal Law of 1980, states that there shall not be prior censorship of any media outlets in the country. It incorporates the prior directive of the ruler of Dubai to prohibit imprisonment of journalists, resorting instead to fines when there are violations of public law.

The new law has also attracted sharp criticism from rights groups, because the new law fails to enhance freedom of media. The legislation threatens to fine anyone who publishes information that damages the UAE's reputation or harms its economy. Potential fines range from 50,000 U.A.E. dirhams (\$13,600) for minor violations to as much as 1 million dirhams for criticizing the ruling family. The only relief given to journalists is to protect them from imprisonment in course of their professional duties (HRW 2009, CPJ 2009).

Media Reforms in GCC: A Critique

Self censorship: There are many things in GCC media laws remain either silent or ambiguous which have opened possible actions against media practitioners. The ownership pattern of GCC media is another reason behind unknown communication lines between media practitioners and the ruling class. Though the media laws of the GCC countries are well written and have given freedom to an extent which can be exercised to pursue media practices within laws. But there lies problem beyond written laws where journalists are undergoing self-imposed censorship by media outlets. The "red lines" have been outline by all media outlets for their journalists which are not to be crossed. Issues like ruling family, Islam, and national unity are treated with great sensitivity and fell under the red lines. Criticizing friendly nations or presenting views that challenge the state's position on particularly sensitive national issues is also discouraged (The Stanhope Centre 2003).

Self censorship has developed as a common phenomenon of GCC and Arab media where religion, politics and cultures are deeply involved in day to day media activities. Determining factors of self censorship are pattern of ownership in which

“Quasi State” media have developed as private channels which are easily give in to any pressures from state. In case of Saudi Arabia’s dismissal of editors and journalists is very common. In 2003, Jamal Kashoggi a leading intellectual and editor of liberal newspaper Al-Watan was relived and reinstated after four years in 2007. Self censorship directly affects process of news selection in which religion, politics and sex are three taboos and any strange opinion is not to be tolerated. Al-Jazeera’s extraordinary coverage of international news and least coverage of local news and in other channels as well show that criticizing local government would cost without any substantial results in popularity. However international news would earn local support as well as avoid confrontation with rulers.

Politics or Commerce: There is still debate over the nature of media in the Arab world whether the media boom is due to economic transformation in order to tap the market in the region or they are political projects to prevent states from fallouts of media influences. Since the economic aspects of media industry involves wide range of factors which include audiences’ surveys, expansion of advertisement market, and consideration of broadcast industry, the region has shown no progress in all of these standards which may prove that the broadcast industry is mainly for economic and commercial purposes. The ongoing competition between Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya and economic boycott of Al-Jazeera by Saudi based companies as well as other countries has shown that the media industry involves lot of politics. Religious channels, as well, are started out of service for religion not for commercial purposes. Lack of transparency in media auditing in the region is one thing which the media industry requires to attract advertisers. Even some calls the news channels of the region as ‘political pornography’ or the ‘soft porn’ (Fandy 2008) given their obsession with politics. In absence of direct linkages between commercial output and growth of media, as the tables of advertisement revenues in second chapter, channels are turning to governments or individuals closely allied with governments- to cover their losses. This continued dependency over the government is bound to dilute media’s role in social change (Alterman 1999 32). This further supports the conclusion that even privatization of satellite TV in the region democratization process is unlikely to be facilitated by these media (Sakr 2004, Kraidy 2002). To say that technological changes, especially in media, would bring democratization is an analysis not supported by trends. Rather, as Alterman argues ‘the technological changes seem

likely to a restructuring of power relationship in the Arab world. With a decreasing ability to control information, states will have to share power more and more both domestically and regionally. (Alterman 1999:32)

Media in the Arab world is operating in evident political vacuum which could have created mobilization for political activities. This is where Arab civil society shows a certain degree of ambivalence about democracy. Democratization as a process of transition from 'undemocratic' form of governance to 'democratic' in GCC requires supporting institutions or political parties which is lacking in the region. Media nowhere can play dual role of a political party as well as 'informer or educator'. The failure of American sponsored Arabic TV channel Al-Hurra presents a good example which started political discourses which has no local receivers and thus regarded as tool of American propaganda. In conclusion, media's main function lies with its capability to create a political imagination closer to democratic reforms. Such process is neither a switch off/on process nor the impossible task. Media in absence of political institutions or parties and civil society have to deal with existing institutions like religion, tribes and ruling elites. In this complex situation media's role in the GCC states becomes very crucial but with sufficient potential to influence the debate of democratization even though they are controlled and financed by undemocratic ruling class.

Fourth Chapter

GCC Media Regime and Emerging Social Debate

GCC Media Regime and Emerging Social Debate

Media has vital role both in raising the social issues to public domain making into public opinion and in defining the social issue themselves. After globalization it could have negative role by under or over playing the issues of social concerns. 'Who Says, What, to whom, through what Channel and with what effects are most sought out questions in such debates. Since the preceding chapter already discussed about 'Who is saying' in the section of media regime, here 'what is said and who are audience' are main questions to analyze ongoing social debate in the GCC media and its subsequent impacts on internal issues. There is a lot of research about 'How and why Arabs look west as they look' and entire debate of orientalism has become popular subject in media and cultural studies scholarship. However, how Arabs see themselves and how Arabs are debating their internal issues' is relatively less discussed topic. This chapter will deal with the hypothesis that globalization brings internal issues in to main stream in its interplay with media. Taking with some examples as case study, the chapter will testify the hypothesis that globalization has brought in to mainstream internal debates of the region.

To identify media and society interplay and their impacts on each other, role of media require to be defined in the society because media reflect the society where they operate. Herald Laswell (1948) has identified three major roles of media which media embody in the society; surveillance of the environment, interpretation of information and lastly, transmission of social heritage from one generation to next generation. Now the fourth function has been identified as "entertainment" which has emerged only after widespread commercial use of mass communication by private media. Impact and influence of media on society as whole and individuals have been studied at length by various schools of thoughts in the west where mass communication technologies have arrived well before the Arab world.

The human history has helped evolve many social institutions according to its requirement and stage of progress like tribes, family, kinships as well as economic management through reciprocity, redistribution, barter and finally evolution of market where profit gain was the main motive of economic activity unlike earlier mechanism

(Polany 1957 34-52). Profit run market has revolutionized human relationship and gave birth to new political ideologies based on economic considerations. Maximization of profit requires innovation and sometimes constructive destructions to sustain market where customer, competition and company would have to define the politics among nations (Ohmae 1991) Countries have to get rid of 'economic nationalism' and new global citizenship would appear on the cost of 'nationality' and hence a borderless world would emerge (Ohmae 1991). Technology has further necessitated reorganization of social and economic structures of the world and brought the distant markets of the nation states ever closer and reduced 'options for nations states' forcing them to join new economic world order under any name. That said, market and technology have intensified human relationship beyond borders, ethnicities, nationalities, religions, regions, and genders. This is the way the human society entered in era of globalisation along with all types of old conflicts, they like it or not. All those oppose the process of globalization are also part of globalization process as the process proved irresistible. According to Anthony Giddens globalization has also reconfigured nature of the society in which 'Risk ' has become part of our innovative society and dynamic economy. All forms of the risks are now to be disciplined rather than to be avoided. Invention of new traditions out of old traditions will take place which will be more consistent with global market society. Introduction of new traditions are not also free from side effects as fundamentalism also asserts revival of old traditions in literal meanings, and interestingly fundamentalism is itself 'child of globalization' as it opposes and utilizes it together (Giddens 2002 20-50). Family structures are the most important targets of the global age in which marriages, relationship, are redirected and these new forms of relationship (Gay and Lesbianism, Live in etc.) are often opposed to eastern part of the world, particularly Arab and Islamic regions where 'pre market' family structures still exist and new forms of relations pose serious threats to the established social configurations. Politically democracy and democratization is in the core of this process in which even concept of democracy is also not beyond question and democratizing democracy is required to cope with new changes. Media constitute self established fourth estate in the market society where 'information' has become raw material. Information has turned media in to attracting and profit making industry. Technology has strengthened media tools and media institutions giving them extra edge over regulating authorities like state and religious authorities.

Impacts of mass media and information networks on the society are so pervasive that no single concept or theoretical frame work is alone sufficient to identify the dynamics of these changes. Among most popular concepts around mass media effects on the society are “Network Society” “Information Society”, 'Mass Society' and the 'Wired Society' (James Martin) which have evolved from the new economic organization of the modern society. Knowledge and information has become most sought after commodity in knowledge society and embodies benchmark of economic productivity. Before the GCC states are examined in knowledge society paradigm, the concepts of Knowledge, Information and Network Societies are briefed in following lines:

Knowledge Society: Knowledge Society is referred to the evolution of society at a stage where 'knowledge is the primary production resource instead of capital and labour'. A Knowledge Society "creates shares and uses knowledge for the prosperity and well-being of its people". In that sense, knowledge society concepts is broader term than earlier ones 'Information and Network Society' as it defines the social organization on the basis of knowledge as source of creative productivity. UNESCO, the UNO's educational and Cultural offshoot has also promoted the term within its institutional policies. Abdul Waheed Khan the general sub-director of UNESCO for Communication and Information differentiated between the two terms “Information society is the building block for knowledge societies. Whereas I see the concept of ‘information society’ as linked to the idea of ‘technological innovation’, the concept of ‘knowledge societies’ includes a dimension of social, cultural, economical, political and institutional transformation, and a more pluralistic and developmental perspective (UNESCO 2003 21).

Information Society: creation, distribution, dissemination, supply of information is basic characteristics of an information society, not only as a social function, rather as a significant economic, political, and cultural activity, supported by information infrastructure to run the economy. This transformation has been given several names because of given variables of this society. Information technology plays central role in the information society as supreme economic infrastructure unlike earlier societies where heavy industrial infrastructures were signs of economy. Transformation from Industrial Society to Information Society Daniel Bell has named it 'post-industrial

society'. Manuel Castell has identified this as Information society, according to him this transformation started somewhere between the 1970s when people started doing immaterial labour as an important economic activity.

Network Society: The term Network Society was coined by Jan van Dijk in his Dutch book *De Netwerkmatschappij* (1991) (*The Network Society*) (1999, 2006), and by Manuel Castells in 'The Network Society'. The network society denotes a society where set of social and media networks shapes prime mode of organization and most important structures at all levels (individual, organizational and societal). Barry Wellman in his book "The Network City" focuses on three main points of the network society: community, work and organizations. According to Manuel Castells, networks constitute the new social morphology of our societies. (Castell 2000 501-509) He defines 'network society is a society where the key social structures and activities are organized around electronically processed information networks. It's about social networks which process and manages information and is using micro-electronic based technologies. For Castells, networks have become the basic units of modern society. Castells also argues that it is not purely the technology that defines modern societies, but also cultural, economical and political factors that make up the network society. Influences such as religion, cultural upbringing, political organizations, and social status all shape the network society.

All these knowledge and information based economic reorganization of the world has been promoted by International organizations like World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank as part of globalization project.

Contextualising GCC Media

The question arises in context of Arab and GCC region where these societies are in these paradigms. Can Arab or GCC society fulfil the criterion of being an Information society or network society? Where is the GCC society in these references of information and knowledge? Though the GCC region stands highest in Arab strata of Information Communication Technology (ICT), their status as Information Society or Network Society is still far behind being standard, even the region is still undergoing serious knowledge deficit (AHDR 2002) (See the Table for ICT Penetration in GCC)

On the other hand the Arab Gulf countries have not experienced the two of 'Third Waves' Agriculture and Industrial Waves, their direct encounter with the third wave may not be similar to that of Network or knowledge societies of the western world. In the GCC context tribal structures have supported patriarchal mode of social systems and oil discovery had brought them sudden 'Superficial Prosperity' (Naqeeb 1987 84). Given their knowledge deficit Arab Human Development Reports from 2002 onwards have stressed over the knowledge to be foundation of new economy to tackle the social challenges. That the GCC societies can change in to 'Information or 'Network Societies' depends on proliferation of information for economic purposes. As stated in last chapter, Internet, satellite and other forms of Information and Communication have seen significant development in the region, compared to other Arab States, but GCC states still put strict regulation on information and communication due to their cultural and political compulsions. Models like Network or Information Society are being redefined in GCC countries where higher ICT penetration was supervised by strict state regulations rather than market. Share of Information and knowledge in the economics is short of being an economic base and GCC states' dependency on oil as major constituent of GDP is likely to continue.

Edmund Ghareeb further argues that this great revolution has not been paid attention it deserved however its influence over Arab world has triggered fear of homogenization 'In the Arab world it has been a great deal of heated debate and discussion over the influence of globalization and the new information technologies and their by-products. Some have argued that the information revolution poses certain dangers of western domination and of cultural homogenization' (Ghareeb 2000 398).

One of the cultural aspects of media and globalization is perceived assault of globalization on culture which is termed as 'cultural imperialism'. Media are considered vehicle of that cultural imperialism which invade 'cultural territories' with weapons of Mc-Donaldization, Disney Theme Parks and Hollywood movies etc. Given the media's role in 'cultural imperialism' there are demands to make strict regulation and control regime for media to filter information flows according to existing cultural software of the traditional Arab societies as well as other Asian nations. The theoretical foundation of cultural imperialism or cultural homogenization is always contested, whether media bring homogenization or cause ruptures through

heterogenization. Thesis of cultural imperialism stems from the proposition that globalization is a purposeful project initiated by western nations to dominate peripheral or developing countries cultural industry through open cultural market. Media with its far reaching capacity to create social effects is regarded main engine of this cultural imperialism project. Contrary of that thesis, if globalization is considered as a journey, a process, rather than destination—which stipulates idealist notion with it, media's potential to create homogenized culture would need re-examination. As Marjorie Ferguson argues about definition of globalization that "there is broad census that globalization denotes both a journey and a destination: it signifies a historical process of becoming, as well as an economic and cultural results; that is arrival at the globalized state (1992 69-93)." Media's 'imperialist' characteristic is diluted by its inherent limitation of selectivity on all sides; producers, audiences and distributors. Selectivity in media is prime concern most of the media studies circles which concludes with thesis of media imperialism, thus media's selectivity is causing homogenized and patterned way of thinking, is far from reality. There is selectivity on sides of audiences, producers, owners and multiplicity of owners; producers as well as audiences make the media imperialism "inapplicable." Explaining Canada's media policy attempts to nurture a national identity, Ferguson argues:

Being neighbour to the world's most prolific provides of audio visual entertainment, Canadian's have never enjoyed cultural sovereignty and have developed a broadcasting system that is materially American with over 90% of Anglophone television drama being imported, there is minimal evidence that program quotas and production subsidies are changing Canadian audience taste for US primetime. But, equally there is considerable evidence that Canada continues to maintain a value system and way of life distinctive from the US (1992 69-93).

To Ferguson, neither Global cultural homogeneity nor its national or regional variants fit the emerging conflict models of the nation state, or the exclusiveness imperatives of ethnic or regional entities (1992). Marxist and Critical theories see the new medium as another form of dominance in which audiences are merely passive participants and the contents play major role in shaping minds and ideas of the viewers in favour of capitalist economy (Livingstone 1990 49), (Abercrombie 1996 200). This perspective assumes that the content of the medium is determined by the economic base of the organization in which they are produced. (Curran *et al.* 1982 18) But application of base /superstructure model in GCC media may reveal social dynamics partially as it neglects many other socio-cultural and ethnic dynamics. Unlike Marxist perspectives

Marshal McLuhan pays attention on the medium which itself signifies the transformation of social behaviour in a given society in which media is seen as 'extension of ourselves'. To him it is the medium that shapes and controls the scale and form of human association and action. The content or uses of such media are as diverse as they are ineffectual in shaping the form of human association (McLuhan 1964 23-63). It is the medium and the cultural matrix within which the particular medium operates. He gives example of Train which accelerated the scale of previous human function, creating totally new kind of cities and new kind of work and leisure and so did the other mediums too like airplane, electric and automation technology.

Globalization phenomenon has accompanied with media revolution all over the world including the Arab world. In this revolution, according to Marshal McLuhan the world becomes a Global Village. He prophesied about re-tribalization' and decline of traditional feelings of nationalism and changes are due to uneven use of electronic media. To McLuhan, the content of the media did not signify the change, rather the medium itself which has provided with new forms of sociability, new forms of interactions. In his analysis he focused on 'how one experiences' rather 'what one experiences'. This study is about broadcast media in the GCC region where broadcast medium has made impressive inroads. McLuhan's perspective has become an important aspect to examine the social environment of the GCC region in that perspective. Extending Alterman's argument, 'the technological changes seem likely to restructure power relationship in the Arab world', it can be proposed that GCC states are bound to share power more and more both domestically and regionally. (Alterman 1999 32) For example print media in GCC region are privately owned, though by members of ruling families. But difference of opinion within different news papers over internal issues, religious extremism, moderate Islamic values etc show that media's role is still important. (For example differences between Al-Jazeera daily and Al-Watan of Saudi Arabia). Clashes of opinion are discernable in different media outlets and each group is propagating its opinion beyond immediate commercial calculations (The Stanhope Centre 2003). So is the case of broadcast media which are owned by wide spectrum of political and social opinion holders within ruling families whose majority are western educated.

According to ITU reports, GCC region tops the Arab region in household TV ownership and satellite dish penetrations. It is still to be examined how the new medium in the region has brought new social environment. Television has involved people of the region, women and youngsters in the way which was not common to the earlier Arab society where social gatherings were confined to religious ceremonies, poetry sessions, *Deewans*, and *Majlis*.

In the GCC region print media have been dominant as a principal medium of information and entertainment. How this medium of printed text influenced human behaviour of Arabs and functions, is still to be studied. Did print media play role of 'Hot media' which is characterized by less participation of readers compared to Cool Media (broadcast media) which allowed more spaces for audience participation. McLuhan suggested that cool media had challenged the one way flow of information by enhancing interactivity which further decentralized the production of knowledge. At the same time McLuhan fails to realize that this intensified media interactivity would lead to 'cultural appropriation', a third variant between globalization and localization. Anthony Giddens' suggestion that 'relocation of information from localized context' is also another phenomenon of globalization which has emerged from 'Time Space distancing' (Giddens 1990 64). No better than this framework captures the response of Arab media to the global *mediascapes*. Arab media is part of global *mediascape*, yet it does appropriate the information in the local context. One clear example of this local appropriation is coverage of Iraq war 2003 in which Al-Jazeera, CNN and BBC have reported same content in two different contexts. Calling Palestinian victims of Israeli military action as 'Martyrs' by Al-Jazeera is what appropriated in local contexts (Barkho 2008).

GCC Media as Social Actor

Questions like 'can media democratize the Gulf states or Arab states? Can Media push economic order towards complete market economy in the region? Can media change the Arab society? What will be the direction of change if media facilitate the change? These frequent questions before GCC and Arab media reflect the socio-political expectations from media which have thrived in recent years. Though media as economic sector manifest very profitable industry in most of the parts of the world,

political compulsions are more visible than economic imperatives in the GCC media industry. Economic considerations are only secondary for most of the news media of the region. Given the social and political stagnancy in the region, media's role in the GCC societies has become crucial for international community as well as for people of the region. Since all democratization and reform projects starts with value of freedom of expression, media come always in focal points. Many of western countries like America and some European nations have shown much frustration towards Arab media especially for Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya, media's role in social change is not free from suspicions for them.

Theoretically Media's capacity to bring political change is always seen with scepticism by social scientists. Big media like TV channels are not considered fit for initiating the changes for two reasons: Domination of organizational goals; politics or market forces hinder media to engage in change in status quo of state, rather its own survival; requires states support in either form. Secondly the media were never considered primary social actors, but rather they seemed determined by actors like the government, lobbies or political parties. (Hafez 2004) But this perspective seems to work only in terrestrial TV which developed only by state's direct help. Emergence of transnational satellite channels requires a regulation beyond nation states regulatory regime. That is why in age of globalization geo-linguistic unity and regionalism has come to use it in early democratization process. (Hafez 2004) Arab Televisions have shown great deal of interests in reform and democratization debate. Especially in a region where other political and social institutions, civil society are so weak or infant, media tend to fill the vacuum. In absence of political parties, media's coverage for political change seem to assume extra responsibilities which contradicts with media's ideally prescribed role as "informers", "educators" and "entertainer" GCC media in globalization context has also two central component which however define media's instrumentality in facilitating diversity of opinion and interaction among different opinion holders within the society. One component is role of geography has changed and interaction can be carried out over far distance, second component involves delivery of the content of communication, images, and sound effects across the societal identities or political boundaries (Wheeler 1997 178, 338).

During the cross cultural communication via satellite broadcasting neither media nor audiences are passive. Some complex interaction among media organizations, audiences' organization and social institutions help shape the message and its effect. This is where homogenization fails to occur through media. Diversity of messages and audiences all create some sort of heterogenization. As Appadurai argues how 'fear of Indonesianization may be more worrisome than Americanization, as Japanization may be for Koreans, Indianization for Sri Lankans, Vietnamization for the Cambodians, Russianization for the people of Soviet Armenia and the Baltic Republics (Appadurai 1997 32). The fear has come out only after established political and social imaginations faces threat because of media proliferation all over the world and the GCC region is no exception. It depends on media's capacity to create alternative imaginations for respective societies and states' quest to maintain politically favourable imaginations which the Arab and GCC states are desperately searching. Since Arabs are somehow a 'community with no sense of place' (Meyrowitz 1985) fears are not articulated at national level. Rather there is talk about Arab identity and necessity to protect Arabness in the wake of globalization. Kraidy's observation about a potentially due "satellite revolution" depends on convergence of three factors, with global and regional dimensions: relative political liberalization, economic privatization, and the acquisition of "new" communication technologies (Ayish 1997). As a result, the satellite industry has changed parameters of television production, control and reception. These changes have political, economic and cultural implications.

The tension between global and local involves another interaction through glocalization marked by development of diverse, overlapping fields of global-local linkages and creating a condition of globalized pan-locality, an eminent shift from 'territorialized learning process' to 'more fluid and trans-local' (Gabardi 2000 33-34). Terhi Rantanen in her seminal work of 'The Media and Globalization' (2005) has surveyed three generation of a single family whose recent generation is enjoying globalisation waves. The three batches of a single family have different experience in their respective worlds which have been called modern, post-modern and globalization; the family has shown generational differences in their entire outlook. Like the Terhi's work, transnational public sphere and Islam has also been analyzed by different section of Islamic scholarship which argues that print Islam is more

democratic and differentiated than oral Islam of pre-globalization period and the digital Islam has unevenly broken the authority of Muslim clerics as new generation is no more dependent in acquiring Islamic knowledge, rather it is questioning and assessing each and every practice of clerics in light of digital Islamic knowledge which it is enjoying via internet and satellite Islamic TV channels around the world. In his article 'Transnational Public Spheres: Information and Communication technologies' in the Muslim World has been widely discussing new knowledge genealogy of Islam which now include 'media Islam' 'Sound bite Islam' and a generation of 'Hybrid Muslim Intellectuals'. The article is interesting in terms of mapping new knowledge contours in Muslim Society around the world in age of globalization. The change in Muslim society and erosion of Islamic Authorities in Islamic discourse is the same phenomenon which also caused holes in Soviet block in 1989.

The Soviet and the East European regimes were unable to prevent the reception of western radio and television broadcasts. Television played a direct role in 1989 revolutions which have rightly been called 'television revolutions'. Street protests taking place in one country was watched by television audiences in others, large numbers of whom then took to the streets themselves (Giddens 1999 15).

This is here reconfigurations in social and political discourses are likely to occur in the GCC and Arab society in their course to engage with media of globalization era. The main hypothesis of this dissertation work is about media's capacity to bring out internal debates in to the mainstream. Media's capacity to establish homogenized cultural system is reversed by audiences who are found no longer passive, according to most of the audiences' surveys, it has been accepted that audiences receive information and reproduce them according to their own context which many times goes exactly against what media might have meant. That the audiences are active participants in mass mediated culture and the different national, ethnic and racial groups interpret the same materials differently as Diana Crane has argued in her paper mentioned above. This is what has been called as tension between globalization and localization which eventually emerges in glocalization as Roberstson defined.

Imagination as a social practice which has been part of socialization process through family, peers, schools and of course media, many have criticized controlling this social practice. Referring to imposing imagination, Arjun Appadurai has famously remarked "one man's imagination is another man's' political prison". To him forces

and fears behind efforts of homogenization “can be exploited by nation states in relation to their minorities by posing global commoditization, (or capitalism or some other such external enemy) as more real than the threat of its own hegemonic strategies (1997).

Globalization also brings inherent differences within a society on surface and allows redefinition of them. As in case of digital Islam which has discredited traditional Islamic authority which was lone source of interpretation and now internet has provided instant Islamic teaching for every one who can read it. In GCC region, for instance in Saudi Arabia whose political structure is considered very fragile and based on complex network of royal Al Saud family, the pre globalization alliance between Al-Saud family and Al-Sahaik clerics have entered in tensions in last decade. Balance between modernization drive and enshrining Islamic values has brought the two at confrontation many times. (Karaidy: 2007: 144) After the terrorist attacks right on Saudi cities during 1999 to 2005 have exposed the vulnerability of the Saudi state as well as widening gap between state and religion. Al-Jazeera daily, Al-Riyadh Daily and Al-Watan Daily the principal newspapers of the Kingdom have difference of opinions which reflect this gap in their editorial content and direction. However it also give more space to the difference. In this context Arab media and audiences would bring their own interpretive frameworks at regional level and Pan Arab level. This enhanced regional approach to face global media through local media which allowed several unheard opinions to voice and get the world heard. For example Kurds, Copts, Druze, sects (Shites) Salafi, Wahhabi, Muslim Brotherhoods, Tribes (as in Saudi Arabia) are included in media of globalization era and are reachable to and for the world.

GCC media are like media of other region, notwithstanding of all odds, contribute in social and political discourses of the region. An inquiry of reality show in Star academy by Marwan Kraidy in 2007 elaborates how intense social debates are and can be stirred by any program in the region. It seems that the region sits on the hot seat of debate on every program and it gives the regional media a specific role of ‘activist media’ (Ginsburg et al. 2002 8). In the social space where cultural and political concerns are from both sides; external (West) and internal as reform process, media’s role to deal both sides become very delicate and risky as well. The perceived

cultural threats from the west have further fuelled the controversy and many programs which do not match religious standards are simply declared 'western'. Kraidy's observation underlines the very difference between west motivated media outlets and Arab media outlets. Family in the Arab world represents unquestionable social institutions which are supposed to provide better socialization to their children according to religion and culture, the western media focus on individual is perceived as threat. Existing social values and views on sexuality and women in the GCC are in contradiction with that of their western counterparts.

Secretary General of Qatar's Supreme Council for Family Affairs (SCFA) Abdullah bin Nasser Al-Khalifa expressed his concern over the indecent materials aired by some satellite TV channels undermined the ethical systems of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states. Addressing the opening session of the international forum of "Satellite TV Channels and their Impact on the Youth in Gulf States," the secretary general said "the improper products of the entertainment industry aired by such channels pose grave risks to the moral and ethical systems of the Gulf countries," Al-Khalifa accused the companies working in the entertainment sector profiteering as they "seek material gains regardless of any moral considerations (KUNA 3 November 2008). Observation from such higher authorities reflects the sense of perceived threats posed by media proliferation vis-à-vis protecting the existing social values. Gulf Cooperation Council's Secretary General Abdul-Rahman Al-Atiyyah urged to have a common strategy to face media.

In search of such common strategy to prevent social values and promote media as well, most of the GCC countries are undergoing experiments from tightening the grip over media to conditional freedom. TV and broadcast media is at the eye of storm of criticism from all section of the authorities; religious, state and Islamic groups which have challenged many established norms. Participants like Justice of Lebanon's Juvenile Court and Member of Child Care Association Ghassan Rabah, Director of North African Studies Centre of Cambridge University Dr Saad Jabbar, Dr Patrick Truman, a US legal expert, Dr Mohammad Lutfi, professor of law at Bani-Suef University, Egypt all underscored the negative side effects of globalization and media suggesting tougher laws to strengthening family system represents fears and reservation among scholars of the region. Development of a common media strategy

at the Gulf states-level will be another step which will only come after interest convergence of all GCC states. Competition among GCC states especially between Saudi Arabia and UAE may not allow them to agree on strict media regulation as it already happened in Arab League's Broadcasting Charter in February 2008 in which Qatar opposed Saudi proposal and abstained the meeting in Cairo.

Star Academy's reality show was a good example of this fear in the GCC leaders and religious authorities. Kraidy calls the reality show phenomenon 'hypermedia space' in which questions like do "new" media increase the power of citizens and governments to communicate and act, what catalyst-events trigger uses of technology for social and political change, have become important. Following the Star Academy's popular reality show in Saudi Arabia interactions between multiple media, from micro text-messaging to region-wide satellite broadcasting has left media regulators ineffective. Failing to control Star Academy's reach inside Kingdom's homes, especially to women, religious authorities of the Kingdom started issuing Fatwas against the academy and there began an uproar against the show forcing the program shut down in the Kingdom's air space. On economic side, the program proved profitable as viewers had to pay the equivalent of 2 or 3 \$ US each time they voted via text-messaging in order to participate in the show. Permanent Committee for Scientific Research and the Issuing of Fatwas, is the highest religious authority in the nation, issued a detailed Fatwa which prohibited financing, watching, discussing, voting, or participating in Star Academy. The evils, counted by the committee include "free mixing of the sexes," "blatant promotion of immorality," and "the call to remove modesty and pride from the hearts of Muslims." (Karaidy 2007)

In case of women's representation in Arab TV, the dominant image is that of veiled, homebound, uneducated women. Those women undoubtedly exist in the Arab world. So do highly educated, professional women, quite emancipated in their own minds but still struggling against restrictive social values. In GCC region there is commonality in terms of women's status. Only recently women are starting to look beyond their families and as active and productive part of the society. Turkish made soap Noor when broadcasted in GCC region it made big hit despite the fact the same soap failed in Turkey. Noor a Muslim middle class girl with aspiration to become self-dependent, enjoy joyful life with her husband has introduced a new face for Muslim women in

the region. Impacts are still under study by media scholars; however the huge coverage and controversy and criticism from religious establishment made the drama worth to be analysed here with detail.

Case Study: Controversy over Noor Soap

The soap *Gümüş* which failed to gather any public appeal in Turkey where it was originally produced and broadcasted in 2005, hit the Arab streets after Saudi Middle East Broadcasting Centre (MBC) broadcasted it in dubbed Arabic in 2008 with Arabic name *Noor*. Arab audiences are used to watch western soaps which are far distant from their local realities, culture and rituals, however Turkish soap had advantage of being from common religion; Islam and thereby common in their social experiences. *Noor* became among most popular and most watched soaps in the Arab world. Nearly 85 million viewers, according to surveys by the Middle East Broadcasting Corporation, had watched the finale of the soap. The *Noor Mania* as it was called by many in the region has left Arab streets deserted on Aug. 30. Of all viewers more than 51 million were women over.

The script of *Noor* revolves around two main characters *Muhannad* the male protagonist and *Noor*, a woman who is married to *Muhannad* after his pregnant girlfriend dies in a car crash. The drama embodied manifestation of a Muslim society in Turkey where values, tradition, loyalty, patriarchy, family business, cohesion, arranged marriages etc are still important like Arab world. After undergoing trauma of accidental death of his girl friend, *Muhannad* suffered from depression, distress and subsequently addicted to alcoholism.

Muhannad's family asked him to marry *Noor* from a village based poor girl who later grew her aspiration to be a fashion designer. She was told the entire story *Muhannad* underwent and thus required to win her husband's heart and to prove herself on a professional level. *Noor* in Arabic dubbed soap manifested gorgeous, independent, successful, strong woman who can manage her own life without much support and the soap is named after her only to introduce a woman of a modern world where she could get more love, respect and happiness of life. Perhaps the idea clicked as majority of audiences has come from housewives and teen girls aspiring new roles for their life and creating tension in the traditional society.

Perhaps Noor is single one melodrama which has sparked so much internal divides in the Arab society. Since show is all about a family life which shows how to live a good life respecting without deviating from Islamic values and performing religious duties as well. Drama offers a new standard for Arab women marked by love, intimacy and equality in their marital life. That is why some suggested that Noor is proof of social change. So much is the magic of Noor was reported that it allegedly prompted a few husbands in the Gulf States to file for divorce because their wives would have asked for equal treatment like Muhannad or something like they saw in Noor. Some husbands found Muhannad's photos on their wives' cell phones.

In fact Noor is one of best examples of global cultural flows from one part of the world to another and within societies and countries as well. Arab world has been dominated by Egyptian, Lebanese and Syrian producers who have produced many good serials, films and melodramas as well as reality shows. How other family serials produced in the west fail to create such internal debate as the Noor did? The answer lies in appropriation of media content in local sensitivities which the western serials fail. People watched western dramas and films with great enthusiasm but kept realizing that they are watching a foreigner society not their own. In case of Noor they watched same religion, Arabic names with Islamic rituals, fasting of Ramadhan etc which created a close sense of cultural belongingness with the story.

Turkish ex-model Kivan Tatlitug played Mohannad, who supported his wife's dream to become a good fashion designer and she gets support from her husband Muhannad at every moment of life, making an exemplary couple. House wives with abysmal status found a new role for a Muslim family. Arab world where women are not part of labour force and in some countries they are not allowed to drive, travel and so on, young female viewers found new roles for them within Islamic premises. Most of their earlier Arab soaps produced in Egypt or in the GCC itself have been representing women in very pitiable condition in which often beaten by their husbands. Conversely husband of Noor; Muhannad surprises her wife Noor after every quarrel and argument with bouquet of flowers, leaves for outing etc.

Social issues: A Muslim family of Muhannad and Noor however created controversies in the Arab street by including many issues which many religious

authorities declared un-Islamic and prohibited in Islam, nevertheless Arab audiences defied Fatwas of clerics and continued watching the serial till the last. The great social issue in this soap opera was premarital sex and abortion. Among least talked about issues are the sexual issues in the Arab world. The serial touched that part and even showed how the pre marital sex is now part of today's society. Noor and Mohannad have had premarital sex and fathered a child. Even it is not allowed in Islam but it reflects what is going on in today's society and even in the Arab world. A Syrian actress Laura Abu Sa'ad who lent her Arabic voice to Noor the leading female character of the soap says "We all do things in our lives that are shown in the series, many girls, for instance, get pregnant and have abortions, but nobody talks about it. It is a relief to see on TV what is typically swept under the rug (Alfred 2008)." One of the male protagonist's cousins had undergone abortion an act which is still far from thinking in the Arab world but very much part of today's globalizing society which the Gulf States are in queue.

Woman status: Male behaviour in the soap represents an uncommon feature of Arab melodramas which show women only for beating and abusing. In that term the soap tends to break Arab social taboos deeply rooted in Gulf Arab society which sparked a lot of criticism from Gulf based clerics also. "Our society", explains the Vice President of Bahrain's Women's Union, Fatima Rabea, "is not accustomed to such intimacy and love. We are so busy with our everyday lives that a loving relationship takes a back seat. The TV series 'Noor' has now awakened the desire for this." Depiction of woman as independent, with equal relationship was unusual for many Arab female viewers in a Muslim society. "It is eye opening for Saudi women. They haven't seen such a sensitive, passionate, giving personality," explained Dr. Fawzaya Abu Khalid, a Riyadh based woman activist. Although these all are fictional roles and have not faced realities as many commentators have said while arguing the show is not going to plant seeds of change, for many women, the show has opened a whole new world and a lot of men aren't happy about it. "Men feel threatened. It is the first time women have a role model for male beauty and passion and can compare him with their husbands," said Abu Khalid. "It is the first time they found out their husbands are not nice, that they are not being treated the way they should be, and that there is an option outside (Ghubash 2008). The host of Dream TV's *Al-Ashera*

Masaan ('10 o'clock,' an Arabic program) cited a report that linked higher divorce rates in Gulf countries to "greater expectations born by the show."

Religious reaction: In fact GCC media like other Arab media treats women with common sticks of religion and tribal values. Media for example in Al-Jazeera's much publicized programs *Al-Sharia wal Hayath* (Sharia and Life) and *Linnisa Faqat* (For Women Only) and other as well as entertainment channels call on women to make sacrifices in favor of children, families and husbands (CMF-MENA 2000 17)

Though the soap represents a Muslim family of a Muslim country, religion seems not dominate their day to day life and hence plays a subordinate role. For instance, in the series, marriage between Noor and Mohannad was arranged by their family members, they practice Ramadhan fasts. But headscarves and five time prayer are not followed. They party, kiss onscreen and, most titillating of all, have sex outside marriage.

Strange fact is that these shows are broadcast by MBC a company owned by a Saudi prince and it successfully drew Saudi viewers. According to an estimate an average of three million to four million Saudis — out of a population of 28 million — watched *Noor*. The much hype of Noor mania drew sharp criticism from one of Saudi's top clerics who issued a fatwa to kill owners of the networks that air dubbed programs like *Noor*. "Any TV station that airs them is against God and His Messenger (peace be upon him). These are serials of immorality. They are prepared by people who are specialists in crime and error, people who invite men and women to the devil" (Mokhtar 28 July 2008).

The fatwa by a very responsible religious authority of Saudi Arabia's chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Council proved outrageous for many and some other clerics requested revision of Fatwa. Debate further heated after Fatwa through deluge of online discussions, news coverage. Later on the cleric, Saleh al-Luhaidan said that his comments had been taken out of context and that he never intended to impose a death sentence on network owners — who happen to be influential and powerful Saudis (Ayed 2008).

In Bahrain also some religious authorities had condemned the show, blaming that it had encouraged people to abandon their spirituality and ethics (Faten 2008). Bahrain

Women's Union vice-president Fatima Rabea said the show only created controversy because it focused on a sensitive and loving side of relationships that is often missing today. "Our society is not used to that intimacy and love after marriage, so they label this kind of relationship as a sin," said Ms. Rabea, who stressed she was speaking on behalf of herself and not the union.

"In fact, all Arabic - and specifically Gulf - TV shows promote bad family values, where husbands beat their wives and sisters all the time, which is neither in our culture or religion". She added that people in Arab world had been watching the American show Friends for years, but it had not attracted as much criticism as Noor even though it reflected a much more western culture (Faten 2008).

Popularity of Noor has also indulged in geo politics of the region which is extremely divided in to sect and language. Turkey is a Muslim country which has ruled the Islamic world nearly five hundred years under Ottoman Caliphate of which Iranian Safavid Empire was always opposed. Increasing popularity of Turkish soft products is being perceived as Turkish inroad in to Islamic world once again and the Noor was called 'Return of Ottoman'. An Iranian newspaper wrote that Saudis are supporting Turkey in the Arab world only to counter Shia Iran.

To counter the Shia culture and reduce its moral influence on the Shias of the Arab world, the Saudis shrewdly provided Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan access to their publicity organs so that Turkey could begin playing a more active role in the political, cultural, and economic life of the Middle East.(Tehran Times 28 August 2008).

Fragmenting Landscape:

That the satellite channels have intensified internal social debate in the Arab and GCC society is most visible in the debate of controversies about many programs. It is the phenomenon which can be called as fragmentation of social landscape in the GCC countries and opposed to homogenization. With increasing media involvement in society, re-imagination of social norm and values is also to take place as it happened in many other society out of global forces. The tension in the region's social groups is likely to increase as media has empowered each group, gender and ethnic to be heard. Both in news and entertainment content the social debate is dominating the region. Some time very common and usual things are making controversies and allowing people to develop different sensitivity towards the debatable issues like gender,

religion and political issues. In last few year apart from Noor (most recent controversy) Star Academy's Reality TV (Kraidy 2007 2008), *Ma Haikal* (With Haikal) of Al-Jazeera, (Hammond: 2007) *Sirri lil ghaya* (Top Secret), Al-Jazeera March 2000, *Al-Ray wal Ray al akhar*, Al-Jazeera, and the hottest talk show in any Arab TV *Al-Ittijahul Maa'kis* (Opposite Direction) compered by Faisal Qasim, Al-Jazeera, *Hewar al Umr* (Dialogue of Life) of LBC, *Al-Layla Laylatak* (The Night is Yours') LBC1, *Ma Ilak ill a Hyfa* (No one for you but Haifa), LBC1, *Al-Madar* (the Orbit) of Abu Dhabi TV, *Alal Ardh* (on the ground) of Abu Dhabi TV, 'The Controversial' of Abu Dhabi TV, *Ayyam- al Sayyid al arabi* (Mr. Arab) of Al-Arabiya, have attracted much criticism from Arab governments, religious authorities and sometimes from audiences also. The list will go long if programs of Syrian and Egyptian networks are also included as these networks have also considerable audiences in GCC region. Very recently (January to April 2009) Saudi channel MBC 1 has aired a controversial rape scene in a drama series which has drawn prompt reaction from religious leaders in the Kingdom. The TV drama series *As-Sakinat Fi Qulubina* (Dwelling in our Hearts) has been produced by a Saudi producer Hasan 'Asiri, of the As-Sadaf Company for Audio and Visual Production. Report says that the program has wide audience in the Kingdom. This is the first series of any Saudi drama which has directly addressed violence against women. Not only that other issues like AIDS, marital abuse, and problems facing Saudi women have also been addressed in the series. Many Saudi women have welcomed the series despite the opposition from clerics (Media Line News Agency 2009).

In case of *With Haikal* the weekly political commentary by veteran Egyptian journalist Muhammad Hasnain Haikal on Al-Jazeera has caused much political anger in Saudi Arabia, Jordan as well as in Egypt. Haikal who was personal secretary of President Gamal Abdul Nasir is among the most senior living journalists in the Arab world. Hasnain is witness of the socio-political changes which the Arab region has undergone in last 50 years. Al Jazeera launched *Ma 'Heikal* (with Heikal) in 2003 with direct political criticism on several states with proofs taken from historical documents. In his debut after Iraq War started in 2003, Haikal said that he preferred Al-Jazeera because George Bush had decided to plump for Al Arabiya in May 2004. Haikal's commentary widened the chasm/charm between Saudi Arabia and Qatar and subsequent rivalry between Saudi owned Al-Arabiya and Qatar's Al-Jazeera. Al-

Arabiya's counter Haikal documentary started in 2006 called *Ayyam al-Sayyid al-Arabi* (The Days of Mr Arab). (Hammond 2007) Thus the Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya turned in to political battle ground with sharp differences of opinion over several issues of Arab interests.

As discussed in last chapter GCC media is defined by three major determiners namely religion, security and politics. Other have counted three taboos of GCC and Arab media; Religion, Politics and Sex. Religion has been part of day to day politics in the region as stated in last chapter. Especially Wahhabi movement has been instrumental information of Saudi Kingdom. In Oman also Kharjite movement has closely attached with political activities. One of the important impacts brought in by globalization is that old social authorities have been challenged by the information technologies. People in distant localities now can access information without help of any mediator which earlier religious authorities have been playing important role. Today's GCC media is fiercely attacked by religious authorities and series of Fatwas are being issued time to time against media persons and companies. A report published in Saudi liberal News paper Al-Watan on 23rd April reveals that year 2008 has topped in issuing of controversial Fatwas. Cartoon programs like Mickey and Turkish soap Noor are among the latest victims of religious flak in the region. A question was sent to Al-Shaikh Al-Barrak about how to deal with those who publish contradictory writings and propaganda against Islam. An immediate Fatwa of Kufr against those who write and publish such articles, were issued and local governors and authorities were requested to take stern action against them. Among most controversial Fatwa was by Al-Shaik Luhaidan who allowed murder of TV owners who are broadcasting anti Islamic documentaries and soaps (Al-Ahmary 2009). The Fatwa enraged even moderate Islamic clerics in the Kingdom who asked Al-Shaik Luhaidan to review the Fatwa. Several members from ruling family intervened in the dispute which forced Shaikh Luhaidan to clarify that the Fatwa was taken out of context. Kuwait and Qatar media are also facing such criticism from religious authorities,

This tension between religious authorities should be seen in the context of power structure within all GCC sates where Islam is state religion and anti Islamic publication, blasphemies etc. are strictly prohibited. The more the region moves towards media proliferation and with relative freedom, the more tension is likely to

emerge in the region. The reason is not simply anti Islamic publications and broadcasting, rather than it is the religious authority which has continued unchallenged since pre-media era as people were dependent for religious information to the formal religious authorities, Fatwa Centres (*Dar-al-Ifta* or *Darul- Qadha*) but technologies have empowered people to access Islamic text in print or digital or electronic form anywhere without any mediation. The ‘unprecedented access’ of ordinary people to the religious sources (Alterman 1998) has made hard to monopolize religious preaching. The prediction of Alterman seems to some extent a possible scenario in the GCC state in which he says ‘the days have gone when governments and religious authorities can control what their people know, and what they think. With diminishing religious authority, religious authorities have to cope with the change and many Islamic clerics have shown their ability that media can be appropriated according to religious requirements albeit with some less control. Emergence of religious channels (Al-Iqra Saudi Arabia, Al-Resalah (Saudi owned) Kuwait,) in the GCC states along with entertainment and news channels are actually manifestation of this reconciled tension. Many religious programs (*Al-Sharia wal-Hayath* on Al-Jazeera) and religious programmers (Yousuf Al-Qardhawi from Qatar, Amr Khalid Egypt) are among popular religious icons who appear on television with Islamic content. There are serious discussions among Islamic scholars as well as media about how Islam should deal with the media. (See Arabic debates in Al-Jazeera, The Opposite Direction: Faisal Qasim Islamic Channels; need or leisure, aired on 27 February 2001, Al-Sharia wal Hayath with Yousuf Al-Qardhawi Islamic View of Media aired on 13th June 1999)

It is the religion’s engagement with media and globalaization that has allowed the process of “reconstruction” of religion” or re-imagination of religion. Top down religious hierarchy is undergoing a major transformation in which below-top religious communication will also be part of religious discourses. Because despite all religious extremism, Islamic texts have been democratized by western media technologies and people far from religious institution are easily accessing religious texts and explaining Islam in their own contexts. This is how one can understand the interplay of globalization and media which resulted in to fragmentation in some context and unity in some other caused by ‘collapse of hierarchical notions of religious authority’. (Eickleman 1999)

Media and Women:

Women are another taboo in the GCC media who are not allowed to be covered beyond a limit. Clerics have time and again issued Fatwa against coverage of Arab women in 'negative way'. In a letter to new Information Minister Abdul Aziz al-Khoja 35 Islamic clerics condemned the increase of music and dancing on television, as well as images of women in popular newspapers and magazines that they labelled "obscene." (AFP Riyadh 24 March 2009) The French news agency AFP reported that Saudi clerics have called on the government to ban women from appearing on television and to prohibit their images in print media, which they called a sign of growing "deviant thought." "Our faith in you is great to carry out media reform, for we have seen how perversity is rooted in the ministry of information and culture, on television, radio, in the press, literary clubs, and book fairs," the letter said.

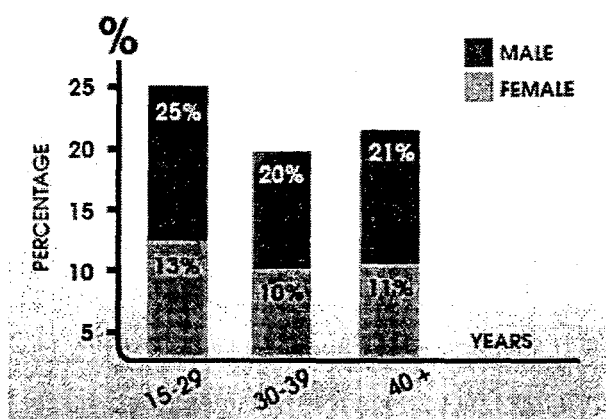
With emerging tension in Saudi Arabia because of media's increased engagement with people and their day to day socialization process, religious authorities are no more able to resist every change. Saudi Information Minister Abdul Aziz al-Khoja has recently been blamed by Saudi liberals for giving in to the clerics' pressures and damages the Saudi media's gains achieved so far.

Since satellite media have highest house hold penetration in the region, GCC women naturally constitute considerable size of audiences in all satellite channels. Women in the GCC have direct access and are involved with the socialization process more intensively than of men. Women are also becoming part of media industry joining media as journalists, reporters and anchors though still they are far away from being professional journalists like in the western countries. In a discussion at Al-Jazeera Qatari Islamic scholar Yousuf Al-Qardhawi was asked by a woman to suggest Arab channels to recruit women with scarf and veil and do not discourage them from joining media industry. With increased women participation in media activities, issues of women are likely to be covered unlike earlier. But in a society where women were never allowed to be part of work force, their interest in media activities is far important development. There are now discussions over how to overcome problems at the institutional and professional levels. Women journalists are now part of both print and broadcast media as well as online media. There are number of institutes and centres for female journalists to promote them in the Arab world and GCC countries

are part of those initiatives at Arab level. Jordan based Arab Women Media Center is at the helm of regional initiatives for women journalists. Women as part of audiences, media producers (print and broadcast) has further motivated region's female student to join media course. In Qatar's Northwestern University which offers courses in journalism and communication, has enrolled high proportion female student in media courses in 2008. The report published in Qatari newspaper reveals that girls have outnumbered boys in the quest to make a career in the media. (The Peninsula 11th October 2008)

Table 19

AL JAZEERA AUDIENCE PROFILE BY AGE



Source: <http://www.allied-media.com/aljazeera/>

Women's participation as content, content maker and audience is bound to bring more and more disputes related with gender perceptions in the region. Ongoing fatwa spree in Saudi Arabia about women's projection has come out of this change in GCC media landscape as an impact of globalization on media

Media and Political Reform:

In the GCC countries where democracy and political reforms are still long awaited goals, media can facilitate the democratization process. Notions like 'satellite democracy' 'Television Democracy' have been frequently used to indicate the rapid change in media landscape of GCC region especially after arrival of Al-Jazeera in Qatar. Given the Al-Jazeera's public debate over all internal and external issues some have called it United Republic of Al-Jazeera. Arab public sphere's involvement in political re-imagination has become now a regular practice of GCC media outlets

which have initiated many political disputes. Although media's capacity to convert mediated political debates in to full fledged systematic political pluralism is limited, its capacity to facilitate the process and force the trio of owners, regulators and audiences to respond the global changes positively has significantly increased. Arab Audiences are not equivalent of voter citizens nor do the satellite channels seem identical to the political groupings. Their capacity to create a new political imagination will determine the direction of the democratization process in the region. Creating a Pan Arab political imagination like the one in Al-Jazeera, New Arabism as in Al-Arabiya, strengthening national identities or reassertion of global Islamic identity as part of global 'Ummah' are a few political debates which have been facilitating political process in the GCC region. The way to democracy has become complex and confused and some times posed as contradictory to Islam and Arabness.

Media in the GCC have emerged in evident political vacuum which could have created mobilization for political activities. This is where Arab civil society shows a certain degree of ambivalence about democracy. Democratization as a process of transition from 'undemocratic' form of governance to 'democratic' in GCC requires supporting institutions or political parties which is lacking in the region. Media nowhere can play dual role of a political party as well as 'informer or educator'. The failure of American sponsored Arabic TV channel Al-Hurra presents a good example which started political discourses which has no local receivers and thus regarded as tool of American propaganda. Media's main function lies with its capability to create a political imagination closer to democratic reforms. Such process is neither a switch off on process nor the impossible task. Media in absence of political institutions or parties and civil society have to deal with existing institutions like religion, tribes and ruling elites. In this complex situation media's role in the GCC states becomes very crucial but with sufficient potential to influence the debate of democratization even though they are controlled and financed by undemocratic ruling class.

Fifth Chapter

Conclusion

Conclusion

During the discussion, some specific hypothetical questions have been dealt; how globalization is helping reconstructing of media regime of the GCC countries, does the emerging media regime enhance the intensity of participation of public debate, how the internal debate is also one of the outcomes of globalization. However, media freedom remains constraining factor in defining the content of programs and information flows across the Gulf States. The long discussion with globalization and media regime in the GCC region reveals some important facts about media and globalization interplay in the region. Media in the Gulf States has gradually expanded from regional media to pan Arab media. Now the region caters nearly 300 million Arab audiences across the Arab states. Most of the Pan Arab satellite channels like Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya are based in the GCC states. This is added by information and communication penetration through internet, and mobile. Doha, Dubai and Bahrain have emerged as important media centres of the region. This is quite different picture of the GCC media from a decade ago when Gulf people waited three days to know American attack on Iraq in 1991. This changed media profile of the region has caused other changes within social and political realms of the region. Current scenarios have suggested continuation of media trends in the region in which media industry is likely to expand and freedom of expression would have to take different shape from that of today but not necessarily similar to the western concepts. In last four chapters, discussion covers that media developments in the GCC states have not happened without willingness of the ruling authorities to protect their economic and political interests. There are certain drivers and irritants behind media proliferation and subsequent media dependent social debate. Entire debate of globalization and media regime in the GCC region has identified following conclusions.

Engaging with Media globalization:

Arab Gulf states after collapse of natural state in late nineties, encountered with colonial forces and technological developments all together. In fact neither Arab Gulf states nor their people were equipped to exploit suddenly discovered oil and gas resources. With limited national labour force, lack of investment capital and technological know-how, Arab Gulf states had to face huge foreign involvement in

their oil driven economy in which foreign investment, technology and foreign labour force became permanent feature for an unpredictable period of time. On the political landscape, the Gulf States observed popular religious movements rather than nationalist movements which helped the tribal alliances come in power and maintain stability, a feature unlike other Arab states like Egypt, Syria and Iraq which undergone ideological nationalist movements. Religion was cornerstone in the state formation process of the Gulf region in late nineteenth and 20th century.

Evolution of nation state and now decline of nation state is all about imagination of communities. Since the entire process of imagination revolutionized, imagination shifted from printed text of hot media to broadcast airwaves of soft media in which masses rather than individuals are central. Imagining Arab nation in globalization era is characterized by multiple social settings in which contradictory trends converge and current media developments suggest these inherent tensions. For example, Islamists in all over the Arab world and GCC states are using TV in order to promote Islamic ideas, at the same time, Kuwaiti liberals and Saudi moderate journalists are also fighting against religious extremism in their societies through media. This tension is supported by media proliferation trends and facilitated by globalization with more social and political expectations from media beyond their professional ones.

But there are fundamental questions like; did globalization in the GCC states mean decline of nation state. In fact Arabs perceive themselves single nation and many states; projection of 'end of nation state' is not identical with that of Europe and other Asian countries. Instead globalization has helped the region to come closer after perceived 'single Arab nation' found it ever closer and more interactive. In absence of any tangible cultural or linguistic borders, Arab states have to either recreate nation based imagination like in GCC where *Saudization*, *Omanization* and *Emaratization* has been unsuccessfully employed to counter economic fears stemmed from Asian Tsunami. Or they have to reconfigure their state systems in order to respond globalization.

Most studies and reforms trends suggest that second approach is being adopted in GCC states. There starts reinvention or re-constitution of Arab identity and media play instrumental role in creation of new Arab identity whatever shape it takes. Interestingly, reinvention of Arab identity is neither controlled by any ideological

movement as it was during anti colonial struggle in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, nor by religious authorities as it was during religious movements in early twentieth century in Gulf States. Emergence of Pan Arab media has exposed vulnerabilities of Arab states in the wake of globalization where there are no Saudi, Kuwaiti, Egyptian or Omani audiences. Notion of Arab audiences has further got intensified by Pan Arab channels like Al-Arabiya, Abu Dhabi TV and Al-Jazeera. Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya are also not identified as Qatari or Saudi channels. Pan Arab audiences and Pan Arab channels have made difficult choices for authorities to demonize some channel as Qatari or Lebanese or Saudi. On the part of audiences or people, globalization has engaged many groups of the region who were unheard before like Shia in Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, Kharjites in Oman. Another divide within Arab GCC societies come from their educational, financial and tribal backgrounds. Western educated and traditionally educated clerics and so on the divisions in the GCC society have become more visible after media brought them in the light of day to day and instant coverage. Media networks-print or broadcast- represent these cleavages on social and cultural landscape of GCC region. Media debates over education reforms, co-education in Kuwait, religious moderation in Saudi Arabia and human right debate in Bahrain in last few years reflect the fragmenting trends in cultural and social realm.

Another feature of globalization is transformation of traditional society in to knowledge based society. In western concepts, network & knowledge society has been conceptualized around the changing profile of western societies where information networks penetrated inside social structure and information became an economic object. Studies suggested that oil driven 'Superficial Prosperity' did not help the society transform from traditional (pearl, fishes industry to oil industry) to knowledge economy. Service sectors still constitute a meagre part of economy contrary to the global trends where service sectors are rapidly replacing agriculture and industrial economy. GCC states' response to the globalization phenomenon is to come from realization of these global changes. The current trends of change in the GCC are suggesting the positive approach of the region towards engaging with globalization. Along with Information technology networks (internet, phone, mobile etc) media figured with prominence in their policy making. But the task is not without political and cultural ramifications which initiated the cultural debate in the region as discussed under *mediascape phenomenon* in the GCC.

Studies show that GCC states, despite many irritants, are participating and appropriating media globalization in their regional and national context. Forced by their political and economic considerations, regional leaders reiterated to pay some price for this freedom. Qatari ruler Shaik Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani stated "I believe criticism can be a good thing," he said in a speech a year after Al Jazeera's launch, "and some discomfort for government officials is a small price to pay for this new freedom (Thacker 2006) " UAE's prime minister Mohammad bin Rashid Al-Makhtoum expressed his belief that "there is no quicker path to comprehensive development than cooperation in the fields of IT and communication (Khalil 2006) shows that leaders in the region are looking the ICT and Media developments as an opportunity rather than threat.

Regardless of their results towards reforms, GCC states have undergone multiple experiments to address media globalization. Diversifying regional economy from oil based to service based, from industrialist to knowledge economy or from non productive to productive society, media globalization has provided with opportunities rather than threats. Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya's launch as political projects cannot sustain for a long period as there are market concerns they have to take care of and act accordingly. Dubai as a non oil economy has gone well ahead of all other countries and Emirates in the UAE. With unfolding media industry in the region, GCC is attracting global media companies as well as regional media investors and thus GCC is emerging as media hub of the Arab world. With its small population, the region neither has enough audiences nor the workforce for media outlets, media outlets have to attract pan Arab audiences through their format and contents of programs. Given the Arab nationalism and religious and cultural commonalities has further helped the regional media adopting a pan Arab approach for developing successful media industry in the region.

A regional approach to the global media developments has been employed by the GCC states. Political threats are unifying States of the GCC and Arab region to join hands at regional level. But the approach proved economically nonviable. Though the response is regional at legal and governance level, their discourse orientation is aimed to be part of globalization. In the market of ideas, Arab ideas are now in better position worth to be purchased as Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya the two pan Arab global

TV networks have done during last some years. Launched in 2007, Al-Jazeera English has marked another milestone in Arab media spoiling the CNN/BBC domination globally. Al-Jazeera's content as well as format have been professionally recognized but they are disturbing global media outlets as well as policy makers who find themselves as victims of Arab media bias. For her anti Al-Jazeera reactions, United States has been criticized by media watchdog over her bias towards Al-Jazeera in the USA. It is how GCC media networks have not only engaged Arab audiences; they also successfully engaged western and Asian audiences. The global media landscape will be unpredictable if more Pan Arab channels show interest in global media market and launch more Al-Jazeera English like channels or networks. For example Al-Arabiya's Urdu news website has entered South Asian media landscape which is also a battleground of two rival nations India and Pakistan. There are talks about launch of Urdu Al-Jazeera which will certainly storm the south Asian media market provided with Al-Jazeera's critical approach as it is in Arabic TV.

Media Regime

In region where most of the news papers are privately owned and run but the broadcast media has been kept under strict control for a long time. Same is the case of internet media which is closely watched and scrutinized. Any change in media regime would have to cover both legal contours of the media governance, professional performance and business opportunities. In all terms the GCC media has to be examined. The pattern of prevailing ownership under which members of royal families have been controlling most of the media ventures, provides states a safeguard against any potential political problems from media. However broadcast media has outpaced the print media all over the world but in the GCC states newspapers still enjoys larger readership and business share especially in terms of advertisement revenues. As tables in last chapters shoed that even in Arab states like Egypt, Lebanon and Syria Televisions' business share is increasing and newspapers' share in advertisement has significantly decreased. But in case of GCC, news papers are still showing stability. Despite this dichotomous growth of two media, the region has observed higher growth in satellite televisions. As stated in earlier discussions, private satellite networks are very new reality in the region and have been allowed gradually in some countries. Saudi Arabia, all GCC states are in review process of their media

laws, regulatory mechanism and media governance, no matter what exact shape it is going to take. Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman have come ahead towards private broadcasting. UAE's media city model and Qatar's Al-Jazeera Network are in the way towards restructuring media regime at regional and national level. Broadcast regulations in most of the GCC states and at Arab states also are being reviewed. In case of UAE's new media law, serious arguments were exchanged between ministry and media owners, editors and journalists. The only progress made by the new law is relaxation of journalists from penalizing and imprisonment. All media reforms in the region are very much in its infancy stage and would evolve further.

It is also discussed why GCC region is too hesitant for media reforms and why the region is resisting broader media freedom. The media landscape will reveal that the direction of media law changes have been set by many internal and external factors. The trio of oil, religion and security perception is most visible part of all media laws in the region. The list of prohibitions in all GCC media laws are almost common which include clauses like disturbing 'social integrity' refrain from insulting God, revealed religions, prophets, mazhabs (religious sects), and religious symbols, peace and public order, "against the Islamic faith, the unity of the people, and the person of the king" and "inciting division or sectarianism" and undermining country's security and libel'.

Second dimension of media reforms is regional regulation as it happened in Arab broadcast Charter 2008 and development of common GCC media strategy. Given the nature of broadcast media, national regulation is neither possible nor economically viable. Small With small size of population Bahrain, Kuwait and Qatar have not profitable domestic media market and have to tap Pan Arab media market. The future of broadcast regulation depends on regional understanding and agreement on several issues. Given the competition over media, divergence of interests of Arab states it is unlikely that Arab states especially GCC states reach on a common broadcast regulation. Differences over Arab Broadcasting charter between Saudi Arabia and Qatar are still to be settled as latter blames Saudi Arabia for damaging its Al-Jazeera network and the freedom of expression which Qatar achieved after along time. Most of the Arab channels have opposed the charter ad international media watch dogs also criticized the charter.

Internal social groups in the region are also contesting over the media developments and especially the freedom of media. Religious groups like Salafists, Wahabists, (Saudi Arabia) Kharjites, (Oman) Liberals (Kuwait) and business groups are opposed to each other on how to deal with media. For example religious groups are advocating preserving regions' cultural uniqueness according to Islamic values and want media companies to abide by redlines of religion. Issuance of Fatwa against journalists and media owners in recent years can be seen in this context. Business groups who have greater stakes in the industry as in Dubai media city or other commercial media ventures, trying to exploit market at maximum and expect greater freedom of expression. These conflicting trends are shaping nature of changes in existing media laws, regulations and media governance of the region. Among them states find it useful to use these differences as pretext of status quo.

On professional side, media as a profession show significant improvement according to most of the international standards. Various studies of Arab media suggested that GCC region had improved in terms of professional standards like Free Speech, Professional Journalism, and Plurality of news sources, Business management and supporting institutions (IREX: 2005) which brought the media of the region in the category of near sustainable. Media as an economic sector and commercial activity has been recognized by states and investors who came to use media as business opportunity rather than as state apparatus. Even the religious genres of TV are in the market competition which gave rise to Islamic channels like Future TV of UAE, Al-Resalah of Kuwait, Al-Iqrah TV of Saudi Arabiya etc. This competition among religious channels will allow plurality of Islamic ideas and development of new Islamic discourse through open media debates as Al-Jazeera's religious program *al-Sharia-wal Hayath* and Amr Khalid's programs on Iqra and Abu Dhabi TV, have done in order to promote Islam.

This is to suggest that change is bound to come however the direction of change can not be dictated or predicted. Because change in media regime is not only legal or institutional changes, any change would involve social and cultural aspects which will subsequently affect the politics of the each states. The picture of ongoing debate over media's role shows that people, authorities and interest groups, are in quest to reach a common acceptable knowledge and information freedom which shows consistency

with local religious and tribal sensitivities as well as fulfill business interests and do not pose immediate political threats to the ruling class. The struggle for a Arab specific media will continue in its evolutionary and formation stage.

Mediascapes

GCC region's capabilities to produce distribute and disseminate information and images have significantly increased. With this increased capabilities the region's producers and audiences are engaged with global *mediascapes*. Increased media interaction around the world -printed, broadcast or digital interaction-, results in to emergence of new forms of mediated interaction in global *mediascape* as well as the Arab *mediascape* which is far more identifiable than other regions' thanks to linguistic and cultural peculiarities of the region. Traditional social spaces in the world as well as in the Arab and GCC have significantly shrunken. The nature of mediated interaction is characterized by several factors.

Unlike religious spaces in the GCC and Arab societies which were regulated by religious authorities in mosques and other religious places, new forms of interaction in media are uncontrollable by any single authority. Media has joined family, religion and states' role in socialization process and social debate in the world and GCC also.

Globalization has brought sense of threat not only from outside of the region as west also from empowered Arab audiences, civil society and emerging middle class. Western threat to the region's Islamic and religious identity has somehow diluted when there start internal debates over reforms and 'Islamic terrorism'. Discussion in AL-Jazeera like 'Islam and Civil Democracy', 'Islam and Media', 'Islamic Media', 'Islam and Reforms' have all engaged the region in to an internal debate or introspection process. Despite all these facts, issues like Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan and American interference in Arab world are helping to create common political position. Arab *mediascape* is constituted by all these images constructed by Islamic media, entertainment media, western and Arab media. Audiences are active part of this mediascape

The question lies how to define mediated and intensified interaction of Arabs in the GCC with their Arab and non Arab fellows as part of global and regional audiences.

Public Sphere as theorized by Jurgen Habermas, fails to capture GCC and Arab media dynamics as it was built to identify western public sphere and its cognate terms – public culture, public opinion, public sphere public interest etc. In Arab and Islamic setting there is needed to indigenize public sphere or develop alternative theoretical models. (Zayani: 2008: 60-79) ‘Flow of people and pictures’ within region has created Arab *mediascape* in which voices from inside the Arab and GCC societies are likely to come out and be heard through pan Arab and global media.. How Al-Jazeera is exporting disturbing images to the western world using same technologies and media standards is a new case in global media industry. An emerging Arab *mediascape* is not constituted only by Al-Jazeera phenomenon, many other like Lebanon’s Al-Manar, Iranian Arabic channel Al-Alam are also part of it with their Israeli and American counterparts Arab TV and Al-Hurrah in Arabic. In entertainment genre, many non Arab Muslim countries are now exporting their entertainment products dubbed in Arabic to the Arab televisions. After mammoth popularity of Noor soap of Turkey debate over Arabic dubbed program started and some felt a sense of threat from these products. This study suggests that Arab mediascape has developed antipathy to certain contents, reservations to some and acceptance to ‘politically and culturally fit’ contents.

As result of globalization and information inflow to and from GCC region, fear about cultural identity and religious sanctity has become more open. With this phenomenon, Arjun Appadurai’s concept of mediascape captures regional media dynamics and its engagement with global *mediascape*. Images produced in the region are not only important to Arab people they have certain concerns for non Arab countries whose greater interests are at stake in that region. GCC region with highest growth in media content, industry and media markets, GCC builds enormous impacts and orientation of Arab *mediascape*.

‘Westernization’ or cultural hegemony of the west is most common discourse among region’s Islamist and nationalists groups. Earlier Hollywood films and serials didn’t raise that level of fear as now Arabic dubbed programs from Turkey and Iran are doing. It is because they look Hollywood product with detachment and find no similarities between the two cultures except a few fashion, jewelry and dress influences. But Turkish soap or other Muslim countries’ media product is capable to

raise religious and cultural sensitivities because they belong to same religion. Fear of westernization and cultural assault on Islam and Islamic values is still politically useful for some rulers but it is not a big marketable among the audiences.

Instead the region's media content does suggest that there are more internal issues rather than external threat in their content. For example, projection of Islam as a moderate religion which preaches love and co-existence is something being adopted of some religious channels of the region. Egyptian televangelist Amr Khalid has become an Arab icon for religious moderation who has been preaching for such Islam and he has been generously sponsored and hired by GCC media outlets. Muslim Brotherhood is believed to project Islam more in political reverences and hence advocates for a political role for Islam in the Arab and Islamic world. Al-Jazeera has given Muslim Brotherhood's thinker Yousuf Al-Qardhawi to its religious programs like Al-Sharia val Hayath. His religious endorsement to Palestinian Hamas ideologies and resistance techniques like suicide bombing has often disturbed regional and western governments. Kuwaiti news papers have been debating over co-education and opposition of Islamic groups to the co-education through media. Marriage and divorce cases are getting frequent media attention in the region which have often forced religious establishment to review some of their Fatwas.

Another interesting point is about how to deal with this development. Cultural threat is not and cannot be measured at GCC or national level alone. There is talk about cultural threats to the pan Arab level and thereby to counter it at Arab level. There is much talk about dealing with un-Islamic media and banning them. Ministers and Islamic groups have been discussing the fear at regional level. Given potential political controversies, rulers are trying to manipulate some events and take on specific Arab channels that they don't like. Politics behind 'Arab Broadcasting Charter February 2008' embodies the fragmented opinion of Arab states about how to deal with disturbing TV channels. In February 2008 meeting in Cairo, Arab ministers of information were persuaded by Saudi Arabia and Egypt to reach on a common charter for broadcasting principles. Most of the clauses were visibly taken to counter Al-Jazeera's growing influence in the Arab world. With changing perceptions about freedom, driven by political and economic considerations, Qatar unequivocally opposed the charter and abstained from the meeting. Lebanon also supported Qatar's

move. Qatar cited her concerns over charter's negative impacts on freedom standards of Qatar and Arab League itself. Qatar has already dismantled its ministry of information and is in process to restructuring her media regulation.

There remain many questions unresolved in Arab media scholarship. Most of the western scholars of Arab media are more concerned of media's capability to dictate democratic change and reforms, there emerge academic gap in contextualizing GCC and Arab media and studying GCC media as extension of and manifestation of existing socio-political and cultural settings, rather than as separate and self functioning system. Popular perceptions regarding religion, security, tribal values and Arab nationalism matter in identifying GCC media. Western media scholars and media watch dogs have been reporting the region with reference of their media regime; however their failure to recognize internal conflict in and among the states leads them to simple conclusions. Their expectation from GCC and Arab media to emulate western media laws and media content are product of this simple analysis.

The local media both print and electronic in different intensity has evolved beyond the given defines. It has made big departure from the past but at the same time it is not an imitation of western media, it is acquiring its own identity and role beyond the western parameters. It is clearly discernable that media in the region is transforming the social debate both in substance and nuance. The identity discourses however seem to be still beyond its reach. On economic process, media have been understanding the issues of concerns who are not getting the benefit of the market lead growth process. Summing up, it is can be argued that globalization led ICT revolution has contributed in empowering the media regime in the West Asia in general and the GCC countries in particular, this study suggests that the change is there but the direction of change may not be according to western context of media developments, it will be in context of regions' old Arab and Islamic and modern values which requires more engagement of all section of the Arab and GCC society.

References

References

*Primary sources

Abercrombie, N., & Longhurst, B (1998), *Audiences: A sociological theory of performance and imagination*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Abu-Lughod, Lila (1993), "Finding a Place for Islam : Egyptian Television Serials and the National Interest", *Public Culture* (5:493-513).

Al-Jammal, Rasem, (1995), *Communication and Information in the Arab World*. Beirut: Arab Unity Studies Center (in Arabic).

Al-Marashi, Ibrahim (2007), *The Dynamics of Iraq's Media: Ethno-Sectarian Violence, Political Islam, Public Advocacy, and Globalization*, Budapest: Open Society Institute.

Alterman, Job B (1999), Shrinking the World and Changing the Rules, *Middle East Insight*, March-April: 30-32.

Alterman, Jon B (1998), *New Media New Politics? From Satellite Television to the Internet in the Arab World*, Washington: The Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

Althusser, Louis. (1971), "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in *Lenin and Philosophy and other Essays* (1971) London: New Left Books

Al-Zubaidi, Layla, (2004), *Walking a tightrope News Media & Freedom of Expression in the Arab Middle East*, Beirut: Henrich Boll Foundation.

Amin Y, Hussein (2004), Social Engineering: Transnational Broadcasting and Its Impact on Peace in the Middle East, *Global Media Journal*, 3 (Spring).

Ampuja, Marko (2004), Critical Media Research, Globalization theory and commercialization, *The Public*, 11 (3): 59-76.

Anderson, B. (1991), *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.

Annabelle, Sreberny-Mohammadi (1991), "The Global and Local in international communications", in James Curran, Michael Gurevith and Janet Woollacot (eds.) *Mass Communication and Society*, London: Sage.

Appadurai, Arjun, (1990), Disjunctures and Differences in the Global Cultural Economy, *Public Culture*, 2:2.

Appadurai, Arjun, (1997), *Modernity at Large, Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, New Delhi: Oxford University.

- Asad, T. (1990), "Ethnography, literature and politics: Some readings and uses of Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses*", *Cultural Anthropology*, 5(3): 239-269.
- Ayish, M. (1998), "Communication Research in the Arab World: A New Perspective", *Javnost/ The Public*, 5(1): 35-37.
- Ayish, Muhammad, (1995), "Traditional Communication Survives in the United Arab Emirates", *Media Development* 4, 41-44.
- Bamyeh, Mohammed A. (2001), Postnationalism, *BRIIFS*, 3 (2).
- Barkho, Leon (2008), *Strategies of power in multilingual global broadcasters, How the BBC, CNN and Aljazeera shape their Middle East news discourse*, Sweden: Jönköping University Press.
- Boyd, D.A. (1999), *Broadcasting in the Arab World: A Survey of the Electronic Media in the Middle East*, Ames IA: Iowa State University Press.
- Boyd, D. A. (1993b), A new "line in the sand" for the media. *Media Studies Journal*, 7(4), 133-140
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2004), *Statistics on Arab Media Arab Reform Bulletin*, (2:11)
- Castells, Manuel (2000), *The rise of the network society*, Wiley-Blackwell Publishers, pp: 501-509.
- Crane, Diana (2002), *Statistics in the Wake of Challenges Posed by Cultural Diversity in Globalization Context*, *UNESCO Institute of Statistics, Montreal*, October: 21-23.
- Dajani, Karen Finlon (1992), *Disoriented Media in a Fragmented Society: The Lebanese Experience*. Beirut: American University Press.
- Denise Tabar, Mary (2002), *Printing Press to Satellite: A Historical Case Study of Media and the Arab State*, PhD Thesis Washington, DC: Georgetown University.
- Durham, Meenakshi Gigi & Douglas M Kellner (2006), *Media and Cultural Studies Key Works*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Eickelman, Dale F (1999), *The Coming Transformation of The Muslim World*, *Foreign Policy Research Institute WIRE*, 7 (9).
- El-Affendi, Abdelwahab (1993), "Eclipse of Reason: The Media in the Muslim World," *Journal of International Affairs*, 47(1): 31
- El-Nawawy, Mohammed et al. (2003) "Al-Jazeera: Bridging the East-West Gap through Public Discourse and Media Diplomacy", *Journal of Transnational Broadcasting Studies*. Volume 10.(Spring/ Summer).

- Fandy, Mamoun (2005), *Arab Media: Tools of the Governments, Tools for the People?* United States Institute of Peace Muslim World Initiative, United States: United States Institute of Peace.
- Fandy, Mamoun (2007), *(Un)civil War of Words: Media and Politics in the Arab World*, Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Foucault, Michel (1980), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-197*, New York: Pantheon Books.
- Ferguson, Marjorie (1992), The Mythology about Globalization, *European Journal of Communication*, 7 (1): 69-93.
- Gabardi, Wayne (2000), *Negotiating Postmodernism*, Minneapolis: U Minnesota Publication.
- Galtung, Johan, and Richard Vincent (1992), *Global Glasnost: Towards a New Information and Communication Order*, Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Ghareeb, Edmund (2000), Media and Information Revolution in the Arab World: An Assessment, *Middle East Journal*, 54 (3).
- Giddens, Anthony, (1999), *Runaway World, how Globalisation is reshaping our lives*, London: Profile Books.
- Giddens, Anthony (1990), *The Consequences of Modernity*, Stanford University Press.
- Ginsburg, Faye D. et.al (2002), *Media Worlds, Anthropology on new terrain*, California: University of California Press.
- Gramsci, Antonio (1971) *Selection from Prison Notebooks*, London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Habermas, Jurgen. (1984), *The theory of Communicative Action. Volume 1, Reason and Rationalization of Society*. Bostan: Beacon Press
- Habermas, Jurgen (1971), *Knowledge and Human Intrests*, Translated by J. Shaprio. London: Heinmann.
- Hafez, K. (2004), Arab Satellite Broadcasting: An Alternative to Political Parties? *"Transnational Broadcasting Studies"*, on line, 13 (fall- winter).
- Hafez, K. (ed.) (2007), *The Myth of Media Globalization*, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hamelink, Cess J. (1983), *Cultural Autonomy in Global Communications: Planning National Information Policy*. New York: Longman.
- Herman, Edward S and Noam Chomsky (1988), *Manufacturing Consent*, New York: Pantheon Books

- Hayajneh, Adnan M. (2006), Arab Middle East Governments: Security Concerns, Priorities and Policies Alternatives, *Turkish Journal of International Relations*, Volume 5, Number 4, winter.
- Ibrahim, Saduddin, (1981), *New Arab Social Order*, London: West View Press.
- Imam, Ibrahim, (1980), *Islamic Communication in the Oral Phase*. Cairo: Anglo-Egyptian Bookshop (inArabic).
- Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (2005), “Arab German Media Dialogue Media without Borders Glocalization, Journalism and Cultural Identity”, Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen e.v. Ministry of foreign Affairs, Germany 25 26 April, 2005, Masqat.
- IRES MENA (2005) Media Sustainability Index, Middle East and North Africa IRES: Washington: International Research & Exchanges Board.
- Iskandar, A. (2006a), “Shifting Tides: Egyptian Media and the Impending Political Revolution”, *Georgetown Journal of International Relations*, 7(1).
- Kamalipour, Y.R. & Mowlana H. (eds.) (1994), *Mass Media in the Middle East: A Comprehensive Handbook*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Kontorovich, Eugene (2003), The Arab League Boycott and WTO Accession: Can Foreign Policy Excuse Discriminatory Sanctions, *Chicago Journal of International Law*, 4 (2 Fall):283-305.
- Koren, Haim (2007), The Development of Arab Media: Cultural and ideological aspects and their Relation to Politics and Regimes in the Middle East, *Diplomatic Notes Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, pp 2-12.
- Kraidy, M.M. (2005), *Hybridity: or the Cultural Logic of Hybridity*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press
- Kraidy, Marwan M. (2007), Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and the Changing Arab Information Order, *International Journal of Communication*, 1: 139-156.
- Kraidy, M. M. (1999a), The local, the global and the hybrid: A native ethnography of glocalization, *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 16(4), 456-477.
- Kraidy, M. M. (1998b), Broadcasting Regulation and Civil Society in Post-War Lebanon, *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 42(3), 387-400.
- Kuwait Economic Society (2006) “Kuwaiti Public Opinion” Survey Report October. Kuwait: Kuwait Economic Society.
- Lynch, M. (2006), *Voice of the New Arab Public: Iraq, Al Jazeera and Middle East Politics Today*, New York: Columbia University Press.

- Mandaville, Peter G (2001), *Transnational Muslim politics: Re-imagining the Umma*, London: Routledge.
- Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engels (1970), *German Ideology*, New York: International Publishers Co pp 64.
- Mayrowitz, J., (1985) *No Sense of Place: The impact of Electronic Media of social behaviour*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mernissi, Fatma (2004), "The Satellite, The Prince and Scheherazade: The Rise of Women as Communication in Digital Islam", *Transnational Broadcasting Journal* (Spring Summer).
- McHugh, Kristin (2006), *The Rise and Influence of Arab Media*, Muscatine: The Stanley Foundation.
- McLuhan, Marshal (2001), *Understanding media: The Extensions of Man*, London: Routledge.
- McLuhan, Marshall et. al. (1996), *The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects*, Berkeley: Gingko Press.
- Mittelman, James H. (2004), *Weather Globalization? The Vortex of knowledge and ideology*, London: Rutledge. PP7.
- Mohamed, Mohamed Sayyed (1983), *Media Responsibility in Islam*. Cairo: Khanji Bookshop (in Arabic).
- Mowlana, Hamid (1979), *Evolution of Social Communication in Iran*, Tehran: College of Mass Communication Publication.
- Mowlana, Hamid (1996), *Global Communication in Transition: The End of Diversity?* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publication.
- Obeidat, Reem (2002), "Content And Representation Of Women In The Arab Media", paper presented in Expert Group Meeting 12-15th November at United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), Beirut.
- Ohmae, Kenichi (1991), *The Borderless World, Power and Strategy in the Interlinked Economy*, London: Fontana
- Cochrane, Paul (2007), "Saudi Arabia's Media Influence" *Arab Media Society* October.
- Pejman, Peyman (2008), "English newspapers in the United Arab Emirates: navigating the Crowded market", *Arab Media Society* Issue 7, Winter,
- Pintak, Lawrence (2008), *The role of the media as watch-dogs, agenda setters and gate keepers in Arab states*, Harvard-World Bank Workshop, Harvard Kennedy School Table, number 6.

Polanyi, Karl (1957), *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Times*, Boston: Beacon Press.

Rantanen, Terhi (2005), *The Media and Globalization*, London: Sage Publication.

Rinnawi, Khalil (2006), *Instant Nationalism: McArabism, Al-Jazeera and Transnational Media in the Arab World*, Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Rohozinski, Rafal (2004), "Secret Agents" and "Undercover Brothers": The Hidden Information Revolution in the Arab World, paper presented at the Fifth Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting, Florence & Montecatini Terme 24–28 March 2004, organised by the Mediterranean Programme of the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute.

Rugh, W.A. (1987), *The Arab Press: News Media and Political Process in the Arab World*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Rugh, W.A. (2004), *Arab Mass Media: Newspapers, Radio, and Television in Arab Politics*, Westport, CT: Praeger.

Said, Edward, (1987), The MESA Debate: The Scholars, the Media and the Middle East, *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 16 (2): 85-104.

Said, Edward (1981), *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts determine how we see the rest of the World*, New York: Pantheon.

Sakr, Naomi (2001), *Satellite Realms: Transnational Television, Globalization and the Middle East*, London: IB Tauris.

Sakr, Naomi (2003), Freedom of Expression, Accountability and Development in the Arab World, *Journal of Human Development*, 4 (1).

Sakr, Naomi (2004), Privatization Alone Will Not Loosen Arab Governments' Grip on Broadcasting Arab Reform, *Bulletin*, 2 (11).

Sakr, Naomi (2007), *Arab Media and Political Renewal: Community, Legitimacy and Public Life*, London: I. B. Tauris.

Sardar, Ziauddin (1993), "Paper, Printing and Compact Disks: The Making and Unmaking of Islamic Culture", *Media, Culture and Society* 15, 43-59.

Schwoch, James (2002), Crypto-Convergence, Media, and the Cold War: the Early Globalization of Television Networks in the 1950s, *Media in Transitions Conference, MIT*, May: 28.

Sharabi, Hisham, (1988), *Neopatriarchy: A Theory of Distorted Change in Arab Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Snyder, Alvin, (2008) "Viewpoint: Al Hurra struggling for ratings." *Middle Eastern Times*. 25 Nov. 2005. 5 Dec.

Sreberny Mohammadi, Annabelle (1991), "The Global and Local in international communications", in James Curran and Michael Gurevith (eds), *Mass Communication and Society*, p. 118, London: Sage.

Tawil-Souri, Helga (2008), "Arab Television in Academic Scholarship." *Sociology Compass* (2:5).

Telhami, Shibley (2009), "Annual Arab Public Opinion Survey", *Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development* University of Maryland with Zogby International.

Udhwan, Al-Ahmary, (2009) Year 2008 observes largest number of controversial Fatwa in Saudi Arabia (Arabic) Daily Al-Watan, Riyadh 23 August 2009.

UNDP (2002) Arab Human Development Report 2002, New York: United Nation Development Programme

UNDP (2005), Arab Human Development Report 2005 New York: United Nations Development Programme PP 8.

Tehrani, Katherine Kia (1998), "Global Communication and Pluralization of Identities," *The Futures*, 30: 2-3.

The Stanhope Centre (2003), Study of Media Laws and Policies for the Middle East and Maghreb, The Stanhope Centre for Communications Policy Research, London: Stanhope House pp. 19

Wheeler, Mark (1997), *A changing landscape-The Globalization of the Media: Liberalization or Constraint? In Politics of the Mass media*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Zayani, M. (2005), *The Al Jazeera Phenomenon: Critical Perspectives on the New Arab Media*, Boulder, CO: Paradigm.

Zayani, M (2008), *The Culture of Al Jazeera: Inside an Arab Media Giant*, McFarland & Co.

Zayani, M (2004), *Arab Satellite Television and Politics in the Middle East*, Dubai, Emirates Centre for Strategic Studies and Research.

Internet resources:

Al –Sharw Al Awsat (2007), Interview with Jamal Kashoggi, Editor of Saudi Al-Watan Daily, *Al-Sharq Al Awsat* 25 April 2007, Accessed 20.03.09, URL:<http://www.aawsat.com/english/news.asp?section=5&id=8763>.

Arab Satellite Broadcasting Union (2008), Annual Report On the Situation of Arab Satellite Broadcasting In and Outside the Arab Region For the Years 2007 and 2008, Accessed 27 March 2009, URL:<http://www.asbu.net/www/en/doc.asp?mcat=5&mrub=33>.

Arab Media Information (2008), Middle East is a growing market for global broadcasting industries” 20 February 2008, (Online web) Accessed 28 February 2009, URL: <http://www.ameinfo.com/147611>.

Arab Media Information (2007), “Hollywood comes to the Middle East” December 12 - 2007 (Online web) Accessed 23.11.08, URL: <http://www.ameinfo.com/141679.html>.

Ameinfo (2006), GCC advertising an expert predicts: three billion will be the volume of advertising in Saudi Arabia, 02 September 2006, Accessed 1st February 2009, URL:<http://www.ameinfo.com>.

Al-Jazeera (2002), Western Channels into Arab world’ broadcasted on Al-Jazeera on 28 July 2002 transcript, Accessed 02.02.09, URL:http://aljazeera.net/NR/exeres/546774F6-26D3-4EFC-A183-F7AAA4B4BB00.htm?wbc_purpose=%2f%2f.

Ameinfo (2007), “Hollywood comes to the Middle East” December 12 – 2007, Accessed 23.11.08, URL: <http://www.ameinfo.com/141679.html>.

Ameinfo (2008), Middle East is a growing market for global broadcasting industries’ 20th February, (Online web) Accessed 26.02.09, URL:<http://www.ameinfo.com/147611.html>.

Ayed, Nahla (2008), “A veritable soap opera, onscreen and off”, CBC News 15 September 2008, (Online web) Accessed 20th April 2009, URL:http://www.cbc.ca/news/reportsfromabroad/middleeast/2008/09/a_veritable_soap_opera_onscreen_1.html.

Bushehri, Faten (2008), “Love escapes TV soap Noor's critics” Gulf Daily News, Voice of Bahrain, 2 August 2008, (Online web) Accessed 15 April 2009, URL:<http://www.gulf-daily-news.com/NewsDetails.aspx?storyid=225180>.

CMF-MENA (2000), Women’s Rights and the Arab Media, Report by Centre for Media Freedom -Middle East and North Africa CMF MENA, Accessed 25 April 2009, URL:<http://www.humanrights-observatory.net/revista2/womens.pdf>.

CPJ, (2009), Letter sent to Sheikh Khalifa bin Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, President of the United Arab Emirates, Committee to Protect Journalists, Accessed 11 April 2009, URL: <http://cpj.org/2009/03/cpj-concerned-about-uae-draft-media-law.php>.

Fakhroo Muneera,(2007), 12th February, 2007, *Al-Ilam al hukoomi wa altijaree wal farq bainahuma*, State media and Commercial Media and Difference between them, Al-Waqt Daily, Accessed 8th April 2009, URL: http://www.alwaqt.com/blog_art.php?baid=2416.

Freedom House, (2008), *Freedom of the Press Kuwait*, 2008, Accessed 11 April 2009, URL: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4871f612c.html>.

Freedom House, (2008), *Freedom of the Press 2008 - Bahrain*, 29 April 2008, Accessed 11 April 2009, URL: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4871f5ed28.html>.

Freedom House, (2008), *Freedom of the Press 2008 - Kuwait*, 29 April 2008, Accessed 11 April 2009, UNHCR Refworld, URL:<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4871f612c.html>.

Freedom House, (2008), *Freedom of the Press Oman* 2008, Accessed 11 April 2009, URL:www.unhcr.org/refworld/publisher,FREEHOU,,OMN,4871f6242,0.html.

Freedom House, (2008), *Freedom of the Press Qatar* 2008, Accessed 11 April 2009, URL:<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4871f62828.html>.

Freedom House, (2008), *Freedom of the Press Saudi Arabia*, Accessed 28th April 2009, URL:<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4871f62dc.html>.

Freedom House, (2008), *Freedom of the Press United Arab Emirates*, Accessed 28th April 2009, URL: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/478cd5545.html>.

Global Industry Analysts, Inc.(2008), “Direct to Home (DTH) Television Services” (Online : web) Accessed 24 February 2009, URL:http://www.strategyR.com/DTH_Satellite_TV_Services_Market_Report.asp.

Gubash, Charlene (2008), Soap Opera Upends Traditional Arab Gender Roles 31 July 2008, (Online web) Accessed 20 April 2009, URL:<http://worldblog.msnbc.msn.com/archive/2008/07/31/1236952.aspx>.

Hackensberger, Alfred (2008), “The Turkish Soap Opera "Noor" More Real than Life” (online web) Accessed 25 April 2009, URL:http://www.qantara.de/webcom/show_article.php/_c-478/_nr-801/i.html.

Hanizadeh, Hassan (2008), Turkish soaps not so clean, Tehran Times 28 August 2008 Accessed 15 April 2009, URL:http://www.tehrantimes.com/index_View.asp?code=176437.

HRW (2009), *UAE: Media Law Undermines Free Expression*, Human Rights Watch, Accessed 20 May 2009, URL: <http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2009/04/13/uae-media-law-undermines-free-expression>.

IREX (2008), MENA Media Laws in the Gulf, Accessed 20 March 2009, URL:<http://www.irex-mena.org/programs/medialaws.asp> .

KUNA (2008), Indecent TV channels threat to GCC' 3 November, Kuwait News Agency, Accessed 15 April 2009, URL:<http://www.arabtimesonline.com/client/pagesdetails.asp?nid=24360&ccid=9>.

MBC (2009), Museum of Broadcast Communication, "Deregulation" (Online :web) Accessed 25 February 2009, URL:<http://www.museum.tv/archives/etv/D/htmlD/deregulation/deregulation.htm>.

Media Line News Agency (2009), "Saudi TV airs controversial rape scene" Jerusalem Post April 21, 2009 (Online web) Accessed 15th May 2009, URL:<http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1239710747254&pagename=JPost/JPArticle/Printer>.

MEES (2002), "Arab States Embrace Free Trade Pacts" *Middle East Economic Survey*, 1 April 2002, Vol XLV, No. 13 (Online web) Accessed 25 May 2009, URL:<http://www.mees.com/postedarticles/finance/general/a45n13b01.htm>.

Mokhtar, Hassna'a (2008), "Kingdom's grand mufti condemns 'malicious' Turkish soap operas", Arab News 20 April 2009, URL:<http://www.arabnews.com/?page=1§ion=0&article=112178>.

Pan Arab Research Centre (2007), Advertisement Expenditure, (Online web) Accessed 29 May 2009, URL:<http://www.arabiandemographics.com/servlets/aemi2004gcc.jsp>.

Rains, Lon (2006), Space News Business Report "Direct-to-Home Radio, TV Spur Satellite Industry Growth" 19 June 2006 (Online: web) Accessed 20 February 2009, URL: http://www.space.com/spacenews/archive06/Sia_061906.html.

Rapid TV News, (2009), SmartSat joins Dubai rush 17 February (Online web) Accessed 25.02.09, URL: <http://www.rapidtvnews.com/index.php/200902173167/smartsat-joins-dubai-rush.html>.

RSF (2008), *Bahrain: Press law amendments hailed but journalists still face jail and websites risk closure*, 4th July 2008, Paris: Reporters without Borders (Online Web) Accessed 20th March 2009, URL:http://www.hrea.org/lists2/display.php?language_id=1&id=9011.

Sakr, Naomi (2009), *Dynamics of Development in Arab Broadcasting* (Online web) Accessed 24.02.2009, URL:http://www.iue.it/RSCAS/Research/Mediterranean/mrm2008/pdf/13_WS-Description.pdf.

*The Sana'a Declaration (1996), adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO at 29th Session in Paris, in 1997 ,
URL:<http://www.al-bab.com/media/docs/sanaa.htm>.

Satellite Today (2008), "The Middle East Remains Hot bed of Opportunity for Satellite Players" (online web) Accessed 2 March 2009,
URL:<http://www.satellitetoday.com/via/features/24223.html>.

Seymour, Richard (2008), The Arab Film Industry, *The Middle East* May 2008, pp 70-71, Accessed 25 May 2009,
URL:<http://www.exacteditions.com/exact/browse/432/487/3736/3/71?dps=>.

Thacker, Todd(2006), "Al Jazeera's New Channel In the Crosshairs Satellite news broadcaster to launch worldwide English channel in spring", 2nd January 2006, (Online web) Accessed 15 March 2009,
URL:http://english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?menu=c10400&no=271890&rel_no=1.

Zawaya, (2008), Middle East satellite revenues exceed US\$ 750 Million 21 December, (Online web) Accessed 25.02.09,
URL:[http://zawya.com/Story.cfm/sidZAWYA20081221065255/Middle%20East%20satellite%20revenues%20exceed%20US\\$%20750%20Million](http://zawya.com/Story.cfm/sidZAWYA20081221065255/Middle%20East%20satellite%20revenues%20exceed%20US$%20750%20Million).

Ministries:

Ministry of Culture and Information, Bahrain
<http://www.moci.gov.bh/en/>

Ministry Of Information, Kuwait
<http://media.gov.kw/>

Ministry of Information, Oman
<http://www.omanet.om/imgintro.asp>

Ministry of Culture and Information, Saudi Arabia
<http://www.saudinf.com/main/c6e.htm>

Ministry of Information, UAE
<http://www.uaeinteract.com/>

Secretariat of Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)
<http://www.gcc-sg.org/index.php?action=Sec-Show&ID=52>

Council of Arab Ministers of Information, League of Arab States
http://www.arableagueonline.org/las/arabic/categoryList.jsp?level_id=94

News Papers:

Asharq Alawsat, London
Al-Hayat, Beirut
Akhbar Alkhaleej, Manama, Bahrain
Alayam. Manama, Bahrain
Al-Qabas, Kuwait
Al-Rai-al-Aam, Kuwait
Al-Rayah, Doha, Qatar
The Peninsula (Eng), Doha, Qatar
Al-Riyadh, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia
Al-Watan, Abha, Saudi Arabia
Al-Bayan, Dubai, UAE
Al-Ittihad, Abu Dhabi, UAE
Al-Khaleej, Duabi, UAE
Gulf News (Eng), Dubai, UAE
Khaleej Times (Eng), Dubai, UAE
The National (English) Abu Dhabi, UAE

Organizations:

Arab Media Network
<http://www.amin.org/>

AYAMM, Arab Youth and Modern Media
<http://www.ayamm.org/index2.htm>

***Arab Media Forum, Dubai**
http://www.dpcmediaforum.com/default_ar.aspx

***Arab Statistics Centre UNDP**
<http://www.arabstats.org/>

***Arab strategies for the Global Era, Arab Thought Foundation, Manama (Arabic)**
<http://www.arabstrategies.org/Ar/Strategies.php>

Baltic Media Centre, (2007), Baltic Media Centre, Savneke (Denmark)
www.bmc.dk,

INDEX, Index of Censorship, London
www.indexonline.org

IWPR, Institute for War and Peace Reporting, London
www.iwpr.net

IMS, International Media Support, Copenhongon
www.i-m-s.dk

Middle East Media Research Institute
<http://www.memri.org/>

Globalization world Index
<http://www.atkearney.com/main.taf?p=5,4,1,127>

