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An analytical study of television and society in three Arab states: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain

Beayez, Ibrahim A., Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1989

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AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF TELEVISION AND SOCIETY IN THREE ARAB STATES: SAUDI ARABIA, KUWAIT, AND BAHRAIN

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Ibrahim A. Beayeyz, B.A.(Hon)., M.A.

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1989

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1989
To Sarah Al-Ahmed, my wife,
for being what she is.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion of this study would not have been possible without the encouragement and assistance I have received from many individuals and organizations. My deepest gratitude goes to my advisor, Professor Thomas McCain, whose insights, expertise, and encouragement have contributed a great deal to my education in general, and to the writing of this study in particular. To him and his hospitable family, I am thankful and fully indebted; their friendship is greatly appreciated.

Also, I wish to extend my thanks and appreciation to Professor Rohan Samarajiva for his constructive comments and critical reading of this dissertation. He was of great help in the last stages of formulating this dissertation. Thanks are also due here to Professor Douglas Boyd, who made a special trip to Columbus, Ohio to serve on my dissertation committee. To him and his invaluable contributions into the literature on broadcast media in the Arab world, this student is appreciative. Also, I am indebted to Professor Joseph Foley and Professor Stephen Acker for their valuable comments and suggestions at the early stages of this study.
I am also thankful to all of the organizations and individuals who assisted me in locating the data and information used in this study. Special thanks goes to Al-Riyadh, Al-Watan, The Arabia Sun, Gulfvision, Kuwait News Agency, Modern Systems Network Company, Meshari Al-Madhi, Salem Al-Fahad, and Dr. Halah Al-Omran. Also, I am indebted to King Saud University for the scholarship and the assistance I received during my stay in the U.S.

Last but not least, I would like to express my appreciation and gratitude to Sarah Al-Ahmed, my wife. She provided invaluable help in the coding and entry of data used for this study. Moreover, she and our two children, Alaa and Abdulaziz, showed the greatest possible love that has always been an inspiration to me.

All in all, I am thankful to all of my friends and colleagues who made my stay in the U.S. a pleasant, educational experience.

For errors and deficiencies, I solely take the blame.
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PROLOGUE

The objective of this dissertation is to examine television and society in three Arab states: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain. The value of this study stems from its endeavor to examine the impact of the sociopolitical order on television policy while controlling for the effect of another important variable, the political and economic dependency on the international capitalist system. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain were selected for this study because of the similarities and differences that exist among them. In addition to the cultural traits these countries share, they are similar in terms of their dependency on the world capitalist system. On the other hand, these three countries differ in terms of internal dynamics and forces that have shaped their sociopolitical orders.

This study is presented in five chapters. The first chapter will be devoted to the general framework of the study, its underlying theoretical assumption, review of the literature, and methodology. The second chapter will furnish a background concerning the similarities and differences that exist among the three countries.
Cultural traits, and the political and economic dependency on the international capitalist system are the main similarities Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain share, and which will be presented in the first part of this chapter. The second half of this chapter will be devoted to the differences which set these three countries apart: the internal dynamics and the composition of the political elite, which have shaped the sociopolitical order within each of these three countries.

The third chapter, "Television and Society," will review three major determinants of television policy in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain: government ownership, audience feedback, and the role of the political elite. The objective here is to see how these determinants have contributed to decision-making in television policy. The fourth chapter, "Television Policy," will examine three specific aspects of television policy: programming policy, the introduction of commercial advertising, and foreign ownership of television stations. These three facets of television policy have dominated the literature on media and developing countries, and have been related to controversial issues such as media/cultural imperialism, New International Information Order, and technology transfer.

The last chapter is devoted to the conclusion of this study: its summary, limitations, and implications on the
research on media and society in developing countries. In general, the reader will notice a relatively long discussion when it comes to the sociopolitical order and TV policy of Saudi Arabia. This is due to the fact that the literature on Saudi Arabia and its mass media is more abundant than that on Kuwait or Bahrain. More important, Saudi Arabia has a peculiar experience with broadcast media that necessitates a long and a comprehensive review of the country's sociopolitical order and its far-reaching implication for the state's media policy.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this dissertation is to study television and society in three Arabian states, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain. Three aspects of television policy are examined here: the programming policy as it is revealed in the types and sources of TV programs, introduction of commercial advertising, and the foreign ownership of television stations. These three facets of television policy have dominated the literature on developing countries' mass media since the 1970s, and they are closely related to controversial issues such as media/cultural imperialism, New International Information Order, and technology transfer (Lee, 1980; Lent & Giffard 1982).

International Flow of TV Programs

The flow of Western media content to the developing countries in forms such as news, television programs, films, records, and books is one of the controversial issues in media research. Previous inquiries (Nordenstreng & Varis, 1974; Read, 1976; Tunstall, 1977; Lee, 1980; Varis, 1984; Varis, 1985; Pavlic & Hamelink, 1985) revealed that the international flow of television programs is a
one-way flow from a few big exporting countries to the rest of the world. By ascertaining figures from different sources regarding the proportion of imported television programs in 57 developing countries, Lee (1980) found that 39 of these countries imported 50 percent or more of their television programs. Varis (1984; 1985) also found that more than half of the developing countries he surveyed imported no less than 40 percent of their television programs. Precise and actual information concerning the sources of many of these imported TV programs is not always available; however, it is safe to assume that the United States is one of the dominant exporters of TV programs. Despite the political and the ideological barriers and differences, U.S. TV programs have penetrated almost every regional or national market. Earnings from syndication of U.S. television programs abroad have been on the increase since the 1960s. During the two decades, 1960-1980, these earnings have increased more than eight-fold (Lee, 1980; Han, 1984). And it has been suggested that the U.S. will continue to have the lion's share of global TV exports; total U.S. exports were expected to hit $1.3 billion at the end of 1988 and grow to $3.6 billion world wide by the end of 1992 (Loftus, 1988).
Transfer of Media Norms

Transfer of media technology to developing countries is not limited to media content, it includes media norms and organizational structure as well. Because of their advancement in the development of mass media, the United States, Britain, France, and Germany, seem to have set the standards regarding the media organizational structure for most of the developing countries. The transfer of these metropolitan models of mass media to the developing countries has been in the form of ownership and through assistance and advice for establishing new media systems. Many countries in Asia and Africa have adopted the broadcasting systems of their former colonial powers, Britain and France. The U.S. commercial system is found mainly in Latin America because this region was under the colonial rule of Spain and Portugal during the 19th century; neither of these two countries has had at any time a significant or a strong media industry for Latin America to copy (Lee, 1980). Training of developing countries' media personnel by the Western media is another form through which media norms and organizational structure are transferred (O'Brien, 1977; Golding, 1982). History has shown that transfer of media norms and organizational structure made developing countries important clients not only for technology but for media content as well. In 1972, for example, more than 20 radio stations in Africa were relay-
ing or rebroadcasting the BBC's news and other programs. Also, between 1960 and 1970, French African radio stations imported about 18,000 hours of radio programs from France (Golding, 1982). Long broadcasting hours and commercialization of media systems are other aspects of media norms which developing countries have imported from the West. These, too, have a great influence on media content. Varis (1984) found a direct and positive relationship between the number of broadcasting hours and the number of imported programs.

The institutionalization of media commercialism is seen as one of the obvious forms of media imperialism. Boyd-Barrett (1982) maintained that "...advertising ranks very high among the factors that must be considered as falling within the sphere of media imperialism" (p. 124). Janus (1981) also argued for the importance of including advertising when studying mass media content and structure. To her, advertising "more than any other single determinant," has shaped the content and the form of mass media (p.13). In Latin America, governments were unable to formulate media policies which would orient their broadcast media toward the fulfillment of the region's social, educational, and cultural needs because of "the power of the interests associated with commercial television" (Fejes, 1980, p. 47).
Furthermore, commercialism has forced the broadcast media to rely heavily on entertainment programs which attract the elite, with their purchasing power, as the main target audience (Boyd-Barrett, 1982; Murdock & Janus, 1985; Curran, 1986). Advertising clearly shows the role transnational media can play in affecting developing countries' sociocultural and economic order by perpetuating consumerism and creating artificial needs for non-essential products (Wells, 1972; Janus, 1981). The role of the U.S. multinational corporations and advertising industry in the commercialization of media systems around the world is profound (Schiller, 1976). In the early-1980s, nine of the top ten advertising agencies were U.S. owned. The billings of U.S. transnational advertising agencies in Latin America, for instance, increased from $19 million in 1960 to more than $460 million in 1977 (Murdock & Janus, 1985).

**Foreign Ownership**

Foreign investment in the developing countries' mass media is another issue which has been associated with media imperialism. The English-language press in Asia, for instance, was often partly controlled by Anglo-American media interests and receives a disproportionate share of all Anglo-American media advertising (Boyd-Barrett, 1982). In addition, the three U.S. networks and Time-Life, Inc. played an important role in the development of television
in many of the developing countries and in Latin America in particular. The American Broadcasting Company (ABC) was the most active U.S. television corporation in Latin America. In 1960, its international division, "Worldvision," invested $250,000 in five Central American television stations, by which it established the Central American Television Network (CATVN). ABC owned 51 per cent of this network. In 1968, ABC formed another network, the Latin American Television International Network Organization (LATINO), which operated in six South American countries. ABC's interests were not limited to Latin America. By the late-1960s, Worldvision utilized 64 television stations in 27 developing countries. This enabled ABC to distribute about 900 programs and to reach more than 20 million TV households, 60 per cent of the homes in areas with commercial TV outside the U.S. (Schiller, 1970, Wells, 1972; Lee, 1980). The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) also had partnerships in the development of television in a number of developing countries. Besides giving technical and financial assistance, NBC had investments in 13 television stations in eight countries and had a sales office in Mexico City through which it distributed the company's programs, dubbed into Spanish. Compared with the other two networks, CBS is the least active in investing internationally. It had, however, investments in a number
of television stations and production companies in Latin America (Wells, 1972). Other U.S. companies, such as Time-Life, Inc., Jack Warner Organization, Bartell Media, Wometo Enterprises, Caribbean Networks, Inc., Pan American Broadcasting Company, Inter-American Publications, and Screen Gems add to the American investment in the mass media internationally. These companies invested in a number of production centers and television stations in different parts of the world and specifically in Latin America (Wells, 1972; Cardona, 1975; Straubhaar, 1984). Noteworthy is the fact that the decade during which American television expanded at the international level has passed. In fact, the American companies fell short of achieving what they had hoped for (Lee, 1980; Straubhaar, 1984). The experience of foreign ownership of media outlets in developing countries was, as Read (1976) said, "a dream-turned-nightmare." Nevertheless, the attempts to have some sort of control in the television industry in the developing countries represent a form of media imperialism on the part of the U.S. media.

Statement of The Problem

Like most of the developing countries, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain import a proportion of their television programs from the West, and sell air-time on their television systems for commercial advertising. In addition,
both the U.S. government and U.S. companies were involved in the introduction and development of television in the region. The U.S. Armed Forces operated a radio and television station in Saudi Arabia from 1955 to 1962. The Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), as an American company (in 1980 the Saudi government acquired 100 percent ownership of Aramco retroactive to 1976), has had its own broadcast media since 1957, and the Saudi Television network was constructed with technical assistance from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (Shobaili, 1971). In Bahrain, television was started in 1973 as an investment venture by an American company: RTV International (Boyd, 1982).

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain were selected as the focus of this study because of the similarities and differences among them. Besides the cultural attributes these countries share, they are similar in terms of their political and economic dependency on the international capitalist system, which can be illustrated by their strong political and economic relations with the West in general and the United States and Britain in particular. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain differ in regard to the internal dynamics and forces which have shaped their sociopolitical orders. The three countries are classical examples of tribal societies; political coalition is an important feature of the political culture of such societies (Al-Rumaihi, 1977; Hudson, 1977). Indeed, all
three countries are governed by ruling families who seem to have the ultimate political and economic power. The power residing in the hands of these ruling families would not have been possible without their political coalition with the influential groups within the countries they govern. This political coalition was the main factor that brought these ruling families to power about 200 years ago, and, to a large extent, has been the main source of their legitimacy. For a number of reasons, the composition of the political elite within each country is different (see Chapter II). The similarities and differences among these three states are reflected in their social and cultural policies.

An important perspective of this study rests in its endeavor to scrutinize television policy at the national level, a level of analysis that is not widely used in research on media policy in developing societies. The objective here is to see how the television policy of each country reflects the internal dynamics and the composition of the political elite of that society; this line of research seems to have been neglected in the literature on media and society in developing countries. Moreover, the similarities and differences among Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain make it possible to study the impact of the sociopolitical order on television policy while controlling for the impact of another important variable, the political
and economic dependency on the world capitalist system. Before proceeding, however, a brief introduction to television systems in these three countries is in order.

**Television in Saudi Arabia**

With U.S. technical assistance, Saudi Television started in July, 1965. Initially, it began with two stations, one in Jeddah and one in Riyadh. By the end of 1969, Saudi TV had five stations and two relay units, reaching nearly 50 percent of the population in three of the Kingdom's five provinces: Najd, Al-Hejaz, and Al-Ahsa. In Saudi Arabia, as in many developing countries, television is a political symbol for modernization. For instance, Dammam Station on the Arabian Gulf, which started in 1969, was equipped with the highest antenna in the Middle East and Europe; the Saudi Government was concerned about the coverage of the Arabian Gulf area (Boyd, 1972). Ironically, television service did not reach the southern region of the country, Asir Province, until Abha Station started in August, 1977, about twelve years after television was introduced into the country.

Modern telecommunication hardware is not an issue in Saudi Arabia. Over the years, Saudi Television has undertaken many projects aimed at expanding its reach over the country's vast area (about 865,000 square miles). These projects involved a number of relay and microwave stations,
satellite earth stations, and coaxial cable. Since the completion of a national telecommunication network in 1976, Saudi TV has been centralized with broadcasting originating from Riyadh Station.

In 1983, Riyadh Station moved to the newly-built Riyadh Television Complex, making Saudi Television the most advanced system in the Arab World. The complex has thirteen studios with a total floor area of approximately 3,000 square meters. Four of these studios are for video production; each has an area ranging from 340 to 570 square meters. Three other studios are for cinema production, with a floor area ranging from 100 to 500 square meters. In addition, there are six other studios for news and live broadcast. Each studio in the complex is equipped with state-of-the-art technology. The complex has a large theater that can accommodate 700 people, and is furnished with a control room, cameras, and all other necessary equipment for television production.

The complex, with a 176-meter-high tower, is designed for three television channels broadcasting concurrently. Two of these channels have been installed and the third one can be activated within a short period. In August, 1983, the Ministry of Information inaugurated its second television service which is referred to as the Second Channel. Saudi Television has a total of eight production centers, twenty-four transmission centers telecasting both
the First and the Second Channels, and sixty-nine transmission centers that broadcast only the First Channel. The First Channel reaches about 90 percent of the population, whereas the Second Channel reaches only 60 percent (Saudi News Agency, 1986).

**Television in Kuwait**

The beginning of television in Kuwait is attributed to Murad Bahbahani, a Kuwaiti merchant who was the local agent of RCA. The exact date is not known, but it was between late 1959, and early 1960. Bahbahani established a low-power television station with a 100-watt transmitter, and the content was limited to cartoons and a few foreign films that were sufficient to promote sales of TV sets, Bahbahani's only goal. Bahbahani's ownership of this station did not last long. In November, 1961, the government took over the station from Bahbahani ("Radio and television," 1986). Since then, television in Kuwait has been owned and operated by the government as part of the Ministry of Information.

As in many of the developing countries, television in Kuwait is as much a political icon of national sovereignty as it is a communication medium. It represents a modern symbol of statehood. Even though one transmitter can cover the entire country, the Ministry of Information in 1971, built two 20-KW transmitters which have enabled Kuwait TV
to reach as far as eastern Iran, the eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, and southern Iraq. Kuwait "appears to have decided that a state can partially overcome the psychological disadvantage of smallness by having a powerful radio and television service" (Boyd, 1982, p.115).

In 1978, Kuwait Television moved to a new building that contained the most advanced and modern television technology of the late-1970s. For instance, it had bilingual character generators which were designed and produced specifically for Kuwait Television. Furthermore, the new building had seven studios with floor areas ranging from 30 to 800 square meters. The largest studio, 800 square meters, was used to produce the Arabian version of Sesame Street, *Iftah Ya Simsim*. In 1978, Kuwait TV started its second service which is referred to as the Second Program.

In 1981, the Cinema Building was inaugurated. This building was equipped with modern facilities capable of accommodating the demands of a motion picture industry in the region. The Cinema Building is divided into two main sections. One is devoted to Kuwait Television and its local productions. The second section is assigned to documentary and long feature films production, and is available for the private sector to rent (Gulfvision, 1982).
Television in Bahrain

Television in Bahrain was started in 1973 by an American Company, RTV International. This company owned and operated the only television system in the country for two years (1973-1975). In an attempt to minimize costs, RTV International built a humble station which had U-Matic tape machines without timebase corrector, and 8mm film chains. The station and its signal were far below broadcast quality. With these limited facilities, the station had no local production except news and a few interviews. Most of the programs were imported from Egypt, the United States, and Britain (Boyd, 1982).

After acquiring the station from RTV International in 1975, the Ministry of Information began expanding the facilities. Five studios were built; three small ones for on-air programming and interviews, and two large ones (400 and 800 square meters) for major video production. In December, 1981, Channel 55 went on the air as Bahrain TV's second service. This channel is meant to concentrate on foreign programs and cultural content ("A special report," 1983).

Theoretical Framework

Mass media do not operate in a vacuum; they are heavily influenced by the political, economic, and social institutions of the societies in which they operate. Both
the organizational structure and the content of the media reflect the values and ideologies prevailing in the society. Mass media, as social institutions, play a role in the dissemination and processing of information and ideas to the society, and in every society there is an information control mechanism. This mechanism, which is presented in terms of media policy, stems from the sociopolitical structure of the society. According to Tehranian (1979), "it is wise to recognize that communications policies are basically derivatives of their political and economic environments and institutions under which they operate" (p. 124).

Decisions regarding media policies in developing countries are political decisions and should be studied as such. In regulating mass media, every country generates principles that are based on its political culture, which "consists of the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols and values which defines the situation in which political action takes place" (Verba, 1965, p. 513). Based on these beliefs, as stabilizing elements in the sociopolitical order, the decision-makers "may resist change in the name of traditional beliefs or they may lead to fundamental modification of innovative institutions so they fit the traditional culture" (Verba, 1965, p. 520). Political culture, therefore, is an important factor to be taken into account when studying the decision-making
process of any society because it includes the "spirit of its public institutions, the passions and the collective reasoning of its citizenry, and the style and operating codes of its leaders" (Pye, 1965, p. 7).

Furthermore, the coalitions among the political elite is a factor too important to be overlooked when studying media policy within the sociopolitical context. When it comes to media policy, the political elite should not be confined only to those who dominate the economic means of production and ownership. Commercial, religious, and intellectual groups are among the elite who participate in the politics of media policy; their concerns and interests may coincide at one time but may differ at other times (Lee, 1980).

A number of communication scholars have suggested that culture is an important factor in studying the process of media decision-making. In their proposed model for the reciprocal relationships between mass media and society, DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1982) suggested that mass media are governed not only by their internal systems but also by the context of the sociopolitical order within which media operate. Some previous studies on mass media in developing countries seem to support this theoretical framework. When they examined broadcast media in Saudi Arabia, Shobaili (1971), Boyd (1972), Al-Usmani (1984), Habeeb (1985), and Al-Ahmed (1987) concluded that the social structure,
religion in particular, had been an important factor in the programming policies for radio and television in Saudi Arabia. Also in Mexico, the history of broadcast media reflects the dynamics of coalition between the Mexican bourgeoisie, with its interest in the international capitalist system, and the government (Sinclair, 1986). In addition, after studying television and the advertising industry in Brazil, Mattos (1984) concluded that:

no single model can explain adequately the development of mass media and advertising industry in individual countries if it does not consider how the internal conditions of the country influenced that development (p. 206).

In short, the underlying theoretical assumption of this study is that mass media should be examined within the social, economic, and political dimensions within which the media operate. More important is the consideration of the political culture of the society and its influence on the decision-making process. Such consideration must take into account political coalition as an important aspect of political culture and as a factor in media policy.

Review of Literature

Development communication is one of three principal perspectives that have dominated research on mass media in developing countries. Lerner's The Passing of Traditional
Society, and Schramm's Mass Media and National Development are the classics of this perspective. Based on the optimistic scenario articulated in books like these two, many developing countries were, and some still are, counting on broadcast media to enhance their national development efforts. Lerner (1958), for instance, maintained that:

Increasing industrialization has raised urbanization; raising urbanization has tended to raise literacy; raising literacy has tended to raise media exposure; increasing media exposure has tended to increase political participation in economic and political life (cited in Lee, 1980, p. 19).

Practically, radio and television in developing countries did not succeed in fulfilling their expected role; the content is largely escapist and pro-status quo, rather than change-facilitating. In Latin America, for instance, mass media contained "little content of relevance about the social-structural changes that are needed if much real development is to occur" (Rogers, 1976, p. 10). In developing societies, mass media are under the control of the political elite, "whose interests in change are essentially defensive and who do not ordinarily work for change in a direction favorable to the masses" (Whiting, 1976, p. 100).
The failure of mass media in the developing countries to achieve their potential role in development led to the emergence of an alternative perspective to study mass media and society in developing countries. It calls for a research framework which examines the organizational structure of the mass media within the social, ideological, political, and economic systems in which the media operate; the objective is to uncover the complex mechanism which influences the production, distribution, and consumption of media content.

The terms "media imperialism" and "cultural imperialism" are commonly used when referring to this perspective and its main concerns. To Schiller (1976) and Golding (1982), for instance, the term "cultural imperialism" is more inclusive and it entails more than just the media and their content. Schiller (1976) defined "cultural imperialism" as follows:

the sum of processes by which a society is brought into the modern world system and how its dominating structure is attracted, pressured, forced and sometimes bribed into shaping social institutions to correspond to, or even promote, the values and structures of the dominating center of the system (p. 9).

To Salinas and Paldan (1979), and Boyd-Barrett (1982), on the other hand, the term "media imperialism" is more
receptive to rigorous study. In addition, the cultural trends that accompany media dependency are yet to be proved, they argued. Boyd-Barrett (1982) defined "media imperialism" in the following way:

The process whereby the ownership, structure, distribution or content of the media in any one country are singly or together subject to substantial external pressures from the media interests of any other country or countries without proportionate reciprocation of influence by the country so affected (p. 117).

Though there is no agreement on the exact term, there is an agreement, as these two definitions suggest, on studying how the mass media relate to the domination of developing countries by the more developed ones. The broadcast media of the developing countries have been associated with the contemporary forms of colonialism and imperialism. Galtung (1971) distinguished among five types of imperialism: economic, political, military, communication, and cultural. He rejected the assumption that the study of one type is more important than the others. "If economic, political and military imperialism are seen dominant today, this may be an artifact due to our training that emphasizes these factors rather than communication and cultural factors" (Galtung, 1971, p. 99). In other words, mass media in the developing countries may
supersede the conventional military and mercantile colonialism of the past. By the flow of information, in forms such as news and entertainment materials, communication imperialism may be converted into cultural imperialism. Leading scholars of this perspective (Wells, 1972; Schiller, 1970, 1976, 1979; Hamelink, 1983) perceived mass media as important tools in the hands of the West, and the United States in particular, for determining the political and economic systems of the developing countries, and for promoting and protecting the interests of the world capitalist system. In fact, they maintained that there is a clear consciousness on the part of the U.S. in using the developing countries' mass media for ideological and profitable ends. In Schiller's (1979) words:

...if the basic patterns of capitalistic enterprise in a country seem threatened, a development that occurs with increasing frequency, intentionality replaces the less deliberate process of conventional system maintenance. When this in fact does occur, the role assigned to the media is large indeed (p. 28).

In supporting his view, Schiller cited U.S. officials who had indicated interest in international communication as an important element in the U.S. foreign policy. Among them was John Foster Dulles, former Secretary of State, who said: "If I were to be granted one point of foreign policy
and no other, I would make it the free flow of information" (Schiller, 1976, p. 24).

An important feature of the research on media and cultural imperialism is its level of analysis. Interest on media and cultural imperialism emerged during the 1970s, when the dependency model of development emerged. The latter attributes Third World countries' underdevelopment to their inferior position in the international political and economic system. Most of the arguments of the media/cultural imperialism perspective can be located within the broader context of the dependency model. In other words, the developing countries' mass media are studied within the broader context of dependence and domination between developed and developing nations, and within the spectrum of international political and economic relations.

The media/cultural imperialism perspective has been criticized for its level of analysis, which tends to focus on the external forces as the primary factors shaping the media systems of the developing countries. Such a focus, the critics have argued, overlooks the forces and factors working on the local level which may react against the perpetuation of media imperialism. More important, as Fejes (1981) noted, focusing only on the external forces tends to disguise the complicated relationships and dynamics that exist among the internal and external factors and forces.
Boyd-Barrett (1982) affirmed the importance of taking into consideration these forces that operate at the national level. To him, developing countries can and do sometimes take measures to lessen the influence of foreign media.

Comparative media systems is also one of the perspectives that have dominated the literature on mass media in developing countries. Siebert, Peterson and Schramm's (1956) *Four Theories of the Press*, Emery's (1969) *National and International Systems of Broadcasting*, Mowlana's (1976) proposed paradigm for comparative mass media analysis, and Rugh's (1979) classification of the Arab press, are prime examples of the literature of this perspective. Comparing media systems only in terms of their relationship with the government is one of the main weaknesses of these studies. Such an approach risks neglecting sociopolitical and cultural factors that influence and determine the structure and content of the media system (Edelstein, 1982; Hur, 1982; Al-Ahmed, 1987).

The international flow of information has been of continuing interest to communication research since the mid-1960s (e.g. Galtung and Ruge 1965; Nordenstreng & Varis, 1974; Read, 1976; Hester 1976; Antola & Rogers, 1984; Varis, 1984; 1985; Pavlic & Hamelink, 1985). Since then, a number of propositions and hypotheses have been suggested for understanding the determinants of the flow of media content, either in the form of news or television
programs. Schiller (1970; 1976; 1979) viewed the international flow of information as merely a reflection of a conspiracy to extend U.S. domination over the developing countries. Control and concentration of finance, technology, and marketing by the multinational corporations are seen as the main factors behind the imbalanced international flow of information.

In addition, the international flow of information was attributed to the developing countries’ political and economic dependency on the West (Hamelink, 1983; Pavlic & Hamelink, 1985). Hamelink (1983) examined the relationship between the international flow of information—as an aspect of cultural dependency—and economic dependency and came to the conclusion that “an independent political economy is the essential condition for cultural autonomy. Without doubt, the stronger a political economy is, the greater the chance for autonomous cultural development” (p. 32). To support his argument, Hamelink pointed to the cases of Mozambique, Peru, and China. He found the economic dependency of Mozambique and Peru on the West to be the main cause for their lack of cultural autonomy. China, on the other hand, according to Hamelink (1983):

has had many of the conditions for success in achieving cultural autonomy: economic self-reliance, a mass popular movement, and very little foreign influence. In the present drive for modernization,
China is running the risk of succumbing to greater dependence in its politics and economy as it opens the door to foreign interference. It still remains to be seen how much cultural autonomy will remain under such conditions (p. 54).

Similarly, Hester (1976) approached the issue within the international relations perspective. In a set of hypotheses, he argued that the volume and direction of the information flow between two nations are determined by variables such as the nature of relations (friends vs. enemies), economic relations, and power hierarchy (measured by geographical size, population, and economic development). For example, Hester (1976, p. 248) hypothesized as follows:

1. The flow of information from Nation A, considered as a threat or potential threat by another nation, Nation B, will be greater than the flow from a nation, Nation C, not considered threatening to Nation B.

2. The inflow of information from Nation A to Nation B, which is economically dependent upon Nation A, will be greater than the inflow of information into Nation A from Nation B.

This global level of analysis tends to overlook the importance of internal dynamics within the developing countries. Mass media are influenced by the institutions in the social system within which they operate.
Furthermore, coalition, as an aspect of the political culture, has been ignored by the global level of analysis. Political coalition between decision-makers and the influential groups in the society may enhance or react against foreign penetration into the local media.

The theory of comparative advantage is another attempt to explain the imbalanced international flow of information. The prevalence of U.S. media content—news and television programs—has been attributed to the infrastructure of the media industry. The U.S. and other exporting countries have efficient media infrastructures (technology, capital, experience, and talent) which place them in an advantageous position when it comes to the production and distribution of media content (Katz and Wedell, 1977; Read, 1976; Antola and Rogers, 1984; Hoskins & Mirus, 1988; Rogers and Antola, 1985; Tunstall 1977). Developing countries do not have the technology, capital, and experience that support and enhance local production; therefore, the argument goes, imported media content are the best alternative. Katz and Wedell (1977) pointed out that in the mid-1970s developing countries could buy an American TV series for about $300 per hour; Nigeria paid as little as $60.

Though there is logic in the comparative advantage theory, it fails to consider other potential forces that shape media policy in developing countries. More important,
it deals with only one aspect of media policy, that is, the importation of media content; it provides little or no explanation for other important policy issues of relevance to broadcast media, commercialization and foreign ownership.

Schement et al. (1984) proposed a systematic model for analyzing the international flow of television programs. The model consists of two sets of elements: structural conditions and catalytic actions. Availability of a target audience, technology, financial and political support, and legal climates in both the receiving and sending countries—these are the structural conditions. When combined, these conditions establish the potential for the international flow of television programs. The actual flow occurs by catalytic actions which take place at two stages: the decision and organizing stages.

This systematic model has been presented as a "middle-range theory," midway between empiricism and grand theory for the international flow of information. Yet, it does not go far enough in explaining the factors and forces which may bring about the structural conditions. For instance, the "linguistic imperative" is seen as the main factor for the availability of the target audience; however, this does not give much explanation of the flow of U.S. television programs to many of the developing countries whose national language is not English.
Furthermore, emphasis on language assumes the "elite" as the target audience. Such an assumption may raise another question: who are the "elite" and what role do they play in media policy? An answer to this question is essential for understanding the factors behind the international flow of television programs in relation to the target audience.

Basing his conclusions on a study comparing Canada's and Taiwan's media dependency on the U.S., Lee (1980) proposed a different explanation of media dependency. In spite of the dependency of both countries on the international capitalist system, Taiwan and Canada differ in terms of their media dependency on the U.S., Canada is more dependent on the U.S. than Taiwan. According to Lee, this is due to factors such as geographic proximity, cultural homogeneity, and language. Canada's proximity to the U.S. puts about 90 percent of the Canadian population within the range of U.S. television, mainly via cable. Furthermore, Canadian culture, which is hard to distinguish from U.S. culture, has made Canada more media dependent on the U.S. than Taiwan. Using the same argument, Han (1984) analyzed Korea's media dependency on the U.S.

With the current advancement in communication technology, the distance between nations should not be measured in terms of geographical location. Therefore, geographical proximity may not be a really important factor for the international flow of information. Moreover,
factors like cultural homogeneity/heterogeneity and language do not give a satisfying explanation for the inflow of Western media content to countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that have their own culture and language.

In sum, three main factors have dominated the research on international communication: economic and political dependency, comparative media advantage in terms of media infrastructure, and cultural affinity. Furthermore, most of the inquiry has been devoted to the international flow of information. The available literature seems to be concerned with only one aspect of the issue at a time: the international flow of television programs (Antola and Rogers, 1984; Cantor & Cantor, 1986; Nordenstreng and Varis, 1974; Rogers and Antola, 1985; Schement et al., 1984; Varis, 1984; Varis, 1985); commercialization of the broadcasting systems in developing countries (Janus, 1981; Mattos, 1984; Murdock & Janus, 1985; Toro, 1986; Wells, 1972); or the foreign ownership of media outlets (Straubhaar, 1984, Wells, 1972).

An important factor, but the least investigated, is the role of political coalition, within the sociopolitical order, in the process of media policy. Mattos (1984) and Sinclair (1986) are among the few scholars who have considered the impact of internal dynamics and forces on media decision-making in developing countries. Sinclair
(1986) indicated that the history of broadcast media in Mexico was a reflection of "the dynamics of the Mexican bourgeoisie in its relationship with transnational capital on one hand and the Mexican state on the other" (p. 83). And in the case of Brazil, Mattos (1984) suggested that "mass media and advertising industries reflect not only the country's particular form of dependent development, but also the political interest of the military regime since 1964" (p. 205).

Most of the literature on international communication is focused on Latin America; few studies have been done in the Arab World in general and the Arabian Gulf States in particular. Most of these studies on the mass media in the Arabian Gulf seem to be oriented toward historical and descriptive research (Shobaili, 1971; Boyd, 1972, 1982; Kattab, 1980; Al-Harithi, 1983) or research on audience media usage and preference patterns (Najai, 1982; Boyd and Najai, 1984; Al-Attibi, 1986). Al-Usmani (1984) was the first to do a comparative study of television systems and the decision-making process in four Arabian Gulf States: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Qatar. Though he found differences among these four systems in regard to the organizational structure and programming policy, he did not provide empirical evidence to show how these differences are reflected in the television content in these four states.
Methodology and Data Collection

This is an analytical study of three aspects of television policy: types and sources of TV programs, the introduction of commercial advertising, and foreign ownership of TV stations. To undertake this study, three sources of data were utilized: library research, personal interviews with media officials, and content analysis of program-cycles.

For this study, the author made two research trips to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain in the Winter of 1986 and the Summer of 1987, during which he visited The Gulf and Arabian Peninsula Library at King Saud University; and the information centers of Gulfvision, Kuwait News Agency (KUNA), and three major newspapers in the region (Akhbar Al-Khaleej, Al-Riyadh, and Al-Watan). The primary objective of this library research was to locate materials related to television policy in the region. Most of what was located was in the form of newspaper and magazine articles which contained interviews with media officials and reports on major events related to television policy. With critical readings of these articles, this author was able to make inferences about major policy issues.

Library research was enhanced with personal interviews with five TV officials in the region. During the research trip, interviews were conducted with the Salem Al-Fahad, General Director of Kuwait Television; Khalel Al-Dhewadi,
Deputy Minister of Information for Television Affairs in Bahrain; Ahmed Al-Hathail, the Coordinator of Channel 2 in Saudi Arabia; Said Tahair, Manager of Media and Production Department in Aramco Co.; and Mohammed Al-Sanausi, president of Modern Systems Network Co. and former Deputy Minister of Information for Television Affairs in Kuwait.

To examine the types and sources of TV programs, the program-cycles during six years between 1976 and 1986 (i.e. 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, and 1986) were analyzed. Each TV system in the Gulf region has four regular and one special program cycles. The special program-cycle is for the Holy month of Ramadhan during which religious programming increases. For Saudi TV, there is an additional cycle for the month of Dhul Hajja, during which religious content is increased. All program-cycles needed for this study were collected from each TV system visited during the research trips; missing ones were reconstructed by referring to the daily listings of TV programs in the local press. More on the procedure used in the analysis of these program-cycles is presented in Chapter IV.
CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND: SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to compare and contrast Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain on two basic variables. One is their economic and political dependency on the West, which has led to their integration into the international capitalist system. Second is their sociopolitical orders, the outcome of the composition of each country's political elite. These two variables, as has been argued by Schiller (1970; 1976; 1979), Wells (1972), Lee (1980), Fejes (1981), Hamelink (1983), and others, are related to media policy in general and to the three aspects of television policy examined in this study in particular. While the three countries share the resemblance of being dependent on the West, they differ in terms of their sociopolitical orders. Before presenting the similarities and differences that exist among these three countries, some primary background information on each country is needed.
Saudi Arabia occupies about four-fifths of the Arabian Peninsula and has an area of approximately 865,000 square miles, roughly equal to the area of the United States east of the Mississippi. On the north, Saudi Arabia is bounded by Kuwait, Iraq, and Jordan; on the west, by the Red Sea; on the south, by Yemen Arab Republic and People Democratic Republic of Yemen; and on the east, by Oman, the United Arab Emirates, and the Arabian Gulf. Before the first census in 1974, assessments of the size of the Saudi populace ranged between 3 and 15 million. The 1974 census put the population at about 7 million (El Mallakh, 1982). In 1983, the population was estimated at 9,684,000, of which about 22 percent were not Saudi (Nakhleh, 1986). As Table 1 indicates, non-Saudis make up to 50 percent of the country's work force. This can be attributed to two major reasons. First, Saudi Arabia has a youthful population; it has been estimated that 44 percent of the Saudi population is under the age of fifteen (El Mallakh, 1982). Second, women have a low participation in the work force. In 1985, Saudi women constituted only 3 percent of the country's civilian labor force (Ministry of Planning, 1985).

Saudi Arabia embraces four major provinces: Najd, Al-Hejaz, Al-Ahsa, and Asir. Riyadh, the country's capital, is located in Najd, which covers a large part of central Arabia. Najd is the region which had been known, till the
# Table 1

Population in Bahrain, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia (1983 Estimates)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Foreign % of Total</th>
<th>Foreign Labor % of Total</th>
<th>Literacy Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>400,000</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>1,550,000</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>9,684,000</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

early-1950s, for its isolation from the outside world. Because of this isolation, the people of Najd have been the most conservative in the country. Najd has an historical significance for the contemporary Saudi state; the Wahhabi religious movement originated there. This conservative movement has provided the ideology on which the Saudi government rests its legitimacy. Also, it was from Najd that King Abdulaziz departed in 1902 to unify what is now Saudi Arabia.

West of Najd is Al-Hejaz, in which the two holy cities, Mecca and Al-Madinah are situated. Also, Jeddah, the country’s main harbor on the Red Sea and an important trade center, is located in Al-Hejaz. The religious significance of the former two cities, along with the mercantile importance of Jeddah, attracted early pilgrims from different parts of the world to settle in these three cities. These Muslim immigrants, who were socially and ethnically heterogeneous, have given these three cities in particular and the region in general a unique cultural attribute. Compared to the Najdis, the people in Hejaz were less conservative and more receptive to all of government’s innovative projects such as education, banking, and broadcast media. In fact, all the foreign embassies and missions to Saudi Arabia were in Jeddah till 1985; Riyadh, the country’s capital used to be too conservative to be considered hospitable for foreign embassies.
Al-Ahsa, the country’s eastern province, is known for its sizable Shi’a community and its rich oil fields. The exact size of the Shi’a sect in Saudi Arabia is not known, but it has been estimated at 300,000 which accounts for about half Al-Ahsa province total population (Al-Rawaf, 1980). The Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), the backbone of the country’s economy, has its headquarters in one of the province’s principal cities, Dhahran. Long contact with the trade centers on the Arabian Gulf and with the foreigners, mainly Americans brought by the oil industry, have made the province different from the rest of the country.

The Asir province is located in the southwest of Saudi Arabia, just north of Yemen. Its mountainous environment with its regular rainfall makes the Asir province different from the rest of the country. Because of this unique topography, agriculture has been the principal activity in the area. The people of Asir are homogeneous, hard-working, and less conservative.

Kuwait

Kuwait, situated at the northern part of the Arabian Gulf, has an area of 6,880 square miles. On the north and west Kuwait is bounded by Iraq; on the south and southwest, by Saudi Arabia; and on the east, by the Arabian Gulf. As Table 1 shows, in 1983, the population of Kuwait was
estimated at just above 1.5 million, of which about 61 percent are non-Kuwaiti. Nearly 24 percent of Kuwaiti citizens are Shi'a. About 70 percent of the employed labor force in the country are not Kuwaiti citizens. Arabs from Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq make up the majority (60 percent) of the non-Kuwaiti population (Eglin, 1984). The low percentage of Kuwaiti in the work force can be attributed to many factors. The youthfulness of the population is one of them. The 1975 estimate suggests that about 50 percent of the Kuwaiti citizens are under the age of 15 (Al-Tarrah, 1983). The other reason is the low participation of Kuwaiti women in the work force. Women in Kuwait, though better educated than others in the region, are slow in their entrance into the work force. In 1980, Kuwaiti females made up no more than 13 percent of all employed citizens (Eglin, 1984).

**Bahrain**

Bahrain, which embraces one large island and about thirty-five small ones, is located in the Arabian Gulf fifteen miles east of Saudi Arabia and about seventeen miles north of Qatar. The area of the country is little more than four hundred miles. The largest of the islands, Bahrain, from which the country has derived its name, is ten miles across at its widest point and 48 miles long. As of 1983, the population was estimated at 400,000 of which
about 66 percent were native (Nakhleh, 1986). Bahrain has a youthful population; about one-half the native population is under the age of eighteen (Carter, 1984). Because of the country's young population more than half of the work force are foreigners.

An important peculiarity of the country's expatriate work force is the comparative absence of Arab workers. For example, in the early-1980s, Bahrain had about 2,500 Palestinians and 4,000 Egyptians, a fraction of the figures found in other Gulf states. For political reasons, Westerners and Asians constitute the majority of the Bahrain's expatriate work force. In 1984, the country had an estimated total of 4,500 British, 2,000 Americans, and about 40,000 Indians and Pakistanis. Furthermore, in 1983, more than 1,200 work permits were issued to Americans and Britons, compared to only 105 issued to Jordanians, Lebanese, Syrians and Palestinians. To Bahrain government, the Arabs of the eastern Mediterranean are politically "unsafe" (Carter, 1984, p. 156).

The three states are mainly desert with a dry climate. Because there is no overland free-flowing water, agriculture has contributed very little to these states' economies. Economically, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and, to some extent, Bahrain are completely dependent on crude oil exportation. During the 1970s and the early-1980s, these states underwent an economic growth following the sharp
Increases in oil prices in 1973 and 1979. With this economic affluence, the three states undertook within a few years massive construction plans for nearly everything from health clinics to advanced petrochemical plants. By 1980, the per capita Gross National Product had increased to about $10,000 in Bahrain, $12,000 in Saudi Arabia, and $17,000 in Kuwait (Nakhleh, 1986, p. 14).

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain have cultural attributes that unite them with nineteen other states which constitute the Arab nation. The Arab nation shares a common heritage, language, and destiny. Thanks to the strategic location, the Arab had direct and indirect contact with many cultures: the Persian, the Greek, the Roman, the Byzantine, the European, and the Ottoman. Notwithstanding these contacts, the Arab people have been able to maintain their own distinctive culture. As part of the Arab nation, the populace in the Gulf take a great pride in their glorious past, religion, language, and other cultural traits. They share with the rest of the Arab people the same dream of Arab unity, and feel a great solidarity with the Palestinians in their struggle against the Israeli occupation. A former American ambassador to Kuwait did not exaggerate when he noted that "the Gulf Arab shared the feelings of all other Arabs, even the sense of humiliation over the lost wars with Israel, even though they had not participated in those wars" (Tillman, 1982, p. 91).
Political and Economic Dependency

One of the important similarities which Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain share is their dependency on the West, which has resulted in their integration into the international capitalist system. The extent of this dependency on the West can be illustrated by examining the three countries' political and economic relationships with Britain and the United States, the two Western powers which have played a dominant role in the modern history of the three countries under study.

Britain was one of the early Western powers to be involved in the Gulf. In the middle of the 19th century, Britain had a well-established presence in the Gulf to ensure safe trade and communication links to India. The importance of the Gulf per se, however, did not emerge till the discovery of massive oil reserves just before World War I, and with the end of World War II came the American commercial and political interests in the region. In 1947, Gulf's crude oil represented 10 percent of world production (Kupchan, 1987). For political and economic reasons, the Middle East, the Gulf region in particular, has become a new arena for the East-West rivalry. Joe Stork, a political analyst, asserted that the "American military buildup [in the 1980s] in the region is the latest phase in a transfer
of imperial 'responsibility' from the United Kingdom to the United States that began after World War II" (Stork, 1987, p. 4).

The British domination and control over the region dates to 1820 when Britain concluded the Treaty of Peace with all of the Arab rulers in the Gulf region. This treaty, as Ismael (1982) suggests, gave the British domination over the Gulf, and it "marked the beginnings of the political supremacy of Great Britain over the Arab on the Gulf" (p. 40). Because of this treaty, the British were able to shape the future of the city-states in the Gulf region. In fact, the British Government directed the internal and external political decisions of the region, and it monopolized economic activities such as the finance institutions, transportation and foreign trade. Moreover, Britain attained comprehensive concessions to exploit the region's only natural resource (Al-Rumaihi, 1976). It is within the larger context of British imperialism that one should examine Britain's relationships with the countries in the region.

Kuwait

The relationship Britain had with Kuwait was strengthened by the clandestine agreement Mubarak Al-Sabah (r. 1896-1915) signed with Britain, one which had political implications. According to Ismael (1982), this agreement
subordinated Kuwait to British domination and "facilitated the integration of Kuwait into the emerging world capitalist system" (p. 54). Also Al-Tarrah (1983) affirmed that this agreement "was a formal pledge to engage Kuwait in the capitalist world system" (p. 34). Based on this agreement, by which Kuwait had become a British protectorate, the Kuwaiti ruler restricted himself and his successors:

not to receive the Agent or Representative of any Power or Government at Kuwait, or at any other place within the limits of his territory, without the previous sanction of the British Government; and further binds himself, his heirs and successors not to cede, sell, lease, mortgage, or give for occupation or for any other purpose any portion of his territory to the government or subjects of any other Power without the previous consent of Her Majesty's Government for these purposes (Ismael, 1982, p. 49).

This agreement had great implications for the Kuwait economy, which became more dependent on British protection. Kuwait and the Arabian Peninsula became markets for British commodities, and the surpluses realized from the local markets were taken out of the region. Efforts to develop an independent and an indigenous economy were challenged and suppressed by British imperialism. "The confrontation between the interests of autonomous capitalism and British
imperialism in Kuwait ended the historical role of an autonomous capitalist class in Kuwait" (Ismael, 1982, p. 153).

Furthermore, when the region became a potential source of oil, the British government obtained assurances from the Kuwaiti ruler of his pledge that he "shall never give a concession in this matter [oil] to anyone except a person appointed from the British Government" (Ismael, 1982, p. 78). In 1934, a concession was awarded to Kuwait Oil Company (KOC) for oil exploration in Kuwait. KOC was owned equally by Gulf Oil Corporation of the United States and British Petroleum (BP). On several occasions, the Kuwaiti ruler requested permission to participate in KOC's management and policy or for a Kuwaiti to sit on the Company's board of directors; his request was always rejected. It was not until the mid-1970s that Kuwait was able to have control over its oil industry. In 1974 Kuwait bought 60 percent of KOC, and the remaining 40 percent in 1975 (Eglin, 1984).

Bahrain

Bahrain, as part of the Gulf like Kuwait, had been under British colonialism till 1971. For protection, the Al-Khalifah had signed a number of treaties and agreements which had augmented the British domination over the
country. The 1880 agreement included one clause in which the ruler undertook the following:

As a chief Bahrain, to bind himself and his successors to abstain from entering into negotiations or making treaties of any sort with any state or Government, other than the British without the consent of the said British Government, and to refuse permission to any other Government than the British to establish diplomatic or consular agencies or depots in our territories, unless with the consent of the British Government (Al-Rumaihi, 1975, p. 19)

Under the agreements and treaties it had with Britain, Bahrain was a British protectorate. This meant that Britain protected the country from any potential external threat and conducted its foreign relations. In addition, Britain was deeply involved in the Bahrain's internal affairs. At that time both Iran and Turkey had not abandoned their claim over the islands. So the involvement in Bahrain's local affairs was to secure Britain's colonial interests and domination over Bahrain and its oil. Indeed, in 1911, the British were able to extract an assurance to that effect; the Bahraini ruler stated:

...if there is any prospect of obtaining kerosene oil in my territory, I will not embark on the exploitation of it myself and will not entertain overtures from any quarter regarding it without consulting the political
Agent in Bahrain, and without the approval of High government (Al-Rumaihi, 1975, p. 96).

The first oil concession was awarded in 1925, with the approval of the British Colonial Office, to a small London oil company: Eastern and General Syndicate. The latter then sold the concession in 1928 to an American oil company, the Standard Oil of California (SOCAL). The British Colonial Office, however, stipulated that only a British-owned firm be allowed to operate in Bahrain. After protracted negotiations, involving both the British and the American governments, a settlement was reached. Based on the agreement, Bahrain Petroleum Company Ltd. (BAPCO), an entirely owned subsidy of SOCAL, was formed and registered in Canada. Also, part of the agreement was that all the Company's communications with the ruler must be through the Company's local agent, whom the British Government only would appoint, or through the British Political Agent (Al-Rumaihi, 1975).

The concession was given for 55 years starting from 1935. By 1940 the area that was allocated to BAPCO was extended to cover the whole country. Besides, the company was given custom and tax exemptions. The royalties to be granted to the ruler were determined at the rate of 3 rupees, 8 annas per ton (i.e., 14 cents per barrel of crude oil with a guaranteed minimum of 150,000 rupees (Al-Tajir, 1987, p. 172).
This long British domination has influenced Bahrain's foreign policy toward the West. One day after it declared its independence in 1971, Bahrain signed a friendship and a mutual understanding treaty with Britain, and the British ambassador has enjoyed the Al-Khalifah's special regard and respect. Since 1971, British political influence has been replaced by U.S. influence. Bahrain, like the rest of the Gulf states, has been affected by the U.S.'s ever-growing concern and interest in the Gulf. In his analysis of Bahrain's foreign policy, Nakhleh (1976) maintained that "...Bahrain, because of its limited capabilities, cannot be an independent actor in the international arena......by its very location it will be caught in the squeeze in the international politics" (p. 111). The current U.S. relationship with Bahrain began immediately after Bahrain declared its independence in August, 1971. In December, 1971, the U.S. Navy concluded an agreement with Bahrain to lease Jufair naval base, which formerly had been held by Britain for more than 50 years. The importance of this naval base, according to U.S. officials, falls "within the broad U.S.-Gulf policy" (Nakhleh, 1976, p. 113).

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia is the only country among the Arab states which has never experienced direct Western colonial domination. Nonetheless, Saudi Arabia today is one of the
principal Western allies among the Arab countries. Former President Jimmy Carter once said: "Saudi Arabia is one of our closest allies, staunchest friends and economic partners" (Peck, 1980, p.230). Such a statement clearly reflects the importance of Saudi Arabia to the United States policy-makers. In 1979, during the Carter administration, a Pentagon official asserted that "Saudi Arabia remains the cornerstone for attaining United States foreign objectives in the Arabian Peninsula" (Kupchan, 1987, p. 127). The same assessment was reiterated during the Reagan administration. In 1981, General P.X. Kelley, Commander of the Rapid Deployment Forces, indicated that the "strategic and geopolitical significance of Saudi Arabia is quite likely second to no other nation on the face of the earth in its importance to the future well-being of the free world" (Kupchan, 1987, p. 128).

The formal act of diplomatic relations between Saudi Arabia and the United States dates back to 1933. When World War II started to reach the Middle East, the United States' concern about Saudi Arabia intensified. Saudi Arabia's strategic location and immense oil deposits were the catalyst to rekindle the U.S. interest, and, in 1943, the U.S. appointed its first resident representative in Saudi Arabia (Long, 1985). Since then, "Saudi Arabia has been the most consistent Arab friend of the United States." (Nyrop et al., 1982, p. 212). The Saudi's political and economic
dependency on the West is an outcome to this special relationship.

The Kingdom's economic dependency on the West started in the early-1940s when King Abdulaziz was confronting a growing financial exigency due to the declining revenues from the Hajj just before World War II. The California Arabian Standard Oil Company (CASCO), which had a concession for oil exploration in the country, provided the Saudi treasury with loans and advances on future royalties (Long, 1985). These loans and advances were a financial burden which Casco was unwilling to withstand. The company, therefore, turned to the U.S. government to help Ibn Saud out of his predicament. After some negotiation, Saudi Arabia was designated as qualified for the U.S. Lend-Lease Program in 1943. By the end of the war, Saudi Arabia had received approximately $100 million in different kinds of assistance (Long, 1985, 102).

This support, reflecting the United States' interest in the Kingdom's stability, had political and economic implications. In 1945, for instance, the U.S. was able to conclude an agreement with the Saudi government to construct and lease Dhahran Air Base. The U.S. had access rights to this Base till 1962. Furthermore, the two countries signed the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement in 1951. Part of this agreement was the U.S. Military Training Mission (USMTM), which set the foundation for more
and stronger U.S. military relationships between the two countries which have continued since then (Long, 1985).

Moreover, the United States role in the Saudi oil sector dates back to the early-1930s. In 1933, with the full backing of the U.S. government, Standard Oil Company of California (Socal) was able to secure an oil concession from Ibn Saud. This concession was then given to Socal's entirely owned subsidiary Casco. In 1944, Casco's name was changed to the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco). In 1946, Aramco was owned by four of the largest U.S. oil companies: Standard Oil of California, Texaco, Exxon, and Mobil. The terms of the initial concession were far from being fair to Saudi Arabia. Aramco paid all taxes to the United States and none to Saudi Arabia. "Indeed, in 1949 Aramco paid more to the U.S. Treasury in taxes than it did to Saudi Arabia in royalties" (Long, 1985, p. 18). American ownership of Aramco continued till 1980, when it was bought for an unreported price by the Saudi government.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the Saudi government entered into a number of contracts and agreements with the United States governmental agencies and private companies to help in many particular projects for the modernization of the country. In 1974, the United States-Saudi Arabian Joint Commission was established to mark the beginning of a new era in the relationship between the two countries. This commission is composed of two main organs: the Joint
Commission on Security and Cooperation and the Joint Commission on Economic Cooperation. The latter covers such areas as industrialization, manpower and education, science and technology, and agriculture (Nyrop, 1982).

It is the nature of their economy that has intensified the political and economic dependency of these three countries—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain—on the West. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have oil-based economies; revenues from oil exports constitute their primary source of income. Oil production in Bahrain is much lower than in that of other countries in the region. Nonetheless, Bahrain’s service-oriented economy is heavily dependent on the prosperity of the region’s oil-based economy.

All early oil concessions in the region were given to British or American companies. The terms of these concession agreements gave the foreign companies unequivocal control over the oil industry in these countries. These concessions represented the type of exploitative relationships between these companies and the host countries (Al-Tarrah, 1983). According to Al-Tariqi, a former minister of oil in Saudi Arabia, the policies of Western oil companies were "derived from that of the imperialist power, whose main concern is to produce raw materials from areas under their control, transform these materials to their by-products and then export the finished products" (cited in Al-Tarrah, 1983, p. 58). Investment in
the Gulf oil industry is one of the most lucrative of Western investments abroad. In 1963, for example, the Gulf region produced about 24.3 percent of world oil. However, only 3 percent of the total investment in the oil industry was invested in the region (Al-Tariqi, 1983, p. 71). Also, in the mid-1970s, the Gulf region's share of American investments abroad was 3 percent, but the profit from this 3 percent was more than 60 percent (Al-Rumaihi, 1982, p. 43).

In 1973, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, along with other oil producing countries, made two crucial decisions which do not necessarily represent the independence of their political and/or economic decisions. In October, 1973, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait were among other Arab oil-producing countries that adopted the 1973 oil-embargo against the U.S. as a punitive measure for the latter's unconditional support of Israel. The stated objectives of the embargo were: (1) Israel's complete withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, and (2) the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. As an omen of the limitation of their economic power against the West, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait lifted the embargo, in spite of the fact that none of the stated conditions were met by Israel. The oil-embargo did not attain its purposes because the Arabian governments, as Alnasrawi (1984) argued, were not ready or able to accept the political and economic
eventuality of their decisions. He added "...oil represents a tremendous source of political and economic power. But given the political and economic orientation of Arab governments, it is difficult to see how they would have acted differently" (p. 12).

Furthermore, as oil-producing countries, the Arabian Gulf States have been assigned a subordinate role in the international division of labor: raw material suppliers (Al-Tarrah, 1983; Ismael, 1982). This role seems to have dominated the West’s perception of the region. For instance, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relation Committee once warned the Arab Gulf States to "treat their oil wealth as a kind of global trust, if for no other reason than for their own protection. The meat of the gazelle may be succulent indeed, but the wise gazelle does not boast of it to lions" (Tillman, 1982, p. 95).

The second crucial decision was the 1973 increase in oil prices. In 1973, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia joined other OPEC members in increasing oil prices. The magnitude of this decision was presented in the 1975 Dag Hammarskjold Report as follows:

For the first time since Vasco da Gama, mastery over a fundamental decision in a crucial area of the economic policy of the center countries escaped their grasp as certain peripheral countries wrested it from them (cited in Alnasrawi, 1984, p. 8).
Is this price increase an indication of Kuwaiti and Saudi independence? According to Alnasrawi (1984), the answer is no. Political independence is a meaningless utterance if it is not coupled with economic independence. He added: "Economic independence, in turn, cannot be said to be meaningful if it only means a rise in the share of government in economic rent at the expense of multinational oil corporations" (p. 8). The rise in oil prices has significantly increased the revenues of the OPEC members. This in turn has accentuated their economic dependency on the international capitalist system.

The escalation in oil prices gave the oil-producing countries the wealth which has enabled them to increase their imports of consumer and capital goods, and to intensify their financial investment in the West. Furthermore, because of the increase in its price, oil has become the foremost source of foreign exchange and the prime sector in the national economy. Consequently, the health and growth of the Saudi and Kuwaiti economies have become more than ever dependent on the economic policies of the West. The dilemma of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait "is that the demand for their exports is beyond their control" (Alnasrawi, 1984, p. 9). The current economic crises Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are facing present a case in point to prove Alnasrawi's statement. The glut in world oil market since 1983, mainly due to the decline of Western dependence
on OPEC oil, has had a profound effect on the Saudi and Kuwait's economies. The two countries have started to show deficits in their budgets. "Indeed, in 1985 Saudi Arabia posted the second-largest deficit in the world, right behind the United States" (Nakhleh, 1986, p. 15).

Also foreign investment and trade partnership are two important dimensions which may illustrate the economic dependency of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain on the international capitalist system. Exporting crude oil has resulted in revenue surpluses which local economies of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait could not absorb. Investment in the Western countries has been one of the primary means by which the capital surpluses (petrodollars) are recycled to the West (Al-Tarrah, 1983).

Kuwaiti investments in the West are not something new. In 1952, Kuwait established an office in London to supervise the government's foreign investments, and in the same year, Kuwait started a financial relationship with one of New York's major banks (Eglin, 1984). Saudi Arabia is also investing its petrodollars in the West, particularly in the United States. In 1974, the United States took two steps to facilitate and further Saudi investments. One was to handle Saudi investments with confidentiality. The second was the initiation of special arrangements between the Saudi Arabian Monetary Agency (SAMA) and the U.S. Treasury Department for Saudi purchases of U.S. government
securities through the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (Long, 1985). With their substantial investment in the West, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are becoming more dependent on the well being of Western economy.

The second dimension which may denote the dependency of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain on the international capitalist system is their trade partnership with the capitalist world. Amin (1982), a leading economist and founder of the dependency approach, maintained that the ratio of exports and/or imports to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Third World countries is a good indicator of the intensity of their participation in the international division of labor (i.e., economic dependency). Based on that measure, Amin concluded that the Arab world, compared with other regions, is the "most fully integrated into the contemporary world system" (p. 48). The ratio of exports to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is greatly higher for the Arab world than it is for any other region of the Third World. While it did not exceed 25 percent for any of the Third World regions, it was nearly 60 percent for the Arab world (Amin, 1982, p. 49). Among the Arab states, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain are the leading trade partners with the U.S., Japan, and the European Economic Community. The total population of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain makes up less than 5 percent of the total population in the Arab world; nonetheless, these
three states are the primary markets for American and Japanese goods. Between 1973 and 1980, the U.S. exported $60,531 million worth of goods to the Arab Countries. Nearly half (48.8 percent) of that value went to Bahrain, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Also, during the same period, Japanese exports to the Arab world were valued at $52,524 million, of which more than 45 percent went to the markets of the three countries under study (see Appendix A).

In sum, the dependency of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain on the international capitalist system is evident. And this dependency has been illustrated by reviewing the history of the political and economic relationships these countries have with the United Kingdom and the United States. Because of their economic and political dependency on the West, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain are vulnerable to media imperialism, according to Wells (1973), Schiller (1976), Hamelink (1983) and others.

**Internal Dynamics**

On the other hand, the three countries differ in terms of their internal dynamics and the forces that have shaped each country's sociopolitical order. The contrast among these countries in this regard is a reflection of the region's political culture. The three states are governed by three ruling families, the Al-Saud in Saudi Arabia, the Al-Sabah in Kuwait, and the Al-Khalifah in Bahrain. These
families seem to have absolute power. In fact, their patrimonial authority "is above popular debate" (Nakhleh, 1986, p. 18). In describing the political culture of the Gulf Cooperation Council states, of which Kuwait, Bahrain, and Saudi Arabia are members, Nakhleh (1986) wrote:

The political culture is predicated upon tribalism and Islam. The political system is based on a tribal/familial structure which is headed by an amir [ruler], chosen by the leading family within the tribe, whose rule is maintained by the continued consensus of the inner council of the family. A somewhat modern public administration and a pro-family government bureaucracy have developed in the oil era. The primary function of these agencies is to support the authority of the ruling family (p. 18).

In addition, Hudson (1977), in his examination of the legitimacy issue in Arab politics, identifies two major attributes of the Arabian monarchies. First, their authority is patrimonial not only in theory but also in practice. Secondly, these monarchies, for the legitimacy of their rule, try to accommodate the traditional power holders such as "the upper-middle class commercial and business elite, the large landowners, the clerical establishment, and the local notables of good families" (p. 26). In other words, the ruling families of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain, in order to maintain their rule, try
to identify and associate themselves politically with the prevailing social institutions. This political alliance between the ruling families and the influential groups is an important feature of the political culture in the region. For historical and practical reasons, the nature and composition of the influential groups, the political elite, within each state have varied from one state to another and from time to time.

**Saudi Arabia**

Saudi Arabia is ruled by the Al-Saud family. The role of the Al-Saud in the political sphere of the Arabian Peninsula dates back to 1744 when Mohammed Ibn Saud, a ruler of a small central Arabian town, Dar'iya, entered an alliance with Mohammed Ibn Abdalwahhab, a religious reformer calling for the return to the teachings of the Kur'an and to the traditions of the prophet Mohammed. This alliance between Ibn Saud and Ibn Abdalwahhab has been a turning point in the history of the Arabian Peninsula; since then, religion has become an important element in the political culture of the Arabian Peninsula.

The history of the Al-Saud rule in the Arabian Peninsula is divided into three realms. The first Saudi state was founded by Mohammed Ibn Saud in 1744 and destroyed by the Ottoman forces in 1818. The second state was established by Faisal Ibn Turki Al-Saud in 1843 and
lasted until 1887, when it was destroyed by the rising power of Al-Rasheed family of Ha'il in northern Arabia. The present state started in 1902. The shared factor that links these three realms, and which isolates the Al-Saud's rule from all other emirates in Central Arabia, is the successful association of political power and religious ideology.

The Arabian Peninsula is the place of origin of Islam, which has been the predominant religion in the Arab world since the seventh century. Islam is not only the moral code of the society but it is the rationale of political legitimacy as well. In other words, Islam is the underpinning of social and political acts. Based on this, the Al-Saud knew that a secular authority might not be enough to ensure the loyalty of a volatile tribal population. The Wahhabi religious movement, founded by Mohammed Ibn Abdalwahhab, has provided the Al-Saud with the prerequisite superstructure to rule in the Arabian Peninsula, religion. When he initiated his reform movement in the 1720s, Ibn Abdalwahhab's immediate mission was to obtain the recognition and protection of a political leader; the coalition he formed with Mohammed Ibn Saud in 1744 attained that objective (Sankari, 1982; Al-Yassini, 1985). Since then, the religious leaders have become the prominent element in the political elite in the Arabian Peninsula. Throughout history, they have provided the
Al-Saud regime with the religious legitimacy to rule in Arabia.

The history of the contemporary Saudi state dates back to 1902 when Abdulaziz Al-Saud, better known in the West as Ibn Saud, captured Riyadh from the Al-Rasheed family and began restoring the realm of his ancestors. It took King Abdulaziz thirty years to unite what has been known since 1932 as Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. From the outset of his endeavor, Ibn Saud capitalized on his family’s traditional identification with the Wahhabi movement. Ibn Saud understood that no central power or political structure could be established in Arabia without the ratification religion provides; therefore, he adopted Islam as the ideology.

The villagers of Najd were the most dedicated to the Wahhabi movement; nevertheless, they were not able to leave their shops and fields for a lengthy military service far from their homes. On the other hand, the Bedouins, with their transient way of life were too opportunistic and unstable to provide the dependability Ibn Saud needed to accomplish his long-range goal, restoration his ancestors’ domain. An advisor to Ibn Saud, Hafiz Wahbah (1929), described the Bedouins by saying:

They (the Bedouins) always sided with the party whom they dread[ed] most or who promised them most... King Ibn Saud thought fit to tackle this Bedouin question
by establishing special dwellings for them near the springs and encouraging them to follow agricultural pursuits, and by detailing to each and every village a learned shaikh to instruct them in the elements of theology and good conduct... and whereas they were formerly a danger to whichever party they elected to support, they have now become staunch and reliable in the face of death itself (p. 465).

In these settlements, an ambitious Wahhabi spirit, which concurred with Ibn Saud's political objectives, was stressed. To emphasize the religious dimension in this project, the settlers were known as Ikhwan (brethren) and these settlements were named Hijar (singular: "hijrah"). The name was derived from the Arabic word hijrah which means migration. The main goal here was to imitate the Prophet Mohammed's journey from Mecca to Medina, which led to the formation of the first Islamic state. The Bedouins were indoctrinated with the idea that their settlement in these Hijar was like a migration from the land of shirk (polytheism) to the land of Islam. The people, according to the Ikhwan, were believers (i.e., the Ikhwan themselves) or nonbelievers; the latter should be converted by force, if necessary. This world view assisted Ibn Saud in ratifying the expansion of his realm. The Ikhwan provided Ibn Saud with the military force that "could be mobilized and demobilized swiftly and which combine[d] the mobility of
the Bedouin and the political reliability and loyalty of the villager" (Habib, 1978, p. 6).

In short, in his effort to reinstate his family's domain and consolidate his domination, Ibn Saud reasserted Islam as the state ideology. The idea was to suggest that his regime was a continuation of his family's rule, during which there was an alliance between religion and state. To that end, Ibn Saud established the Ikhwan movement with the religious political thought that helped in expanding the Saudi state.

This identification with religion by Ibn Saud and his ancestors has had great political, social, and cultural implications; besides the royal family, the religious leaders have also occupied an important position in the state's sociopolitical order. What follows is a description of the royal family and the religious leaders as the two dominant elements in the country's political elite.

**The Royal Family**

At the zenith of the Saudi social structure, the royal family possesses absolute power in the political and economic order. In his analysis of the class structure in Saudi Arabia, Al-Sultan (1988) asserted that "joining wealth and exclusive political power places the Saudi family at the top of the Saudi upper-class or the social pyramid" (p. 84). The accurate size of the royal family is
not known. Recent estimation is anywhere between 2,000 to 7,000, but the most reiterated figure is 5,000. What has inflated this number is King Abdulaziz’s political marriages. There are many tribes in the Arabian Peninsula, and to consolidate his power among these, Ibn Saud made use of political matrimony. In fact, he married more than twenty women from influential families representing different tribes. Currently, the Al-Saud family has relationships with many prominent families in the country. Only a few members of the royal family have significant political responsibility in the country or take part in decision-making. The influential members are the sons of King Abdulaziz, the founder of contemporary Saudi Arabia. From these princes, the family appoints the king, his two deputies, and the other princes who hold key governmental positions.

All the most critical positions in government are occupied by members of the royal family: the Prime Minister, his two Deputies, the President of the National Guard, and the Ministers of Defense, Interior, and Foreign Affairs. Besides these, the governors of the five provinces are members of the royal family. As an interest group, the royal family is "more powerful than any other group, or combination of all the groups....(and) its concerns during normal time is the enhancement of its interests vis-a-vis others" (Al-Awaji, 1971, p. 118). This political power
which the royal family has makes it evident that they are the decision makers. However, Saudi Arabia is one of the few countries in the world with neither a parliament nor elected officials. In theory, the Saudi government derives its legitimacy from Islamic law. In practice, however, there is no constitution which sets forth the basic principles of political and legal authority. Therefore, the government looks to the religious leaders for ratification of its decrees and resolutions. The royal family has acquired claims to legitimacy and the loyalty of its subjects for many reasons, among them its reliance on Islam and the role of the religious leaders in the development of a modern state (Sankari, 1982).

The importance of religion to the legitimacy of the royal family's rule has been accentuated on many occasions. In his ten-point reform program, Faisal, as a prime minister, stated that the law which the government was about to promulgate would be "drawn from the Koran and the traditions of the Prophet and the acts of the Orthodox Caliphs" (Al-Awaji, 1971, p. 106). And on the day after he was proclaimed King of Saudi Arabia, King Faisal said: "We will also strengthen the religious basis that this country is founded upon and which God has honored by making it His home and the site of the Mosque of His prophet" (Ministry of Information, p.11). In addition, King Fahad recently adopted the title of "Custodian of the Two Holy Places." In
short, the royal family knows that the legitimacy of its rule rests on the Islamic system, of which consideration for religious authority is a key part.

The ulama

As Al-Rawaf (1980) suggested, "Islam is as basic to the political system in Saudi Arabia as the soul to human life" (p. 323). Islam is not only a faith but a complete social system as well. As a system, it provides the values and laws that govern all personal, social, economic and political conduct. Unlike Christianity, Islam does not separate religion from the state. Though every Muslim may understand Islam as a faith, only a few are authorities on al-shari'ah (Islamic law and jurisprudence). These authorities are known as the ulama, a plural of alim. The ulama do not claim any special inspiration from God, either directly or indirectly. Such a claim would be entirely contrary to their interpretation of Islam. They are respected and consulted only because of their learning.

In Saudi Arabia, the ulama "have a great deal of influence on the kingdom's policies" (Al-Rawaf, 1980, p. 325). In fact, they form the second strongest group after the royal family. Though the exact size of the ulama is unknown, it is safe to assume that their number is fairly large (Al-Awaji, 1971; Al-Rawaf, 1980; Al-Sultan, 1988). The ulama have enjoyed strong connections and good
relations with the royal family. Among the leading ulama there have always been distinguished members of Al-Shaikh family, who the descendants of the reformer Mohammed Ibn Abdulwahhab. Also, they are related by marriage to the royal family (King Faisal’s mother is from the Al-Shaikh family).

The royal family has respected the ulama, favored them, and responded to many of their conservative demands. They are viewed by the royal family as a strong legitimizing force for the monarchy (Al-Rawaf, 1980). In other words, the ulama are a valuable stabilizing element in the country’s politics; their cooperation and alliance are always needed. The royal family does its utmost to integrate them into the ruling elite and give them due veneration so they feel like full participants in the political decision making.

The ulama’s influence on the sociopolitical order in Saudi Arabia has been determined by their conservative interpretations of Islamic teachings. In Islam, there are four major jurisprudence schools. Named after their founders, the four schools are Hanifite, Malkite, Shafiite, and Hanbalite. The four schools differ in terms of their interpretations of Islamic law. The Wahhabi movement adheres to the Hanbalite school, which is, compared with the other three, the most conservative and argues for the use of the Kur’an and the Sunna (the teachings of the
Prophet) as the legitimate sources of law. In addition, Mohammed Ibn Abdalwahhab, the founder of the movement, was inspired by an Islamic scholar, Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328). The latter is known for his conservative and literal interpretation of the Kur‘an and Sunna. Like Ibn Taymiyya, the Wahhabi movement repudiates the notion of innovation or modification in religion to correspond to the changing environment.

In addition, the Wahhabi movement was conceived and nurtured in the Najd region. Najd, the center of Arabia, is the heartland of the country, not only geographically but spiritually and politically as well. This region had been known till the early-1950s for its geographic solitude. For centuries, Najd had very limited contact with the rest of the world. Because of this isolation, the populace of Najd, until recently, had developed the most conservative tradition in the country. And the Najdi ulama, on whom the government counts, are conservative and literal in their interpretation and application of Islam (Al-Yassini, 1985).

It is the political thought of the Wahhabi movement which makes it the ideal ideology for the Saudi government. Ibn Abdalwahhab stated in his writing that obedience to rulers is obligatory, even if such rulers are oppressive. The rulers’ commands should be followed as long as they do not contradict the rules
The term ulama refers specifically to Islamic scholars who are authorities in interpreting the *al-shari'ah*. Within the context of the Saudi political system, however, the term refers to "a group of influentials who, in addition to having the same characteristics as those of ulama in general, occupy a special political position as a result of certain important historical developments" (Al-Awaji, 1971, p.120). One important role of the ulama is to render their *fatwa* (legal opinion) on matters that are not mentioned in the Kur'an or the Sunna. Because of the absence of a formal legislative authority, the Saudi government needs the ulama's sanction of its decisions and actions.

As an embodiment of their weight, the ulama in Saudi Arabia have control over the following governmental institutions, which report directly to the King:

1. **Hay'at al-Amer bi’l-Ma`ruf wa’l-Nahy `an al-Munkar** (The Committees for Exhortation of Good and Interdiction of Evil)
2. **Majlis Hay'at Kibar al-Ulama** (The Council of Senior Ulama Committee)
(4) The Ministry of Justice, which includes the Supreme Justice Council, the Appeals Courts, and Courts of Alshari'ah Law

(5) The General Presidency for Girls' Education

In addition, the ulama have control over the country's judicial system. In fact, until the mid-1970s, business transactions such as mortgages, credit, and royalty and insurance agreements were not honored by the Saudi legal system (Ministry of Planning, 1980). Many of these agreements involve what the ulama consider forms of usury, which is entirely prohibited in Islam. The importance of the ulama, at any rate, should not overemphasize their actual role in the Saudi decision-making. One should keep in mind that the ulama are "a pressure group limited to exerting influence over the government's activities and policies but never acting as an autonomous center of power" (Al-Yassini, 1985, p. 59). According to Al-Awaji (1971):

in Saudi Arabia there is only one political institution--the monarchy--whose political activity is a one-way process of which both legislative and executive power are integral parts. Consequently, there are influential interest-groups, but not a power structure because the ultimate power is undisputedly in the person of the king. Influential groups interact and exert their influences within the monarchical
framework, but never as autonomous powerful groups (p. 109).

It is noticeable that the interests and concerns of the ulama are oriented toward social and cultural issues. In fact, they have little or no influence on foreign or economic policies such as oil production or pricing (Al-Rawaf, 1981). The realm of the ulama's influence is determined by the government's needs and orientation. When religious legitimization is needed, the ulama are given importance, and they are given a "secondary position when their stance contradict[s] that of the ruler or when other sources of legitimacy [are] invoked" (Al-Yassini, 1985, p. 67). In fact, on some occasions, the government has been able to implement its decision in spite of the ulama's dissatisfaction.

The best example is banking in Saudi Arabia. Just as in every part of the world, the banking system in Saudi Arabia is built on what Islam considers to be "usury." Photography is another example. As recently as 1986, Abdulaziz Ibn Baz (1986), one of the most prominent Saudi ulama, wrote an article in which he unquestionably argued that photography and drawing of any live being is prohibited in Islam. Nevertheless, the photos of Saudi kings are on the country's currency. And on different occasions, the government has wanted to introduce some changes, but has been held back by respect for the ulama's
opinion, not because the ulama have the power to stop them but rather because they still have a role "like that of the press in Western democracy, as both formers of and spokesmen for public opinion" (Mortimer, 1982, p. 173).

The emerging middle class

The ulama seem to be sole partners with the royal family in ruling the country. Other groups have had marginal, if any, influence on the country's sociopolitical order. The leaders of the tribes in Arabia, for example, "do not form a group elite like those of the royal family and religious elites. They are individual elites with each concerned with the interests of his own tribe" (Al-Rawaf, 1980, p. 328). The merchants, traditionally, have never been so powerful as to be included in the country's political elite. Because Ibn Saud did not need the merchants, the latter had little influence in the political affairs of the Saudi state. Ibn Saud reflected his political culture when he said: "Do not compete with the merchants....and they will not compete with you" (Al-Sultan, 1988, p. 81).

Nonetheless, Saudi Arabia since the early-1980s has been experiencing the emergence of a new middle class. Saudi Arabia did not undergo any planned development before the 1970s. In 1970, the government started its first five-year development plan, which was followed by three other five-year plans in 1975, 1980 and 1985. Evidently, these plans, along with the massive oil revenues, have had
a great effect on Saudi society. As Table 2 indicates, oil revenues in Saudi Arabia had been on the increase till 1982. A dramatic increase, however, occurred just before the government started its second five-year plan; from $1,214.0 million in 1970, oil revenues increased to $25,676.2 in 1975, a 2015 percent increase.

With these revenues, the government commenced an ambitious development effort. In addition to building the basic infrastructure (e.g., communication, telecommunication, and electricity), the government has greatly improved health and educational services over the last fifteen years. These improvements, particularly in education, have been immense. The total student enrollment increased from 537,759 in 1970 to 1,909,328 in 1983, an increase of 255 percent. Interestingly, the average annual growth rate for female students between 1970 and 1983 was 15.3 percent, compared to only 8.1 percent for male students. In fact, the Ministry of Planning reported that "...female enrollment at the elementary level approached parity with that of males, and by the end of the period [1985] girls accounted for 42 percent of the total enrollment at the elementary level" (Ministry of Planning, 1985, p. 6).

Moreover, the population of college graduates increased from 1,143 in 1969/70 to 10,855 in 1982/83, an increase of about 850 percent. Between 1969 and 1982, Saudi
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Oil Revenue</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>3.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>10.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>56.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>340.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>333.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>664.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1,214.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>25,676.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>84,466.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>101,813.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>70,478.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Arabia had 56,558 university/college graduates, of whom about 15 percent received their higher education abroad. Furthermore, the female achievement is remarkable. The number of female graduates increased from only 27 in 1970 to 3,284 graduates in 1985 (Ministry of Planning, 1985).

This improvement in education has brought with it what Al-Hamad (1985), Heller & Safran (1985) and Al-Sultan (1988) consider the emerging new middle class. In modern Saudi Arabia today, just as in all developed and developing countries, "the intellectual and intelligentsia, who are technically and professionally highly educated.... (are) an emerging new middle class" (Al-Sultan, 1988, p. 195). As Table 3 shows, the size of the new middle class in Saudi Arabia increased by 287 percent during the country's first two development plans, and "there is every indication that this class will continue to grow more quickly than the general Saudi population" (Heller & Safran, 1985, p. 10).

The new middle class is expected to share with the ulama influence not only on the country's welfare, lifestyle, and educational system, but on the government's decisions as well. This new middle class is divided into two segments: the conservative and the moderate. Members of the latter group occupy the upper and lower-high positions in both the public and private sectors. The conservative, however, have an advantage in terms of communication with the masses or the authority. They seem to be able to
Table 3
The New Middle Class in Saudi Arabia, 1965-1985. Size and Growth of Main Component Groups (Saudi Nationals Only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servants</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>18,100</td>
<td>40,700</td>
<td>56,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Increase</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Officers</td>
<td>5,600</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>7,400</td>
<td>11,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Increase</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>5,700</td>
<td>10,200</td>
<td>22,200</td>
<td>38,000</td>
<td>45,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Increase</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14,900</td>
<td>22,274</td>
<td>47,519</td>
<td>86,231</td>
<td>113,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Increase</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

utilize the available means of communication: preaching in mosques and reaching authorities through the ulama. It is the difference between the two groups which "gives rise to social alteration and modernization" (Al-Sultan, 1988, p. 260). A Saudi official told The Economist "our problem is the religious crazies in the universities. If the government does not crack down on them, we are going to have a big problem on our hands in five years' time." (cited in Al-Sultan, 1988, p. 258).

The new middle class is politically impotent. Nonetheless, events in the 1950s prefigured its role in the country's internal affairs. In October, 1953, 13,000 of the 15,000 Saudi employees joined in a strike in all of Aramco's centers. "Several of the arrested strike leaders had attended college in Beirut...and other had received special training in the United States under company auspices" (Al-Sultan, 1988, p. 208). This shows the potential effect of those who receive their education abroad and return home with different sets of values and expectations.

It is normal to expect the emerging new middle class to play a role in the country's sociopolitical order within the very near future. In fact, the new middle class may find listening ears among the new generation of the royal family, the junior princes. The latter's participation, as college graduates, "in both private and public sectors, is
something to look at as a new reality in Saudi Arabia" (Al-Sultan, 1988, p. 247). The younger princes have a distinctive status. They have, as Nakhleh (1975) wrote:

influence through three channels simultaneously: the royal family, the formal bureaucracy, and new middle class. As a special group and a unique elite within the new generation of Saudi, this group of princes still have a strong impact on the future course of Saudi politics (p. 41).

Kuwait

The Al-Sabah family has ruled Kuwait since the 1750s. Geographical location and many historical events have indeed determined the major players in the country's sociopolitical order. Because of its location on the Arabian Gulf, Kuwait was one of the important trading centers of the region. Pearl-diving, fishing, shipbuilding and trade were among the principal activities. During the early years of its formation, Kuwait was a trading center for the tribes of Bani Khalid, who ruled eastern Arabia; therefore, Kuwait was under the latter's protection and suzerainty. When the Bani Khalid's power and authority were undermined by the growing power of Al-Saud in Arabia, Kuwait got her independence, and the Utub families, the early settlers in Kuwait, elected the Al-Sabah as the ruling family (Ismael, 1982). As will be discussed below,
this decision served for some time as the legitimate justification of the Al-Sabah's rule.

There were practical reasons behind the selection of the Al-Sabah family to rule Kuwait. This family enjoyed good and active relations with the Bedouin tribes in the region. The Al-Sabah's orientation was toward the desert, "apparently based on their interest in the active caravan trade between Aleppo and the Gulf," and because of this caravan trade, the Al-Sabah family had "an active relationship with the bedouin tribes, camping out with them regularly and marrying from among them" (Ismael, 1982, p. 27). The other Utubi families, with their interest and orientation toward the sea and not the desert, needed Al-Sabah's alliance with the Bedouin tribes in the area. According to Ismael (1982):

The very survival of Kuwait depended upon relations with the tribes. First, the community depended upon the tribesmen for the production of basic necessities. Second, Kuwait required protection against perennial tribal raiding. No longer protected by Bani Khalid power, Kuwait required a (family) both respected and feared for the number of tribesmen (it) could call into arms in an emergency. Third, the labor for the pearling, fishing, and commerce was supplied by the tribes (p. 27).
In short, the Al-Sabah's authority was based on the family's alliance with the Bedouin tribes; nevertheless, the economic vitality of the state depended predominantly on the merchants' activity. The merchants have been the traditional partners with the Al-Sabah family in the country's socioeconomic order. What follows is a description of the two major elements of political elite in Kuwait.

The Ruling Family

Article 4 of Kuwait's Constitution states that "Kuwait is a hereditary Emirate, the succession to which shall be in the descendants of the late Mubarak al-Sabah." Though the Constitution was adopted only in the early-1960s, the Al-Sabah's rule dates to 1756, when Sabah I was elected as the governor of the newly forming state. Since then thirteen members of the Al-Sabah family have ruled Kuwait. The legitimacy of the Al-Sabah rule has rested on two main factors: "the choice of their founding father Sabah I—from whom the family derived its name—by the herds of the Utub to become their leader and their historical continuity in power" (Baz, 1981, p. 89). Currently, all of the critical positions in government are held by members of the Al-Sabah family. Besides the Amir, the Heir Apparent (the Prime Minister), and the Ministers of Defense, Interior, Information and Foreign Affairs are members of Al-Sabah. In
addition to executive power, the Al-Sabah have legislative power. According to Article 51, the Constitution affirms: "Legislative power shall be vested in the Amir and the National Assembly in accordance with the constitution."

Two of the Al-Sabah rulers—Mubarak Al-Sabah (r 1896-1915) and Abdullah Al-Salem (r 1950-1965)—made consequential decisions which had profound impact on the country's political order, and subsequently, are worthy of one's attention when studying Kuwait's political elite. Mubarak Al-Sabah, the seventh ruler, is considered by many the most controversial ruler in Kuwait's history. He came to power by assassinating the ruler, his brother Mohammed, in 1896. Though Mubarak's reign lasted only for fifteen years, "his actions and policies have indeed influenced the international and domestic development of Kuwait" (Baz, 1981, p. 92). Mubarak's major action was the signing of a covert treaty with Great Britain in 1899. The basic reason for this treaty was to guard his throne against external threats from the Ottoman and internal threats from his nephews, whose father he had killed.

This treaty had political and economic implications. An important aspect of this agreement "was the transformation of the basis of Al-Sabah authority from a tribally mediated form of community consensus to an externally mediated base of power" (Ismael, 1982, p. 55). In other words, Mubarak attempted to undermine the
merchants' political weight by not consulting with them on major issues, contrary to a pledge his family had given some years before. Compared with his predecessors, Mubarak was an autocrat. For the survival of his monarchy, he was counting more on the British protection than on the merchants' allegiance. An indication of Mubarak's intention was his daring to tax the merchants' imported goods. Before Mubarak, "customs duties imposed on certain goods were a voluntary contribution of the merchants to the maintenance of the Sabah house" (Ismael, 1982, p. 55). Besides, this treaty "was a formal pledge to engage Kuwait in the capitalist world system" (Al-Tarrah, 1983, p. 34).

The other important figure who had an impact on the country's political order was Abdullah Al-Salem, who ruled the country for fifteen years, from 1950 to 1965. In 1961, during his rule, Kuwait gained its independence by terminating the 1899 treaty with Britain. However, independence created a new reality with which Al-Sabah had to deal. Five days after Kuwait's declaration of independence, Iraqi leaders announced their intention to annex Kuwait, claiming that it was a part of Iraq. The Iraqi threat was taken seriously by Kuwaiti rulers. "The pre-independent patriarchal political structure was not adequate for a state in search of legitimacy and respectability in the international system" (Baz, 1981, p. 131). Therefore, it was during Abdullah's epoch that Kuwait
decided to move from a patriarchal regime to a parliamentary political system. This move has had great implications for the country's sociopolitical order. For one thing, the move has created a new source on which the ruling family can rest the legitimacy of its rule. In addition, the traditional composition of the country's political elite has been altered by the parliamentary system.

The merchants

In a state like Kuwait, a trade center, it is typical for the merchant community to be integrated into the country's political elite. The role of the merchants in Kuwait's political and economic order has historical roots dating back to the mid-eighteenth century. In 1765, the merchants' families, after the downfall of the Bani Khalid's power over Kuwait, elected the Al-Sabah family to rule with the understanding that the decision-making would be shared. Since the state's economy was dependent on the maritime mode, the real power was in the merchants' hands. Consequently, according to Ismael (1982), Al-Sabah "over the period had become financially dependent upon this class [the merchants] and politically subordinate to it" (p. 36). Excluding Mubarak, all the Al-Sabah rulers had recognized the merchants' economic power and subsequent political weight. In fact, before the institution of the
parliamentary system in the 1960s, some of the prominent merchant families had to approve the Al-Sabah's selection of the ruler (Khalaf, 1984). In his study of Kuwait's political elite, Baz (1981) maintains:

the merchant community emerged as the backbone of Kuwaiti society. They played a pivotal role in its economic, social and political life. Economically, it was their enterprising adventure in the pre-oil era that provided the government with its income, in the form of taxes and customs duties, and the labor force with employment (p. 97).

Several examples indicate the political significance of the Kuwaiti merchants. Sabah Al-Jaber attempted to levy customs on imported goods; however, because of the merchants' objections, he was compelled to reverse his decision (Khalaf, 1981). Mubarak was the only ruler of the Al-Sabah family who openly disregarded the merchants. Because of contention with him, some of the merchant families migrated to Bahrain in protest. As an evidence of their importance, Mubarak sent his son to persuade them to return home. When some of them would not, Mubarak went to Bahrain himself to convince them to return (Al-Reshaid, 1978).

Kuwait, unlike the other monarchies in the region, has experienced some form of democracy. The contribution of the merchants' community is authentic. In fact, the merchant
community is usually recognized as a principal contributor toward the institution of the Kuwaiti parliamentary system. For twenty-five years, during the reigns of Mubarak and his two sons (1896-1921), the merchants' role in the country's affairs was marginal. Mubarak attempted to undermine the merchants' traditional role in Kuwait's sociopolitical order.

In 1921, the merchants tried to recoup their authority in the country. Members of the merchants' community indicated to the Al-Sabah family "that they could no longer tolerate another autocratic ruler" (Baz, 1981, pp. 113-114). And the merchants initiated their endeavor by presenting to the ruling family a petition requesting the formation of a consultative council to be consulted prior to any decision-making. In compliance with this petition, a twelve-member council was formed. All of the council members were merchants, and its chairmanship was given to one of the leading merchants. The objectives of this council did not materialize. In spite of its failure, the council evidently reflected the political yearnings the merchants had. Its real accomplishment was the volition it had given the merchants' community to pursue political participation (Baz, 1981).

During the early-1930s, the merchants were in control of a number of administrative councils, such as the Municipal Council and the Education Council. The selection
of members to these councils "was not based on their qualifications, but instead on their social position in the community" (Baz, 1981, p. 117). Because the government was not always responsive to the merchants' political demands, the latter participated in the creation of a clandestine political organization called the Alqutlah Alwataniyah (The National Bloc). By 1938, thanks to the support it had among Kuwaiti people, the Alqutlah Alwataniyah was able to pressure the government to institute an elected legislative council. "Fourteen members of leading merchants' families were elected to serve in the new council" (Baz, 1981, p. 120). According to Ismael (1982) in her analysis of the Kuwaiti society, this council represented the interests of the Kuwaiti merchants. She said:

The legislation issued by the Council over the several months of its existence concentrated on the reform of customs and taxes to facilitate the expansion of local commerce and the increase of the buying power of the local and hinterland market, the admonishment of monopolies that inhibited free competition, and the organization of public finances to facilitate public services to free enterprise. All of the reforms undertaken by the Council, in fact, reflect the bourgeois ideology of free enterprise in a system of law and order (p. 75).
Besides playing an important role in the country's economic and political affairs, the merchants have contributed to other social institutions as well. The early schools in Kuwait, for instance, were initiated and financed by the merchants' community. In 1911, the Al-Mubarakiah school was established by the merchants. Besides Kur'an and Arabic, subjects such as mathematics, commercial correspondence, bookkeeping, typing, and English were taught in this school. The inclusion of these subjects in the school curriculum was to satisfy the merchants' need for skilled and trained clerks. Again, in 1922, the merchants financed another school, Al-Ahmadiah. The merchants' subsidy of these two schools continued till the 1930s. But when the merchants, because of the economic depression, were not able to continue their financial support, these two schools were forced to close (Tibawi, 1972; Al-Misnad, 1985).

Throughout the history of Kuwait, the merchants have been an important element in the country's sociopolitical order. For one thing, their mercantile activity was the backbone of Kuwait's economy. In their contention with the Al-Sabah, the merchants "never sought to replace the ruling family; they were interested in sharing with them in decision-making and administration of their country" (Baz, 1981, p. 110). In other words, the merchants' goals were to reform the political system and not to replace it. Because
of this middle-of-the-road perspective, the merchants have been able to maintain a good relationship with the ruling family.

Today, the influential merchants' community is next to the ruling family in terms of political power and prestige. Currently, the merchant community is divided into two groups: the traditional and the new. The new merchants rest their status on their fortune acquired since the discovery of oil. The traditional elite, on the other hand, base their status not only on wealth but on social considerations as well. They consider themselves the founding families of Kuwait and claim parity with the ruling family. According to Baz (1981):

....their social and political influence have remained intact. Over the years they supplied Kuwait with influential figures in both the economic and political sector. Some of them, for instance, hold higher positions such as cabinet posts, diplomatic assignments, membership in the National Assembly, chairmanship of financial institutions etc. There are others who do not hold official positions, but they are, nevertheless, consulted on an informal basis. On festive occasions such as religious holidays, the Amir and some senior members of Al-Sabah are expected to visit the homes of prestigious families in Kuwait (p. 99).
Before the discovery of oil, the government depended heavily upon merchants through the systems of taxation and voluntary contributions. After the oil discovery, the merchants' businesses became more dependent on the government's expenditures. The merchants now own most of the importing agencies in Kuwait. Because of their wealth, the merchants were the first to send their children abroad for higher education in the 1940s and 1950s. "The members of the National Assembly who are from the group of prominent [merchant] families are among those with the highest percentage of earned university degrees" (Khalaf, 1984, p. 120).

**The emerging elite**

In 1961, the Al-Sabah attempted to alter the base on which the legitimacy of their rule had rested by adopting a parliamentary political system as replacement for a patriarchal regime. This transition has had a great impact on the composition of the country's elite. Parliamentary life has brought with it a paramount alteration in Kuwait's sociopolitical order. Part of the permutation is the inclusion of the "emergent elite," which has broken "the twin Al-Sabah-merchant oligarchy exclusive political monopoly" (Baz, 1981, p.199). When a parliament was inaugurated in Kuwait, it become a podium for many
different voices, each of which, directly or indirectly, has participated in the country's decision-making.

Because of the absence of political parties in Kuwait, political activists have tended to present themselves as members of blocs, clubs, organizations, or groups. Alqutlah Alwataniyah and Attajamoua Addemograti (The Democratic Bloc) are the two politically oriented groups in Kuwait. These two groups, to some extent, represent an extension of the Arab National Movement, which has been known for its liberal and progressive thought. Even though the two blocs are a minority in the National Assembly, their influence is greater than their size may indicate (Baz, 1981). In fact, they "have been able to bring many significant issues to the attention of the public. In the past, the Kuwaiti government often found it desirable to heed the two groups in the policy process" (Khalaf, 1984, p. 118).

Jamaiyat Aleslah (Reform Association) and Jama'at Assalafeyen (Predecessors Group) are the religious activist groups in the country. These two groups are very conservative; however, until 1981, they "had no significant role in the political life of Kuwait." They have campaigned for a constitutional change. To them, Article 2 of Kuwait Constitution should read "Islam is the only source of legislation," instead of "Islam is a source of legislation" (Al-Khalaf, 1984, p. 119).
Furthermore, because of its location and economic activities, Kuwait attracted many Iranian emigrants in the 1930s and 1940s. Most of the Iranian emigrants were Shi'a. Currently, their economic and social existence is indisputable. Since the establishment of the parliamentary system, the Shia have emerged as a political force in Kuwaiti politics. The National Assembly has made it possible for them "to rise politically and to secure greater influence over the making of public policy in Kuwait" (Khalaf, 1984, p. 112). The Shia are traditional and conservative in their views.

Also, part of the change brought about by the introduction in the 1960s of parliamentary life is the involvement of the Bedouins in Kuwaiti political affairs. They have become a weighty force in the country’s political system. "Before 1962 bedouin were considered a marginal group in the political system....unlike the old merchant community, they held neither a social base or economic power to make their influence felt" (Baz, 1982, p. 209). The Bedouins have continually endorsed the government policies. To them, the Al-Sabah Amir is like their tribal leader, who must be respected and supported. In fact, the government counts on the Bedouins "as a counterweight not only against the opposition but also against the urban merchants" (Baz, 1982, pp. 213-214).
Bahrain

Bahrain has the richest pearl banks in the Gulf. The abundance of these banks captured the attention of many pearl merchants during the 18th century. Therefore, in 1766, the Al-Khalifah family departed from Kuwait planning to settle in Bahrain. With the help of Kuwait, the Al-Khalifah, along with other tribal families, were able to conquer the islands in 1782 and institute themselves as the rulers. Before the Al-Khalifah's arrival, Bahrain was ruled by the Huwala Arabs, who were under Iran's protection (Al-Rumaihi, 1975).

Like other ruling families in the Gulf, the Al-Khalifah, for the survival of their authority, have been dependent on the influential forces within the society. Coalition with internal forces is one of the peculiarities of the political culture in the region. Its geographical location, along with other events, has determined the nature of the country's sociopolitical order. When examining this order in Bahrain, one must recognize the ruling family and the merchants as the two primary elements among the country's political elite. In addition to these two elements, one should consider the demographical structure of the country, the British involvement in the country's internal affairs, and social institutions, such as the clubs and the funeral houses, which acted as political institutions as well.
The Ruling Family

Like most of the governments in the region, the Al-Khalifah family seems to have the absolute power in the country. Members of the Al-Khalifah family control all the offices which entail "the maintenance of law and order, the making of national and international policy, or those invested with the authority of redistribution and welfare" (Khuri, 1980, p. 123). In 1984, the Amir, the Prime Minister, the Heir Apparent, Minister of Defense, and six of the 17-member cabinet were members of the ruling family. Furthermore, the country’s constitution states that future rulers must be from the lineage of the current ruler, Isa Ibn Salman Al-Khalifah (Carter, 1984). Bahrain declared its independence in 1971. Two years later, because of internal and external pressure, the government instituted a national parliament; however, this parliament presented a threat to the government. So to maintain the balance of power in favor of the ruling family and its major proponents, the parliament was dissolved in August, 1975, and has not been reconvened.

The merchants

The upper class in Bahrain is composed of the ruling family and the Arab tribes who came to Bahrain as the Al-Khalifah’s supporters. These tribes gave the Al-Khalifah
fidelity and were the core of the defense force, a position which gave them direct access to the ruler; yet, their conservative convictions deprived them of becoming an important element in the sociopolitical order. The traditional tribes regarded working on the land and engaging in commerce as beneath their dignity. It was, in fact, an impediment for them to be involved in commerce or, later on, in the oil industry. "This conservatism and lack of education delayed the development of any growth of political consciousness amongst them, as has taken place with the mass of the people" (Al-Rumaihi, 1975, p. 37).

Thanks to the political and economic absence of the conservative tribes, the Huwala Arabs, who ruled Bahrain before the Al-Khalifah's arrival, have become the irrefutable force in the Bahrain's economy. Because of their contact with the Persian and Indian cultures, they were less conservative in their way of life. Their main pursuit, trade and maritime trading, gave them control over the country's economy. Moreover, many of them now occupy high positions in the government administration and the oil company; and in commerce, their firms are the largest. According to Al-Rumaihi (1975), the Huwala Arabs "are, due to their better education, one of the most politically conscious group in the islands. Their aspirations range from Arab nationalism, Islamic unity, and Western-style democracy, to simple patriotism" (p. 39). They actively
participated in the political confrontations of the 1950s, calling for political reforms.

The discovery of oil in the 1930s has had great impact on Bahrain. For one thing, it has enhanced the merchants' economic and political power. The discovery of oil brought about demands for goods which made mercantile trading business a lucrative profession for many Bahraini nationals. Consequently, the number of Bahraini merchants grew and formed the nucleus of the emerging middle class in the country. "Politically, the wealthiest merchants and the top administrators formed bonds of common interest and gained a certain amount of political power, although it was usually used only for their own benefit" (Al-Rumaihi, 1975, p. 205).

The merchants, who prefer a capitalist economy, are interested in continual stability; therefore, they show their support to the regime in power. The merchants do not have any formal organization that would bring them together, nor do they want one. One of them once said that they hold "ideas, not political commitments." The merchants' prosperity rests on the country's power balance. The merchants are "creating an expanding sociopolitical force favoring stability and the status quo; this restricts the capacity of the opposition for political maneuvers" (Khuri, 1980, p. 244). Al-Rumaihi (1975) affirmed that the rise of new merchants as part of the middle class is an
outcome of an intentional policy of the oil company in Bahrain "to create a stabilizing political force on the island. This was to be achieved by the involvement of local capital in the subcontracting of work for oil projects and requirements" (p. 204).

Last but not least, Bahrain's oil production is too humble to be a major source of income for the state; therefore, the government is more dependent on the merchants' community. In other words, the government has had to promote a non-oil-based economy, which rests on the participation of the private sector of the economy. In fact, Bahrain is attempting to build a service-based economy. In Bahrain, "no sector of the economy has witnessed a more dramatic growth rate than that of banking and finance, and no sector is more responsible for Bahrain's economic transformation" (Carter, 1985, p. 170).

Demographical structure.

The demographical structure needs to be examined in any study of the sociopolitical order in Bahrain. Until 1937, Bahrain had no nationality law; therefore, there was no restriction on movement to and from Bahrain. The consequence has been a heterogeneous society. Currently, besides the Arab, Bahrain has two major ethnic groups: Indian and Iranian (Al-Rumaihi, 1975). Because of the mercantile relations Bahrain has had with India for
centuries, Indian merchants have been long established in Bahrain. In fact, some of them:

constitute a major force in the island’s commerce and trade and have well-established and prosperous business as merchants....the Indian exercised an influence within Bahrain out of their number in the island. They were able to exert this influence due to their strong position in the island’s administration as administrators, police officers and clerks (Al-Rumaihi 1975, p. 40)

In addition, discovery of oil created a demand for a semi-skilled and clerical workers. To satisfy that demand, the size of the Indian community increased notably. The Indian presence is evident. Indians are employed by the government, the oil company, the banks, and many of the local companies.

The Iranian community is the second largest non-Arab ethnic group in Bahrain. Because of geographical proximity, many Iranians have been in Bahrain since the 17th century, and they accepted Bahraini citizenship in 1937. Some of the Iranian descendants work for the oil industry or in the private sectors, but the majority are in commerce and comprise a successful merchants’ group, which has made them a "major economic force in the island" (Al-Rumaihi, 1975, p. 42).
The natives in Bahrain are divided between the two Islamic sects: Sunna and Shi'a. The population of Bahrain is divided almost evenly between the two sects. The differences between the two "have been a frequent source of conflict throughout Bahrain's modern history and have led to open conflict" (Al-Rumaihi, 1975, p. 34). The disagreement between the two is not only denominational, but also political. The Sunna sect agrees with the government policy and structure. The Shi'a, on the other hand, rejects the government policy and its structure. Therefore, it is natural for the Al-Khalifah not to base the legitimacy of their rule on religious ideology. On different occasions, the religious elements in Bahrain have revealed their inclination to support the government's policies on some issues "in return for the government's forbidding the sale or use of liquor, eliminating public houses of prostitution, and making blasphemy a civil crime." But the government always neglects these requests. The government hopes to attract foreign investments by building "a reputation of cultural freedom in the Gulf" (Khuri, 1980, p. 232).

The British involvement

Britain was deeply involved in the internal affairs of Bahrain for two basic reasons. One, as a major trade center in the Gulf, Bahrain is, to say the least, vital to
Britain's commercial interests. Second, Bahrain in particular, and the Arabian Gulf, in general, have geopolitical significance in regard to the British interests in India. As early as 1820, the Al-Khalifah and the East India Company signed a "General Treaty." In 1861, another treaty was signed with the British government, a "Perpetual Treaty of Peace and Friendship." In addition, two more treaties were signed in 1880 and 1892 (Nakhleh, 1976). Besides signing these treaties, Britain was deeply involved in Bahrain's internal affairs (Al-Tajir, 1985). In fact, the British administered Bahrain differently. During his arranged visit to London in 1919, the ruler's son requested that his father:

be placed on a par with other neighboring Arab rulers, that he exercise full jurisdiction over all subjects in his territory, be given the authority to select the members of the Customary Council.....and have the exclusive privilege of a direct reference to a higher authority (Khuri, 1980, p. 89).

The British government, however, rejected the request. Because of their meddling in Bahrain's internal affairs, the British were able to precipitate some political reforms during the 1920s. The causes of these reforms are outside the scope of this study. But these reforms had an impact on the internal political order in Bahrain by restricting the power of the ruling family and relaxing the political
ambience (Al-Rumaihi, 1975). These amendments directly or indirectly may have had an impact on the political consciousness of the Bahraini people.

The clubs and the funeral houses

Two social institutions peculiar to Bahrain have played a role in the country's sociopolitical order: the clubs and the funeral houses. The clubs are not political institutions per se, but because of the absence of political parties, they fulfill a political role. Therefore, they have played a role in the population's political awareness. In 1971, Bahrain had more than 90 clubs and societies. Some of them were registered as literary and cultural clubs and organizations, but the majority were identified as sports clubs (Nakhleh, 1976).

The British advisor to the ruler of Bahrain between 1926 and 1957 noted that the political role of these clubs was "directly related to the emerging political consciousness since World War II....the clubs, though strictly nonpolitical, became in reality centers for things political" (Nakhleh, 1976, p. 42). Members of most of these clubs fairly represent the social and cultural spectrum of the country. A club may include among its members ministers, teachers, merchants, and workers. "This cross-section of the community, or the public policy-oriented segment thereof, renders the club an
efficient marketplace of ideas, opinions and news" (Nakhleh, 1976, p. 57). The political role of these clubs reached its crest during the 1950s and 1960s. During these two decades, the ruling authority was defied in a number of political confrontations. It was the political consciousness that emerged in clubs which compelled the ruling family in 1973 to establish the parliament, later dissolved in 1975. In short, from these clubs emerged the country's intellectual elite to provide the liberal influence within the middle class (Al-Rumaihi, 1975).

In Bahrain, Alma'tam (the funeral house) refers to a building where the Shi'a observe the ceremonial of Ashura, commemorating Husain's martyrdom. The Ashura ritual is held on the tenth day of Muharrm (the first month of the Islamic calendar). These funeral houses are clearly religious institutions. Like the clubs, though, these houses fulfill a political function. The Shi'a of Bahrain constitute nearly half of the citizens. They may enjoy autonomy over their religious matters, but they have little or no participation in the government's decision-making. For the Shi'a, the funeral house is "a platform to assert their grievances, mobilize their converts for action, and implicitly attack government authority and rule" (Khuri, 1980, p. 173). The funeral houses played a major role in mobilizing the Shi'a during the political unrest in the 1950s.
Conclusion

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain share the same religion, heritage, language and many other cultural attributes. In addition, all three states have a relatively long history of political and economic dependence on the international capitalist system. On the other hand, the three countries differ in terms of their local sociopolitical orders, which is reflected in the composition of the political elite within each state. Each country is governed by a ruling family which to a great extent has the total political authority in state's decisions. This authority would not have been possible without the coalition between the ruling families and the influential groups within each country.

In Saudi Arabia, in addition to the royal family, the ulama have been the dominant force in the country's political elite. The alliance between the ulama and the royal family in Saudi Arabia has been a main factor for the country's political stability; religion is the ground on which the royal family rests the legitimacy of its rule. In Kuwait, traditionally, the ruling family and the merchants constituted the political elite. However, the adoption of the parliamentary system in the early-1960s has altered the country's sociopolitical order; it has resulted in the emergence of new groups, conservative and liberal, in
Kuwait's political elite. In Bahrain, the sociopolitical order has been determined not only by the country's political elite, which includes the ruling family and the merchants, but also by two other factors, the demographic structure of the country and Britain's direct involvement.

The variation that exists among these three countries has been reflected in many of their social and cultural policies. Compared to Kuwait and Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, has the most conservative social and cultural policies, which have become peculiarities of Saudi society. As extension of their sociopolitical authority, the ulama in Saudi Arabia have an immense power on people's religious and social morals. They patrol the markets and the shopping centers and impel people forcibly to turn to mosques and pray at the appointed times. Public cinemas are banned in the country because of the ulama's pressure. Also, women in Saudi Arabia, on religious grounds, are banned from driving cars. When driving by women became a debated issue in the Saudi press in December, 1981, the ulama announced their opinion that evidently prohibited women from driving (Al-Hmail, 1981). Few days later, Ibn Baz, one the religious leaders in the country, issued his fatwa (legal opinion), which silenced the press and put the case to rest ("Fatwa from his," 1982).

The ulama's influence undoubtedly finds expression in the country's educational system. During King Abdulaziz's
epoch, the ulama resisted the teaching of secular subjects such as drawing, geography, and foreign languages, which they considered inventions of the unbelievers. In additions, when the government initiated girls' education in the 1960s, the General Presidency for Girls' Education, entirely separate from the Ministry of Education, was established and placed under the ulama's direct supervision. This step was to accommodate any potential resistance to women's education. Furthermore, compared with the systems of other Arabian countries, the Saudi educational system has a larger proportion of its curriculum devoted to religion and Arabic (Massialas & Jarrar, 1987). "Arabic is given the pride of place, not simply as the national language and the key to the national heritage, but because Allah has chosen it as the vehicle through which He revealed His message to mankind in the Kur'an" (Tibawi, 1972, pp. 181-2).

Kuwait, on the other hand, is less conservative than Saudi Arabia. The political elite in Kuwait embraces different groups with different political and social thoughts and orientations. The parliamentary political system, which Kuwait experienced until 1986, had enabled each group, the conservative and the moderate, to voice its concern and exert an influence on Kuwait society. For this reason, Kuwait society has many attributes some of which are of a conservative society, and others are of a
moderate. For instance, public cinemas are allowed in Kuwait, but night clubs and alcohol are not. The status of women also provides a prime example. In Kuwait, coeducation is allowed at the university level, and there is no segregation between sexes at the work place. Indeed, a few women in Kuwait hold governmental positions as high as deputy minister. However, because of pressure exerted by the conservative groups with the support of the government, women were not allowed to vote in the election of Deputies for the National Assembly.

Compared to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, Bahrain has many features of a liberal society. In fact, the relaxed lifestyle, the luxury hotels along with lavish night clubs, have made Bahrain a tourist attraction in the region. The relatively liberal attitude which dominates Bahrain can be attributed to the composition of Bahrain society which include a few ethnic groups, and also it can be attributed to the British direct involvement in Bahrain internal policy prior to the 1970s. In addition, Bahrain's parliamentary system did not last long enough for the religious groups to have a say in the country's decision-making process.

In short, the differences among Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain have been clearly expressed in many of their social and cultural policies; media policy is no exception. In the next chapter, television policy of each country will
be examined to show the extent it reflects the local sociopolitical order.
CHAPTER III
TELEVISION AND SOCIETY

Introduction

With the exception of Lebanon, all Arab states including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain own and operate their broadcast media. There are two fundamental reasons for government ownership of radio and television in the Arab World. First, when broadcast media were first introduced into the region, the high cost of building and operating a national radio or a television station was beyond the reach of the private sector; therefore, radio and television service became a government responsibility. Second, and more importantly, was the perceived potential mass effect of the broadcast media; radio and television do not encounter the illiteracy barrier. Indeed, mass media in the Arab World have been associated with national security. For instance, in August, 1982, The Arabian Center for Security Studies and Training hosted a symposium in Saudi Arabia on "national security and the responsibility of mass media." Part of the recommendations this symposium issued was the need for a closer cooperation and coordination between mass media and security people (Al-Mahana, 1982). Hence, it is evident that governments of the region are not likely to grant broadcast media any form of independence.
Shobaili (1971) one of the early pioneers in Saudi Television asserted that "it was considered out of the question to ask or to think of a broadcasting system in the turbulent Middle East not to be sponsored and owned by the government" (p. 138).

Moreover, in many of the Arab states, including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain, the audience does not have a direct influence on media decision-making. There is a lack of mechanisms for audience feedback. Broadcast media in the Arab world do not have systematic methods for soliciting audience comments and feedback on a regular basis. Radio and television are operated by governments that have little interest in audience research. Boyd (1986) wrote a paper on radio and television audience research in the Middle East. In the bibliography of this paper, he named 20 audience research projects that were conducted in the region; only 5 were sponsored by the local media. In his study of broadcast media in the Arab world, Boyd (1982) noted the following:

Many media managers believe that by themselves they have the ability and knowledge to provide a well-rounded broadcast schedule that includes news, entertainment, and educational programming: for them, the statement by former French broadcast official Arthur Conte—"I am the public"—applies (p. 9).
Because of government's ownership and the lack of audience's direct input, most media-decisions are political rather than social or economic decisions. In other words, political considerations are the important element in the decision-making process. The aim of this chapter is to shed light on three determinants of television policy: government ownership, audience feedback, and the influence of the political elite.

**Government Ownership**

**Saudi Arabia**

Since its beginning in 1965, television in Saudi Arabia has been operated by the Ministry of Information. To Saudi officials, TV is a sensitive medium that must be under government's direct control. In a lecture on Saudi media policy, the Minister of Information in 1983, affirmed the political and social importance of television and said: "We cannot place it in the hands of the private sector" (Al-Sohaibani, 1983, p. 10). There have been many suggestions that the Saudi Government reorganize its broadcast media into a public corporation, but none of these suggestions seem to have had an effect.

In his analysis of the administrative aspect of Saudi TV, Shobaili (1971) recommended changing the broadcast organization from a government-operated body into a public corporation under the auspices of the government. Nearly
twelve years later, Shobaili stressed his earlier suggestion again (Al-Waeel, 1983). Moreover, Al-Yamamah magazine wrote "...television in the Kingdom has not and will not play its role, as long as it has the current administrative system" ("Issue of the week," 1981). In addition, the Minister of Information indicated that the government had been studying the possibility of reorganizing broadcast media into a public corporation (Al-Sohaibani, 1983), yet the idea of reorganizing television into a public corporation has not seen light.

In 1977, the Saudi Government formed a committee named the Higher Council of Information (HCI) under the chairmanship of the Minister of Information. The primary goal of the Council was to draft the first written policy for mass communication in the Kingdom. Members of the Council represented both the conservative and moderate segments in the Saudi society. However, the Council did not accomplish its primary task, drafting a written policy for Saudi broadcast media. According to Dr. Al-Awaji, a member of the council, it was the internal diversity within the council which made it difficult for members to reach a consensus on certain matters on media policy. In addition, "the Council was operating under the supervision of the Ministry of Information where decisions can be filtered down, or sometimes completely forgotten (Najai, 1982, p. 57). In other words, the failure of the council was due to
the fact that the moderates and the conservatives within the council did not share the same view regarding the normative role of mass media in Saudi Arabia, and because the council did not have the needed authority to enforce its decisions.

In 1981, a Royal Decree was issued to reorganize HCI and assigned to it the responsibility of: (1) laying a media policy that would achieve the general goals of Saudi Arabia, which are derived from Shari'ah (Islamic law), and would be ratified by the Council of Ministers; (2) overseeing the execution of the media policy and suggesting any needed modification; and (3) supervising all mass media, including books, films, recordings, and advertising (Al-Mekhlef et al., 1982). To give HCI the symbolic authority it needed, and to associate mass media with national security, Prince Nayef Ibn Abdulaziz, the Minister of Interior, was named President of HCI, with the Minister of Information as Vice President.

Kuwait

Although the private sector tried without success to invest in television in the late-1950s, broadcast media in Kuwait are still owned and operated by the government. Since the late-1970s, there have been talks and suggestions regarding the detachment of broadcast media from the Ministry of Information and their reorganization into a
public corporation. In February, 1979, Al-Sanausi, Deputy
Minister of Information for Television Affairs, asserted
that a public corporation, instead of the Ministry of
Information, would enhance the development of Kuwait TV
("Al-Sanausi talks," 1979). A few months later, in July,
1979, Ahmed Abdussammad, Assistant Deputy Minister of
Information for Fiscal and Administrative Affairs, pointed
out that the government was studying the possibility of
restructuring Kuwait Television into a public corporation
("Ahmed Abdussammad." 1979). Furthermore, in 1984, Salem
Al-Fahad, Television Director, in a press conference
reiterated the same recommendation, maintaining that it
would give television the fiscal flexibility it needed to
provide better service (KUNA, 1984). These talks and
suggestions notwithstanding, television is still operated
by the Ministry of Information, which puts it under the
government direct control and supervision.

Unlike in Saudi Arabia, broadcast media in Kuwait do
not have a written policy. In August, 1982, the Information
Minister ordered the formation of a committee called the
High Committee for Radio and Television Programs. The
committee’s responsibilities would include: (1) preparing
the studies which would help in reviewing the programming
policy for radio and television, (2) laying the plans to
execute the media policy, (3) preparing the legislation
related to mass media and to radio and television in
particular, (4) specifying the criteria, rules, and procedures governing the selection of local, Arabian, and foreign programs for both radio and television, (5) ratifying the plans for local production of programs and series, and (6) preparing audience research (KUNA, 1982). Still, as of 1988, nothing has come out of this committee. Therefore, the Ministry of Information is the solely responsible for television policy.

Bahrain

As in Saudi Arabia and in Kuwait, television service in Bahrain is a government enterprise. For the first two years, from 1973 to 1975, television in Bahrain was owned and operated by RTV International, an American company. However, for political and economic reasons, the government took possession of the station and assumed operation of the television service. Since then, television in Bahrain has been part of the Ministry of Information. Probably because of government's experience with RTV International, detachment of television from Ministry of Information has never been suggested in Bahrain.

Audience Feedback

Saudi Arabia

To say that Saudi society is more conservative than other Arabian societies is partly true. Still, this does
not necessarily mean that Saudi people are less interested in the entertainment on broadcast media. In other words, the ulama's conservative disposition toward radio and television in Saudi Arabia does not necessarily represent the attitude or the will of the Saudi people. When radio was introduced in the late-1940s, it was opposed by some of the ulama on religious grounds; however, people in Saudi Arabia "enthusiastically adopted radio, and found in it a medium for entertainment, education, information, and companionship and a mean of overcoming social and geographical isolation" (Shobaili, 1971 p. 133). Also, when television started in the mid-1960s, it "became the great common denominator of the people in Saudi Arabia. Television quickly dominated leisure time activity" (Shobaili, 1971, p.183). The audience in Saudi Arabia, nonetheless, is the social force with the least direct influence on television content. The Ministry of Information in Saudi Arabia did not establish a research office until 1979. However, the main activities of this office are not audience research, but providing governmental agencies and visitors with information related to broadcast media in Saudi Arabia (Al-Usmani, 1984). In 1980, King Saud University conducted an audience survey for the Ministry of Information (Nayef, 1985). However, one would doubt that the latter is able or willing to
incorporate the results of such a study into the decision-making process.

Because of the absence of audience research on a regular basis, the local press has become a valuable channel for the audience to voice their concerns and feedback about television and its programs. From time to time, people write to daily newspapers and weekly magazines expressing their opinions about certain TV programs. In addition, the local press on many occasions solicited their readers' questions and comments about TV programs as the basis for interviews with television officials or critical reports on television and its programs. This approach is widely used in Saudi Arabia (Al-Wehaibi, 1983; "They said," 1983; Tashqandi, 1986; Al-Mosbeh, 1987; "Our television," 1987). Though this approach is not scientific, it may provide the Ministry of Information with some indication of the audience's needs and expectation from television.

Furthermore, media critics present their assessments of television performance in the local press. Al-Madani (1980) and Al-Yamamah magazine ("Issue of the week," 1981) present prime examples. One should keep in mind, however, that press freedom in Saudi Arabia is too limited to allow candid critiques of government policies to be published. One media critic in Saudi Arabia said: "We can only criticize indirectly, making sure not to challenge the government's overall policy" (Al-Usmani, 1984, p. 172). For
instance, *Al-Yamamah* magazine dealt with TV policy cautiously. In every issue, *Al-Yamamah* takes a subject to be "issue of the week." In doing so, the magazine interviews government officials and others who are informed on the subject. When TV policy was the issue of the week, *Al-Yamamah* chose to write on the issue without interviewing anyone; the topic—media policy—was a sensitive issue.

The Ministry of Information does not tolerate what it perceives to be "subjective" criticism. In his address inaugurating the Second Channel, the Information Minister asked the audience to write and call the Ministry of Information for their criticism and comments instead of writing to the press. He said:

> We welcome every sincere criticism and we give it every care and study it with interest. But we will disregard the criticisms that we see in newspapers from time to time, hoping its writers someday will understand the style of constructive criticism (Saudi News Agency, 1983).

Al-Usmani (1984) reported that a media critic was suspended from his job for six weeks because he criticized a television series that was aired on Saudi Television, and he was instructed "not to write about television programs at all" (p. 173). Therefore, those who criticize tend to use a moderate style which they know will be acceptable to the Information Ministry. That style most often starts by
commending TV officials for striving to meet everyone’s taste and demands, then calls attention to the point the writer wants to make.

Kuwait

As in many developing countries, the media audience in Kuwait has the least direct effect on media decision-making. However, compared with Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, Kuwait is more active in media and audience research. In 1971, the Information Ministry established the Research and Translation Directorate, which makes Kuwait TV the first in the region that has a research department (Al-Usmani, 1984). In addition to statistical bulletins issued quarterly, the Directorate sponsored with the Sociology Department at Kuwait University a number of media and audience studies (Al-Doori, 1977; Haddad and Ragheb 1979; "A Research on," 1983). In 1978, the Information Ministry sponsored a study to ascertain audience preferences regarding television programs prior to the inauguration of the Second Program in 1979 (Haddad and Ragheb, 1979). This kind of research, though not always incorporated into the decision-making, may indicate the indirect role of the audience in media policy.

As in Saudi Arabia, the press in Kuwait provides the audience and critics a channel to express their concerns regarding TV programs. Every newspaper in Kuwait has an
entire page--Art Page--which is mainly devoted to film and television. It is common for some of the audience to send their comments on television programs to the editors of these pages. Because of the relative press freedom that Kuwait enjoys, media critics, unlike those in Saudi Arabia, touch in their writing on principal issues of media policy, and do not confine their critiques to certain programs. For instance, Al-Ibrahim (1986a; 1986b), a former employee of Kuwait Television, wrote a long and candid critique in which he concluded that Kuwait Television operates without a clear policy, and does not necessarily serve the public interest. Both the progressive (Al-Baghdadi, 1984) and the conservative blocs (Al-Zoghbi, 1982) in Kuwait have criticized the policy of Kuwait Television.

Television officials on many occasions have shown interest, at least symbolic, in the points of views and the criticism expressed in the press. For instance, prior to the inauguration of its second service--the Second Program--in 1978, Kuwait TV hosted an open forum with the local press. In this forum, the Television Director asked the press to help television officials by monitoring and reporting the audience's reaction during the first two months of this new service (Mustafa, 1978). Moreover, the Program Director indicated that Kuwait Television in the past had invited some critics and editors of the local press to preview some of the television series before
scheduling them (Al-Baba, 1985). This practice, however, did not continue.

Bahrain

As in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the audience in Bahrain does not seem to have a direct role in media policy. In fact, the Information Ministry does not have a research department. The Ministry, however, requested the Central Census Agency in 1981 to conduct a survey (Hamdy, 1983), which seems to have been the only one, of the television audience in Bahrain. Because Bahrain has only one Arabic daily newspaper with a limited press freedom, the local press in Bahrain does not play an active role in funneling the audience's concerns and feedback to TV officials, as it does in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Television and the Political Elite

Saudi Arabia

In Saudi Arabia, government's operation of television has given the ulama, the major element in the country's sociopolitical order, a greater say over its content. To comprehend their influence on television, one should examine it within an historical context. Government's concern over the ulama's reaction against television dates back to King Faisal's Ten-point Reform Plan. In introducing his plan, King Faisal announced the government's endeavor
"to make available innocent means of recreation for all citizens." King Faisal went on to say:

What do we mean by innocent? We do not of course mean the opening of cabarets, night clubs, bars and gambling houses. The kind of recreation that we have in mind is that which does not conflict with God's religion and with moral behavior. Such recreation we approve of and encourage" (cited in Rugh, 1980, p. 131).

What King Faisal referred to as an innocent mean of recreation was a television system. This cautious and implicit reference to television, an important project at that time, clearly signifies the cautious approach Saudi Arabia took in introducing this medium into the country. King Faisal wanted to assure the ulama that television contrasts with other means of entertainment--bars, cabarets, and gambling houses--and it conforms with Islamic values. What led to this forewarned approach was the country's earlier experience with radio, which was a peculiar one.

Shobaili (1971), in his study of mass media in Saudi Arabia, thought that the initial step to introduce radio into the country in 1949 was "premature." He went on to say: "Radio, films, singing equipment, etc., were thought by conservative religious people in Saudi Arabia to be forms of perversive instruments of entertainment" (p. 114).
The conservative religious people whom Shobaili referred to were the ulama of Najdi, a powerful social force in Saudi Arabia.

To avoid the ulama's anticipated anger by the inauguration of radio service, the Saudi Government was cautious in timing the inauguration and selecting the location of the initial radio station. When the government decided to introduce radio in 1949, two studios were built in Jeddah and Mecca. The selection of these two cities and not Riyadh, the country's capital, was not an arbitrary decision. Jeddah and Mecca were less conservative than Riyadh and were more receptive to the new innovation, radio. According to Shobaili (1971), "those two cities, Jeddah and Mecca, rather than Riyadh, the capital, were preferred as the centers for studios and transmissions due to their important religious location" (p. 119). More important, the government wanted at the outset to associate radio, a medium the ulama had rejected on religious grounds, with Islam. To underscore the religious dimension of radio broadcasting, the official inauguration of the station was on Sunday, October 2, 1949. This day corresponded to the Ninth of Dhul Hajja, 1368 A.H., the primary day of the Al-Haj ritual. Furthermore, the station continued until the mid-1960s to use the call "This is the Honored Mecca," even though the station was broadcasting from Jeddah (Shobaili, 1971; Krayem, 1982).
When Saudi Radio broadcast limited items of music, religious songs, and folk songs, King Abdulaziz "was angered and ordered the station to stop all singing, limiting broadcasts to regular religious schedules with a minimum amount of march music" (Shobaili, 1971, p. 128). The king’s reaction was due to the objection he encountered from the ulama. Besides, he thought a station claiming to broadcast from the Holy City should not air "any material that would conflict with the instructions of Islam" (Shobaili, 1971, p. 128). Krayem (1982) examined radio programs during the month of December, 1954, and found that 30 percent of the programs were religious, 25 percent were news, and the remaining 45 percent were devoted to serious content like literature, cultural, and social issues. Other entertainment programs such as variety, drama, music, and comedy, "had no existence whatsoever" (p. 54).

Saudi Arabia may be the only country that did not first introduce radio service in its capital. In the late-1920s and the early-1930s, many of the ulama, on religious grounds, opposed Ibn Saud’s use of wireless communication. Their opposition, however, did not prevent King Abdulaziz from introducing point-to-point transmitters into Najd, the most conservative province in the country. In fact, Riyadh and Buraydah were among the first cities in the Kingdom to have five-kilowatt transmitters in 1932 (Boyd, 1972). Yet, when it came to radio, the government was very cautious not
to agitate the ulama of Najd. The government not only delayed the establishment of a radio station in its capital, but carefully planned the timing as well. Riyadh Radio started broadcasting on Sunday, January 3, 1965 (Krayem, 1982). Choosing this day to commence a radio service in a conservative region was not arbitrary. This day corresponded to the first day of Ramadhan, a holy month for Muslims. The government's intention was to give the event a religious dimension.

It was not until the 1960s that Saudi radio started to have "a more balanced program with heavier emphasis on music and songs" (Shobaili, 1971, p. 129). However, these songs were subjected to strict censorship "to avoid [the] possibility of offending the conservative segment of the population" (Shobaili, 1971, p. 167). To balance this entertainment trend in radio, a religious program—Sawt Al'eslam (Voice of Islam)—was aired daily for 90 minutes. Even though the station was broadcasting from Jeddah, the announcers in this program used the phrase "This is the Voice of Islam from the Honored Mecca." According to Shobaili (1971):

The idea behind this is to have people associate the religious material with the City of Mecca while other programs which are mixed with entertainment are broadcast from Jeddah and Riyadh. This has helped decrease the criticism formerly directed against the
Ministry of Information for permitting non-serious programming to originate from a holy area (p. 140).

The program Sawt Al'eslam is still on the air for four hours a day under the title Ethato Neda Al'eslam (Islam's Call Radio), two hours in the evening on the Main Program Radio and two hours in the morning on Holy Kur'an Radio. The latter started in 1972, and is on the air for 18 hours a day. Nearly 75 percent of its daily program is devoted to readings from Kur'an and the remaining 25 percent is given to religious topics and news from Islamic countries (Saudi News Agency, 1986).

Because of this unique experience with radio, the Saudi Government adopted a cautious approach when introducing television into the country in 1965. Examining this approach would reveal the ulama's influence on television and its content. To avoid the ulama's wrath, Saudi TV since its inception has embraced a strict and conservative censorship policy. Every television program is subjected to advance screening and censorship. Locally-produced programs are censored by the station staff, and the imported programs and films are screened by a committee formed by the General Director of Television (Shobaili, 1971). The criteria that were used by censors in the early years of television included the following:

1. All scenes that rouse sexual excitement of any kind must be eliminated.
2. Women shall not appear indecently dressed nor may they dance, or appear in overt love scenes with men.

3. Women by no means shall appear in athletic games or sports.

4. Alcoholic drinks and anything having to do with them shall not appear in films.

5. No downgrading reference whether explicit or implicit should be made to any of the Heavenly Religious.

6. On the whole all immoral scenes are prohibited.

7. Everything considered as betting or gambling is utterly forbidden (Shobaili, 1971, pp. 242-3).

Each channel in Saudi Television has its own Censorship Directorate whose primary responsibility is to review imported programs and to write reports on their appropriateness to Saudi Television. According to Al-Haza, Director of the Censorship Directorate of The First Channel, the censorship policy in Saudi TV is based on three basic criteria: (1) eliminating what contradicts the disposition of Islamic belief; (2) eliminating what contradicts the values, morals, and principles of the Saudi society; (3) eliminating what offends Arab and other friendly states. Obviously, these three criteria are very broad; every television system in the Gulf region claims them. Nonetheless, Al-Haza admitted that the censorship
policy in Saudi Television is the most restrictive one in the region (Al-Araifi, 1986).

Any study of Saudi Television would be incomplete without reference to the 1979 Mecca Event. In November, 1979, a group led by two former students of theology at the Islamic University in Al-Madinah seized the Sacred Mosque in Mecca protesting what they considered "the religious and moral laxity and degeneration of Saudi rulers, and advocating the revival of seventh century Islamic society" (Al-Yassini, 1985, p. 124). The disposition of this group was that of a traditional conservative and was inspired by the "Islamic revival" that emerged during the mid-1970s. This incident indicated the vulnerability of Saudi rule to attack on religious grounds, the very same ideological base of its legitimacy.

Therefore, it was a challenge for the Saudi Government to renew its commitment to Islam as the primary source of its legitimacy. To regain the ulama's support, the Saudi Government adopted a conservative social orientation which had a profound impact on the country's media. Part of that orientation was a media policy drafted by HCI in 1982. Within the thirty articles of this policy, there are sixteen explicit references to Islam as it relates to Saudi mass media (see Appendix B in Al-Harithi, 1983).

In their analysis of this media policy, Al-Mekhlef et al. (1982, pp. 84-87) identified four major lines on which
censorship in Saudi TV is based: the religious, social, political, and artistic lines. On religious and social grounds, Saudi Television is banned from showing scenes or programs that:

1. contradict or degrade directly or indirectly Islamic Shari‘ah (Islamic law);
2. contain any form of preaching for other religions;
3. show churches, synagogues, temples, crosses, funerals, cemeteries, or religious leaders of any other religions;
4. show religious rituals of other religions;
5. show gambling or lottery games, or mention them in the dialogue or in the translation;
6. show alcoholic drinks or mention them in the dialogue or in the translation;
7. show what may represent a picture of the Prophet Mohammed or the Enlightened Caliphas;
8. tell historical stories on religious subjects which distort fact and reality;
9. encourage the eating of pork;
10. show religious statues and pictures, or nude statues;
11. present magic or magical games unless these games are presented in a humorous form;
12. contradict the social values and concepts ordered by Islam;
13. contradict the customs and traditions of the Arabian family and society;
14. show bars and nightclubs in any form;
15. show the uses of drugs;
16. explicitly show the planning and the execution of a crime, excessive violence, or kidnapping for ransom;
17. contain any kind of dance, unless it is a folk dance in decent clothing;
18. show any form of immoral persuasion such as nihilism or hippies;
19. give children the wrong ideas, morals, or concepts;
20. contain a kiss, a hug, an arousing romantic act, or a story which involves explicit love or matrimonial cheating; or
21. show a woman's participation in athletic activities unless she is decently dressed.

On many occasions, Saudi officials have underscored the uniqueness of Saudi society when it comes to television policy. In an interview, the Minister of Information maintained that Saudi TV has a unique policy because the country is entrusted with the Islamic faith and the two Sacred Mosques. He added:
Our television does not compete with other stations because we have our own principles and values which govern our behavior...I pray to Allah that people [Saudi people] do not expect that Saudi TV convert to a television of profligacy because this nation has its own values and principles (Staff, 1981, March 3, p. 6).

Similarly, in an interview in 1983, the Minister of Information restated the same notion by saying: "We have our own special perspective in regard to mass communication. We try as much as possible to be within the Islamic perspective" (Staff, 1983). The Deputy Minister of Information reiterated the same view by saying: "We are the heart of the Islamic World and we cannot compromise at the expense of our religious principles" (Al-Usmani, 1984, p. 208).

It should be apparent that conservatism has been an important element in the history of broadcast media in Saudi Arabia. An important aspect of that conservatism is women's appearance on TV, which has been a crucial issue since the early years of television. The religious leaders, before the beginning of television, were concerned about the appearance of unveiled women on the screen. Therefore, the government took a gradual approach with regard to women's appearance on any television program. During the first year of programming, only few western women appeared;
no Arab woman was shown until a year later. By late 1968, "Arab women were featured in songs and were shown as participants in Lebanese folk dances" (Boyd, 1972, p. 238). However, since the 1979 Mecca event, female appearances on television have been kept to a minimum, and all female singers have been banned. In an interview, the General Director of Television was asked about the banning of female singers. He affirmed the banning and attributed it to "special circumstances" (Staff, 1981, March 6).

The participation of Saudi women in mass media in general and television in particular has been minor, if it has existed at all. In 1977, the Minister of Information revealed that the Ministry would undertake all the necessary steps to facilitate and encourage the participation of Saudi women in TV production in a way that conforms with the country's "Islamic customs and traditions" ("Emphasis on," 1977, p. 6). However, after the 1979 Mecca incident, the idea seems to have been abandoned. In fact, the Minister was asked in April, 1980, about his opinion on the limited participation of the Saudi woman in the print media and her potential role in radio and television. In his response he complimented her role in the print media but chose not to comment on the second part of the question (Al-Jhani, 1980).

The ulama's conservative disposition has been a major factor behind Saudi women's absence from television
production. The General Presidency for Girls' Education (GPGE), the major employer of women in the country, is dominated by the ulama. GPGE has taken a strong position against women's role in mass media in general and in television in particular. On more than one occasion, GPGE ordered female students not to participate in radio or television programs. In 1973, for instance, GPGE issued a memorandum that banned all female students from requesting and dedicating songs on radio (see Appendix B). Moreover, GPGE has been in disagreement with television officials concerning young girls' participation in children's programs and has insisted that girls who appear on TV programs should not be older than seven years of age (Boyd, 1972; Al-Usmani, 1984). In 1979, GPGE issued another memorandum in which it prohibited female students from participating or appearing in any TV program (see Appendix B). Interestingly, in a research project on media uses and gratification in Saudi Arabia, GPGE insisted on deleting two items from the questionnaire before allowing it to be administered to female students; the two items are related to the students' use of TV and their interest in music and sports (Al-Attibi, 1986).

Of course, the religious leaders constitute the social force with the most influence on media policy. However, the emerging middle class in Saudi society has started to voice its concern about TV and its programing policy. Some of
these concerns have been expressed in the press. For instance, Al-Madani (1980) wrote an article in which he criticized Saudi TV. He said: "Our TV does not want to admit that it is basically an entertainment medium more than it is an enlightening one" (p. 13). He maintained that people had been bored by TV's serious programs--programs about space, wild life, religion. He went on to emphasize that TV officials should keep in mind that in Saudi Arabia there are no cinema houses, theaters, or other entertainment alternatives, as in other countries; therefore, the entertainment role of TV in Saudi Arabia is doubled.

According to Al-Yamamah magazine "the country has realized a new reality to which Saudi Television did not respond" ("Issue of the week," 1981, p. 5). Part of this reality was the emergence of a new middle class, which includes an audience with different expectations from the media. The emerging middle class includes conservative and moderate groups. The two groups differ in terms of their positions on a number of social issues, including media policy. The moderates are for a relaxed TV policy with more entertainment. The conservatives, on the other hand, are for a television system which has their conservative orientation as the broad framework for its content.

It seems that Saudi TV had known that one channel might not be enough if it were to satisfy both segments of
Saudi society, the conservative and the moderate. It was announced that a second channel would start during the first few months of 1980 (Ministry of Planning, 1980; "The Second Channel," 1979). The main goal was to have two channels; one would devote itself to informative, cultural, and educational content, whereas the other would specialize in entertainment. As was stated in the Third Development Plan, the Second Channel would focus "on cultural programs, current events and features about national development, and public information campaigns. The first channel may, therefore, concentrate on entertainment and public information, though both channels will have an appropriate mix of programs" (Ministry of Planning, 1980, p. 383).

The Ministry of Information, maybe because of the 1979 Mecca event, not only delayed the inauguration of the Second Channel, but also changed its declared audience. Rather than starting in 1980, as was planned and announced, the Second Channel went on the air in August, 1983, three years late. To earn the ulama’s appreciation of the new service, the Ministry of Information affirmed that this new service was aimed at the foreigners working in Saudi Arabia. In his address inaugurating the Second Channel, the Minister emphasized that the new channel was directed toward the foreign communities living in the country, informing them about Saudi Arabia, its religion, culture, and achievements (Saudi News Agency, 1983).
This writer, for three reasons, believes that the emerging middle class constitutes the primary audience of the Second Channel. First, Al-Najai, Director of the Second Channel, stated three objectives of the Second Channel. Two of these objectives were concerned with the Saudi audience: the diversification of the sources of knowledge and innocent entertainment for the Saudi citizens, and the use of this channel as enlightening and educational medium for the Saudis who master English and French languages ("Issue of the month," 1983). The Saudi citizens whom Al-Najai is referring to are part of the emerging middle class. Second, Al-Najai affirmed that the Second Channel would feature family-type entertainment programs that would conform with the customs and traditions of the Saudi viewer, and he expressed his hope that the Second Channel would satisfy the Saudi audience ("Dr. Al-Najai," 1986; Al-Aidarous, 1987). Last, but not least, when Saudi TV started commercial advertising in 1986, it was on the Second Channel, and all advertisements were in Arabic, not in the primary language of the Second Channel, English.

Therefore, it is obvious that Saudi citizens are the primary audience for this channel. Indeed, the Second Channel has attracted many Saudi viewers ("They said," 1983; Tashqandi, 1986; "The Second Channel succeeds," 1987; "The Second Channel thrives," 1987). Some media critics suggested that the Second Channel should start telecasting
in Arabic and should not aim its programs only at foreigners (Al-Ghamdi, 1987; Andijani, 1987).

**Kuwait**

The composition of the political elite in Kuwait is different than that in Saudi Arabia. Traditionally, the ruling family and the merchants were the dominant political power in Kuwait. However, the parliamentary life, which was adopted in the 1960s, changed the make-up of the country’s political elite. As a result, both the liberal blocs and the religious conservative groups have became players in state political life. This mixture in the country’s sociopolitical order has been reflected in the media policy in Kuwait. Kuwait has a press freedom not many Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, enjoy (Rugh, 1979).

Religion did not have a major role in Kuwait’s sociopolitical order, as it did in Saudi Arabia. Because of the country’s location and its mercantile activities, Kuwaiti society had contacts with other cultures that have made it, to some extent, less conservative than the Saudi society. The religiously activist groups (*Jamaiyat Aleslah* and *Jama’at Alsalafeen*) did not have any significant role in Kuwait politics until the 1980s (Khalaf, 1984). Because of this relaxed atmosphere, Kuwait’s experience with broadcast media clearly contrasts with the Saudi’s.
The history of radio in Kuwait dates back to the early-1950s. In 1953, a wireless technician working for the Kuwait Army, with the Amir’s approval, started a small radio station, broadcasting three hours every evening. Whereas music was not allowed on Saudi Radio during its initial years, music and songs were the primary content on Kuwait Radio. In fact, *Talabat Al’mosta’maen* (Listeners’ Requests) was one of the early programs aired daily on Kuwait Radio ("Radio and television," 1986).

In his study of television in the Gulf, Al-Usmani (1984) noted that Kuwait holds Islamic values as a basic guide for its media policy but not as strictly as does Saudi Arabia. Kuwait TV does not have a written policy providing criteria according to which programs, imported or locally-produced, are censored (Al-Usmani, 1984). However, Kuwait subscribes to the Television Operation Charter which was formulated by Gulfvision upon its establishment in 1977 (see Appendix C). The intent of this charter was to set the principles for a unified television policy in member states. Each member state of Gulfvision claims adherence to these principles, yet it is not necessary that each state has the same interpretation of the principles stated in the charter.

The Director of Programs Department in Kuwait TV maintained that censorship is a point of view. He asserted that some views of the Censorship Department with respect
to some series were arguable. In fact, he named two TV series that had been rejected by the viewing committee of the Censorship Department; nevertheless, they were televised. The difference of opinion between the two departments regarding these two series centered around scenes of female dancers (Al-Baba, 1985). This difference in interpreting what-is and what-is-not acceptable connotes that TV censorship in Kuwait is not as restrictive as in Saudi Arabia.

In addition, the appearance of women on television has never been an issue in Kuwait, as it has been in Saudi Arabia. Whereas General Presidency for Girls' Education in Saudi Arabia has forbidden female students from appearing on television or participating in its programs, Kuwait TV in its early years recruited women to be in its crew. For instance, in 1964, Kuwait TV sent Fatimah Hussain to Cairo to study TV production. Muan Taleb, Ameenah Al-Sharah, and Basemah Sulaiman, to name a few, are leading females who have worked in Kuwait TV since its early years in the 1960s (Yahya, 1975).

Also, the institution of the second television service in Kuwait reflects the role of the political elite in media decision-making. The Second Program started in December, 1978. Early statements made by TV officials and early programs on this channel suggest that the educated elite in the country were the intended primary audience for the
Second Program. Al-Sanausi said in an interview in 1977, that the Second Program would solve some of the problems Kuwait Television was facing; it would have programs that deal with political and educational affairs, and other programs with serious and specific objectives (Al-Wadi, 1977). Al-Fieli, Director of Kuwait Television, stated that the Second Program would concentrate on educational and cultural programs such as award-winning films, plays in classic Arabic, and other programs which may present discussion of Master and Ph.D. theses. He went on to say: "In my view, it [the Second Program] will become a people's university" (Said, 1978, p. 4). Obviously, these types of programs would appeal primarily to the educated community in the country.

In addition, before the inauguration of the Second Program, the Information Ministry did a survey to ascertain people's tastes, and program preferences and expectations from the new service. The overwhelming majority of those included in the survey were from the country's middle class. Of the 296 people who were interviewed in the survey, 88 percent were male, 83 percent were between 25 and 45 years of age, and 77 percent had a university degree or higher (Haddad & Ragheb, 1979). Moreover, during its first month on the air, the Second Program devoted 72 percent of its time to foreign programs whereas the First Program devoted no more than 18 percent (Kuwait Television,
1978). Al-Sanausi, Deputy Minister of Information for Television Affairs, affirmed that foreign films and series were shown "for a special kind of people, the intellectual" (Al-Wadi, 1977).

Since the early-1980s, the religious groups in Kuwait have emerged as an important force in the country's sociopolitical order. The rise of these groups is an extension of the "Islamic revival" which the region witnessed in the late-1970s. The different orientations that Kuwait society embraces have had an influence on a number of programming decisions made by Kuwait Television. Indeed, performance of Kuwait TV reflects the blend in the country's sociopolitical order, which includes the emerging conservative groups. Al-Sanausi maintained that Kuwait TV operates in a society with a strange social structure. Every element within this structure has a different taste, erudition, and interest. For this reason, the Ministry of Information has been sensitive to people's demand regarding TV policy (Zain, 1979).

On different occasions, Kuwait TV canceled series after two or three episodes. For instance, Abdullah Fadhallah and Ahlam Sagherah [Little Dreams], were pulled off the air in 1982 and 1983, respectively, after the third episode. These cancellations manifest the type of pressure under which TV officials operate. Abdullah Fadhallah is a locally-produced series based on the biography of a Kuwaiti
folk singer, Abdullah Fadhallah. After the third episode, the series was stopped in response to demands by conservative members of his family (S. Al-Fahad, personal communication, February 4, 1986). Al-Sanausi believed the decision to halt the series was a mistake, yet he maintained that Kuwait is a small society, and the citizens' relations with television officials are based on trust and understanding (Al-Dawood, 1983).

The story of *Ahlam Sagherah*—an intimate relationship between two teenagers of the opposite sex—was considered by the conservative standards a sensitive matter. Because relationships between the sexes is socially restricted, and any overt expression of intimate relationships between them is taboo, adolescents of both sexes find covert telephone-conversations to be the only alternative for their romantic fantasies. *Ahlam Sagherah* is a love story that evolved from these telephone-conversations. The conservative community in Kuwait forced TV officials to stop telecasting the series after the third episodes. They pointed out the potential immoral effects of the series on the adolescent audience. According to Salem Al-Fahad (personal communication, February 4, 1986), Director of Kuwait Television, the Ministry of Information yielded to pressure only because it wanted to avoid an altercation, even though the Ministry was positive that television officials had a legitimate argument against the cancellation of the series.
Al-Fahad also said: "We [television officials] are just employees of the Ministry of Information which does not want to take a confronting position against others" (KUNA, 1984).

The episodes that surrounded Gulfvision TV production festivals also illustrate the emerging political weight of the conservative groups in Kuwait. Although its headquarters are in Riyadh, Gulfvision chose Kuwait to be the permanent site of its biannual TV Production Festivals. However, the conservative groups in Kuwait did not tolerate the parties and the glamour that are usually associated with such festivities. After the second festival, in 1982, the Council of Ministers under pressure from the religious community issued an order banning Kuwait from hosting any more festivals. However, the Ministers of Information in the Gulf insisted on holding these festivals in Kuwait; Kuwait was the most suitable place in the region, they argued (Ibrahim, 1984). After the third festival in 1984, the conservative groups took their case against these festivals to the National Assembly which banned hosting any more festivals.

Bahrain

The make-up of the sociopolitical order in Bahrain is different than it is in Saudi Arabia or in Kuwait. One of the salient differences that sets Bahrain apart from Saudi
Arabia is the absence of the religious dimension from the country’s political system. In contrast to Saudi Arabia, the ruling family of Bahrain has never used religion to base the legitimacy of its rule. The overwhelming majority (over 95 percent) of Bahraini people are Muslims, but they are equally divided between the two sects, Shi’a and Sunna. Because of this division it has never been wise for the ruling family to include religion in the country’s decision-making process; otherwise, the ruling family would have to align with one of the two sects. Besides, the mercantile nature of Bahrain has made the merchants, not the religious leaders, the principle social force in the country.

Moreover, unlike Kuwait, Bahrain did not experience for a extended period of time any form of political participation like a parliamentary system. Therefore, the decision-making has been a monopoly of the ruling family and the merchants community; other segments of the society have never had any a direct role in the country’s decision-making. In addition, because of its demographical composition, which embraces a number of ethnic groups, and because of its previous contacts with other cultures, Bahraini society is more liberal than other societies in the region.

This composition of the sociopolitical system has had an impact on Bahrain’s media policy. In his comparative
study of television in the Gulf, Al-Usmani (1984) labeled television policies in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait as "Islamic conservative" and "Islamic moderate" respectively. The policy of Bahrain Television, on the other hand, was labeled "liberal." Licensing a foreign company in 1973, to own and operate the only television service in the country was a clear manifestation of Bahrain's tolerant media policy. This tolerance has made Bahrain Television a popular channel in the region. The youth audience prefers to watch an episode of _Dallas_ on Bahrain Television rather than to watch one which has been severely edited. The Director of Program Department maintained that television "has to meet the viewers expectations, which increase almost daily" (Al-Usmani, 1984, p. 212).

Women's appearance on television has never been an issue in Bahrain. On the contrary, the Information Ministry has encouraged native women to work in broadcast media. In Bahrain, Al-Usmani (1984) noted, women have been pressing for a greater role in television, and in 1983, the National Organization for the Bahraini Women sponsored a forum on the same purpose. The Information Minister expressed his support for women's active role in the country's work force as well as in television. He said: "I would like to encourage more women to work. What is the point of having fifty percent of the population out of work when we are importing foreign labor?" (cited in Al-Usmani, 1984, p.
As of 1988, the Deputy Minister of Information for Television Affairs is a woman, Halah Al-Omran who has Ph.D. in Communication.
CHAPTER IV

TELEVISION POLICY

The differences among Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain that were reported in the last two chapters are reflected in three specific aspects of television policy: programming policy, the introduction of commercial advertising, and foreign ownership of television stations. The aim of this chapter is to report the findings of this study on these three facets of television policy.

Programming Policy

This section is based on a content analysis of the program-cycles during six years between 1976 and 1986 (i.e., 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, and 1986). Each Television system examined here has four regular and one special program cycles. The special one is for Ramadhan, during which the air-time for religious programs increases. Saudi TV has an additional cycle for the Holy month of Dhul Hajja, during which religious content is increased.

Each program-cycle is presented in a table form which provides the title, the time, and the length of each program scheduled during the cycle (see Appendix D). To analyze these program cycles, a coding book was developed.
Each television program named on these cycles became the unit of analysis and was coded on ten variables (see Appendix E). Coding the programs on nine of these variables was merely a clerical job which did not involve subjective judgments. Therefore, category reliability was not an issue in regard to these nine variables. Information about television programs named in the program-cycles was obtained by referring to back issues of Gulf TV (published quarterly by Gulfvision), Radio & TV Guide (published weekly by Modern Systems Network Company in Kuwait), and a number of reports published occasionally by Kuwait TV.

Program type was the only variable which needed the coder's judgment. To test category reliability in respect to this variable, five judges were given a sample of 68 programs and were asked to code them into the five categories within this variable: information, education, culture, religion, entertainment, and unclassified. The five judges had 84 percent average inter-judge agreement, and the Composite Reliability Coefficient (CRC), as presented by Holsti (1969) was .96.

1. Types of TV programs

Saudi Arabia

Saudi TV increased the number of hours of its daily schedule from about 8 in 1976, to nearly 20 hours in 1986; 12 on the First Channel and 8 on the Second Channel. The First Channel has a three-hour morning period on weekdays
(9:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m.), and a main period that starts at 4:00 p.m. and continues till midnight. On weekends (Thursday and Friday) daily service begins at 9:30 a.m. and concludes shortly after midnight. During summer and religious holidays, daily transmission is usually extended. During Ramadhan, for instance, daily program begins at midday and continues till the early hours of the next morning.

The Second Channel begins its daily broadcast at 5:00 p.m. and concludes at midnight, and on weekends it has a three-hour morning period which starts at 9:30 a.m. Daily transmission on both channels starts by playing the Royal Anthem followed by a five-minute reading from the Holy Kur’an. The first hour of the daily broadcast on both channels is usually filled with cartoons and other programs aimed at children.

Table 4 indicates that the percentage of air-time Saudi TV devoted to information was on a slight decline from 19 percent in 1976, to 15 percent in 1982; then it started to rise after the introduction of the Second Channel, reaching 22 percent in 1986. Nearly 70 percent of the information on Saudi TV is presented in the form of news. Prior to the beginning of the Second Channel in 1983, Saudi TV had two daily newscasts; one in Arabic for thirty minutes and one in English for fifteen minutes. The latter was aimed at the foreigners living in Saudi Arabia. As of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Information Hours</th>
<th>Information %</th>
<th>Educational/Cultural Hours</th>
<th>Educational/Cultural %</th>
<th>Religious Hours</th>
<th>Religious %</th>
<th>Entertainment Hours</th>
<th>Entertainment %</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>518.75</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>261.83</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>306.17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1708.33</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>2795.08</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>567.00</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>194.00</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>354.83</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1996.22</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>3112.05</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>583.67</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>485.00</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>636.25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1659.08</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>3364.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>553.17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>413.00</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>618.50</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1991.83</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>3576.50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>615.58</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>731.42</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>891.42</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1805.92</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>4044.34</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
<td>558.70</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>255.67</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td>470.00</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1439.80</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>2724.17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1174.28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>987.09</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1361.42</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3245.72</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>6768.51</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>926.83</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>549.34</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>822.20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2094.70</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4393.07</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
<td>646.93</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>340.83</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>433.67</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1334.30</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>2755.73</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1573.76</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>890.17</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1255.87</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3429.00</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>7148.80</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1986, the main channel had two daily newscasts in Arabic, and a daily reading of major headlines from the local press. In addition to news, Saudi TV has had a number of programs that feature government projects and efforts toward development and modernization. Examples of these programs are *Hatgehi Beladona* (This is Our Country), *Sowar Min Beladi* (Features from My Country), and *Nahwa Mostaqbelon Moshriq* (Toward a Bright Future).

With the exception of occasional commentaries on major events, broadcast media in Saudi Arabia are not used in the real sense of political mobilization. Rugh (1979) cited a Saudi official who said:

> The government does not even think about using the electronic media for political mobilization. It does not push specific issues on radio or television. It simply turns the media over to technocrats it trusts, and monitors the result (p. 127).

The Second Channel, as Table 4 shows, in 1984 and 1986, had nearly 20 percent of its time devoted to information. Included in this category are two evening newscasts, one in English and one in French; a five-minute review of major headlines in the local press; and a news brief before closing. These news programs are meant to inform the foreigners living in the country about the major events in the kingdom, and to reflect government's positions on major regional and international events. In
addition, the Second Channel has had a few programs that highlight the progress the country has achieved. Among these programs are *In Focus*, *Our Students in America*, and *The Kingdom in One Week*.

Findings of this study indicate that educational and cultural content is important on Saudi TV. Table 4 reveals that in 1980, Saudi TV devoted 14 percent of its time to educational and cultural programs, compared to 9 and 6 percent in 1976 and 1978 respectively. In the late-1970s educational and cultural content was dominated by a few programs on health and safety, and many documentaries on wildlife and environment. As Table 5 shows, these two subcategories occupied nearly 70 percent of the time given to educational and cultural content in 1976, and 1978. With the exception of *Sesame Street* and *Daleel Annajah* (Guide to Success), Saudi TV had no program that had specified educational objectives or directly related to an educational curriculum.

Table 4 shows that in 1980, Saudi TV had 485 hours for educational and cultural content, compared to 194 hours in 1978, a 150 percent increase. For this addition, the share of educational and cultural programs changed to 14 percent in 1980, as opposed to only 6 percent in 1978. This increase clearly reflects the addition of indigenous folklore, and programs with clearly-stated educational objectives. Table 5 shows that in 1980, literature and
### Table 5

**Educational/Cultural Programs on Saudi TV in Selected Years Between 1976 and 1986**

**Total Annual Hours**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Educational Hours</th>
<th>Developmental Hours</th>
<th>Folklore Literature Hours</th>
<th>Documentaries Hours</th>
<th>Other Hours</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>42.50 16</td>
<td>93.75 36</td>
<td>38.50 15</td>
<td>87.08 33</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>261.83 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>12.25 6</td>
<td>91.50 47</td>
<td>41.75 22</td>
<td>48.50 25</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>194.00 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>184.50 38</td>
<td>48.50 10</td>
<td>199.42 41</td>
<td>52.50 11</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>484.92 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>119.00 30</td>
<td>55.00 14</td>
<td>70.00 17</td>
<td>4.00 1</td>
<td>402.00 100</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>154.00 21</td>
<td>350.50 48</td>
<td>151.50 21</td>
<td>64.58 9</td>
<td>10.83 1</td>
<td>731.41 100</td>
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<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
<td>121.00 49</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>116.50 48</td>
<td>7.08 3</td>
<td>244.58 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>275.00 28</td>
<td>350.50 36</td>
<td>151.50 16</td>
<td>181.08 19</td>
<td>17.91 2</td>
<td>975.99 100</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>137.00 25</td>
<td>246.67 45</td>
<td>49.50 9</td>
<td>69.67 13</td>
<td>39.50 7</td>
<td>542.34 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
<td>121.00 38</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>172.59 54</td>
<td>27.00 8</td>
<td>320.59 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>258.00 30</td>
<td>246.67 29</td>
<td>49.50 6</td>
<td>242.26 28</td>
<td>66.50 8</td>
<td>862.93 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** Data based on program cycles collected and coded by Beayeyz in 1987-1988.
local folklore accounted for 41 percent of the time given to educational and cultural content, compared to 22 percent in 1978. This content was increased merely to occupy the vacant time caused by the sharp reduction in entertainment content after 1980. Programs on literature and indigenous folklore provided the best alternative to contemporary music, which the conservatives in Saudi Arabia do not necessarily appreciate. In addition, programs with specific educational objectives or related to school curriculum have increased on Saudi TV since 1980; *Iftah Ya Simsir*, the Arabian version of *Sesame Street*, has been shown on regular bases on Saudi TV. Besides, Saudi TV in 1982 had few programs, such as *Alriya'dhyah Alhadeethah* (Contemporary Math), that were intended to help intermediate and high school students with their school work.

Developmental programs on matters such as health and safety were also increased. Examples of these programs include *Salamatah* (Your Safety), *Qif* (Stop), and *Majalat Alawsrah* (Family Magazine). The former two are produced by the Arabian Gulf States' Joint Program Production Institute. Its primary goal is increasing the people's awareness and appreciation of practices related to health and safety. *Majalat Alawsrah*, a women's program on family and health matters, is aired daily during the morning period. Table 5 shows that in 1986, these developmental programs occupied 45 percent of the total air-time.
allocated to educational and cultural content on the First Channel. The Second Channel in 1984, and 1986, had 9 and 12 percent, respectively, of its time filled with educational and cultural content. However, more than 90 percent of that time was dominated by *Sesame Street*, *Electric Company*, or documentaries on environment and wildlife.

Religious programs are important to every television system in the Arab world, but they are rather more important to Saudi TV for two basic reasons. One, Mecca and Al-Madinah, the two most holy cities in Islam, are located in Saudi Arabia. Second, and more importantly, the Saudi government has capitalized on Islam as the only base of its legitimacy, which in turn has made the ulama the principle force in the country's sociopolitical order. The religious leaders in Saudi Arabia no longer oppose broadcast media as some of them initially did; they only reject the content that does not comply with their interpretation of Islamic teachings. In fact, Shaikh Abdulaziz Ibn Baz, one of the senior ulama in the country, maintained that radio and television should be utilized in preaching for Islam (Habeeb, 1985). In addition, the ulama are supporting the emergence of an Islamic normative theory for mass media. When this theory crystallizes, it will call for media content to be based on an Islamic framework (Al-Zamel, 1980; Mustafa & Al-Seerafi, 1985).
For these two basic reasons, Saudi TV has been obligated to allocate a relatively large share of its air-time to religious content. Table 4 reveals that between 1976 and 1978, Saudi TV maintained 11 percent of its time devoted to religion. The majority of religious content is presented in talk-show programs by religious scholars. In most of these programs the viewers are encouraged to send in their inquiries on social or religious matters to be answered on the program. Other religious programs have a forum format in which three or four religious scholars discuss, not debate, an issue from a religious dimension.

In 1980, the amount of time Saudi TV allocated to religious content increased by nearly 80 percent, from 354 hours in 1978 to 636 hours in 1980. With this addition, the share of religious content increased to 19 percent compared to 11 percent in 1978. Since then, as Table 4 shows, this share has ranged between 17 and 22 percent. This increase during the 1980s clearly shows the impact of the 1979 Mecca incident. Following this incident, which had a notable sociopolitical significance in the country, the Saudi Government wanted to reemphasize its continuing commitment to Islam as the base of its legitimacy. To that end, the government adopted a number of conservative measures that would satisfy the ulama, the principal social force in the country. A conservative censorship policy was one of these
measures that has resulted in an increase in the number of programs and the amount of time devoted to religion.

Evidently, the changes in the proportions of time given to religion have been intended to satisfy the conservatives in the country, in particular the religious leaders, who are not always satisfied with the programming policy of Saudi TV. Their dissatisfaction has been expressed on many occasions. One of these occasions was in April, 1978, when Immam Mohammed Ibn Saud Islamic University sponsored a lecture on "the common responsibility in maintaining the Muslim society," by Deputy Minister of Interior, Prince Ahmed Ibn Abdulaziz, and Minister of Information, Mohammed A. Yamani. Al-Rawaf (1980), who attended the lecture, said:

After short speeches by the Prince and the Minister, the remainder of the time was devoted to questions from an audience of about 2,000 people, mostly students of the religious university. The majority of the questions were directed to the Minister of Information, and they all expressed in one way or another a general dissatisfaction with the programs of the television station, and accused the Minister of allowing some programs or scenes which contradict Islam and which should not be permitted in a Muslim society. The Minister of Information defended himself on the ground that time has changed and that some new
programs are needed to fulfill the interests of younger generations. ...After the Minister of Information had dealt with the questions from the audience, one of the distinguished ulama in the Kingdom, Shaikh Abdulaziz Ibn Baz, who was sitting in the front row, made a strong criticism of the Minister and accused him of being ignorant of Islam....The Minister of Information was obviously upset by Ibn Baz's remarks, and in his emotional closing statement he promised to increase religious programs on television (pp. 358-359).

When the program cycles were examined individually, some differences were found among those in 1976 and 1978, on one hand, and those in the 1980s, on the other. One of the salient changes was in regard to Prayer Calls. Two of the five daily prayers a Muslim has to perform are in the evening; one at dusk and the other about 90-minutes later. For the viewers to take the time and perform these two prayers, Saudi TV, when it started in the mid-1960s, used to take a ten-minute pause for each prayer after telecasting the Prayer Call. However, in 1976, these two pauses were eliminated (except during Ramadhan) on the ground that telecasting the Calls for these prayers from the Sacred Mosque in Mecca would be sufficient. In fact, the program cycles of Shwal 1396 A.H. (November, 1976) instructed station managers to air the Prayer Calls and
continue the scheduled program without a pause. However, for the same cycle in 1400 A.H. (1980), stations managers were instructed to pause two times for each prayer; one when prayer is due at the local time and one when it is due at Mecca time. Moreover, since 1980, Saudi TV has began to carry live Friday Prayer at noon from the Sacred Mosque in Mecca, and since 1985, the two evening prayers have been televised daily from Mecca and Al-Madinah. In addition, the Al-Haj cycle in 1396 A.H. (1976) and 1398 A.H. (1978), during which religious content is increased, lasted two weeks only; however, since 1400 A.H. (1980), the cycle has been extended to one month.

The Second Channel also has a relatively high proportion of its time devoted to religious content. In 1984 and 1986, it allocated 17 and 16 percent respectively of its time to religion. Like the First Channel, it starts and closes its daily program with a five-minute reading from the Holy Kur'an, and during the holy months of Ramadhan and Dhul Hajja the number of religious programs is increased on the Second Channel. Most of the religious programs on the Second Channel are devoted to explaining Islam to the foreign communities in the country. These programs include *Islamic Horizons, Islam in Perspective, Islam in Focus, Why Islam,* and *From the Islamic Library.* Also, like the First Channel, the Second Channel in 1984
and 1986 telecast the two evening prayers daily from the Sacred Mosques in Mecca and Al-Madinah.

The year 1980, was a critical one for Saudi TV. It was the year in which major changes and alterations in programming policy took place. The findings of this study indicate that Saudi TV in the late-1970s had a tendency toward increasing the amount of time allocated to entertainment. As presented in Table 4, the number of hours allocated to entertainment increased from about 1,700 in 1976, to approximately 2,000 hours in 1978, a nearly 17 percent increase. With this increase, the share of entertainment programs became 64 percent in 1978, compared to 61 percent in 1976. However, this tendency was reversed following the 1979 Mecca incident. In 1980, Saudi TV reduced the amount of time given to entertainment by 17 percent. Table 4 reveals that the share of entertainment programs dropped from 64 percent in 1978 to 49 percent in 1980. Although it increased to 56 percent in 1982, it decreased to 48 percent in 1984 and 1986.

Table 6 shows that within the entertainment content, variety programs had the greatest reduction. In 1978, 552 hours (28 percent) of those devoted to entertainment were filled with variety programs, compared to 229 hours (14 percent) in 1980. These variety programs were reduced because they were basically filled with music and songs of which the conservatives do not approve. In fact, most of
Table 6

Entertainment Programs on Saudi TV in Selected Years Between 1976 and 1986 (Total Annual Hours)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Films Hours</th>
<th>Series %</th>
<th>Variety Hours</th>
<th>Sports %</th>
<th>Cartoons Hours</th>
<th>Other %</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>27.50</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>402.92</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>326.83</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>177.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>52.00</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>552.63</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>271.00</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>238.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>229.25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>291.00</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>103.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>16.50</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>498.00</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>295.17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>111.83</td>
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<tr>
<td>1984</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>67.00</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>262.00</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>387.83</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>88.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
<td>121.00</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>131.67</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>221.90</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>188.00</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>393.67</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>609.73</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>88.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>148.00</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>433.03</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>428.87</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>236.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
<td>105.00</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>78.08</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>219.13</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>253.00</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>511.91</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>648.00</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>236.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the one-hour variety programs that were popular in the late-1970s, like Min Kuli Bahren Qatrah (A Drop form Every Ocean), Shatea Nesf Alqamar (Half Moon Bay), Sahrah Arabeyah (Arabian Soiree), Sahrat Alkhamees (Thursday Soiree), and Ahla Al'la'yale (The Best of Nights) were not scheduled in 1980. Some of these shows came back in 1982 and 1983, but were not as popular as they used to be in the late-1970s. Deputy Minister of Information for Radio and Television Affairs, Saleh Ibn Nasser, admitted that Sahrat Alkhamees (Thursday Soiree) could not succeed in winning the audience’s satisfaction. He maintained that its failure was beyond the Ministry’s control, and he attributed it to other factors, some of which are artistic and some social ("Dr. Saleh Ibn Nasser," 1983).

In replacement of variety programs, the number of Arabian series was increased. In 1980, as presented in Table 6, series occupied 52 percent of entertainment hours, compared to 34 percent in 1978. It was not difficult for Saudi TV to find Arabian series that would conform with its strict censorship policy. Indeed, most series by independent producers were made with Saudi TV in mind; when a series meets the Saudi strict standards it is accepted virtually by all TV stations in the region, the most lucrative market for TV production in the Arab world. Besides, independent producers most of the time base their TV production on Bedouin stories, or on stories from
Islamic history. These stories are usually acceptable to Saudi censors. Moreover, TV officials repeatedly affirmed that Saudi Television would pay an extra 25 percent of the price for all those entertainment programs that were specially produced for Saudi TV and conformed to its conservative nature ("Dr. Saleh Ibn Nasser," 1983).

Another notable observation about entertainment on Saudi Television is the amount of time given to films. As Table 6 shows, prior to 1984, films occupied no more than 3 percent of entertainment time on Saudi TV. Indeed, program-cycles in 1980 had no time slots for films. According to Al-Haza, Director of the Censorship Directorate of The First Channel, not many Arabian films conform with the censorship rules of Saudi TV. He asserted that the majority of these films are based on violence or illegitimate relations, or have actresses in indecent clothing (Al-Araifi, 1986).

Inauguration of the Second Channel in 1983, did not increase the percentage of the time devoted to entertainment. On the contrary, the proportion of entertainment on Saudi TV decreased and was maintained at 48 percent in 1984 and 1986, compared to 56 percent in 1982. Nonetheless, the Second Channel increased the total number of hours allocated to entertainment by nearly 63 percent. In 1984, Saudi TV had 3,245 hours for entertainment compared to 1,991 in 1982.
In sum, programming policy in Saudi Arabia has been affected by the conservative nature of the country’s sociopolitical order. This conservatism was clearly expressed in the amount of time devoted to the four types of programs examined in this study. An important finding of this study is the sharp reduction in the time allocated to entertainment. At the same time there was an increase in the amount of time given to non entertainment content, namely educational, cultural and religious. Figure 1 depicts the changes that occurred in the proportion of time allocated to the four categories of TV programs. The figure shows that 1980 and 1984 were the two years during which the share of entertainment programs declined sharply. At the same time, the share of religious, and educational and cultural content increased to fill the vacant time caused by the decrease in entertainment programs.

The more likely reason for the increase in the proportion of entertainment content in 1982 was the growing criticism that was expressed in the local press about the seriousness of Saudi Television (Al-Madani, 1980; "Issue of the Week," 1981). Indeed, the rapid diffusion of VCR’s in Saudi Arabia in the 1980s was a clear indication of people’s boredom by the seriousness of the programs on Saudi TV. A number of survey studies suggested that 1980 and 1981 were two critical years in the diffusion of VCR in Saudi Arabia. One survey by PARC, a Gallup affiliate,
Figure 1. Types of programs on Saudi TV (percent of total annual hours).
revealed that in 1982, nearly 61 percent of TV homes in Saudi Arabia owned VCR's; about 28 percent reported they bought their machines in 1981 (Boyd, Straubhaar & Lent, 1989). Abuzinada (1988) also found that 1980 had the highest VCR adoption rate in Saudi Arabia. The majority (92 percent) of the 266 respondents surveyed by Abuzinada attributed purchasing their first VCR's to the low quality of Saudi TV programs.

Kuwait

Kuwait TV increased the number of hours of its daily telecast from 8 hours in 1976, to nearly 17 in 1986: 11 hours on the First Program and 6 on the Second Program. The daily service on the First Program starts at 5:00 p.m. on weekdays and at 9:00 a.m. on weekends, and continues till midnight. During the summer it starts at 9:00 a.m. The Second Program, on the other hand, starts its daily telecast at 7:00 p.m. and continues till midnight. On both channels, daily service begins with the National Anthem followed by a five-minute reading from the Holy Kur'an. The first hour of daily service on both channels is always devoted to cartoons and other children's programs.

Information is an important element on Kuwait TV. As shown in Table 7, Kuwait TV in 1986 allocated 21 percent of its time to information. This proportion shows an increase from 12 percent in 1976. Before the second service
### Table 7

**Types of Programs on Kuwait TV in Selected Years Between 1976 and 1986 (Total Annual Hours)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Information Hours</th>
<th>Information %</th>
<th>Educational/Cultural Hours</th>
<th>Educational/Cultural %</th>
<th>Religious Hours</th>
<th>Religious %</th>
<th>Entertainment Hours</th>
<th>Entertainment %</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>334.83</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>418.25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>180.33</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1851.25</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2784.66</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>493.17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>372.75</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>207.67</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2011.00</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3084.59</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Prog.</td>
<td>448.17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>451.25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>245.92</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2335.50</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>3480.84</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Prog.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Prog.</td>
<td>594.25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>313.25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>359.58</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2069.83</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>3336.91</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Prog.</td>
<td>152.75</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>181.50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>65.83</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1134.25</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>1534.33</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>747.00</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>494.75</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>425.41</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3204.08</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>4871.24</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 7 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Information Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Educational/ Cultural Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Religious Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Entertainment Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Prog.</td>
<td>661.50</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>315.84</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>2224.17</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3641.09</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Prog.</td>
<td>233.50</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>288.08</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>72.75</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1076.75</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1671.08</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>895.00</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>603.92</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>512.33</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3300.92</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>5312.17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Prog.</td>
<td>953.42</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>315.50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>412.33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2224.75</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>3906.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Prog.</td>
<td>263.33</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>233.00</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>67.17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1452.25</td>
<td>72</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1216.75</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>548.50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>479.50</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3677.00</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>5921.75</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

started in 1978, Kuwait TV had two daily thirty-minute newscasts, one in Arabic and one in English, and a news-brief just before sign-off. In 1986, the First Program, besides the daily newscast, had three news programs on current affairs; *Al'alam Alyoum Abr Alaqmar Alsena'eyah* (The World Today via Satellite), *Mesa Elkhair* (Good Evening), and *Tagareer Motenagelah* (Roving Reports). The latter is a weekly round-up of major events. *Mesa elkhair* is a daily program that deals primarily with local events in a magazine format. In addition to these news programs, Kuwait TV has a daily fifteen-minute slot generally allocated to information like the times for major flights departing and arriving at Kuwait International Airport, the pharmacies that are scheduled to be open for the next 24 hours, and other important official announcements.

Besides news, Kuwait TV has had a number of information programs like *Fee Khedmat Aljomhoor* (In Service of the People), *Ma'a Almasawleen* (With the Officials), *Shabakat Atelevezyoun* (Television Network), and *Leeqa Alkhamees* (Thursday Encounter). The latter two started in 1983, and consist of interviews with government officials and other public figures to shed light on major government projects of direct relevance to the public. Other programs like *Leemn Yahomoho Al'amr* (To Whom it May Concern) and *Qadaya Wa Rdood* (Issues and Responses) deal with social and political issues.
Broadcast media in Kuwait, as in Saudi Arabia, are not used for political mobilization. However, because of the relative press freedom that Kuwait enjoyed till July 1986, some information programs like Qadaya Wa Rdood embraced different points of view. This program, however, was pulled off the air more than once because of disagreements between the Ministry of Information and the producer of the program, Graduate Society, on the censorship procedure ("Issues without," 1986).

The Second Program, compared to the main channel, allocates less percentage of its time to information. Table 7 shows that in 1986, for instance, it spent 13 percent of its time on information as opposed to 24 percent on the main channel. Besides its daily newscasts, the Second Program has two weekly programs on current affairs, Roving Reports, and Take Two.

In addition, Table 7 reveals that the proportion of cultural and educational content decreased from 15 percent in 1976 to 9 percent in 1986, even though the total number of hours was increased. In the late 1970s, the educational and cultural content of Kuwait TV was dominated by literary programs like Athaqafah fee Asboua' (Literature in a Week) and Mohakamat Adabee'ah (Literary Trials), programs on local folklore like Tworathouna (Our Tradition), and imported documentaries on environment and wildlife. As presented in Table 8, in 1976, and 1978, these kind of
Table 8

Educational/Cultural Programs on Kuwait TV in Selected Years Between 1976 and 1986

(Total Annual Hours)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Educational Hours</th>
<th>Developmental Hours</th>
<th>Folklore and Literature Hours</th>
<th>Documentaries Hours</th>
<th>Other Hours</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>84.75</td>
<td>74.25</td>
<td>102.25</td>
<td>134.50</td>
<td>22.50</td>
<td>418.25</td>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>41.75</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>128.25</td>
<td>85.75</td>
<td>23.75</td>
<td>339.50</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>69.13</td>
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<td>n.a.</td>
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<td>n.a.</td>
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<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
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<td>1982</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>79.50</td>
<td>49.00</td>
<td>90.00</td>
<td>65.75</td>
<td>13.00</td>
<td>297.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
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<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>160.75</td>
<td>20.75</td>
<td>181.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>79.50</td>
<td>49.00</td>
<td>90.00</td>
<td>226.50</td>
<td>33.75</td>
<td>478.75</td>
</tr>
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</table>
Table 8 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Educational</th>
<th>Developmental</th>
<th>Folklore and Literature</th>
<th>Documentaries</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hours %</td>
<td>Hours %</td>
<td>Hours %</td>
<td>Hours %</td>
<td>Hours %</td>
<td>Hours %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>82.67 29</td>
<td>68.75 24</td>
<td>78.08 27</td>
<td>45.33 16</td>
<td>13.00 5</td>
<td>287.83 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>256.34 90</td>
<td>28.00 10</td>
<td>284.34 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>82.67 14</td>
<td>68.75 12</td>
<td>78.08 14</td>
<td>301.67 53</td>
<td>41.00 7</td>
<td>512.17 100</td>
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<td>1986</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>36.75 13</td>
<td>110.75 40</td>
<td>83.25 30</td>
<td>37.92 14</td>
<td>10.75 4</td>
<td>279.42 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>219.24 94</td>
<td>13.75 6</td>
<td>232.99 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36.75 7</td>
<td>110.75 22</td>
<td>83.25 16</td>
<td>257.16 50</td>
<td>24.50 5</td>
<td>512.41 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** Data based on program cycles collected and coded by Beayeyz in 1987-1988.
programs occupied more than half of the time allocated to educational and cultural content. Also, Table 8 indicates that on the main channel the proportion of time filled with programs that have specific educational objectives increased from 12 percent in 1978, to 32 percent in 1980. This increase reflects the daily telecast of *Iftah Ya Simsim*, which was produced in Kuwait Television studios.

Compared to the Second Program, the main channel devotes a lower share of its time to educational and cultural content. However, as Table 8 indicates, the Second Program had nearly 90 percent of its educational and cultural content dominated by imported documentaries on animals (*Wildlife on One*), geography (*National Geography*), and science (*Horizons, Towards 2000, and Medix*). Indeed, since the introduction of the Second Program in December 1978, these documentaries, as Table 8 shows, have occupied nearly 50 percent of the time Kuwait TV devotes to educational and cultural content.

Religion on Kuwait TV, as in many other Arab countries, is important. Daily telecasting on both channels starts with a five-minute reading from the Holy Kur'an. In addition, both channels of Kuwait television have special programming cycles for Ramadhan, during which religious content increases. Table 7 reveals that the ratio of time given to religious content slightly increased from 6 percent in 1976, to 8 percent in 1986; the highest it
reached was 10 percent in 1984. Most of the religious content on the main channel is presented in talk shows by religious scholars, in which they examine social or religious matters from an Islamic perspective. Unlike television in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait TV does not telecast the evening prayers. It does, however, broadcast live Friday's Noon Prayer from the Grand Mosque in Kuwait.

On the main program, religious content increased from 7 percent in 1980, to 11 and 12 percent in 1984 and 1986. The more likely reason for this slight increase is the "religious revival" in the region which manifested itself in the 1979 Mecca incident and the Fall of the Shah in Iran. As an extension of this revival, the religious groups in Kuwait have gained sociopolitical importance since the early-1980s (see Chapter II). These groups may have exerted direct or indirect pressure on Kuwait TV to increase religious programs.

The Second Program, compared to the main channel, has less proportion of its time devoted to religion. Besides the five-minute reading from the Holy Kur'an at the start of the service, there is one religious program, Understanding Islam. As its title indicates, the aim of this program is to explain Islam to the foreign community living in Kuwait.

Kuwait TV allocates more than half of its air-time to entertainment. As Table 7 shows, between 1976 and 1986, the
proportion of time devoted to entertainment ranged from 62 and 66 percent without major reductions as on Saudi TV. Table 9 reveals that nearly half of that time is filled with series. The remaining half is fairly distributed among films, variety programs, and cartoons. Kuwait TV does not find it difficult to locate many films that meet its censorship standards; between 1976 and 1986 films occupied between 14 and 17 percent of the time allocated to entertainment.

Comparison of the two services of Kuwait TV indicates that the proportion of time allocated to entertainment on the main channel is less than that on the Second Program. Table 7 reveals that in 1986, the First Program had 57 percent of its time allocated to entertainment, as opposed to 72 percent on the Second Program.

Figure 2 summarizes the major findings of this study with respect to the types of programs on Kuwait TV. Compared to other program categories, entertainment has maintained the highest proportion of air-time, over 60 percent. On the other hand, religious content has had the lowest share in all the six years examined in this study, 10 percent or less. In general, Figure 2 depicts the overall relative stability in the proportion of time allocated to the four different program categories.
Table 9

Entertainment Programs on Kuwait TV in Selected Years Between 1976 and 1986 (Total Annual Hours)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Films Hours</th>
<th>Series Hours</th>
<th>Variety Hours</th>
<th>Sports Hours</th>
<th>Cartoons Hours</th>
<th>Other Hours</th>
<th>Total Hours %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>265.75 14</td>
<td>737.50 40</td>
<td>448.42 24</td>
<td>119.75 7</td>
<td>188.00 10</td>
<td>82.08 4</td>
<td>1841.50 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>297.25 15</td>
<td>1001.25 50</td>
<td>368.13 18</td>
<td>140.75 7</td>
<td>149.25 7</td>
<td>54.38 3</td>
<td>2011.01 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>2nd Prog.</td>
<td>469.50 20</td>
<td>871.13 37</td>
<td>336.88 14</td>
<td>230.75 10</td>
<td>252.00 11</td>
<td>2326.51 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st Prog.</td>
<td>292.75 14</td>
<td>1038.92 50</td>
<td>334.50 16</td>
<td>188.50 9</td>
<td>117.17 6</td>
<td>2063.34 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2nd Prog.</td>
<td>218.92 20</td>
<td>712.33 64</td>
<td>26.25 2</td>
<td>39.25 4</td>
<td>115.25 10</td>
<td>1118.50 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st Prog.</td>
<td>511.67 16</td>
<td>1751.25 55</td>
<td>360.75 11</td>
<td>227.75 7</td>
<td>232.42 7</td>
<td>3181.84 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

177
Table 9 (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Films Hours</th>
<th>Series %</th>
<th>Variety Hours</th>
<th>Variety %</th>
<th>Sports Hours</th>
<th>Sports %</th>
<th>Cartoons Hours</th>
<th>Cartoons %</th>
<th>Other Hours</th>
<th>Other %</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>237.50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>939.83</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>540.67</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>110.50</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>290.92</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>98.25</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>207.50</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>639.17</td>
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<td>19.50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>120.58</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>60.75</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>445.00</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1579.00</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>569.92</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>130.00</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>411.50</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>159.00</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>268.58</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>783.58</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>547.33</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>62.83</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>322.92</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>239.50</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>359.00</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>783.17</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>113.17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21.67</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>161.00</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14.25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>627.58</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1566.75</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>660.50</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>84.50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>483.92</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>253.75</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2. Types of programs on Kuwait TV (percent of total annual hours).

Note. Programs on Second Program in 1980 are not included.
Bahrain

Even though television in Bahrain started in 1973, program cycles prior to 1980 are not available. Therefore, examination of the programming policy of Bahrain TV is based on cycles starting in 1980, not in 1976, as is the case with the examination of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

Bahrain TV increased the number of hours in its daily broadcast from about 7 hours in 1980, to nearly 14 hours in 1986; 8 hours on Channel 4, and 6 on Channel. As of 1986, daily telecast starts at 4:00 p.m. on Channel 4, and at 5:00 p.m. on Channel 55, and continues till midnight. During Ramadhan, daily transmission on Channel 4 starts at midday and continues till after midnight. As in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, daily broadcast on Bahrain TV starts with the national anthem followed by a five-minute readings from the Holy Kur'an. After a brief review of the day's schedule, the first hour on both channels is filled with cartoons and children oriented programs.

As in every country in the region, information is an important element on Bahrain TV. In 1986, as shown in Table 10, Bahrain TV allocated 13 percent of its time to information. This proportion represents a slight decrease from 18 percent in 1980. The information category on both channels of Bahrain TV is dominated by daily newscasts and news in-brief just before closing. Prior to the beginning of the second service, Channel 55, in 1981, the main
### Table 10

**Types of Programs on Bahrain TV in Selected Years Between 1980 and 1986 (Total Annual Hours)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Information Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Educational/Cultural Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Religious Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Entertainment Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>477.25</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>139.33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>105.08</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1895.83</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>2617.49</td>
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<td>1982</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 4</td>
<td>409.83</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>145.33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>203.00</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2164.67</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>2922.83</td>
<td>100</td>
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<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 4</td>
<td>393.92</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>256.92</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1852.58</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>2990.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ch. 55</td>
<td>262.17</td>
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<td>208.25</td>
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<td>76</td>
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<td>694.83</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>311.59</td>
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<td>3512.91</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5175.42</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>1986</td>
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<td>Ch. 4</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>1765.42</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ch. 55</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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<td>715.33</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>214.16</td>
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<td>3459.59</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>5069.33</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** Data based on program cycles collected and coded by Beayeyz in 1987-1988.
channel had two daily thirty-minute newscasts; one in Arabic and one in English for the foreign community in the country.

There is not much difference between the two channels in terms of the amount of time allocated to information programs. Each channel has its own thirty-minute daily newscast, and news in-brief before closing. Besides news, Channel 4 throughout the years had a few programs that were devoted to information and current affairs, namely Ma'a Annas (With the Public), Nadwat Alasboua' (Forum of the Week), Hasad Alasboua' (Harvest of the Week), Majalat Ashabab (Youth Magazine), Nadwat Araey (The Opinion Forum), and Bahrain Aljameelah (Beautiful Bahrain). On the other hand, all information content on Channel 55, is presented merely in the daily newscasts and the news briefs at the end of the broadcast day.

Educational and cultural content on Bahrain TV increased considerably in 1984 and 1986, compared to 1980. For instance Table 10 shows that in 1986, Bahrain TV had 14 percent of its time devoted to educational and cultural content compared to only 5 percent in 1980. One of the reasons for this increase was the daily broadcasting of Iftah Ya Simsir on Channel 4. In addition, after the introduction of Channel 55, Bahrain TV increased the time it devotes to documentaries such as World of Survival, National Geography, and Technology Today. Table 11 reveals
Table 11

Educational/Cultural Programs on Bahrain TV in Selected Years Between 1980 and 1986

(Total Annual Hours)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Educational Hours</th>
<th>Developmental Hours</th>
<th>Folklore and Literature Hours</th>
<th>Documentaries Hours</th>
<th>Other Hours</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>65.83 47</td>
<td>19.00 14</td>
<td>19.75 14</td>
<td>34.75 25</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>139.33 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>67.17 46</td>
<td>22.00 15</td>
<td>20.50 14</td>
<td>35.66 25</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>145.33 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>264.75 54</td>
<td>72.58 15</td>
<td>67.50 14</td>
<td>52.50 11</td>
<td>29.25 6</td>
<td>486.58 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>6.50 15</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>156.00 92</td>
<td>6.50 4</td>
<td>169.00 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
<td>271.25 41</td>
<td>72.58 11</td>
<td>67.50 10</td>
<td>208.50 32</td>
<td>35.75 5</td>
<td>655.58 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>206.83 40</td>
<td>89.50 17</td>
<td>111.66 22</td>
<td>93.33 18</td>
<td>18.00 3</td>
<td>519.32 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>11.00 17</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>0.00 0</td>
<td>135.75 84</td>
<td>15.25 9</td>
<td>162.00 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
<td>217.83 32</td>
<td>89.50 13</td>
<td>111.66 16</td>
<td>229.08 34</td>
<td>32.25 5</td>
<td>681.32 100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

that in 1984 and 1986, these documentaries along with *Iftah Ya Simsim* took nearly 70 percent of the time devoted to educational and cultural content on Bahrain TV. Bahrain TV also had a few developmental programs, programs that are related to health and safety, such as *Daqaeq Lesahatak* (Minutes for Your Health), *Salamatak* (Your Safety), *Qef* (Stop), and *Majalat Alawsrah* (Family Magazine). In 1984 and 1986, programs like these filled 11 and 13 percent of the time allocated to educational and cultural content; literary programs and local folklore filled 10 and 16 percent respectively.

Like every other television system in the region, Bahrain TV starts its daily telecast with a reading from the Holy Kur'an. Also, Bahrain TV implements a special programming cycle for the Holy month of Ramadhan during which religious programs are increased. Nonetheless, the findings of this study reveal that religion has the lowest proportion of air-time on Bahrain TV. As Table 10 reveals, although there were minor fluctuations, Bahrain TV has maintained the 4 percent share of its time devoted to religious content. With the exception of Ramadhan cycle, religious content on Channel 4 in 1980 was limited to the five-minute reading from the Holy Kur'an at the opening, followed by a five-minute religious talk, and a thirty-minute weekly program on Friday evening. In 1984, Channel 4 had five weekly programs, four of which were one
hour long, in addition to six daily programs during Ramadhan. With this increase, the proportion of time given to religious content reached 9 percent. Although this ratio was not maintained for 1986, it clearly reflects the impact of the religious revival in the region on the media. Channel 55, on the other hand, had less of a percentage of its time give to religion. As Table 10 shows, in 1984 and 1986, Channel 55 devoted only 1 and 3 percent of its time to religious content.

Results of this study indicate that entertainment has been a major feature of Bahrain TV. As shown in Table 10, Bahrain TV has allocated nearly 70 percent of its time to entertainment. Moreover, feature films constitute an important part of entertainment content on Bahrain TV. Indeed, as shown in Table 12, films fill 17 percent of the time given to entertainment. Each Channel of Bahrain TV shows at least four films a week. Most of those on Channel 4 are Arabian, but there are a few Western. The majority of the films on Channel 55 are foreign, which include some Indian films. The latter are popular on Bahrain TV because of the Indian community in Bahrain. Series account for nearly 50 percent of entertainment time.

Figure 3 illustrates the major findings of this study concerning the different types of programs on Bahrain TV. The share of entertainment programs has dropped slightly; nevertheless it is maintained above 60 percent. The
Table 12
Entertainment Programs on Bahrain TV in Selected Years Between 1980 and 1986 (Total Annual Hours)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Films</th>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Sports</th>
<th>Cartoons</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hours</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Hours</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Hours</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Hours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>327.67</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>917.25</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>283.34</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>104.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 4</td>
<td>300.67</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1022.33</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>417.00</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>122.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 55</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 4</td>
<td>322.00</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>783.25</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>415.08</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>119.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 55</td>
<td>280.50</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>979.00</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>67.67</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>102.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>602.50</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1762.25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>482.75</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>221.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 4</td>
<td>324.83</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>728.83</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>301.67</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>161.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch. 55</td>
<td>254.00</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>850.00</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>249.00</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>97.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>578.83</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1578.83</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>550.67</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>258.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3. Types of programs on Bahrain TV (percent of total annual hours).

Note. Programs on Channel 55 in 1982 are not included.
proportion of time allocated to information has decreased while the ratio for educational and cultural programs increased. On the other hand, the percentage of time given to religion is the lowest. Indeed, it has been maintained below 10 percent. Overall, as shown in the figure, there is a relative stability across all four categories.

2. Sources of Television Programs

The international flow of television programs is one of the issues that have dominated the literature on television in developing countries. It was considered as one form in which media/cultural imperialism manifests itself. Almost every television system in the world imports a proportion of its programs. However, the proportion differs from one system to another, and depends on a number of factors; the findings of this study indicate that the indigenous sociopolitical order is a primary one. Below is a report of the results of this research concerning the sources of TV programs in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain.

The proportion of local production varies from one television system to another. The difference can be traced to many factors. One of these is the lack of professional personnel and technical facilities. For instance, in Bahrain TV, where these facilities are limited, local production is humble. Another important factor is the
programming policy revealed in the censorship standards. When a country like Saudi Arabia has restrictive censorship rules, it is likely for local production to increase. Before Saudi TV went on the air in 1965, it was anticipated that it would produce no more than 25 percent of its programs. However, when the experimentation period was over in 1966, locally-produced content started to increase. By 1971, local production accounted for 50 percent of all programs. Shobaili (1971) noted that the management of Saudi TV found that only local production could accommodate the social and religious requirements of the country.

News and information programs constitute a major element of local production in the Gulf region. On a state-run television, as in most developing countries, news and current-affairs programs present the state's official position on rather sensitive matters. Therefore, for political considerations news and other information programs are produced locally. In addition, production of daily news and most information programs, by local standards, does not require professionalism. The daily newscast, for instance, is presented by one or two senior announcers who simply read what has been written by the news department; on-location reporting is not used. Al-Usmani (1984) noted that Kuwait TV has the needed equipment for Electronic News Gathering (ENG) that it hardly uses.
Besides local production, Arabian production provides a primary source from which Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain acquire their TV programs. Many of the program-cycles scrutinized for this study are written without advance planning. Most of these cycles do not specifically name the series that are scheduled during the cycle period; instead, the word "Arabian series" is stated. Therefore, it was not possible for the author to identify the exact Arabian country from which many of the series were imported. For the purpose of this study, however, this issue does not present a serious problem because naming the specific Arabian country has no great theoretical relevance to this study.

At any rate, there are three basic sources from which Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain obtain Arabian programs: Egypt, the Arabian Gulf States' Joint Program Production Institute, and the exchange project arranged by Gulfvision. In addition Jordan and Lebanon do export TV programs to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf region, but their export is relatively minor compared to that of Egypt, the cultural center of the Arab world.

The influential role of Egypt in TV production throughout the Arab region is unquestionable. Egypt, or the Hollywood of the Arab world, as Dajani noted, "has the longest tradition of film production in the Arab world, and has been producing full-length films regularly since 1930"
During the 1970s, Egypt produced many TV series with clear intention of marketing them in the Gulf region, the most lucrative market in the Arab world. After the Camp David accord in 1979, between Egypt and Israel, many Arab states joined the call to isolate Egypt and boycott its products, including TV production. As a result of the boycott, many private companies were established to replace Egypt in satisfying the demand for television series in the Gulf region. Most, if not all, of these companies are dependent on Egyptian expertise and talent (Boyd, 1982).

Another important source of Arab programs in the Gulf region is the Arabian Gulf States’ Joint Program Production Institute. The Gulf states, along with many developing countries, share the same predicament, lack of qualified personnel needed for professional TV production. Obviously, the issue necessitated collective attention by the Gulf States. Therefore, in 1976, the Ministers of Information of seven states—Bahrain, Iraq, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates—signed an agreement that founded the Arabian Gulf States’ Joint Programs Production Institute, as independent corporation for television production. Since its founding, the Institute has made a profound contribution in TV production in the Arab world in general and for the seven founding states in particular. The primary contribution of the Institute is educational
programs. Besides *Iftah Ya Simsim*, the Institute produced two educational programs, *Salamatak* (Your Safety), and *Qef* (Stop). The former is concerned with health and personal safety and consists of a number of half-hour episodes in addition to many short public service announcements. *Qef* was produced in cooperation with the Ministries of Interior as an element of a continuing public campaign for driving safety. In addition, to these educational programs, the institute produced a series of half-hour documentary films featuring the modernization efforts by the Gulf States, and dramatic series based on stories by local writers reflecting the common indigenous tradition in the region. The endeavor of the Institute has been well-received by both the public and media critics.

The three countries examined in this study along with four other Gulf states—Iraq, Oman, Qatar, and United Arab Emirates—are members of Gulfvision, which was established in 1977. One of the objectives stated in Article III of the founding agreement of Gulfvision is to increase the exchange of news and programs among member states (Gulfvision, 1982). Among member states, Kuwait and Iraq are the only two countries with relatively better quality of TV production offered in the exchange scheme sponsored by Gulfvision. Television systems in Qatar and United Arab Emirates have their own local production which contributes
to the exchange project. However, the production of these countries is dependent on Egyptian talent and expertise.

The exchange project sponsored by Gulfvision has some flaws. One of the obstacles is the difference among the member states regarding their censorship rules. Media officials in the Gulf have stated that the censorship rules adhered to by Saudi TV are the primary obstacles for an optimal program exchange (Al-Usmani, 1984). Every state claims adherence to the Television Operation Charter, which was formulated by Gulfvision in 1977 to set the basis for a unified television policy in the region (see Appendix C); nonetheless, each state seems to have a different reading of the principles stated in the Charter.

As with Arabian series, not all foreign series are named, which made it hard to determine the exact country from which foreign programs had been acquired. However, the United States, followed by the United Kingdom, is the primary source for foreign programs, not only for the Arab countries, but also for many developed and developing countries. Traditionally these two countries have been the major sources for foreign programs for Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain (Shobaili, 1971; Boyd, 1972; Boyd, 1982; Al-Usmani, 1984). Al-Sanausi affirmed that the U.S. is the major source of foreign programs for Kuwait TV. He asserted: the U.S. produces nearly 80 percent of television production in the world, France produces about 5 percent.
French production is for France and not for exportation. American television, on the other hand, produces for the world and not for America only (Staff, 1981, July).

**Saudi Arabia**

Findings of this study reveal that Saudi TV produces at least 50 percent of its content. Table 13 indicates that the proportion of local programs on Saudi TV increased slightly from 57 percent in 1976, to 62 percent in 1982, then dropped to about 50 percent after the introduction of the Second Channel in 1983. The First Channel, however, maintained nearly 60 percent of its time filled with local production, compared to 40 percent on the Second Channel.

Local production in Saudi Arabia is focused mainly on information and religious programs. Table 14 shows that content within these two categories accounted for more than 60 percent of local production. Like news and other information programs, religion on Saudi TV is a sensitive matter that has to be produced locally. The ulama in Saudi Arabia follow the Wahhabi movement, which adheres to the literal interpretation of the Holy Kur'an, and the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed. To ensure adherence to this school of thought, religious programs on Saudi TV are produced locally. Indeed, with exception of two imported from Egypt, all religious programs on Saudi TV are produced locally. Besides, Saudi Arabia does not have a shortage of
Table 13

Sources of Programs on Saudi TV in Selected Years Between 1976 and 1986 (Total Annual Hours)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Local Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Arabian Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Foreign Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1597.50</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>506.75</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>697.33</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2801.58</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1863.80</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>619.83</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>629.33</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3112.96</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1841.42</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>873.75</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>648.83</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3364.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2230.83</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>811.33</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>528.33</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3570.49</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>2282.92</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1141.42</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>620.00</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4044.34</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
<td>1076.10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1641.73</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>2717.83</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3359.02</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1141.42</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2261.73</td>
<td>33</td>
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<td>1986</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Ch.</td>
<td>2661.70</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1116.83</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>614.53</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4393.06</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Ch.</td>
<td>1126.27</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1629.47</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>2755.74</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3787.97</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>1116.83</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2244.00</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7148.80</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Local Hours</th>
<th>Local %</th>
<th>Arabian Hours</th>
<th>Arabian %</th>
<th>Foreign Hours</th>
<th>Foreign %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>4971.55</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational/Cultural</td>
<td>1734.75</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>430.00</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1047.00</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>4314.53</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>218.50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>3664.20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4415.75</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>5950.23</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14685.03</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5064.25</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6997.23</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** Data based on program cycles collected and coded by Beaysyz in 1987-1988.
ulama who are more than willing to participate in religious programs.

On the other hand, as presented in Table 14, only 25 percent of local production is entertainment. Most of the production within this category is variety programs. A variety program on Saudi TV is simply an edited collection of different segments (songs, interviews with celebrities, and scenes from various films, and series) from the library. Series production is very little because this type of production needs the talent which Saudi society does not have; television in Saudi Arabia is a novel medium that came to a society that does not have artistic tradition, on which TV production depends. Unlike Egypt, Lebanon, or even Kuwait, Saudi Arabia has never had a cinema production or a theatrical art from which local production can benefit. More importantly, the religious community in the country has taken a strong position against the participation of Saudi women in TV production. Ahmed Al-Hothail (personal communication, January 28, 1986) who participated in the early drama production of Saudi TV, attributed the lack of local production to scarcity of qualified script writers. However, he believed that the most important cause is the society's customs and traditions which do not allow Saudi women to take part in television programs and series. Al-Hothail maintained that actresses from other Arabian countries are not necessarily a substitute for Saudi
actresses, who are the best qualified to represent the reality of Saudi society on television.

Educational and cultural content, as Table 14 reveals, is only 12 percent of Saudi local production. Most of this consists of literary programs or programs on local folklore. After the reduction of entertainment in the 1980s, Saudi TV increased its production of programs on indigenous folklore. Due to the limitation of qualified personnel, Saudi TV had very limited production which had specific educational objectives or was clearly related to a school curriculum. There were some educational programs that were produced locally, yet because of the lack of expertise, these programs do not reveal full understanding of television as an educational medium. In these programs, school teachers are brought into the studio to merely lecture in front of the camera. The main objectives of these programs were to help students prepare for their year-end examinations.

Moreover, the results of this study indicate that Saudi TV imports a fair share of its programs, of which more than half come from Arabian sources. Between 1976 and 1982, Saudi TV had a tendency to increase its imported Arabian programs while decreasing programs from foreign sources. As presented in Table 13, the percentage of imported Arabian programs increased from 18 percent in 1976 to 23 percent in 1982. During the same period, the
proportion of foreign programs dropped from 25 to 15 percent. After the introduction of the Second Channel in 1983, the tendency reversed, however. For example, in 1986, the proportion of foreign programs was 31 percent, compared to 16 percent for imported Arabian programs.

When examining imported programs on Saudi TV, one should look at each of the two channels individually. The main channel had nearly 30 percent of its content imported from Arabian sources. All Arabic-language programs imported by Saudi TV are, in fact, presented on the First Channel. As presented in Table 14, the overwhelming majority (87 percent) of these programs were entertainment, mainly soap operas which dominate TV production in the Arab world. Moreover, the main channel allocated about 15 percent of its air-time for foreign content. Foreign content on the First Channel was dominated by documentaries on wildlife, and cartoons for children. In fact, the first hour of the daily broadcast on the First Channel is always devoted to cartoons.

The Second Channel, on the other hand, imported nearly 60 percent of its content. This channel concentrates on foreign programs; more than 70 percent of foreign content imported by Saudi TV was shown on this channel. Table 14 shows that 85 percent of foreign programs were entertainment, and the remaining 15 percent were devoted to educational and cultural programs.
In sum, Saudi TV produced nearly 60 percent of its content, and after the introduction of the Second Channel in 1983, the proportion dropped to about 50 percent in 1984 and 1986. However, the main channel had 60 percent of its air-time for local production, compared to 40 percent on the Second Channel. For sociopolitical considerations, the majority of local production of Saudi TV consisted of religious and information programs. The remaining 40 percent is imported from other Arab and foreign sources. Prior to the introduction of the Second Channel in 1983, Arab sources used to be the primary source of imported programs on Saudi TV. With the inauguration of the Second Channel, the percentage of foreign programs increased. Figure 4 illustrates the changes in the proportion of imported foreign programs on Saudi TV. It shows that the proportion of imported programs were on the decline until the introduction of the Second Channel in 1983.

Kuwait

Results of this study indicate, as shown in Table 15, that local production on Kuwait TV dropped from 53 percent in 1976, to 43 percent in 1986. The primary cause of this decline was the introduction of the Second Program in 1978, which increased the share of foreign programs. However, the proportion on the main channel was maintained near 60 percent, compared to 20 percent on the Second Program.
Figure 4. Sources of programs on Saudi TV (percent of total annual hours).
Table 15

Sources of Programs on Kuwait TV in Selected Years Between 1976 and 1986 (Total Annual Hours)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Local Hours</th>
<th>Local %</th>
<th>Arabian Hours</th>
<th>Arabian %</th>
<th>Foreign Hours</th>
<th>Foreign %</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1473.67</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>479.38</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>825.63</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2778.68</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1497.21</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>567.88</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1019.50</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3084.59</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st Prog.</td>
<td>1835.21</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>844.75</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>788.96</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3468.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd Prog.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st Prog.</td>
<td>1878.83</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>867.88</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>484.29</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3231.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd Prog.</td>
<td>241.33</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1300.00</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>1541.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2120.16</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>867.88</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1784.29</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>4772.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Local</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arabian</td>
<td></td>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hours</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Hours</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Hours</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Hours</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Prog.</td>
<td>1997.92</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1048.17</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>595.00</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3641.09</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Prog.</td>
<td>333.50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1337.58</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1671.08</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2331.42</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1048.17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1932.58</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5312.17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Prog.</td>
<td>2213.67</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>1129.08</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>563.25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3906.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Prog.</td>
<td>378.50</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1677.67</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>2056.17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2592.17</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1129.08</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2240.92</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>5962.17</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** Data based on program cycles collected and coded by Beayeyz in 1987-1988.
Table 16 indicates that information and entertainment dominate Kuwait local production. A large share (35 percent) of local production was allocated to information. As in Saudi Arabia, for political and practical reasons, news and other public affairs programs have to be produced locally. Also, a larger share (38 percent) of local production, as indicated in Table 16, was given to entertainment; a relatively high proportion compared to Saudi Arabia. The difference between the two countries concerning local production of entertainment manifests the contrast between the two sociopolitical orders within which the two TV systems operate. Television came to Kuwait when the government was interested in fostering the development of the theatrical arts in the country. In 1965, the Ministry of Social Affairs established the Theatrical Studies Center, a training center from which the pioneers of professional acting in Kuwait graduated. In 1968, the Ministry of Information assumed responsibility of the center and a few years later, in 1972, the center was changed into a four-year college, named the Higher Institute for Theatrical Arts. A remarkable feature of this institute is that the monthly allowance of a female student is 50 percent more than that of a male student; this is meant to be an incentive to increase enrollment of female students (Al-Zaid, 1983). Without doubt, the institute has had a profound effect on TV production in Kuwait. Compared
Table 16

Types of Programs by Source on Kuwait TV in a Six-Year Period Between 1976 and 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Local Hours</th>
<th>Local %</th>
<th>Arabian Hours</th>
<th>Arabian %</th>
<th>Foreign Hours</th>
<th>Foreign %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>4134.90</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational/Cultural</td>
<td>1331.83</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>234.42</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1279.00</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>1889.58</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>161.58</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>4483.75</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4541.12</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>7265.21</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11840.06</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4937.12</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>8544.21</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

to that of other countries in the Gulf region, Kuwait TV has a local production of professional quality. Indeed, in all the three Gulfvision festivals, Kuwait won the first prize in dramatic production. On the other hand, religious content made up only 16 percent of Kuwait local production; compared to Saudi TV, this is a low proportion. It is another indication of the difference between the two countries in programming policy.

Also, as shown in Table 16, educational and cultural programs represented a small proportion (11 percent) of local production on Kuwait TV. Most of that production within this category went to literary programs and local folklore. Even though segments of *Iftah Ya Simsim* were videotaped in Kuwait, this educational program is not a production of Kuwait TV. It is a production of the Arabian Gulf States Joint Program Production Institute, which in 1977, for $2.5 million, bought Children Television Workshop's technical assistance including the Arab world rights to *Sesame Street* for a nine-year period (Tracy, 1980). Kuwait TV, like all television systems in the region, lacks the qualified personnel needed to produce programs with specific educational objectives.

Also, the findings of this study indicate that Kuwait TV imports at least 50 percent of its programs, of which more than half come from foreign sources. As Table 15 shows, between 1976, and 1986, proportions of programs from
Arabian sources fluctuated between 17 and 20 percent. During the same period, the percentage of foreign programs increased from 30 percent in 1976, to 38 percent in 1986. After the introduction of the Second Program in late 1978, the main channel increased the proportion of imported programs from 18 percent in 1978, to 29 percent in 1986. Indeed, as in Saudi Arabia, all imported Arabian programs are presented on the main channel. As shown in Table 16, more than 90 percent of Arabian programs are entertainment, mostly soap operas which dominate TV production in the Arab region. On the other hand, the ratio of foreign programs on the main channel ranged between 14 and 16 percent. The foreign content on the main channel is mostly cartoons and documentaries on topics such as wildlife, science, or geography. As on every television channel in the region, the first hour of daily broadcast on Kuwait TV is devoted to cartoons.

Compared to the main channel, the Second Program had more imported content. When it started in December 1978, its content was a mixture of Arabian and foreign programs. For some reason, however, this practice did not continue. Findings of this study, as reported in Table 15, reveal that the Second Program imported at least 80 percent of its content, none of which was from an Arabian source. Table 16 shows that 85 percent of imported foreign programs were entertainment of which the majority were TV series, and the
remaining 15 percent were documentaries such as those on wildlife, environment, or science.

In sum, Kuwait TV produced little less than 50 percent of its content. However, on the main channel nearly 60 percent of the programs were local, compared to about 20 percent on the Second Program. The majority (73 percent) of local production consisted of information and entertainment programs. In addition, Kuwait TV imported more than 50 percent of its programs, most of which were from foreign sources as opposed to Arabian sources. As in all countries in the region, the main channel had all the Arabian imported programs, whereas the second channel had most of the foreign.

In general, Figure 5 illustrates the proportions of programs from the three different sources. As shown in the figure, the proportion of local programs was declining while the proportion of imported programs was increasing. On the other hand the share of Arabian programs seems to have maintained a steady level near 20 percent.

Bahrain

This study finds, as presented in Table 17, that the share of local production on Bahrain Television dropped from 38 percent in 1980, to 29 percent in 1986. As in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the principle cause of this decrease was the introduction of Channel 55, in 1981, which concentrates
Figure 5. Sources of programs on Kuwait TV (percent of total annual hours).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Local Hours</th>
<th>Local %</th>
<th>Arabian Hours</th>
<th>Arabian %</th>
<th>Foreign Hours</th>
<th>Foreign %</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
<th>Total %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1015.33</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>664.67</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>981.50</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2661.50</td>
<td>100</td>
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<tr>
<td>1982</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Prog.</td>
<td>1182.33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1128.50</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>612.00</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2922.83</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Prog.</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.a.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Prog.</td>
<td>1307.50</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1366.08</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>316.42</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2990.00</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Prog.</td>
<td>367.00</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1848.42</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>2215.42</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1674.50</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>1366.08</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2164.84</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5205.42</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Prog.</td>
<td>1158.33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1374.50</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>361.00</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2893.83</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Prog.</td>
<td>311.33</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1931.17</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>2242.50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1469.66</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1374.50</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2292.17</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5136.33</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** Data based on program cycles collected and coded by Beayeyz in 1987-1988.
on foreign programs. Nonetheless, on the main service, Channel 4, local production accounted for nearly 40 percent, compared to less than 20 percent on Channel 55.

As in Kuwait, information and entertainment programs had the highest share of local production on Bahrain TV. Programs within these two categories, as shown in Table 18, accounted for 79 percent of local production. As in all developing countries, news and information programs for political and practical considerations have to be produced locally. Compared to Saudi Arabia, the proportion of entertainment in local production was high, yet one should keep in mind that locally-produced entertainment represented less than 20 percent of the entertainment programs on Bahrain TV (see Table 10), as opposed to nearly 30 percent in Saudi Arabia (see Table 4) and in Kuwait (see Table 7). Furthermore, most entertainment production in Bahrain TV consisted of variety programs. Bahrain TV does not have the qualified personnel and the facilities needed for drama production. Compared to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, Bahrain has a modest TV station. With limited expertise and facilities, Bahrain Television concentrated its local production on variety programs for entertainment. On the other hand, religious and educational content had a low proportion in local production of Bahrain TV. Programs within these two categories represented about 20 percent of local production.
Table 18

Types of Programs by Source on Bahrain TV in a Four-Year Period Between 1980 and 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Local Hours</th>
<th>Local %</th>
<th>Arabian Hours</th>
<th>Arabian %</th>
<th>Foreign Hours</th>
<th>Foreign %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Information</td>
<td>2223.42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational/</td>
<td>468.50</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>573.92</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>652.42</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>638.42</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>195.42</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>1930.50</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3764.42</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>5338.08</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5260.84</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4533.76</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5990.50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compared to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, Bahrain has a higher percentage of imported programs, 70 percent. Table 17 shows that between 1980 and 1986, the proportion of imported Arabian programs on Bahrain TV ranged between 25 and 27 percent; and for foreign content the ratio increased from 37 percent in 1980 to 45 percent in 1986. As in all countries of the region, the main channel, as opposed to the second, concentrates more on Arabian and less on foreign programs. For instance, the proportion of imported Arabian programs on the main channel (Channel 4) was increased from 25 percent in 1980, to 39 percent in 1982, and to 47 percent in 1986. Indeed, all imported Arabian programs shown on Bahrain TV were on Channel 4. The overwhelming majority (83 percent) of these programs, as Table 18 presents, were entertainment, and 13 percent were educational and cultural. Foreign programs imported by Bahrain TV are shown on both channels. However, after the beginning of the second service (Channel 55) in 1981, the ratio of imported programs on the main channel dropped to 12 percent in 1986, as opposed to 21 percent in 1982.

On the other hand, Channel 55 in 1984 and 1986, had more than 80 percent of its air-time occupied with foreign programs. Nearly 90 percent of foreign programs on Bahrain TV were for entertainment, and about 10 percent were mainly documentary programs on topics such as science, wildlife, or environment.
In short, this study found that Bahrain TV produced about 30 percent of its content. The main channel, however, had a higher ratio, 40 percent as opposed to 20 percent on Channel 55. Most of local production was information and entertainment. The remaining 70 percent was imported from Arabian and foreign sources. As in every TV system in the region, imported Arabian programs are shown only on the main channel, whereas the second channel show foreign programs. An important conclusion concerning the sources of TV programs on Bahrain TV, as depicted in Figure 6, is the relative stability without major changes, as was the case with Saudi TV.

3. Summary

Government ownership along with a lack of audience input is a primary feature of broadcast media in the three states examined in this study. Even though the Ministries of Information in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have research departments, audience surveys by these departments are not conducted on regular bases to constitute an important element in decision-making. With government ownership and little audience feedback, programming policies are more likely to be based on political considerations rather than on economic or social grounds. In other words, the political elite within each country form the prominent
Figure 6. Sources of programs on Bahrain TV (percent of total annual hours).
force in media policies, particularly for radio and television.

The difference among the three countries in regard to the sociopolitical order is clearly expressed in their programming policies. The findings of this study indicate that there are differences among Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain in regard to the type and sources of their TV programs. Saudi TV, compared to the other two, allocates a higher proportion of its time to religious programs. For instance, in 1986, as presented in Table 19, Saudi TV had 18 percent of its time devoted to religious content, compared to 8 and 4 percent in Kuwait and Bahrain respectively. Television in Saudi Arabia not only starts but also concludes its daily broadcast with a five-minute reading from the Holy Kur'an. Moreover, Saudi TV has two special program cycles— for Ramadhan and Dhul Hijja— during which the total hours for religious content increases. Also, Saudi TV is the only one in the region that broadcasts live the two evening prayers from the Sacred Mosques in Mecca and Al-Madinah. With this accent on religion, it would be natural for the share of religious content to increase. On the other hand, Saudi TV has the lowest percentage for entertainment. In 1986, it allocated 48 percent to entertainment, as opposed to 62 and 68 percent in Bahrain and Kuwait.
Table 19

Types of TV Programs in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain in Selected Years Between 1976 and 1986 (Percent of Total Annual Hours)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Information</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Educational/Cultural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religious</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Entertainment</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note.** Data based on program cycles collected and coded by Beayeyz in 1987-1988.
Figures 7 and 8 depict the differences among the three states regarding the proportions of time allocated to entertainment and religious content. In all of the six years considered for this study, Saudi TV has maintained the highest share of religious programs and the lowest of entertainment. On the other side, Bahrain has had the highest for entertainment and the lowest for religious. Between the two countries is Kuwait. Another important point illustrated in figures 7 and 8 are the sudden changes for both entertainment and religious programs on Saudi TV in 1980, following the 1979 Mecca incident, and were followed by a series of fluctuations in the years after.

Differences among the three countries exist not only in the types of TV programs by also in regard to the sources of these programs. As reported in Table 20, Saudi TV has higher percentages (no less than 50 percent) of local production, compared to nearly 40 and 30 percent in Kuwait and Bahrain, respectively. Moreover, a high proportion of Saudi local production is religious programs. In addition, Saudi TV, until the introduction of the Second Channel in 1983, allocated a low proportion of its air-time to foreign programs. In fact, the percentage of time with foreign programs declined from 25 percent in 1976 to 15 percent in 1982, but after the beginning of the Second Channel, the ratio increased to more than 30 percent. In other words, the inauguration of the Second Channel has
Figure 7. Entertainment programs in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain (percent of total annual hours).

Note. Programs on Second Program of Kuwait TV in 1980 and programs on Channel 55 of Bahrain TV are not included.
Figure 8. Religious programs in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain (percent of total annual hours).

Note. Programs on Second Program of Kuwait TV in 1980 and programs on Channel 55 of Bahrain TV are not included.
Table 20

Sources of TV Programs in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain in Selected Years Between 1976 and 1986 (Percent of Total Annual Hours)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>57</td>
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<td>62</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabian</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
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<td>--</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nearly doubled the percentage of foreign programs on Saudi TV. Interestingly, to secure the ulama’s appreciation of this channel, TV officials in Saudi Arabia have repeatedly emphasized that the Second Channel is aimed at the foreign communities in the country, informing them about the country and its culture. On the other hand, having a second TV service in Kuwait or in Bahrain did not result in a great increase in the percentage of foreign programs in these two countries.

The findings here affirm Al-Usmani’s (1984) categorization of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain as Islamic conservative, Islamic moderate, and liberal, respectively. In Saudi Arabia, the conservative TV policy is a manifestation of the historical role of religion in country’s sociopolitical order. In Bahrain, however, religion has had insignificant influence in the country’s decisions. On the other hand, the religious groups in Kuwait have an influential role but not as strong as in Arabia. The "religious revival," in the region, along with the parliamentary experience of Kuwait, gave the conservative groups a voice in Kuwait’s sociopolitical system in the 1980s.

Introduction of Commercial Advertising

Following the oil price increases in 1973 and 1979, the Gulf region experienced an unprecedented economic boom
between the mid-1970s and early-1980s. Since then, the region has become one of the lucrative markets in the world. During the 1970s, nearly half of the U.S. and Japanese exports to the Arab states went to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain (Kubursi, 1984). As a result of this economic growth, the region has become an important advertising market. As Table 21 shows, more than 60 percent of advertising expenditures in the Arab world were in six Gulf states which embrace no more than 10 percent of the total population of the Arab world. In 1987, 46 percent of that advertising expenditure was in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait alone ("In the Arab world," 1988). Revenues from commercial advertising on Kuwait TV increased from about DK 225.5 thousand in 1970/71 (Al-Shareef, 1981) to almost DK 2.84 million in 1983/84 (Al-Khaled, 1985b), more than a 1000 percent increase. Furthermore, Saudi TV, since it started accepting commercial advertising in 1986, has become the largest single advertising medium in the Middle East; its air-time sales in 1987 totaled $35 million ("Saudi tv analysis," 1988).

The findings of this study suggest that introduction of TV commercial advertising in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain is not necessarily an outcome of these countries' long political and economic relations with the capitalist world. Commercial advertising started on Kuwait TV in 1969, and on Bahrain TV in 1973; however, it did not start on
### Table 21

**Advertising Expenditures in the Arab World**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Market</th>
<th>1985</th>
<th>1986</th>
<th>1987</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MS</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>75.30</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>71.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>79.20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>67.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UAE</td>
<td>36.50</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>41.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bahrain</td>
<td>11.40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>7.20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>5.30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub Total</strong></td>
<td>214.90</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>204.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan Arab Media</td>
<td>46.70</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>57.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>8.40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>55.90</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>54.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Yemen</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>327.80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>325.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source.** Arab Ad, February 1988, p. 20; Arab Ad, April 1988, p. 17.
Introduction of TV advertising in these three countries should not be isolated from the dominant sociopolitical order of each country.

Kuwait

In Kuwait, the merchants constitute the influential element in the country’s political elite. For this reason it is expected that mercantile orientation color some of the state’s media decisions. TV officials in Kuwait have maintained that commercial advertising on television has been an important element of Kuwait local economy, and it is not at the expense of television responsibility as a public service. On the contrary, TV officials have considered commercial as a valuable source of information, not only for what is available in the market but also for the proper way to use some of the products being advertised (S. Al-Fahad, personal communication, February, 1986; M. Al-Sanausi, personal communication, August 1987).

Because of the commercial nature that has dominated Kuwait, it is expected for the private sector to have a role in broadcast media. In fact, television in Kuwait was started as an investment venture by one of Kuwait’s merchants in 1959. In addition, since the late-1970s, there have been numerous talks and reports about a commercial TV station to be launched in Kuwait. In 1979, Ahmed Abdussammad, Deputy
Minister of Information for Administrative and Fiscal Affairs, stated that the Ministry of Information had been considering the idea for a commercial TV station in Kuwait ("Ahmed Abdussamad," 1979). Few years later, in 1981, Al-Sabah magazine reported on the undertaking of establishing a private company which would invest in cinema and television production, and would start a commercial TV station ("A commercial TV station," 1981). Indeed, TV officials have viewed commercialization as a viable way to overcome the bureaucratic obstacles Kuwait TV faces. Al-Sanausi, former Deputy Minister of Information for Television Affairs, on numerous occasions argued for the privatization of television in Kuwait (Al-Wadi, 1977; Zain, 1979; "Al-Sanausi talks," 1979; M. Al-Sanausi, personal communication, August 17, 1987). In 1986, Al-Sanausi resigned from his post at the Ministry of Information and joined Modern Systems Network (MSN), a private company with major investments in television and movie production. The primary objective of this firm has always been to start a commercial TV station in Kuwait (M. Al-Sanausi, personal communication, August 17, 1987). As of 1988, this frequently talked-about station has not seen light; nonetheless, these talks and reports about such a venture imply that it is feasible for the private sector in Kuwait to invest in broadcast media; According to Al-Sanausi, it is just a matter of time.
Bahrain

Commercial advertising on Bahrain TV is an extension of the country's striving toward a service-based economy. Compared to other Gulf states, Bahrain's revenues from oil are humble. For this reason the country has adopted liberal economic and social policies in an effort to foster a service-based economy. In the early-1980s, service-producing sectors contributed about 42 percent of the total GDP of Bahrain, compared to about 20 percent in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait (Kubursi, 1985). Indeed, Bahrain, because of its liberal lifestyle, financial institutions, and excellent telecommunication facilities has attracted many news wire services. News agencies like Gulf News Agency (headquartered in Bahrain), Reuters (Middle East base), Agence France Presse, Associated Press, and the Deutche Press Agency have strong presence in Bahrain. In general, there is a perception that Bahrain has an importance in information service which exceed the country's relative size. In addition, major advertising agencies in the region are headquartered in Bahrain (Hilal International, 1985).

As an outcome of this orientation towards a service-based economy, Bahrain has adopted a commercial approach for its broadcast media. In 1972, the Ministry of Information licensed an American company, RTV International, to launch a commercial TV station, and in
1977, the Ministry of Information started Radio Bahrain, an English commercial station which uses the same basic format used by most radio stations in the United States; the station has a DJ who hosts blocks of times featuring popular music, with news and short features about sports, books, cinemas, etc., inserted throughout the day (Boyd, 1982).

Advertisers, mainly international companies, have been attracted to Bahrain Radio and TV to reach an important market in the region, Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province which is no more than fifteen miles away; prior to 1986, Bahrain Radio and TV were among the primary media to reach the Saudi market. In fact, Bahrain TV tries to attract advertisers by emphasizing the size of its potential audience in the neighboring states, particularly in Saudi Arabia.

**Saudi Arabia**

Commercial advertising on Saudi TV did not start until 1986, despite the fact that Saudi Arabia has had long and strong political and economic relations with the capitalist world. Therefore, the Saudi experience with TV advertising does not support the argument that commercial advertising on television is an outcome of political and economic dependency on the international capitalist world.
To understand fully the relatively late Saudi decision for TV advertising, one should relate it to the country's sociopolitical order. Unlike those in Kuwait or Bahrain, the merchants in Saudi Arabia comprise a minor element in the country's political elite. For that reason, commercial orientation has never been an aspect of state policy in general, or media policy in particular. In his analysis of media policy in Saudi Arabia, Shobaili (1971) asserted that Saudi Arabia had "no inclination to use commercials on television as now presented in the United States" (p. 241). Indeed, any potential role of the private sector in Saudi broadcast media has been ruled out; the Minister of Information once stated that television is such a sensitive and important medium that it cannot be placed in the hands of the private sector (Al-Sohaibani, 1983).

Saudi Arabia is the biggest market not only in the Gulf region, but in the Arab world as well; in the early-1980s Saudi Arabia accounted for nearly 40 percent of the region's total imports (Wilson, 1987). The purchasing power is so high that Saudi Arabia between 1975 and 1985, was able to maintain its position as one of the 20 top markets in the world (Tuncalp, 1987). Prior to 1986, advertisers used Radio Monte Carlo Middle East, Middle East Radio in Egypt, Jordan Radio, Kuwait TV, and Bahrain TV to reach the Saudi markets (Boyd, 1982; "Big companies use Kuwait TV," 1985). In addition, video became an important advertising
medium. Advertisers found buying spots on popular films on video to be the most efficient medium to penetrate the lucrative Saudi market; a well-received video can reach up to one million within the first three months of its release (Boyd, Straubhaar, and Lent, 1989).

For such an important market as Saudi Arabia, 1986 was a late date for TV advertising to start, compared to 1969 in Kuwait and 1973 in Bahrain. Allowing commercial advertising on Saudi TV was a major step dictated by a new reality in the Saudi economy following three five-year development plans that started in 1970, and a sharp decline in the oil prices which started in 1983.

The contribution of the private sector in the Saudi economy has been minor since the discovery of oil after World War II. In fact, it has been government expenditure on which the Saudi economy, including the private sector, has survived. However, Saudi Arabia underwent three five-year development plans during which the size of the private sector changed significantly. During the second five-year plan (1975-1980), the private sector underwent a significant change and its contribution to GDP doubled. The private sector is no longer limited to trading; it is now represented in all sectors of the economy, particularly in manufacturing, modern agriculture, hotel, and construction (Ministry of Planning, 1980). The growth of the private
sector is embodied in the number of registered business establishments, and its contribution in the GDP.

The number of registered establishments increased from 43,621 in 1976 (Al-Awaji, 1971) to 194,817 in 1983 (Ministry of Planning, 1985). Private business in Saudi Arabia is increasing at the rate of 13% annually. The contribution of the private sector was 33 percent of the GDP in 1985, compared to 13 percent in 1975 (Azzam, 1988). This growth is the result of government policies to lessen the country's dependence on the oil sector. According to the Ministry of Planning (1985):

These policies have combined to create a business environment that is attractive to both Saudi and foreign companies alike. The Kingdom's approach to development hinges successfully on a partnership between the Government and the private sector. As a result, the economy has been transformed in a very short time and a strong, influential and increasingly sophisticated private commercial and industrial sector is now firmly established (p. 103).

The growth of the private sector was coupled with a sharp decline in oil prices in the early-1980s. This was reflected in lower levels of government investment and a decline in the country's economic growth rates. Since then, the government has been counting on the private sector for a more active role in the country's economy. For that
purpose, the Council of Saudi Chambers of Commerce sponsored three conferences (in 1983, 1985, and 1987) in which the government and private sector exchanged ideas pertaining to the development of the private sector and its potential role in the country's economy. All three conferences were attended by senior members of the Royal Family, and high government officials including the Ministers of Industry, Finance and National Economy, and Trade (Orakazai, 1983; Ramkumar, 1987), whose presence underscored the emerging significance of the private sector to the Saudi economy. In the third development plan, the Ministry of Planning stated that it is important "to recognize the role of the private sector and ensure that its development is sufficient to accommodate the increasing demand being placed upon it" (Ministry of Planning, 1980, p. 481).

The introduction of commercial advertising on Saudi Television can be attributed to government's endeavor to assist the private sector. Indeed, the fourth five-year development plan, which started in 1985, identified a series of actions to be taken by the government as part of its efforts to foster the development of the private sector. These actions included "encouraging the establishment of marketing and promotional support companies, [and] intensifying the utilization of media
sources available for advertising by national companies" (Ministry of Planning, 1985, p. 111).

The launch of commercial advertising on Saudi TV can also be attributed to the status of advertising as an industry in Saudi Arabia. Advertising is a new enterprise in Saudi Arabia; before and during the economic boom of the 1970s and early-1980s, the private sector in Saudi Arabia did not need nor did it appreciate the value of advertising (Abu Rokbah, 1981). The purchasing power in the market was so high that few marketing efforts were needed. However, the emergence of the new middle class, along with the economic downturn after the decline of oil prices, has had a far-reaching impact on the Saudi markets. The Ministry of Planning (1985) noted that consumers became more sophisticated and more quality-conscious, and "falling demand increased competition in domestic markets and emphasized the need for and value of effective selling and marketing strategies" (p. 107). In response to the new reality of the changing market in Saudi Arabia, advertising has become an indispensable element for many Saudi companies and establishments. The growing importance of advertising is revealed in the number of licenses issued for new agencies. As Table 22 shows, 69 new advertising agencies were licensed in 1985, compared to only 9 in 1975. Figure 9 clearly depicts the sharp increase in the number
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Licenses Issued</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1972</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1973</td>
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<td>1977</td>
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<td>1978</td>
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<td>1984</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source. Provided by Ministry of Information, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.
Figure 9. Number of new advertising agencies licensed in Saudi Arabia (1971-1985).
of licenses issued for new advertising agencies in Saudi Arabia.

In short, the introduction of commercial advertising on Saudi TV can be attributed to the development of the private sector during the economic boom between 1973-1983, and to the emerging importance of advertising in Saudi Arabia. In addition, as a result of the economic recession following the decline of oil prices, the Ministry of Information has started to look at commercial advertising as a viable source of revenue. Indeed, the air-time sales for advertising on Saudi TV totaled $35 million in 1987 ("Saudi tv analysis," 1988).

When commercial advertising started, it was influenced by the conservative policy to which Saudi TV adheres. Robert Woodbridge, an Official of Lintas Overseas, a leading advertising agency in the Middle East, said the following about advertising on Saudi TV:

Saudi Arabian television is proving to be a big headache due to censorship. We are reserving our judgment. But clearly commercial television, where it exists (and the fact that it did not for so long is why video was so successful), is the most powerful communicator for packaged goods. But it is becoming more and more restricted and it appears we now have to submit both storyboards and scripts for approval...There is going to have to be ingenious
creative work done to get over the rules about what is acceptable for family viewing. The problem for advertisers are firstly the censorship, secondly the current programming and thirdly the fact that life in Saudi Arabia is totally different from Kuwait, Bahrain, and Dubai where there is also commercial TV (Avery, 1987, p. 8-9).

Furthermore, Arab Ad reported that Saudi TV would not allow the inclusion of women or female voice-overs on their commercials. The magazine cited an announcement from Commercial Advertising Department of Saudi TV, which said:

Your kind attention is invited for the general attention to the effect that the Commercial Advertisement Department in Saudi Arabian Television will not accept with immediate effect any advertisement, displayed, introduced and presented by any lady model.

The Commercial Advertisement Department do hereby declare once again that no such advertising material would be accepted and telecasted from the Saudi Arabian Television with effect from 10th May 1987. Please be noted ("Saudi TV regulations," 1987, p. 27).

In sum, all three countries examined in this study allow commercial advertising on their TV systems. The findings of this research indicate that the introduction of commercial advertising is not a product of these
countries political and economic dependence on the international capitalist system. In Kuwait and Bahrain, TV commercial advertising is merely an extension of the mercantile orientation that has dominated the sociopolitical systems of these two countries. In Saudi Arabia, on the other hand, TV advertising, which started in 1986, was dictated by a new reality in Saudi economy, the growth of the private sector.

**Foreign Ownership**

Saudi Arabia and Bahrain each had experienced direct American involvement in the development of their television systems. For about ten years, between 1955 and 1964, the U.S. Air Force operated a radio and television station in the eastern province of Saudi Arabia. Also, Aramco, which was an American company till 1981, has had its own broadcast media since the 1950s. In addition, both the U.S. government and U.S. companies provided technical assistance and training during the initial years of Saudi TV. In Bahrain, television was introduced in 1973 by RTV International, an American company licensed to operate the only television service in the country. RTV International’s venture in Bahrain did not last long; it was ended by government take-over in February 1975. However, it provides an illustration of American attempt in broadcast media in the Gulf region.
The purpose of this section is to review the American role in the development of television in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, and see how it resembles the media imperialism that countries of Latin America have experienced.

**Saudi Arabia**

During the 1945 agreement which gave the United States access to Dhahran air base, the U.S. Air Force started in June 1955 a radio and television station in Dhahran. The station was an affiliate of the American Forces Radio and Television Service (AFRTS), and received all of its programs from AFRTS's headquarters in Los Angeles. Television programming was entertainment-oriented and consisted of shows that were current hits such as *Gunsmoke*, *I Love Lucy*, and many other shows from Hollywood. In addition, the station had two daily 15-minutes newscasts and many news specials that were locally-produced. With the final phase-out of the U.S. military presence at Dhahran, the station was deactivated in October 1964, after nine years of operation (Shobaili, 1971).

Aramco TV, which started in September 1957, is another example of American ownership of television in Saudi Arabia. During its first eight months of operation, the station was on the air for only one hour a day, five days a week. By the early-1960s, the station was on the air for about five hours a day, with two additional hours on
weekends and holidays. In the beginning the coverage of the station was limited to Dhahran and nearby communities. In 1963, a relay transmitter was added so the station signals could reach far areas in the Al-Ahsa Province, where many of Aramco’s project are located (Shobaili, 1971; Boyd, 1972).

During its early years of operation, Aramco Television broadcast in both Arabic and English. The foreign programs were telecast with Arabic sound dubbed in; for the non-Arabic speaking viewers, the original sound track was broadcast on one of Aramco's three radio stations. Prior to the beginning of Dammam TV Station in November 1969, Aramco TV produced about 45 percent of its programs (Shobaili, 1971; Boyd, 1972). Said Tahair, Manager of Media and Production Department for Aramco (personal communication, March 4, 1986) stated that local production consisted of a religious program presented by Shaikh Othman Al-Hooqail and then by Shaikh Abdulaziz Al-Moobarak, two children’s programs (Baba Hatab presented by Jameel Hatab, and Sahatak presented by Hassan Ghanem), a program on safety presented by Mohammed Younis, and a literary program (Zaweat Alkotoob presented by Ismael Nadher). All the hosts of these programs were employees in the Public Relations Department in Aramco.

However, when the Dammam station started in November 1969, Aramco TV ceased broadcasting in Arabic and stopped
all local production, but it has continued broadcasting in English. The results of this study reveal that between 1976 and 1986 no less than 96 percent of air-time on Aramco TV was filled with imported programs, primarily from the United States. In fact, prior to 1982, all the programs on Aramco TV were imported; since 1982 the proportion has decreased slightly to 94 percent; the daily broadcast of news produced by Saudi TV accounts for the remaining 6 percent.

Aramco TV increased its daily service from nearly 7 hours a day in 1976 to about 10 hours in 1986. Daily transmission starts at 4:30 p.m. on weekdays, at 9:00 a.m. on Thursday, and at midday on Friday, and concludes near midnight. The findings of this study, as reported in Table 23, reveal that in 1976 and 1978, Aramco TV allocated 86 percent of its time to entertainment. Although the proportion dropped to 76 percent in 1980, it started to increase afterward, reaching 81 percent in 1986. Films and TV series constitute the bulk of entertainment content on Aramco TV; every night a feature film is shown. There were a number of variety programs that were imported from the United States. Programs like The Tonight Show, Hour Magazine, Real People, and many other have been shown frequently on Aramco TV. On weekends, a fair share of sporting programs are shown. Most, if not all, of these sport programs are imported from the U.S. and feature the
Table 23

Types of Programs on Aramco TV in Selected Years Between 1976 and 1986 (Total Annual Hours)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Information/Religious Hours</th>
<th>Educational/Cultural Hours</th>
<th>Entertainment Hours</th>
<th>Total Hours</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>48.75</td>
<td>317.42</td>
<td>2182.05</td>
<td>2548.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>68.90</td>
<td>305.93</td>
<td>2274.35</td>
<td>2649.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>21.88</td>
<td>508.74</td>
<td>1678.52</td>
<td>2209.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>206.05</td>
<td>434.20</td>
<td>2276.08</td>
<td>2916.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>318.29</td>
<td>273.22</td>
<td>2604.55</td>
<td>3196.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>399.10</td>
<td>357.07</td>
<td>3242.63</td>
<td>3998.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Data based on program listings published weekly in different issues of Arabian Sun, and was collected and coded by Beayeyz in 1988.
types of sports that are very popular in the U.S. like football, baseball, and tennis.

The share of educational and cultural programs was 12 percent of air-time in 1976 and 1978. This percentage was increased to 23 percent in 1980, then began a gradual decrease till it reached 9 percent in 1984 and 1986. Educational and cultural programs on Aramco TV included children's programs like Sesame Street; however, the majority were documentaries on science wildlife and geography. In addition, some of these programs were related to training and industrial safety.

Information and religious programs have had a small share of air-time on Aramco TV. Prior to 1982, programs within these two categories occupied no more than 2 percent of air-time, but the proportion increased to 10 percent in 1984 and 1986. In fact, Aramco TV did not have programs on religion until 1984 and 1986, when it started to show some documentaries on Islam such as Traditional World of Islam, and Islam and Science.

The changes in the proportions of time allocated to different categories of TV programs on Aramco TV can be attributed to two basic factors: the 1979 Mecca incident and the purchase of Aramco by the Saudi Government in 1980. Following the 1979 Mecca incident, the total annual program hours dropped to 2,209 in 1980, compared to 2,649 in 1978, a decrease of about 17. Most of the cut was in
entertainment programs. In 1980 the total hours for entertainment programs were 1,678, as opposed to 2,274 hours in 1978, a reduction of about 26. To compensate for the reduction of time for entertainment, the amount of time allocated for educational and cultural programs was increased by nearly 70 percent, from 305 hours in 1980 to 508 in 1980.

After the government purchase of Aramco in 1981, the proportion of time allocated to information and religious programs increased. Before 1982, information programs on Aramco TV consisted only of sports news and a few imported current affairs programs like *Sixty Minutes*. News is a rather sensitive matter which Aramco TV, for political consideration, avoided. However, since 1982, Aramco TV has started rebroadcasting the daily newscast of Saudi TV.

There are no written rules for censorship on Aramco TV; censorship is based on common sense and knowledge about Saudi society (S. M. Tahair, personal communication, March 4, 1986). The Ministry of Information has never had a direct role in the programming decisions for Aramco TV. However, in 1982, the Ministry of Information established an office in Dammam for monitoring Aramco Radio and Television. The primary goal of this office is to ensure that Aramco TV will not show what may contradict Islamic teachings or the media policy of the country, or contain violence, sex, or drugs (Mohsen Al-Hassan, personal
communication, January 11, 1989). On different occasions, the censor of Aramco TV has asked this office for assistance in deciding for some scenes or programs (S. Tahair, personal communication, March 4, 1986).

In general, the type of programs that Aramco TV broadcasts indicate that it has a more liberal censorship policy than Saudi TV. Indeed, Aramco TV had shown many programs and series which are unlikely to be acceptable to the censors of Saudi TV. For instance, on June 23, 1978, Aramco TV broadcast a thirty-minute special about the Miss U.S. Beauty Pageant ("Aramco tv schedule," 1978). Moreover, Aramco TV has scheduled many American series which Saudi TV, due to its restrictive censorship rules, has never had. American series like Love Boat, Laverne and Shirley, Happy Days, Hart To Hart, Police Woman, Dallas, Hill Street Blues, only to name a few, provide primary examples.

American involvement in the development of television in Saudi Arabia was not limited to direct ownership only, but included technical and training assistance as well. When Saudi Arabia wanted to start its television system in Spring 1963, King Faisal requested U.S. help and advice in acquiring a reliable television system. In response to the king's request, Edward Allen, the FCC's Chief Engineer, went to Saudi Arabia to counsel the government on the technical matters and the steps to be taken to set up a television service in the country. Mr Allen wrote a
ten-page detailed report which marked the beginning of the U.S. role in the establishment of Saudi TV.

Boyd (1972) offered three reasons for the U.S. interest in responding to the Saudi's request. One, the U.S. wanted to have a role in the development of an important project like television, which represented a new phase in the country's development. Two, by acting as the contracting authority for the Saudi project, the U.S. government would guarantee the participation of American firms in the project. In fact, the technical agreement between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia stipulated that all contracts for all the different aspects of the project and the personnel training had to be with American companies. Third, if the U.S. had not helped, the Saudi might have turned to Europe for assistance, a step which the U.S. did not want to see. Moreover, U.S. technical advice was not free. Indeed, all the expenses were paid for by the Saudi government; by the 1971, the total amount of letter of credit which the Saudi government opened for the project exceeded $28.5 million.

Bahrain

In Bahrain, television was started in 1973 by an American company, RTV International. Bahrain is the only country in the region which licensed a foreign firm to operate the only television service in the country.
Authorizing a foreign company to operate a cultural medium in the country was an aspect of Bahrain's liberal economic and social policies, which were adopted to attract foreign investors, an effort in diversifying the country's economy. However, RTV International's role in Bahrain did not last long. In February 1975, the Ministry of Information bought the station from RTV International.

The government's acquisition of the station was attributed to the financial difficulties RTV International was facing. The cost of a new building and new equipment to improve the station's signals and the quality of its local production led RTV International into a difficult financial predicament (Boyd, 1982). Therefore, in January 1975, RTV International applied for liquidation, and the Ministry of Finance and National Economy appointed an auditor who sold the station to the Ministry of Information ("Liquidation of RTV," 1975; "The Government acquires," 1975). This author, however, believes that the main reason for the government's purchase of the station was more than just the financial difficulties of RTV; it was the political dimension of the issue. In other words, the nationality of RTV coupled with its believed link to the CIA (Boyd, 1982) and its programming policy are more important reasons for the government's takeover. In fact, the sudden arrival of Arthur Lipper, one of the company's owners, in Bahrain in February 1975, protesting the liquidation of RTV
International ("New developments," 1975) casts some doubts on the notion that RTV did apply for liquidation.

RTV International was an American company which had maintenance contracts with many developing countries including Jordan, Libya, Kuwait, Kenya, and Thailand; most of these contracts were with the U.S. Agency for International Development. The company was established in 1963 by Richard Bertrandias, who was a former official at Radio Liberty, a broadcast organization which still operates radio services directed toward the Soviet Union (Boyd, 1982). This station was clandestinely operated and funded by the CIA till the early-1970s. Because of Bertandias' previous job with Radio Liberty, RTV International was believed to be a CIA cover company.

Because of the massive U.S. financial and military assistance to Israel after the latter's defeat in the 1973 War, Bahrain wanted to disassociate itself from an American company with rumored CIA connections. In fact, the Minister of Information at one time denied that RTV International was an American company. He maintained that RTV International was an Arabian company; 80% of its shares were owned by a Lebanese firm and 20% by Bahrain Government ("Arthur Lipper in Bahrain," 1975). In addition, the Ministry of Information was dissatisfied with the programming policy implemented by RTV International. Very little information is available about the programming
policy of RTV International. But Amarah (1975) commented on RTV's heavy reliance on foreign content. He said:

Last Thursday I sat and tuned to Channel 4 [Bahrain TV] then I tuned to other stations to find Arabian plays and films. Bahrain TV was showing a foreign series followed by a foreign film; therefore I preferred to spend the evening watching an Arabian play. The question which every citizen in Bahrain asks is why does not television [Bahrain TV] show Arabian programs at least on Thursday when all families are in front of the small screen?, can't television [Bahrain TV] at least on Thursday present us an Arabian play, film, or series? Televisions in neighboring states were able to attract all families to spend the evening watching their programs. When Channel 4 [Bahrain TV] will be able to attract us to spend the evening watching its programs?" (p. 34).

This criticism may reflect the public dissatisfaction with RTV's heavy reliance on foreign programs. Nasser-Edeen (1975) stated that there was some contention between the Minister of Information and the company concerning the latter programming policy, mainly around the company's disregard of Bahrain's society. After acquiring the station in February 1975, the Minister of Information was asked about changes in programs. In his reply he said: "There must be fundamental changes....At present time we will try
to air the current programs after deleting what does not conform to our environment [culture]" ("The Minister of Information said," 1975). Such a statement by the Minister reveals his discontent with the programming policy of RTV International.

Discussion

Both Saudi Arabia and Bahrain experienced foreign ownership of television. However, the two experiences are different. The Saudi experience does not constitute an example of media imperialism which other regions like Latin America experienced. For one reason, the stations operated by the U.S Air Force and Aramco TV do not fit the conventional definition of a mass medium. The U.S. Air Force’s radio and television station was started to entertain and inform U.S. military personnel, not the general masses in the region. Boyd (1972) cited an Air Force historian who described the audience of this station by saying:

There are not many viewers in Saudi Arabia, with the exception of our airmen and officers, there are a few hundred Americans with the oil companies, a handful of Arab officials and that’s all. With all the liquid wealth in Arabia, there are no TV sets for the average Arab (p. 80).
In addition, this station was part of the U.S. military establishment, and had no direct link with the U.S. media industry; it was owned by the U.S. Air Force, not by an American media company. Therefore, any attempt to take this station as an example of media imperialism would be unjustifiably looking at the part while ignoring the whole. In other words, deliberation on this station as an aspect of media imperialism will be meaningless if it does not take into consideration the U.S. military presence which brought this station. In short, because of its limited audience coupled with its primary purpose—to entertain the U.S. military personnel, this station was not a form of media imperialism.

Likewise Aramco TV should not be regarded as an example of media imperialism for three fundamental reasons. One, operation of a television station in Saudi Arabia has never been one of Aramco's priorities nor was it the objective for its presence in the country; Aramco is in the oil industry and not in the media business. Two, the primary objective of the station has been the entertainment and information of the company's employees and not the general public. Throughout the years it has been part of the company's public relations department, and the station coverage has been limited to Al-Ahsa Province, where Aramco has most of its operations.
Therefore, Aramco TV does not fit the traditional definition of a mass medium. Finally, commercial advertising has never been part of the station content. In short, for these three fundamental reasons, one can not consider Aramco TV as form of media imperialism.

Notwithstanding its political and economic interest in early development of Saudi TV, neither the U.S. government nor any American company had any kind of influence on the programming policy. According to Boyd (1972), the Ministry of Information "made it clear from the beginning that it wanted to program its own stations and refused most advice which NBC attempted to give concerning specific program types to be telecast" (p. 231-2).

Unlike Saudi Arabian, Bahrain's short experience with foreign ownership of television is a typical illustration of one form of media imperialism. For three basic reasons, Bahrain's experience with RTV International was different from the Saudi's with Aramco TV. First, RTV was a commercial company which came to Bahrain for no other reason than to operate a commercial television station. Second, advertising revenues were the only and primary goal of RTV International. Last, the television service of RTV was aimed at the general public and not at a precise audience group. For these three main reasons one can look at the presence of RTV in Bahrain as an example of media imperialism that was experienced in Latin America.
At any rate, one should examine RTV's role in television development in Bahrain within the country's sociopolitical order. Bahrain's political and economic dependence on the West was not the sole, nor was it the primary, factor behind RTV's presence in Bahrain. Licensing an American company to provide television service in Bahrain was an embodiment of the state's liberal economic policy which has been geared toward a service-oriented economy. And the acquisition of the RTV's station by the government was a political decision in response to regional and local criticism of any U.S. presence in the region. The government of Bahrain wanted to avoid any symbol of overt association with the U.S., let alone allowing an American company with rumored connection with the CIA to be involved in a cultural institution such as television. In summary, RTV's limited role in the development of Bahrain TV was not so much a reflection of the country's economic and political dependence on the West as it was a reflection of the country's political and economic reality, which is a reflection of the interest of the ruling elite.
CHAPTER V
CONCLUSION

Summary

The stated objective of this dissertation was the study of television and society in three Arab states: Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain. Three aspects of television policy were examined: programming policy, commercial advertising, and foreign ownership of television stations. These three facets of television policy have dominated the literature on media and society in developing countries, and have been associated with controversial issues such as media/cultural imperialism, New International Information Order, and technology transfer.

This study is based on the theoretical assumption that mass media do not function in a vacuum; they are influenced by the political, economic, and social institutions of the society within which they operate. Media policy, which determines the content and the organizational structure of the media, is derivative of the sociopolitical structure of the society. In developing countries, where the state has the ultimate control over the broadcast media, the decisions regarding the policy of these media are political and should be studied as such.
The value of this study stems from its endeavor to analyze television policy at the national level, a level of analysis that is not widely used in the research on media and society in developing countries. The objective was to see how television policy reflects the internal dynamics and the composition of the political elite of the society within which television operates. This line of research has been overlooked by the three principal perspectives that have dominated the literature on mass media in developing societies, development communication, comparative studies, and media/cultural imperialism.

The Media/cultural imperialism perspective, which emerged in the mid-1970s, is of great relevance to this study. It focuses on the mechanisms that determine media policy in developing countries. An important attribute of this perspective is its level of analysis, based on which media policies of developing countries are examined within the sphere of international political and economic relations. The media/cultural imperialism perspective has been criticized for this level of analysis, which tends to overlook the internal dynamics and forces at the national level as potential determinants of media policy.

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain provided good cases to assess the impact of the sociopolitical order on television policy while controlling for the impact of another important variable, the political and economic
dependency on the world capitalist system. The three countries are similar in terms of their dependency on the international capitalist system. This dependency was illustrated by these countries strong and long political and economic relations with the West, and the United States and Great Britain in particular.

On the other hand, the three states differ in terms of the internal dynamics and forces which have shaped each country's sociopolitical order. Each state is governed by a ruling family whose political and economic authority has been derived from their alliance with the influential groups within each society. The nature and the composition of the influential groups differ from one state to another. In Saudi Arabia, the royal family and the religious leaders are the two principal forces in the country's political elite. After three five-year development plans which started in 1970s, the country has witnessed the emergence of a new element in the country's political elite, the new middle class. In Kuwait, the ruling family and the merchants are the primary elements in the country's sociopolitical order. In addition, the country's experience with the parliamentary system has resulted in the emergence of new groups, conservative and liberal, in the country's political elite; the National Assembly served as a podium for these groups to voice their concerns directly or indirectly in the country's decision-making. Because of
this relative political freedom which Kuwait has experienced for quite some time, diversity has become a feature of Kuwait society. The sociopolitical system of Bahrain was shaped by the country’s political elite (the ruling family and the merchants), the demographic structure of the population, and the British involvement in the Bahrain’s local affairs before the latter’s independence.

Ownership

In all the three countries, television is owned and operated by the state, as part of the Ministries of Information. In Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, there have been a number of recommendations and suggestions for reorganizing the broadcast media into a public corporation; the idea, nonetheless, has not been adopted. Furthermore, as in most developing countries, the audience in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain do not have a direct input in the media decision-making. Television systems in these countries do not have a systematic mechanism to ascertain the audience’s comments and feedback. Because of government’s ownership and lack of audience feedback, media-policy decisions in all three countries are based on sociopolitical considerations that are determined by the political elite who dominate the indigenous sociopolitical order within each country.
Programming Policy

The findings of this study have indicated that Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain differ in terms of their TV policies. This difference can be attributed to the differences among them in the composition of the political elite in each state. In other words, the TV policy of each country manifests the orientation of the dominant element in the country’s political elite. In Saudi Arabia, where the religious leaders have a great deal of sociopolitical weight, television has adopted a conservative policy that is clearly revealed in the types and sources of its programs.

Compared to the other two, Saudi TV has the highest percentage of air-time allocated to religious content and the lowest to entertainment. Indeed, following the 1979 Mecca incident there was a sharp reduction in the amount of time devoted to entertainment. To compensate for that reduction the amount of time allocated to religious, educational, and cultural programs was increased. On the other side, Bahrain TV has the highest percentage of air-time allocated to entertainment and the lowest to religious content; the religious community in Bahrain has never had a role in the country’s sociopolitical system. Kuwait TV is between the two with respect to the proportion of time allocated to religious and entertainment content. In
Kuwait, the conservative groups have a voice in TV policy, but it is not as strong as in Saudi Arabia.

Programming policies of the three countries examined in this study differ not only in the types of programs, but in the sources of these programs as well. Saudi TV, compared to the other two, has a higher percentage of locally produced content most of which is on religion and information. Bahrain TV, on the other hand, has the highest proportion of imported foreign programs. Again, Kuwait TV falls between the other two pertaining to the sources of TV programs. The differences among the three countries found in the study affirm Al-Usmani's (1984) categorization of programming policy of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain as Islamic conservative, Islamic moderate, and liberal, respectively.

Commercialization

The second aspect of TV policy that was examined in this study is commercialization. All three TV systems sell air-time for commercial advertising. However, the introduction of advertising on these systems reflects the reality of the sociopolitical order of each country and not the political and economic dependency on the international capitalist system. TV advertising started in Kuwait in 1969, in Bahrain in 1973, but in Saudi Arabia it did not start until 1986.
This study traced the early beginning of TV advertising in Kuwait and Bahrain to the mercantile outlook which dominated the sociopolitical orders in these two countries; both in Kuwait and Bahrain the merchants form an influential element in the political elite of each country. On the other hand the relatively late decision for TV advertising in Saudi Arabia was attributed to the new economic reality which the country has experienced since the recent growth in the private sector of the country's economy, and the sharp decline in oil prices since 1983.

Foreign Ownership

Foreign ownership of television stations is the third aspect of media policy examined in this study. The findings of this study have suggested that political and economic dependence on the capitalist world does not always result in foreign ownership of and/or investment in broadcast media. Kuwait, for instance, has had a strong and long dependence on the international capitalist system; nonetheless, the country has never experienced foreign ownership or investment in mass media. Saudi Arabia and Bahrain were the only two countries in the region which experienced foreign ownership of television stations. However, these two countries' experiences should be examined within the sociopolitical reality of each country.
Limitations

This study has some limitations which should be mentioned before making arguments based on its findings. One of the limitations of this study is that its findings pertaining to programming policies are based on data derived not from daily logs but rather on the periodical program-cycles. Therefore the findings of this study were based on what was planned and not what was necessarily telecast. In all the three countries, changes and cancellations of programs named in the program cycles are the norm rather than the exception. In fact these changes and cancellations are the focal point of audience's complaints.

Moreover, the findings of this study are based on an analysis in which the program itself rather than its content was the unit of analysis. For this reason some programs, mainly the daily newscasts and the variety shows, are considered local production; the content of these programs are not necessarily locally produced. In the daily newscast, for instance, only local news is local production; the rest is imported. Nevertheless, daily newscasts are considered a local program. Likewise, variety shows are collected segments mostly taken from imported TV series, films, or plays.

Last, but not least, six years in a ten-year period may be adequate to describe television policy and to
illustrate the shifts and changes in the policy; however, it is not sufficient to make a strong argument about trends in programming policy.

Questions for further research

Television is the broadcast medium that has dominated the research on media and society in developing countries; there are few studies on radio. Pertaining to the three aspects of media policy examined in this study, there are some differences between radio and television in the Arabian Gulf region. For example, no radio service in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait has commercial advertising. In Bahrain, foreign ownership did not include radio. Research addressing these differences is needed for a better understanding of broadcast media in the region.

The rhetorical dimension of media policy is an important issue that needs to be considered in further research; Saudi Arabia provides a primary example. Media policy in Saudi Arabia seems to reflect the mighty sociopolitical role of the ulama rather than a genuine conservative orientation in Saudi society. The rhetorical aspect of the Saudi media policy has been manifested in the contradictions found in the policy. Because of the ulama’s conservative disposition, Saudi Arabia is not receptive to modern media ventures; therefore, the investments of Saudi businessmen in media projects are usually outside the
country. Ironically, these investments have received the support and encouragement of the Saudi Government. For further research on this topic the Saudi Research and Marketing Company (SRMC) in the United Kingdom and the Zaeni Film Company in Tunisia provide perfect cases.

SRMC publishes a number of daily newspapers and weekly magazines. To overcome the restrictions of the media policy in Saudi Arabia, SRMC was registered in the U.K. According to Hisham and Mohammed Ali Hafiz: "...if we publish in one of the Arab countries, we would have to follow the regulations and policies of that country...And overall, in England, there is freedom and respect" (Al-Muhanna, 1981, p. 67). In fact the portrayal of women in some of SRMC's publications, like Asharq al-Awsat, Al Majalla, and Sayidaty, by no means conform with the conservative restrictions imposed on the local media in Saudi Arabia. SRMC, since it was established in late-1970s, has enjoyed a special relation with the Saudi Government. Indeed, Mohammed A. Yamani, former Minister of Information, admitted that SRMC during its initial years received the support and financial baking of Saudi officials (Habeeb, 1987).

Zaeni Film Company was founded in 1983 by Lotfi Zaeni, a Saudi businessman and a former actor. This firm has its headquarters in Tunisia where the production studios are located. The production of these studios is for television
in the Arab world in general, and for Saudi TV in particular. According to Zaeni, his company had the full support and encouragement of the Saudi officials (Al-Behairi, 1983).

SRMC and Zaeni Film provide interesting cases in which the attempt to overcome the restriction of the media policy is supported and encouraged by the policy maker. Moreover, the study of these two firms is of great relevance to the issues of international flow of information, and local production. In April 1989, Al Majalla, one of SRMC's publications advertised that it had entered a cooperation agreement with U.S. News & World Report, one form of the international flow of media content. Zaeni Film is an illustration of how Saudi Arabia is not receptive of local production ventures. In sum, the study of these two firms will make a contribution toward the understanding of the rhetorical dimension of media policy.

Implications

The major conclusion of this study is that the internal dynamics and forces within the society are the primary determinants of media policy. Based on this conclusion, the media/cultural imperialism perspective can be questioned. This perspective is well-known for its notion of conspiracy. Theorists of this perspective argued that developing countries are victims of conspiracy of
cultural invasion by the developed countries. The danger of such an assumption, which is not easy to prove, is that it licenses politicians to censor in the name of protecting the indigenous culture. Another important feature of the media/cultural perspective is its level of analysis which attributes many aspects of media policy in developing countries to exogenous determinants. This level of analysis may divert attention from the actual forces at the national level. Because of these two weaknesses, research within the media/cultural imperialism perspective may lead to a political, not a scholarly, debate on media in developing countries, which may not result in an understanding of the issue at hand.

Broadcast media in many developing countries did not achieve their potential role in national development, as was anticipated in the early literature on communication and development. Any recommendation for improvement should address the sociopolitical dimension of media policy, that is, take into consideration the societal dynamics and forces that govern the policy-making process. It seems that most of the recommendations for improvement focus on the execution process of media policy; very little attention is given to the legislative aspect of the policy-making process.

For many developing countries, broadcast media are symbols of statehood and modernization (Katz & Wedell,
1977); the policy makers are preoccupied by this notion. Most government agencies such as Ministries of Education, Health, Social Affairs, Agriculture, and others which are directly related to national development usually do not participate in media planning; currently in the Arabian Gulf region none of these Ministries has an input in media decision-making. In addition, government ownership coupled with lack of audience feedback, has made broadcast media susceptible to pressure and influence from the political elite who do not always represent the interest and will of the people. To overcome the government’s predicament in this regard, the broadcast media should be reorganized into a public corporation with at least some administrative and fiscal independence.
APPENDIX A

U.S., EEC, AND JAPAN TRADE

WITH ARAB COUNTRIES
Table 24

U.S. Trade with Arab Countries (1973-1980) (In $ U.S. millions) Exports To

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bahrain</th>
<th>Kuwait</th>
<th>Saudi Arabia</th>
<th>Sub Total</th>
<th>Other Arab States</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>1,182</td>
<td>1,175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>1,134</td>
<td>2,513</td>
<td>3,647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>1,502</td>
<td>2,148</td>
<td>3,577</td>
<td>5,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>2,774</td>
<td>3,449</td>
<td>3,762</td>
<td>7,211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>3,575</td>
<td>4,280</td>
<td>4,077</td>
<td>8,357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>745</td>
<td>4,370</td>
<td>5,275</td>
<td>4,108</td>
<td>9,383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>4,875</td>
<td>5,799</td>
<td>5,209</td>
<td>11,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>5,768</td>
<td>6,851</td>
<td>6,564</td>
<td>13,415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,288</td>
<td>4,110</td>
<td>24,141</td>
<td>29,539</td>
<td>30,992</td>
<td>60,531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>2.13</td>
<td>6.79</td>
<td>39.88</td>
<td>48.80</td>
<td>51.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kubursi, 1984, p. 64.
Table 25

U.S. Trade with Arab Countries (1973-1980) (In $ U.S. millions) Imports From

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bahrain</th>
<th>Kuwait</th>
<th>Saudi Arabia</th>
<th>Sub Total</th>
<th>Other Arab States</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>597</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>1,273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1,786</td>
<td>1,865</td>
<td>1,863</td>
<td>3,728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>2,987</td>
<td>3,228</td>
<td>3,619</td>
<td>6,847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>5,847</td>
<td>5,921</td>
<td>7,021</td>
<td>12,942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>6,998</td>
<td>7,318</td>
<td>10,667</td>
<td>17,985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>5,819</td>
<td>5,907</td>
<td>10,976</td>
<td>16,883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>8,730</td>
<td>8,837</td>
<td>15,248</td>
<td>24,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>13,323</td>
<td>13,838</td>
<td>18,068</td>
<td>31,906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>373</td>
<td>1,133</td>
<td>46,005</td>
<td>47,511</td>
<td>68,138</td>
<td>115,649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>39.78</td>
<td>41.08</td>
<td>58.92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kubursi, 1984, p. 65.
Table 26

Japan Trade with Arab Countries (1973-1980) (In $ U.S. millions) Exports To

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bahrain</th>
<th>Kuwait</th>
<th>Saudi Arabia</th>
<th>Sub Total</th>
<th>Other Arab States</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>1,186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>1,016</td>
<td>1,663</td>
<td>2,679</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>1,350</td>
<td>1,773</td>
<td>2,609</td>
<td>4,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>1,892</td>
<td>2,368</td>
<td>2,938</td>
<td>5,306</td>
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<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>2,364</td>
<td>3,187</td>
<td>3,974</td>
<td>7,161</td>
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<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>942</td>
<td>3,284</td>
<td>4,353</td>
<td>4,516</td>
<td>8,869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>781</td>
<td>3,802</td>
<td>4,731</td>
<td>5,072</td>
<td>9,803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>1,281</td>
<td>4,882</td>
<td>6,345</td>
<td>6,793</td>
<td>13,138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>4,903</td>
<td>18,636</td>
<td>24,353</td>
<td>28,171</td>
<td>52,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>9.33</td>
<td>35.48</td>
<td>46.37</td>
<td>53.63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kubursi, 1984, p. 66.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bahrain</th>
<th>Kuwait</th>
<th>Saudi Arabia</th>
<th>Sub Total</th>
<th>Other Arab States</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>1,381</td>
<td>2,041</td>
<td>893</td>
<td>2,934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>2,132</td>
<td>5,237</td>
<td>7,744</td>
<td>3,401</td>
<td>11,145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>2,010</td>
<td>6,131</td>
<td>8,318</td>
<td>2,862</td>
<td>11,180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>2,017</td>
<td>7,836</td>
<td>10,081</td>
<td>4,182</td>
<td>14,263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>2,502</td>
<td>8,570</td>
<td>11,358</td>
<td>4,950</td>
<td>16,308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>2,501</td>
<td>8,903</td>
<td>11,740</td>
<td>4,769</td>
<td>16,509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>4,280</td>
<td>12,037</td>
<td>16,666</td>
<td>8,142</td>
<td>24,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>4,371</td>
<td>19,623</td>
<td>24,473</td>
<td>17,271</td>
<td>41,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,304</td>
<td>20,399</td>
<td>69,718</td>
<td>92,421</td>
<td>46,470</td>
<td>138,891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>1.66</td>
<td>14.69</td>
<td>50.20</td>
<td>66.54</td>
<td>33.46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kubursi, 1984, p. 67.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bahrain</th>
<th>Kuwait</th>
<th>Saudi Arabia</th>
<th>Sub Total</th>
<th>Other Arab States</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>911</td>
<td>6,112</td>
<td>7,023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>1,307</td>
<td>10,047</td>
<td>11,354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>819</td>
<td>1,088</td>
<td>2,125</td>
<td>15,500</td>
<td>17,625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>1,100</td>
<td>2,475</td>
<td>3,916</td>
<td>14,613</td>
<td>18,529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>1,568</td>
<td>4,613</td>
<td>6,586</td>
<td>19,268</td>
<td>25,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>1,567</td>
<td>7,514</td>
<td>9,533</td>
<td>21,660</td>
<td>31,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>1,673</td>
<td>8,975</td>
<td>11,091</td>
<td>28,649</td>
<td>39,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>398</td>
<td>2,295</td>
<td>11,074</td>
<td>13,767</td>
<td>39,471</td>
<td>53,238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,485</td>
<td>9,845</td>
<td>36,906</td>
<td>49,236</td>
<td>155,320</td>
<td>204,556</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

% 1.21 4.81 18.04 24.07 75.93

Source: Kubursi, 1984, p. 68.
Table 29

EEC Trade with Arab Countries (1973-1980) (In $ U.S. millions) Imports From

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bahrain</th>
<th>Kuwait</th>
<th>Saudi Arabia</th>
<th>Sub Total</th>
<th>Other Arab States</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2,047</td>
<td>4,569</td>
<td>6,661</td>
<td>4,614</td>
<td>11,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>3,891</td>
<td>13,532</td>
<td>17,501</td>
<td>13,610</td>
<td>31,111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2,637</td>
<td>10,336</td>
<td>13,025</td>
<td>10,388</td>
<td>23,413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2,946</td>
<td>12,612</td>
<td>15,608</td>
<td>12,662</td>
<td>28,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2,782</td>
<td>13,892</td>
<td>16,687</td>
<td>13,905</td>
<td>30,592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>3,518</td>
<td>11,820</td>
<td>15,396</td>
<td>11,878</td>
<td>27,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5,982</td>
<td>19,680</td>
<td>25,689</td>
<td>19,707</td>
<td>45,396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>4,628</td>
<td>34,176</td>
<td>38,915</td>
<td>34,287</td>
<td>73,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>28,431</td>
<td>120,617</td>
<td>149,482</td>
<td>121,051</td>
<td>270,533</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| %    | 0.21    | 13.90  | 58.97        | 73.08     | 59.18            |

Source: Kubursi, 1984, p. 69.
APPENDIX B
TWO MEMORANDUMS ISSUED
BY GENERAL PRESIDENCY
FOR GIRLS' EDUCATION
See page 279 for the English translation of this memo.
No. 444/3/1 T
Date 30/11/1392 A.H. (4 January 1973)
Subject Inform female students not to request songs to be dedicated to others

(MEMORANDUM)

H. E. The Principal of _____________________________

We noticed recently that some female students request songs from radio and television to be dedicated to their classmates, teachers and even to those who are not their relatives; this contradicts Islamic teachings. The educated community in girls' schools is not ignorant of Islam's rules pertaining to music, and the harm resulting from a woman's dedication of songs to those who are not her relatives. Therefore, you should read this memorandum many times to the students in their classes; we will consider it a warning to all female students not to request songs from radio and television. We will take all the necessary actions against any student who does not comply.

To inform everyone, we have circulated this memorandum. May Allah guide us in the right direction.

General President of Girls' Education

Nasser Ibn Hamad Al-Rashed
IMPORTANT MEMORANDUM

H.E. Director of Educational Inspection
in the Central Region

Enclosed is a copy of a letter, No. 9575/2/1 dated 7/5/1399, sent by H.E. the General President of Girls' Education to H.E. Governor of Tabuk Region in reply of the latter's letter No. 397 dated 15/3/1399 A.H. in regard to the production of a television program in which children (boys and girls not older than 12 years) from Tabuk city will participate. Below is the full text of the letter of H.E. the General President of Girls' Education.

"We would like to inform you that the General Presidency takes a thoughtful care of female students' affairs, educating and guiding them in the way derived from Islamic Shari'ah, from which anyone deviates is doomed. The Presidency noted in recent years that some female students appeared on TV, and the General Presidency informed all girls' schools that appearance of female students on television is totally forbidden. It is the General Presidency's responsibility to ensure that female students do not participate in television programs; it is a step that leads to mixed gatherings, appearance and singing in front of the masses on television screen without the veil, and feeling no shyness."

You should let it be known that female students are strictly forbidden from appearing in any television programs.

General Director of
Girls' Education in Central Region

Abduallah Mohammed Al-Harqan
APPENDIX C

TELEVISION OPERATION CHARTER

IN THE GULF STATES
INTRODUCTION

Having regard to characteristic factors of the Gulf area which are part of the comprehensive Arab and Islamic culture and civilization, and the responsibilities they bestow on television services in this area; and

Taking into consideration the similarity in the working conditions of these services, their needs and their problems, in addition to their geographical vicinity which prescribe the abidance by a set of common concepts, rules and principles; and

Recognising the impossibility of separation between moral and professional liabilities in the field of television; and

Within the framework of the Arab Broadcasting Charter approved by the General Assembly of the Arab Broadcasting Union in its Second Ordinary Session held in Amman in 1970, and the Arab Information Honor Charter approved by the Arab Information Ministers Council in its 13th Ordinary Session held in Tunisia in 1977; and

In conformity with the basic principles approved by the Extraordinary meeting of the Arab Information Ministers Council held in Baghdad in 1979, aiming at deepening the informative and educational line of all Arab communication systems;

Consequently, the television administrative authorities in the Gulf States have agreed to follow the principles mentioned here after in this charter.

CHAPTER I: PROGRAMS PLANNING

1. Television programs should be planned so as to provide a well balanced service including information, education and entertainment within the frame of the principles of Islam, while also maintaining the common interests of the states in the region.

2. The Television services undertake to link its programs to the social, educational, and economic plans of the state by informing its citizens of those
plans and by creating the public opinion to support its progress, as well as through serious discussion in television programs where responsibles shall participate, all within the equilibrium required from these services.

These services should keep regular and formal contacts with the authorities responsible, for these plans to ensure mutual coordination and integration.

3. The Television services should fulfill their role in assisting the educational authorities in schools and universities as well as outside the schools within the framework of a comprehensive plan to be prepared and undertaken jointly by both parties from the point of view of financing, implementation and follow-up.

4. It is not necessary that all programs be transmitted to all people at all times since cultural, technical or professional needs relative to certain groups of viewers may necessitate specific programs or timing or channels to meet such needs within a framework of balance between the particular and the general.

5. One of the targets which the Gulf States Television endeavour to achieve is to maintain the local cultural characteristics as these are considered among the major tributaries of the Arab culture. This can be attained through the revival and development of folk and popular arts and support given to writers and composers faithful to their heritage as well as to those programs or studies investigating the cultural origins of this area.

6. Concurrent with the operation of planning and implementation of programs there should be an active field research among viewers, in various directions, in order to include an estimate of the needs and desires of the different social groups, and to measure the extent of benefit derived from programs, and their influence on viewers' tendencies, values and conduct. The purpose is to put at the disposition of the responsibles for planning and implementation all the data resulting from such researches. A special body should be formed within the television services to plan and carry out these researches assisted by the experts and authorities concerned.

7. The television services should give special care to women education and to women programs, especially those concerned with family safeguard, child health care, be it his physical or psychological health, and to programs concerned with his virtuous up-bringing.
8. Each television service should devote special space in its programs for children programs, preferably from local or Arab production suitable to the prevailing educational level and related to personal experience of the children of the country in question. It is also essential that children’s programs be divided into distinctive types each addressed to a different age-group with its special needs and aspirations.

Foreign children’s programs should be selected in a manner to suit their educational level and avoid any contradiction with their environmental values. It is also advisable that these programs be transmitted after an introduction to help the children to understand them.

9. Television services should transmit continuous programs simplifying the elements of science and technology and making them within the reach of understanding by the layman, since these elements play an important role in our modern age toward the development of the scientific thinking of the citizen and encouraging his contribution in this field.

10. The Television services should establish among their permanent targets the development of environmental awareness among citizens. This can be accomplished through information of the elements of the environment in which they live, from the physical as well as social point of view, which prescribe on those who live in it to preserve it from squander or pollution for their own comfort as well as the progress of their society.

11. Sports programs should not be aimed only at entertainment and excitement through transmission of live or recorded matches. They should also surpass this stage by adopting all necessary methods to encourage citizens to participate actively in sports instead of just watching these. This should be done not only for popular sports but also for various sports so as to suit the capacities and potentials of various individuals.

CHAPTER II: PROGRAMS’ MORAL VALUES

12. In all its programs the television services should maintain the moral and social values of conduct originating from the Islamic Faith, which are the corner stone of the spiritual, educational, and
cultural basis of this region. It is imperative that television programs do not contradict any precept of the Holy Koran or the Sunna, and that accuracy of the Koranic verses be observed taking great care not to distort any of it.

13. Theologians should appear on programs surrounded with all respect and reverence due to them.

14. Preservation of the national unity should be among the basic targets of the programs. This entails not to disregard minorities, or different social groups due to sex, origin, creed or language.

15. Correct use of the Arabic language should be observed in composition and performance and rules of grammar, unless in cases necessitated by program's requirements.

16. Entertainment programs which are an important element of the television services should endeavour to raise the standard of viewers' artistic taste and to provide them with enjoyment without degradation or vulgarity. These services should also give all help and assistance to local artistic elements or groups which can be an important artistic source to the programs.

17. Obscene or vulgar expressions injurious to any public taste should no under circumstances be used. Any scene or term inviting degradation, nudity or provoking sexual instincts or vice should be deleted.

18. Physical or mental deformities should not be a subject for mockery in any way in television programs.

19. Men of Law and those responsible for its execution should appear in plays and in different programs with the necessary respect for Law and Order in order to maintain the integrity of the society and they should not under any circumstances be ridiculed.

20. The performance and broadcasting of general programs should take into consideration the fact that they are addressed to the whole family regardless of their timing. Therefore they should never contain any violation of the rules of decency or the general public taste.
21. Programs dealing with national heritage or history should abide by the historical accuracy, and scripts revised and authorized by the scientific authorities concerned, especially those television plays treating Arab or Islamic history or personalities.

22. Television plays should never show a personification of the Prophet Mohammad or his Companions directly in picture or in sound.

CHAPTER III: CHOICE OF FOREIGN PROGRAMS

23. When selecting foreign programs it should be taken into consideration that these do not include any offense to the religious, social or cultural values of the viewers or any insult to their national or human feelings, or any embarrassment to the political authorities of the state.

24. Care should be taken when presenting foreign programs to the children or youth so that no specimens conflicting with their upbringing according to the society's objectives are presented.

25. Foreign programs based on provocation of sexual desires or violence, or causing fear or displaying violence in contradiction with common human values shall be excluded.

26. Care should be taken that the program shall not include anything which may lead in words or picture to teach the public new criminal methods which can be imitated even if the criminal and the crime are condemned at the end of the program.

CHAPTER IV: NEWS AND INFORMATION PROGRAMS

27. Those responsible for news work should be aware of their responsibility to inform the viewers of the news of their country and the area around it, of the Arab as well as international news, as soon as possible, without detriment to the accuracy necessary in any piece of television news.

In addition to this it is necessary not to withhold any information having its importance from the public's point of view and regardless of the impact of such news on the public.
28. News sections of the Gulf Television services should endeavour to provide sufficient amount of news and information related to current events in the Gulf area in particular and in the Arab area in general within its news and information programs. They should rely for this in the first place on Gulf and Arab sources.

29. News staff should abide in their selection, editing and presentation of news by objectivity, truth and impartiality, except in those subjects toward which the states in the region, within the common Arab framework, hold a specific position whether from the political, social or human point of view.

30. News should be presented with sufficient clarity to suit the general cultural standard of the viewers and their ability to follow the events, and to show the background of each event whenever necessary.

31. The responsibility of television services is not limited to informing the public of the current events but extends to explaining the news and clarification of its background and indicator of lines of future events through current events programs or information programs.

32. News of the Heads of Gulf and Arab states shall be presented with all due respect.

33. In case there is a difference in Arab political opinion concerning a certain subject, the Gulf television services shall observe absolute objectivity in presentation of news and related commentary and avoid excitation or agitation and restrain from infringement of the spirit of Arab solidarity.

34. Preserve the solidarity and Islamic brotherhood links between the various Arab and Islamic States and their people.

35. When selecting news from foreign sources care should be taken not to be involved in adopting the source's point of view which may conflict with the local point of view. This necessitates to re-write and re-adapt the news so as to suit the general atmosphere of the news program.

36. The news sections should endeavour to raise the technical standard of news coverage from the point of view of selection of news items, its arrangement, photography, development, printing and editing, in
order to improve the standard of performance in the news service on the one hand and to facilitate the exchange of news with other countries on the other hand.

To this end the news sections should take all necessary steps to ensure the flow of news from the inside to the outside as easily as the other way round.

37. Care should be taken not to show in the illustrated news items anything which may violate the religious, social national or human feelings of the public.

CHAPTER V: ADVERTISEMENTS

38. Broadcasting of advertisement—in case of a decision to include this system—should be limited to the period between programs, and provided that the period is clearly specified as an advertising period, not interfering with the programs. Programs cannot be sold to advertisers, and cannot be interrupted to broadcast advertisements, unless this takes place in a natural way between relatively independant parts within one program, and provided that the advertisement is clearly identified.

39. Indirect advertising within a program is allowed provided it does not influence in any way the content of the program excluding however religious programs, news and children programs where no indirect advertisement is allowed.

40. Advertisements are subject to objective and technical censorship. Objectively it should be in accordance with the values governing the programs, while technically their standard should not be less than the general technical standard observed by the television services. In addition to this it is necessary to abide by the rules relative to advertising.

41. In adherence with public hygiene, cigarettes and all types of medicine advertisements shall be prohibited. Advertising of any food product is allowed provided the advertiser submits a certificate from the health authorities responsible stating their approval of consumption of this product.
42. No reference, abusive to competitor advertisers, or any information or exaggeration misleading the public, shall be made in any advertisement.

43. Advertisements related to cultural activities such as books, theatrical or folkloric shows, or magazines, etc., should receive special attention, i.e., to be exempted from duties, or reduced duties to be applied. It should also be broadcasted during the best timing considering the important social outcome sought from these activities.

44. Prizes and rewards gained from quiz programs should be suitable to the competition standard and should not include any exaggeration which may harm the program.

45. Personal advertisements such as wedding parties or funerals, departure or arrival, are not allowed. Similarly, advertisements of profession based upon personal confidence such as doctors or lawyers or other similar professions, and advertisements which are incompatible with public taste are prohibited.
APPENDIX D

PROGRAM CYCLES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Program</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Program</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5:00</td>
<td>SONG OF HOLLY, PROGRAMME REVIEW</td>
<td>7:15</td>
<td>PUNNY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:05</td>
<td>PRAYER TIMES</td>
<td>7:20</td>
<td>SPOTTER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:10</td>
<td>CARTOON FLINTSTONE</td>
<td>7:25</td>
<td>LITTLE GLOM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:15</td>
<td>NAZARA KHURAS</td>
<td>7:30</td>
<td>house, PISMO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:20</td>
<td>PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENTS</td>
<td>7:35</td>
<td>FLYERS, KURAN AND SHAOBB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:25</td>
<td>NEWS IN ENGLISH</td>
<td>7:40</td>
<td>the boardroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:30</td>
<td>PROGRAMME PARADE</td>
<td>7:45</td>
<td>FROM THE ISLAMIC ISLAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:35</td>
<td>GIVE US A CHANCE, SCIENCE, NURSERY</td>
<td>7:50</td>
<td>HOLY KURAN, WEE ISLAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:40</td>
<td>PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENTS</td>
<td>7:55</td>
<td>FLYERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:45</td>
<td>MUSIC</td>
<td>8:00</td>
<td>NAZARA KHURAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:50</td>
<td>National Anthem, close down</td>
<td>8:05</td>
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APPENDIX E
CODING BOOK

293
### CODING BOOK

#### TV STATION

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Code</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>SAUDI ARABIA (SECOND CHANNEL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ARAMCO TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>KUWAIT (FIRST PROGRAM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>KUWAIT (SECOND PROGRAM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>BAHRAIN (CHANNEL 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>BAHRAIN (CHANNEL 55)</td>
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#### YEAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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#### CYCLE

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>JANUARY (MOHARAM)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>APRIL (RABI ALTHANI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>JULY (RAJAB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>OCTOBER (SHAVAL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>RAMADHAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>HAJJ</td>
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#### DAY BROADCAST

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Code</th>
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<td>YES</td>
<td>0 NO</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUNDAY?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>YES</td>
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<tr>
<td>MONDAY?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>0 NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TUESDAY?</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEDNESDAY?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>0 NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THURSDAY?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>0 NO</td>
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<tr>
<td>FRIDAY?</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>YES</td>
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#### BROADCAST TIME

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<td>13-16</td>
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#### PROGRAM LENGTH (in minutes)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Code</th>
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<tr>
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#### AUDIENCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Audience Type</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>CHILDREN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>WOMEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>FOREIGNERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>DON'T KNOW</td>
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<tr>
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<td>OTHER</td>
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### SOURCE

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<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>COOPERATION PRODUCTION</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>COOPERATION PRODUCTION</td>
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<td>EGYPT</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>EGYPT</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>JORDAN</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>LEBANON</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>UNSPECIFIED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
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<td>32</td>
<td>U.K.</td>
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<td>33</td>
<td>FRANCE</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>INDIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>UNSPECIFIED</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>UNKNOWN SOURCE</td>
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### LANGUAGE

<table>
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<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ARABIC</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>INDIAN</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>DON'T KNOW</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>UNKNOWN SOURCE</td>
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</table>

### FUNCTION

**INFORMATION**

Programs intended primarily to inform about facts, events, points of views; or provides explanatory background information.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>NEWSCASTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>PROGRAMS PROVIDING ECONOMIC INFORMATION OR ABOUT ECONOMIC SUBJECTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>PROGRAMS ON POLITICAL SUBJECTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>PROGRAMS ON SPORTS OR MAINLY ABOUT SPORTING SUBJECTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>PROGRAMS ON SOCIAL ISSUES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>PR-TYPE PROGRAMS ON GOVERNMENT PROJECTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>OTHER INFORMATION PROGRAMS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>DON'T KNOW</td>
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</table>
EDUCATION  Programs intended primarily to educate and in which the educational element is fundamental.

21 PROGRAMS RELATED TO A SPECIFIC SCHOOL OR UNIVERSITY CURRICULUM
22 PROGRAMS PRODUCED TO ACHIEVE SPECIFIC EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES SUCH AS SESAME STREET, ELECTRIC COMPANY.
23 DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMS WHICH ARE RELATED TO HEALTH, SAFETY, FAMILY, OR AGRICULTURE
20 OTHER EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS
29 DON'T KNOW

CULTURE  Programs intended primarily to stimulate artistic and/or intellectual curiosity

31 TRADITIONAL FOLKLORE
32 LITERATURE & POETRY
33 CONCERTS OF CLASSICAL MUSIC
34 PROGRAMS ON HISTORY
35 PROGRAMS ON CINEMA OR THEATER
36 PROGRAMS ON SCIENCE AND/OR TECHNOLOGY
37 PROGRAMS ON ENVIRONMENT AND GEOGRAPHY
38 PROGRAMS ON WILDLIFE
30 OTHER CULTURAL PROGRAMS
39 DON'T KNOW

RELIGION

41 READING FROM KUR'AN
42 PRAYER
43 DISCUSSION OF ISSUES BY RELIGIOUS LEADERS
44 PROGRAMS ABOUT ISLAM
40 OTHER RELIGIOUS PROGRAMS
49 DON'T KNOW

ENTERTAINMENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>51</th>
<th>FILMS</th>
<th>52</th>
<th>SERIES AND SERIALS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>PLAYS</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>MUSIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>VARIETY</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>GAMES AND QUIZ SHOWS</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>SPORTS</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>CARTOONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>DON'T KNOW</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
UNCLASSIFIED

90 OTHER
99 DON'T KNOW

DOES THE PROGRAM ALTERNATE WITH OTHER PROGRAM? 26

0 NO
1 YES (make a separate record for the other program)
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