Transnational Television and Asymmetrical Interdependence in the Arab World: The Growing Influence of the Lebanese Satellite Broadcasters

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Abstract
In spite of its small size, Lebanon is a major player in transnational satellite television in the Arab world, so broadcasters and researchers alike are wondering about the implications of the return of Rafik al-Hariri to power. Hariri, appointed prime minister shortly before the publication of this issue of TBS, is not just a construction magnate as the news agencies like to describe him, but has emerged in the 1990s as a media baron as well. Hariri’s Future Television has competed with the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation International (LBCI) for the leading spot among lebanese transnational satellite broadcasters.

Disciplines
Communication

Comments
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Transnational Television and Asymmetrical Interdependence in the Arab World: The Growing Influence of the Lebanese Satellite Broadcasters

by Marwan M. Kraidy

In spite of its small size, Lebanon is a major player in transnational satellite television in the Arab world, as broadcasters and researchers alike are wondering about the implications of the return of Rafik al-Hariri to power. Hariri, appointed prime minister shortly before the publication of this issue of TBS, is not just a construction magnate as the news agencies like to describe him, but he emerged in the 1990s as a media force as well. Hariri’s Future Television has competed with the Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation International (LBCI) for the leading spot among Lebanese transnational satellite broadcasters.

Hariri’s success as a businessman and his connections at the highest levels in Arab business and government is bound to expose the issue of satellite broadcasting from Lebanon. Hariri’s stand and actions on the issue are somewhat contradictory. On the one hand, he is a staunch believer in the private sector and a leading voice advocating the privatization of state assets in Lebanon, and a supporter of investment in media and technology for Lebanon to regain its influence as a cultural and intellectual force in the region. On the other hand, Hariri’s cabinet has clamped down on Lebanese television stations, especially LBCI’s pan-Arab satellite broadcasts, justifying his actions as necessary to protect Lebanon’s image abroad in order to attract Arab and international direct investments.

All this is happening at a time when other Lebanese stations are fast moving towards a stronger transnational presence. Tele-Liban, the half-state-owned broadcaster, is considering an offer from a leading pan-Arab broadcaster to buy 40% of its shares, the maximum allowed for a private company. The National Broadcasting Network (NBN), owned by House Speaker Nabih Berri, has recently launched satellite activities, while al-Manar, Hezbollah’s television mouthpiece, has attracted a pan-Arab audience with its news broadcasts of anti-Israeli operations by the Lebanese resistance.

As a result, Lebanese television is poised to grow in size and influence on the Arab scene. Alaa Laban reported that in the 1990s, President Hafez al-Assad agreed to sell the Lebanese press press first thing in the morning to get a sense of current affairs in the Arab world. (1) Several scholars have noted that Lebanon’s unique political and media experience gives Lebanese media a pan-Arab influence disproportionate to Lebanon’s size and real power as one of the smallest and most vulnerable nation-states (2). This is not due to any direct power; Lebanon has over its Arab neighbors, but to the fact that the Lebanese press has historically reflected the political currents and power struggles occurring in the region. In the digital age of satellite broadcasting and the Internet, Lebanon’s media influence has grown with the adoption of new technologies.

The pan-Arab success of Lebanese television is also explained by other factors. From its early days as mouthpiece of Marcoule paramilitary forces, LBCI has been run as primarily a commercial corporation, and only secondarily as an instrument of propaganda. During the most heated moments of the war, LBCI captured a sizable segment of the Muslim audience by broadcasting Fawazee Ramadan and other special programming. This entrepreneurial logic, enshrined by Future Television to some extent, has made these companies competitive, aiming for international production standards. Unlike other Arab broadcasters, these companies did not have to please the ruling class, but had to attract and keep an audience in order to maintain a steady flow of incoming advertising dollars.

In addition to the entrepreneurial dimension, Lebanese stations in general have a more relaxed idea of sexual acceptability than what is offered on most Arab national channels. Both LBCI and Future use attractive, scarcely clothed female anchors, presenters and program hosts. Besides, they both used sexuality in a systematic way as part of their marketing plans. LBCI’s soap opera with Halia, for instance, provided a platform for the company to offer an eroticly charged show wrapped in the aura of a soap and health program. The soap Halia, accompanied by a trio of models in tight clothes, executed arduous movements in a warehouse-like studio, captured in suggestive poses and evocative camera angles and broadcast to an pan-Arab, largely male audience via satellite.

The influence that transnational satellite broadcasting has given to smaller Arab states such as Lebanon is an interesting phenomenon that promises to thrive, or at least distress, Arab power dynamics and public opinion. I would also like to give my analysis a theoretical grounding by borrowing Sjobergh’s notion of “asymmetrical dependency” (3) as a framework for Arab transnational broadcasting. While Sjobergh has proposed the concept to discuss the cultural implications of transnational broadcasting in the Americas beyond cultural imperialism, I will apply asymmetrical interdependence to the regional political realm in the Arab world. The concept of asymmetrical interdependence holds that although countries might be vastly different in terms of political and cultural power, they are not locked into relations of dependency. This case study is Brazilian television, which, Sjobergh demonstrates, is no longer dependent on American television for imports.

Transferred to the Arab world, the concept of asymmetrical interdependence gives a grounding for the transnational television flows and their socio-political impact. More specifically, it highlights how smaller countries, such as Lebanon and Qatar, have been empowered by satellite technology and have expanded their reach beyond their borders.

Next page: "Issues discussed in these shows were lightning rods for the Arab world."
While regional behemoths like Egypt and Saudi Arabia continue to dominate the Arab world, partly because of their ownership of satellite technology, and because of Egypt's traditional strength in the media and Saudi Arabia's financial resources, smaller countries are playing an increasingly important role. Syria, for instance, has become one of leaders in dramatic productions, while Qatar's Al-Jazeera has been dubbed the "Arab CNN." Transnational broadcasting and the Internet have challenged the authority of Arab states in ways that was not imaginable only a decade ago. It has also forced Arab states to reconsider their policies toward the broadcast media. The current challenge to Arab broadcasting holds the promise of integrating Arab nations in a cultural regionalism that could give the Arab world a strong and distinct presence in global intellectual and popular culture.

However, challenges remain, the most important of which is for smaller Arab countries to maintain their presence in the region's airwaves and screens. Here, Lebanon is a case in point. Before the war, many Lebanese newspapers were published not far from in Lebanon. Even with the knowledge that many of these newspapers were broadcast by satellite, Arab countries were often toned down or silenced. However, in the past decade, many of these issues were broadcast via satellite, and therefore did not reach a vast pan-Arab audience. But the point remains that some of the issues discussed in these shows were lightening a light under the Arab world where representative democracy is still largely absent, human rights are not fully protected, and religious leaders play an important role in the political process. In other words, the Arab world is still relatively young and small nations could be important for the societies of many larger Arab countries.

Even in the post-war era when the political landscape in Lebanon is ruled by one dominant force, and even with the great influence that Syria has on Lebanese politics (3), the Lebanon parliament's elections in September 2000 showed, one more time, an unpredictable and independent streak that some Lebanese politicians and journalists have. For the longest time, Syrian Lebanese relations were considered a taboo issue, one of two red lines for the Lebanon press, the other being President Emile Lahoud. During 2000, Lebanon's publisher, Ghazar Tawil, wrote a strongly worded editorial calling for a re-evaluation of bilateral relations between Lebanon and Syria, advocating a more equal partnership. The echo of this editorial suddenly became a thundering noise during the electoral campaign in August and September, when Lebanese politicians of all affiliations began calling for a re-evaluation of Lebanon-Syria relations, with the Lebanese media covering these developments very closely.

The last straw was fired in late September by the Marcelle Patriarch Ma coronalif El-Sheikh, who made speaking commitments and asked Syria to withdraw its troops from Lebanon, during an interview with the BBC. Relayed on BBC radio and heard throughout the Arab world, the patriarch's remarks elicited a strong response from the Syrian information minister, who criticized those opposed to Syria's presence in Lebanon. In addition to the BBC, Lebanon stations such as LBCI covered the story closely, which led some power struggle within the state to control news about bilateral relations between Lebanon and Syria.

Although Syria's influence on Lebanese affairs remains considerable, the media sector offers an exception, and illustrates how the concept of asymmetrical interdependence can actually be applied in the Arab world. On September 29, 2000, Lebanon and Syria signed a comprehensive media and information agreement. The text of the agreement stipulates collaboration in production procedures, technological expertise, and between press agencies. It also calls for intensified exchanges in film and television programs and a coordination of "specific information," as in Arab conferences and festivals (3)." While some people fear that the agreement provides a framework for increased Syrian influence over Lebanese affairs, early indications point to the contrary, since Lebanon's media sector is much more developed than Syria's. As the Syrian Arab Broadcasting Association, Syria's trade group, attempts to reform and reinvigorate the media industry, the Lebanese are finding a way to balance the relationship reform (8). As mutual influence grows in both directions, "asymmetrical interdependence" reflects bilateral media relations better than "dependency" or "Glocalization." Lebanon's transnational media activities are also set to get a boost with plans for a Technology Valley to be built in the Beqaa, where the project is said to have the support of President Emile Lahoud, who has long been an advocate of the valley's development. After years of shutting down the September 2000 parliamentary elections and his appointment as prime minister, will be highly influential in the direction of Lebanese transnational broadcasting.

This story demonstrates the power of transnational media to expose political discourse by taking it public on the airwaves. It is not to be underestimated, even though a variety of legal and technical control mechanisms still exist on Arab media. The situation in the Arab world can be described as one of "asymmetrical interdependence," since the larger countries can no longer dominate smaller countries completely, as these smaller countries carry their political discourse beyond their borders through transnational broadcasting. Al-Hurri's re-emergence is bound to polarize Lebanese political, business, and media circles, as many people either have unabashedly rejected or unequivocally lamented his reappearance as prime minister. His dual status as both player (as a media tycoon) and referrers (as prime minister) continues to raise eyebrows in the industry. Also, Al-Hurri's appointment of Ghazi Aridi, a very well-known figure as minister of Information has left many wondering about the direction of the activities of the ministry at a time when a draft of an advertising law is circulating among legislators and media people. With the recent violence between Palestinians and Israelis and Lebanon's looming economic recession, the Lebanese government must probably play a delicate balancing act, keeping a vigilant eye on satellite broadcasters in an attempt to centralize Lebanon's image in the Arab world.

Marwan M. Kraidy is Director of Graduate Studies and Assistant Professor of International Communication in the School of Communication at the University of North Dakota. His publications have appeared in previous issues of Transnational Broadcasting Studies and other publications such as Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, and Critical Studies in Mass Communication. He is the winner of several awards, including the 1995 Ralph C. Caudy Award for outstanding research in international and intercultural communication, and the 2000 Proneus/International Communication Association. His research interests include cultural globalization, transnationalism, and media and culture in the Middle East. He can be reached at marwan.kraidy@und.nodak.edu

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