

MEDIA COVERAGE OF REFUGEES' ISSUES

LEBANON, JORDAN, EGYPT, MOROCCO

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I - Introduction

“The tragedy of the Syrian migrants is the worst human crisis in our era.”

These are the terms the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations used to describe the current situation of the Syrian migrants.

According to the World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen in 1995, the total number of refugees in the world was 10 million persons. This number has now increased to 60 million refugees and 173 million persons affected by the wars and crises in the Middle East.

Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and Morocco, in addition to numerous other Arab and foreign countries, have been a safe haven for migrants, refugees and those trying to escape the wars taking place in the region, from the occupation of Palestine to the conflicts in Sudan, Libya, Iraq and Syria.

However, the number of migrants and refugees created by the Syrian conflict has been the largest in modern history. Four million refugees are now in neighboring Arab countries and in Europe.

This has put a heavy burden on the resources of the receiving countries, especially in the labor, education, economy, health, environment and security sectors. It has even affected the social and political conditions in some host countries, caused by a new demographic reality. This new reality reflects an ethnic and confessional distribution in some countries already experiencing instability. This has mostly affected countries that have opted for integration (Lebanon) in dealing with the refugee crisis instead of total or partial isolation (Turkey and Jordan).

This new reality has separated the migration issue from its humanitarian aspect and put it in a context of complications with many social, political and security

consequences. It has also reached regional and international levels and has become a subject of political discussion in the local, Arab and international media.

II- Reasons for the study

The issue of refugees and migrants is one of the most sensitive and important humanitarian issues as well as one of the most ignored problems in the Arab media. The majority of the refugees and migrants in the Arab world have suffered oppression and segregation, and very often, they have been ignored or targeted. Media has contributed to this situation, sometimes by ignoring it and not giving this cause the importance it deserves; it has also contributed to this situation by ignoring to spread and diffuse the culture of acceptance of the others and making people aware of the refugees and migrants' rights as well as of the necessity to treat them humanely. At other times, the media has been responsible for direct and indirect incitement against them.

The latest Syrian crisis has brought to light the refugees and migrants' problems in the world, and has put everybody directly in front of their responsibilities toward these homeless persons, escaping war and catastrophic conditions in their country. This huge crisis has also played a role in changing the way society perceives these refugees and migrants, and how host governments and communities deal with them. Before this Syrian crisis, the majority of refugees were Palestinians, Iraqis or nationals from certain Southwest African countries, especially Egypt and the Maghreb region.

The wave of Syrian refugees that started in 2011 and continues today is considered one of the largest waves that the countries of the region have received with international assistance and support. However, what distinguishes this wave from others is that it is still completely open and it constitutes a huge economic and social burden on the host countries. More and above, it has been the subject of large international and media attention, possibly a lot more than other previous refugee waves. This particularity gives

the cause of Syrian refugees and migrants in the world its merit and importance.

III- Purpose and Methodology of the study

1- Purpose of the Study

The study aims to research the scope and quality of media coverage performed by media outlets in Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and Morocco with regard to refugee and migration issues and problems. In this study, we will try to find answers to the following questions:

- Which media outlets give the most coverage to refugees' issues?
- What are the problems relating to refugees that were given the most coverage and in which context?
- Who speaks on behalf of the refugees and to what extent refugees seem to be the principal actors in the media coverage?
- Did the media present relevant and useful information to the refugees?
- When covering refugees' issues, are there declared or hidden positions and how do these positions appear?

2- Methodology of the Study

This study has adopted a methodology based on qualitative and quantitative research, but with a special focus on qualitative research. The reason is that qualitative research is better for this type of short study. The principal part of the study aims to explore the contents of media coverage of the refugees' problems in the selected countries during 2015. Another reason for choosing this method is due to the fact that qualitative research helps in knowing the media coverage of stories and news about refugees, and because it shows how the media dealt with refugees' problems in their newsrooms and how they presented them to the public.

Although this study is basically qualitative, and in the light of the method adopted to explore the refugees' issues covered by the media that have been selected as an instrument of research in Jordan, we have looked into a sample of each medium throughout 2015 and we have selected and used a number of these topics for our research as samples.

3- Time and Area Covered by the Study:

This study stretches throughout the year 2015 and up to February 2016, and it covers Lebanon, Jordan, Egypt and Morocco.

4- Samples Used for the Study:

Media outlets studied and time frame:

- a) In Lebanon**, the study sample selected the following five television stations: MTV, OTV, LBC, AL-JADEED, and AL-MUSTAQBAL (also known as FUTURETV) Also four daily newspapers were selected: As-Safir, Al-Nahar, Al-Akhbar and Al-Mustaqbal.

Two news websites were also part of the sample: El-Nashra and Al-Moudoun. These news media were selected for their large number of followers and because they enjoy diversity in their ownership. They are also largely known and widely distributed, and they represent different kinds of media: printed, internet and television. Radio stations were not part of the selection due to the lack of archives for this medium on the internet and because it was difficult to monitor radio stations during the whole period of research.

- b) In Jordan**, the study focused on two daily newspapers, one electronic website, one private satellite TV station and one government TV station. These were the subject of our study through the selection of a number of newscasts, investigations, reports and stories published and aired by each one of them during the year 2015, and without chronological order.

The media outlets monitored were the following:

-Al-Doustour Newspaper: It is one of the oldest and most serious daily newspapers in Jordan, and it gives special attention to the cause of Syrian refugees on a daily basis. It is a jointly owned newspaper and the government owns shares in it.

-Al-Ghad Newspaper: It is an independent daily newspaper established in 2004 and one of the papers which, more than any other, highlights the issues and news relating to the refugees.

-AmmanNet Website: It is one of the oldest news websites in Jordan. It owns a special radio station (Radio Al-Balad) and it may be the only Jordanian website to give continued attention to the cause of the refugees, in presenting the issues and dealing with them from different angles.

-Jordanian Television: It is the official government television station. It began airing on April 27, 1968, and it usually reflects the government point of view in all issues presented, including that of the refugees. It was included in our study to maintain the diversity we strive for.

-Roya TV (Satellite Station): This is a private Jordanian satellite TV station that started airing in January 1, 2011, and it has a good level of viewership. It always gives attention to the refugees' issues and it brings them up through talk shows that it organizes for this purpose, as well as through news coverage, reports and stories that it broadcasts.

c) In Egypt, the following six media outlets have been selected:

- 1- Al-Ahram Newspaper. It is government owned and the oldest in Egypt. /<http://www.ahram.org.eg>
- 2- Al Youm Al-Sabeh Newspaper. It is a private newspaper and one with the widest distribution. /<http://www.youm7.com>
- 3- Al-Watan Newspaper. It is a private newspaper, started in the aftermath of the revolution and has become one of the most important newspapers in Egypt. /<http://www.elwatannews.com>
- 4- Egypt News Website. It is the website that speaks on behalf of the Egyptian Radio and Television Union. /<http://www.egyptnews.com>

5- Al-Mawke3 News. It is a new private website and one of the most famous websites that deal with women issues.

<http://www.elmawke3.com>

6- ONtv station, is a private station and one of the most expansive, whether in viewership or in the number of subscribers on its account on YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/user/ONTveg>

d) In Morocco, the following media have been selected:

- Hespress Website: <http://www.hespress.com>
- Ya Biladi Website: <http://www.ar.yabiladi.com>
- Al Yaoum Newspaper, via its website: <http://www.alyaoum24.com>
- Al-Massae Newspaper, via its website: www.almassaepress.com
- TV Channel Medi1, via its website: <http://www.medi1tv.com>

IV- Media Landscape in Country where Study was Conducted

The media scene differs in the area of the study with regard to ownership, diversity and the various agendas.

In Lebanon:

Radio and TV Media were in the same situation that was prevailing in the Arab world until 1975: a government monopoly of the media in general. With the beginning of the civil war, this monopoly came to an end and different kinds of audiovisual media developed randomly throughout Lebanon. We could count 50 TV stations and 200 radio stations (Ali Rammal- Evolution of the media ownership - Researchers – Sixth book, p. 49).

This situation continued until 1994 when the issuance of licenses was regularized and the number of licensed TV stations dropped to six beside the government owned Lebanese TV. These six stations are:

- **LBCI**, a private station currently belonging to Pierre Daher after a legal dispute with the “Lebanese Forces” party.
- **MTV**, a private station owned by former Member of Parliament Mr. Gabriel Murr. This station strongly supports the 14 March forces.
- **OTV**, for the National Free Movement under the Leadership of Member of Parliament Michel Aoun.
- **ALMUSTAQBAL**, for the Future Movement (Al-Mustaqbal), under the leadership of former Prime Minister Saad Hariri.
- **NBN**, National Broadcasting Network, for the Amal Movement, under the leadership of the Speaker of the Parliament Mr. Nabih Berri.
- **AL-JADEED**, an independent station owned by businessman Tahseen Khayyat.

To these six stations we should also add **AL_MANAR TV**, which belongs to Hezbollah, and some religious TV stations such as **AL_IMAN** (Faith) and **TELE LUMIERE**.

With regard to Radio stations, they fall into the following categories:

- 1- **Political:** This category includes the official Lebanese radio station, Voice of Lebanon (Sawt Loubnan), Radio Free Lebanon (Loubnan Al-Hurr), Al-Sharq, al-Nour, Al-Shaab, Al-Ghad, Al-Rissalah, Sawt Fan, Beirut International, Beirut wa Loubnan Al-Wahed, Al-Bashaer. Most of these radio stations follow a political, confessional or ethnic group.
- 2- **Entertainment:** This category includes exclusively music and songs programs. There are more than twenty of them, operating without a license, just like some political radio stations do.

Unlike radio and television, print press in Lebanon, since its inception, was not a part of any monopoly from the state. Lebanon is the only Arab country where there is not a newspaper that speaks on behalf of the government.

The most prominent newspapers that are still published on a daily basis are: Al-Nahar, Al-Safir, Al-Mustaqbal, Al-Akhbar, Al-Joumhouriyah, Al-Bayraq, Al-Liwa, Al-Sharq, Al-Diyar and Al-Balad.

These newspapers are published in Arabic but there is also “L’Orient-Le Jour” in French, and the “Daily Star” in English.

More and above, tens of magazines and reviews are published on a periodical basis.

There are websites that do not belong to newspapers or periodicals, or radio or TV stations, or to political parties. These news websites are not subject to government regulations. They number around 130, and they appear and disappear randomly.

In Jordan:

The Press and Publication Law regulates the information field in Jordan. There are also many other laws related to the media, such as the Audiovisual Law, the law for the protection of government secrets and documents, the law guaranteeing the right for information, the Penal Code and the contempt of tribunals law, etc.

Media in Jordan is either official or private and despite the independence accorded to the media by the law, this independence is rather limited in certain

cases.

Six daily Arabic newspapers are published in Jordan. They are: Al-Rai, Al-Doustour, Al-Ghad, Al-Diyar, Al-Anbat and Al-Sabeel. Only one newspaper is published in English: *The Jordan Times*. Forty-two licensed radio stations are operating alongside one government owned station (Jordan Radio). There are also forty-five private satellite TV stations and one official government station.¹ By the end of 2015, the number of electronic websites operating in Jordan reached 393, including 175 news websites and 218 specialized websites that have been licensed and officially registered at the Information Agency in accordance with the Press and Publication Law.²

In 2014, Jordan has merged the Press and Publication Department with the Audiovisual Agency, thus creating one single governmental information institution which is the “Information Agency.” In the 1950s, a syndicate for the Jordanian journalists was created and it now includes more than 1,150 journalists. However, a large number of Jordanian media persons are not members of the press syndicate.

In Egypt:

In Egypt, the government holds a monopoly over the media, and it did not allow media to be owned privately or by political parties until the last quarter of the twentieth century.

The government has total control over media, and especially radio, television and the press. This is implemented through strict conditions in granting licenses, judiciary prosecutions and confiscation. The only media outlets that

¹ For more information on media outlets in Jordan, visit the Information Agency’s official website <http://mc.gov.jo/Pages/viewpage.aspx?pageID=13>

² Unfortunately, the Information Agency’s website does not provide information on electronic websites. We relied on the website: “Correct your Info”, available on the following link: <http://www.sahekhhabarak.com/NewsDetails.aspx?id=19285&393%D9%85%D9%88%D9%82%D8%B9%D8%A7%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%83%D8%AA%D8%B1%D9%88%D9%86%D9%8A%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%B1%D8%AE%D8%B5%D8%A7%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%AF%D9%86>

enjoy a certain level of independence are the internet and social networking websites. There are approximately 50 million internet users in Egypt. Journalists are subject daily to numerous violations, most of which are practiced by security forces who try to prevent journalists from reporting events on location. This practice is conducted through attacking journalists, breaking their cameras and preventing them from taking pictures or forwarding the pictures that have already been taken.

The Egyptian government has enacted, after approval by the new parliament, a law for fighting terrorism. This law, which became a permanent emergency law, has imposed a serious control on citizens' life and has made journalism a dangerous profession that can lead to imprisonment or death. This situation has led Egyptian journalists to restrict themselves to their homes and offices, and to make do with copying other publications and to limit different forms of live reporting such as investigations and pictured reports.

As a result of this state of affairs, the space of information devoted to metaphysical matters has increased dramatically, while programs that deal with the general situation in the country have almost disappeared.³

There are approximately 220 printed newspapers and periodicals, including daily, weekly or monthly publications. Out of this number, we could count about 60 newspapers and magazines that have significant influence or are famous with the public, whether they belong to the government, political parties or are privately owned.

The number of satellite TV channels, according to the Arab States Broadcasting Union, is approximately 200 Egyptian channels, including about 40 channels that are considered influential news and talk show stations, government or privately owned.

³ <http://anhri.net?p=159022> Report on the journalists' freedoms and their professional conditions, titled "Journalists under the Guillotine of Imprisonment and Assaults," dated February 8 2016. Visit on February 10, 2016

In Morocco:

Since its inception in 1962, Moroccan visual media has been under state monopoly and all stations were exclusively owned by the state. This situation persisted up until the creation of Medi 1 TV in 2006 with French partnership. However, after it reclaimed ownership of all its shares in 2008, this station was put under the full authority of the Moroccan government which did not approve any application for licenses to open private stations.

Radio stations were in a relatively better position than TV stations since the government allowed the establishment of private radio stations alongside government owned radios. However, it is to be noted that these private radio stations are under total governmental control, and licenses to open new stations are only given to institutions and individuals who are close to the regime. According to our latest information, the number of applications that have not been approved until the end of 2011 has reached 49 radio stations and 7 satellite TV channels.

Moroccan authorities have dealt with the written and electronic press in a different way than it dealt with the audiovisual. They authorized the publication of newspapers and websites, but they made them subject to controls and laws that put a firm hand on them.

V- Demographics of the Society Where Study Was Conducted

The numbers and nationalities of refugees depend on the geopolitical situation of the host country.

In **Lebanon**, refugees and migrants are now more than two million persons, which is equivalent to half the number of inhabitants (4 million). The statistical table prepared by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in December 2015 shows that the total number of refugees is 1,846,150, to which about 400,000 Palestinians should be added. It is clear that Syrians make up the majority of the refugees (1,835,840), followed by the Palestinians, the Iraqis and others. The other refugees in Lebanon are on a temporary basis waiting to move to other countries that are accepting refugees. The refugees in Lebanon are dispersed throughout the entire Lebanese territory, residing in all Lebanese cities, towns and villages. Also, 1,400 camps for refugees have been randomly established, hosting 195,000 families (Al-Nahar newspaper February 15, 2016).

This large number of refugees and migrants live beside the Lebanese people in some places and among them in others. They share with them health, education, environment and economic services, as well as security concerns and other problems.

In numerous political, social and economic instances, this situation has generated polemics and divisions within the Lebanese public opinion. This was directly reflected in Lebanese media of all tendencies, especially in the initial phases of the Syrian migration in 2011, and subsequently with the enactment of government decisions that put a series of legal regulations organizing this migration and trying to limit it due to the enormous pressure that the refugees put on different aspects of life.

Jordan has experienced, throughout its history, waves of refugees and migrants that could be described as really large migrations in the region.

The most important of these waves are:

- 1- The first wave of Armenian, Circassian and Chechen refugees toward the middle of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. This occurred before the establishment of the Emirate which makes them, together with tens of Bedouin tribes, part of the founding fathers. These tribes stopped moving and migrating between Jordan and the Arab peninsula and settled permanently in Jordan before the Emirate of Transjordan was established in 1921.
- 2- The second wave of refugees took place with the creation of the army of the Great Arab Revolution and the arrival of the founder of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, King Abdullah the First. His army included soldiers from different Arab nationalities who settled in Jordan and made it their homeland.
- 3- The third large wave was the result of the first arrival of Palestinian refugees (Nakba) in the aftermath of the occupation of Palestine in 1948, when thousands of Palestinians migrated to Jordan. Those refugees later acquired the Jordanian nationality and became citizens of Jordan. The next large wave was the second arrival of Palestinian refugees following the June 1967 war. The refugees in this wave were many times more numerous than those who came to Jordan in 1948. This caused a significant demographic change. Palestinian refugees who came in 1948 and 1967 were granted Jordanian citizenship and integrated completely into the Jordanian society.
- 4- Then we saw the wave of Lebanese refugees who came to Jordan because of the 1975 civil war. At that time, Jordan received several thousand Lebanese, but they were not treated as refugees. Even the international community did not treat them as such. Although most of them did not stay long in Jordan, this wave of Lebanese refugees escaping war in their country enriched Jordan's legacy as a host country for refugees and its experience in dealing with them and caring for them.

- 5- The fifth wave of refugees was due to the first Gulf war in 1989-1990. This is one of the largest waves of refugees to come to Jordan since 1967. Although most of these refugees were Jordanians returning from Kuwait, Jordan received also tens of thousands of refugees of different nationalities before helping them return to their own countries.
- 6- In the aftermath of the second Gulf war in 2003, a wave of Iraqis escaping the war came to Jordan. Thousands of them resided in this country until international organizations arranged for the transfer of most of them abroad.
- 7- With the invasion and occupation of Iraq in 2003 and its aftermath, a large wave of Iraqis entered Jordan. This is one of the largest waves of refugees that Jordan has received. Almost 700,000 Iraqis took refuge there. Camps were built for them and they were allowed to enter and reside in Jordan until arrangements were made for their repatriation, their transfer to other countries, or for their permanent residence in the Kingdom.
- 8- The wave of Syrian refugees from 2011 to present: this is one of the very large waves of refugees that Jordan took in and catered to with international assistance. However, this wave is characterized by the fact that it is still ongoing and it constitutes an enormous economic and social burden for Jordan. This wave was also the subject of large interest by the international community and the media. The attention given to this wave may have been even larger than the attention given to the wave of Iraqi refugees of 2003 and those ensuing. The fact that this wave is still ongoing gives the cause of the Syrian refugees the attention and importance it has.
- 9- There were also numerous other waves of refugees but they did not constitute a heavy burden on the country and did not get the attention of the international community. Such cases are, for instance, the arrival of hundreds of Syrian families in the 1930s, then the thousands of Syrian refugees who came in 1980 due to the events in Hama. Most of these refugees still reside in Jordan permanently, along with tens of Libyan,

Yemeni and Sudanese refugees who came to Jordan after the Arab Spring.

By the end of 2015, Jordan conducted a population census which showed that Jordanians constitute 69.3% of the population, while non-Jordanians make up 30.6%. Half of the non-Jordanians are Syrian refugees (1,300,000) while Palestinians are 6.6%, Egyptians 6.6% and Iraqis 1.3%. Yemenis are 0.33%, Libyans 0.24% and around 2.0% of other nationalities.

According to the official statistics, Syrian refugees are mainly concentrated in the Capital district (436,000), Irbid (343,000), Al-Mafraq (208,000) and Al-Zarqa (175,000). The number of Egyptian refugees in Jordan is around 636,000, most of whom are in the Capital district (390,000), and Palestinians who are officially registered and have a “national registration number” total 634,000.

These statistics do not include Syrian refugees in the refugee camps of Zaatari, Al-Azraq and others. The majority of Syrian refugees does not reside in refugee camps prepared specifically for them, but instead reside in the cities, villages and districts of the Kingdom. They constitute approximately 86% of all refugees residing outside the camps. The Director of Syrian Refugees Affairs in Jordan declared in mid-December that only 7% of the Syrian refugees reside in the five camps built in Jordan to house them while the others are dispersed across the whole Jordanian territory.

In **Egypt**, there is no law or central agency that deals with refugees, but Presidential Order Number 89 issued in 1960, “The Law for Foreigners,” has put conditions on the entry in Egypt of asylum seekers. These conditions include preventing foreigners’ entry without a passport and requiring them to leave Egypt at the expiration of their residence permit.

The Department of Refugee Affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior are the competent authorities to directly deal with refugees in Egypt. Legitimate refugees are treated the same way as foreigners

residing in Egypt⁴. This fact made Egypt a crossing for refugees and escapees from Africa and Arab countries trying to reach Europe, Israel or Turkey.

There are conflicting figures about the number of refugees in Egypt, even within official agencies. Egyptian President Abdel-Fattah El-Sisi, in his speech to the 10th meeting of the Egyptian University Students at Suez Canal University on September 13, 2015 declared: “There are five million refugees, including at least 500,000 Syrians, living in Egypt.” He also mentioned that the refugees are from Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, Sudan, South Sudan, Ethiopia and Eritrea⁵.

On the other hand, the Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs for Multilateral and International Security Ambassador Hisham Badr, declared on September 8, 2015: “The number of Syrian refugees in Egypt has reached 350,000, with 140,000 of them registered with the Refugees Commission.”⁶

Estimates provided by the civil society show that the number of refugees in Egypt is approximately 2,000,000, the majority of them coming from Syria, Iraq, Sudan, South Sudan, Palestine, Libya, Eritrea, Somalia and Ethiopia.

Morocco has always been a haven for migrants and refugees from West African countries. The highest numbers are refugees from Senegal, then Nigeria and Cote d’Ivoire. Some of them are escaping civil wars and conflicts, while others are looking for better living conditions. Then there are the Syrian refugees who started flowing into Morocco following the outburst of war in their country. Statistics show that their number does not exceed 5,000, of which approximately 1,730 are registered with the UNHCR. For these refugees, Morocco constitutes either a safe haven in which they seek stability, or a step on their way to cross to Spain as a gate of entrance to Europe.

⁴ <http://schools.aucegypt.edu/GAPP/cmrs/Documents/Whoaskedthemanymanyway%28Ar%29.pdf>

Study published in July 2006 by DRC Migration, Globalization and Poverty, Sussex University, titled: “Who Asked Them Anyway” (meaning the refugees) Date of visit: February 4, 2016

⁵ News item titled: “Sisi: 5 million refugees in Egypt despite our difficult circumstances.” Dated September 13, 2015, visited on Feb 5, 2016 <http://www.egynews.net>

⁶ News item titled: “MFA discloses the number of Syrian refugees in Egypt.” Dated Sep 8, 2015 visited on Feb 5, 2016 <http://www.shorouknews.com/news/view.aspx?cdate=08092015&id=a00e29ff-3504-4432-b8fa-836aa040d583>

VI- Media Coverage of Refugees' Problems and Issues

Information media, with its different forms and instruments, constitutes the principal and most important component for peoples' culture. For this reason, the role media plays concerning refugees and migrants is fundamental and serious, since the life of millions of them could end due to what the media report and transmit about them. The message that is communicated about them could ameliorate their living conditions and their integration in the new society where they live. This is done by promoting awareness in the host societies to the circumstances and the rights of these humans who should be able to enjoy all their rights wherever they are. Media could also encourage the people in the receiving country to lobby their governments to exert all efforts in order to improve the refugees' living conditions.

However, if media plays a negative role toward these refugees by means of disseminating hatred and inciting people against them, it could turn their lives into a real hell in the new societies they have moved to and of which they have no knowledge. A negative message, besides antagonizing the society against the refugees, could help governments make the decision to deport them and complicate their lives, since they are a new burden on these governments. Often times, this fact makes governments evade their duties of giving migrants and refugees their rights and treat them badly or expel them.

Media coverage of refugees and migrants' issues has been directly linked to the number of refugees proportional to the total number of the population of the host country, as well as to its social, political, economic, security, ethnic and even confessional conditions. In this study, we will discuss our conclusions in each society.

VII - Media Coverage of the Refugees' Issues in Lebanon

First of all, let us point out that we have selected the following five TV channels: OTV, MTV, LBC, Al-MUSTAQBAL, and AL-JADEED; the following four newspapers: Al-Nahar, Al-Safir, Al-Mustaqbal and Al-Akhbar; and the two websites El-Nashra and Al-Modon.

We have based our selection on the criteria of the extent of diffusion of these media and their level of interest in the refugees' issues which was minimal or marginal in other media. We could not select a sample of radio stations due to the fact that their tendencies in reporting news are similar to the majority of TV stations.

- **Television Coverage:**

There were 156 media interventions of news, reports and investigation topics that dealt with refugees' conditions in Lebanon. Ninety percent of this coverage was about the conditions of the Syrian refugees in Lebanon and the remaining about Palestinian and Iraqi migrants.

**Television Coverage of Syrian Refugees
December 2015 to February 2016**

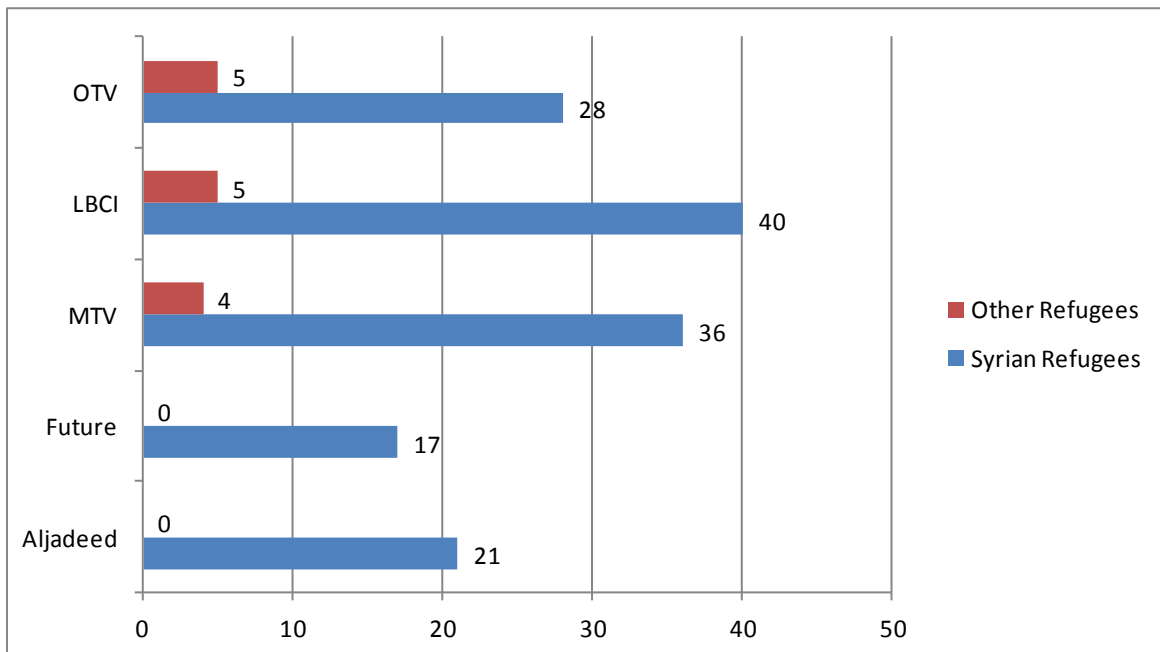


Figure 1

Figure 1 shows that LBC was the first to focus on this coverage, followed by MTV, OTV, Al-Jadeed and Al-Mustaqbal.

Figures 2 and 3 show that 46% of this coverage was about social problems linked to different types of hardship and suffering.

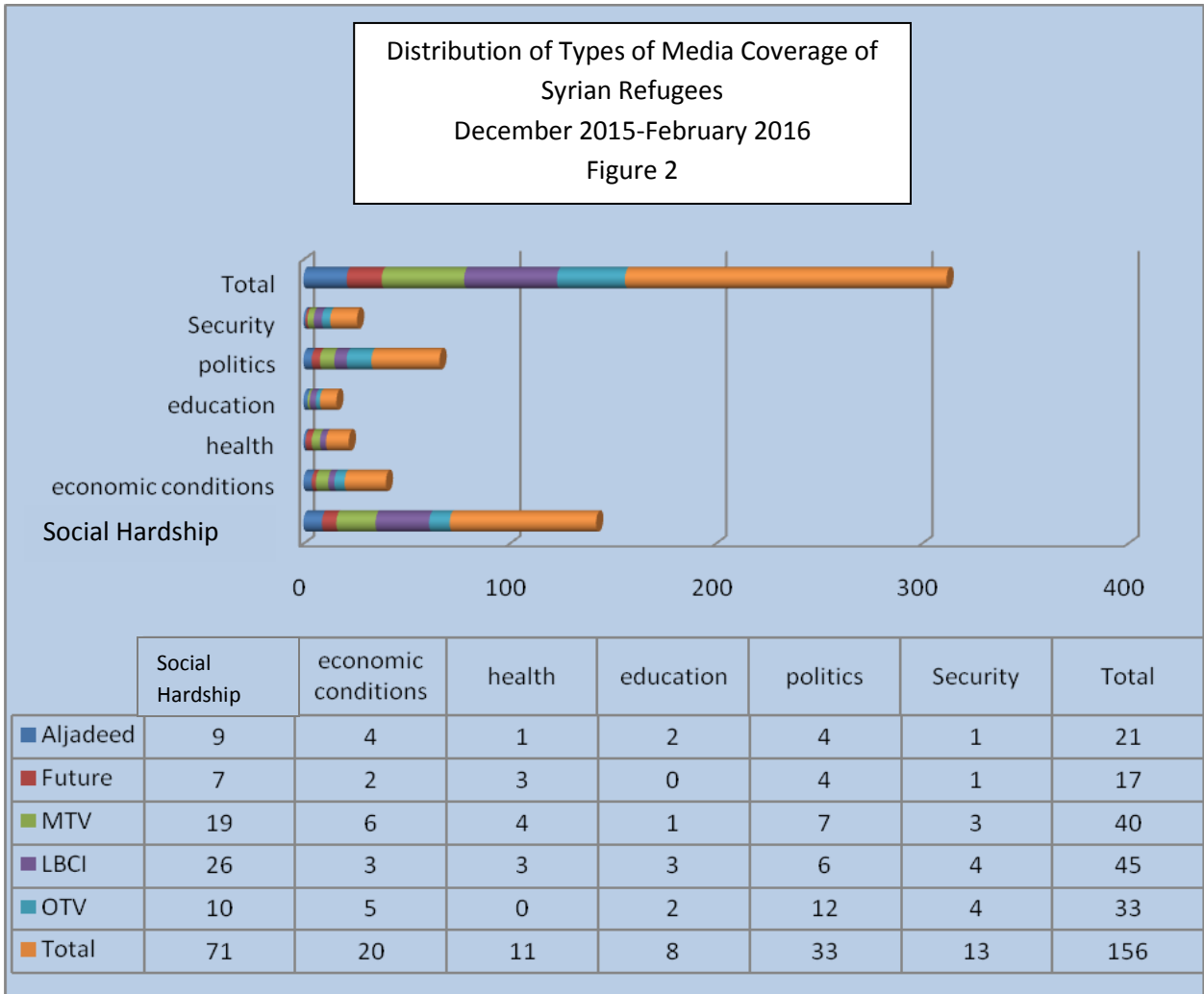


Figure 2

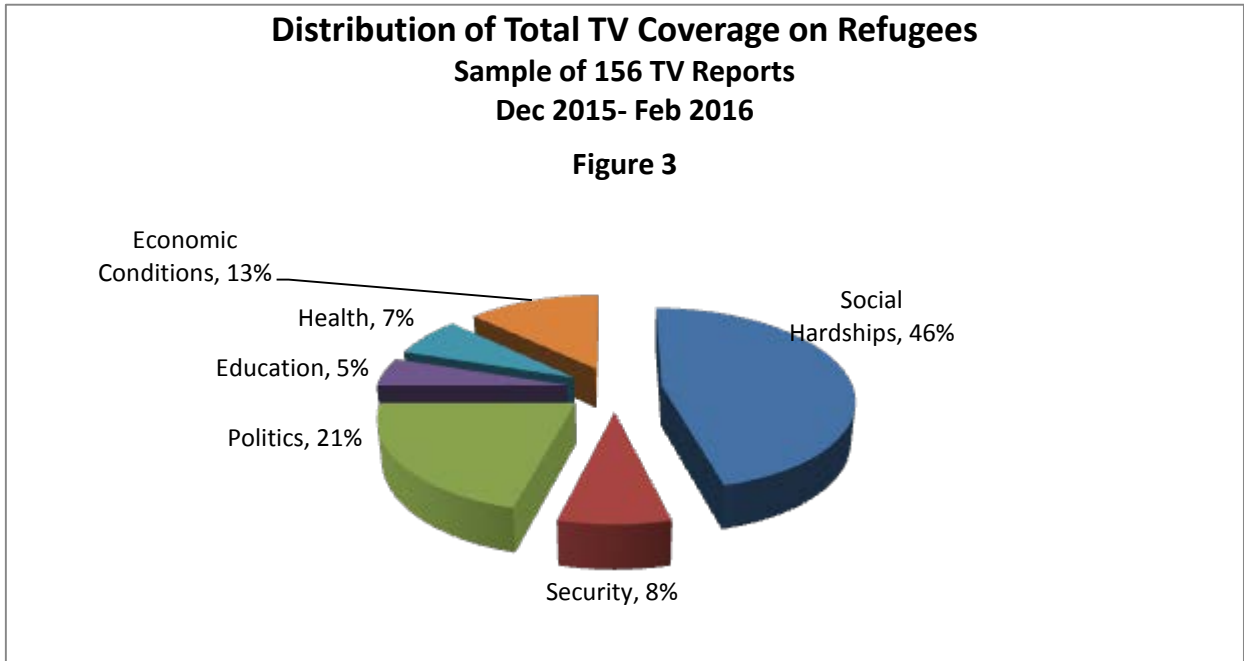


Figure 3

LBC led among other TV stations in presenting topics that focus on the suffering and hardship that refugees experience while living in tents, especially during winter storms and summer heat. It also showed the frequent movement of refugees from one camp to another, the fires that broke out, the victims, the miserable quality of life and the harsh living conditions in the camps. All this, coupled with the disintegration of families and the disappearance of the provider or other members of the family.

The coverage of the political fallout of the refugee crisis in Lebanon came behind (21%) the coverage of the hardship. It is to be noted that this fallout led to contradictory positions among the Lebanese with regard to some issues, mainly those that are related to the measures taken by the government to regulate the entry of Syrians in order to limit the migration.

OTV was first in focusing on the political consequences of the refugee problem. It showed international documents urging Lebanon to resettle Syrians in Lebanon. It also repeatedly called for conducting an official dialogue with the Syrian government in order to solve the refugee problem. They also called to

refrain from registering new births and expressing the fear of trading the Lebanese people for other peoples.

OTV also traded arguments with the Minister of Social Affairs in regard to the question of new births of Syrians in Lebanon and it alluded to the fact that some embassies encourage the emigration of Christians from Lebanon and the region. It sensed that Lebanon was facing two dangers: terrorism and the settlement of refugees.

These positions were considered by Al-Mustaqbal TV as a campaign waged by the National Free Movement against the migrants.

The economic repercussions of the refugee problem on the Lebanese represented 13% of the total coverage. The focus was on the ability of Lebanon to cope with the economic burden caused by the refugee problem. We should bear in mind that 80% of the migrants, according to the UN High Commission for Refugees, come from poor families and they need shelter and immediate economic support.

Media coverage of the refugee problem underlined the fact that Syrian workers compete with Lebanese workers in the labor market. It also criticized the high proportion of Syrian employment at the expense of the Lebanese labor force due to the low wages Syrians get. This is bound to further complicate the unemployment crisis and it threatens to increase the emigration of Lebanese.

On the other hand, Syrians complained of the impossibility of finding a job without a work permit.

Security repercussions were also present in the coverage (8%). There were concerns that extremist groups, like ISIS, could take advantage of the refugees' difficult economic conditions and try to lure them with money and mobilize them. The Lebanese army has, from time to time, arrested armed people and confiscated weapons caches in refugee camps.

As a result of this fear and with the increase in the level of thefts and other incidents, some people have warned against the security risks caused by refugees.

OTV, for instance, considered that there are, in Lebanon, a million Syrian migrants opposing the regime and, at the same time, opposing half the Lebanese population.

If 54% of the Lebanese do not feel safe because of the high number of refugees, it should be said that security concerns, on the part of the refugees, was also covered by the media, such as stories of kidnapping, sexual assaults on female migrants, fear of deportation and arrest of Syrians who cannot afford paying the fees of their residence permits of \$200.00 per year.

Health issues (7%), the dire need of migrants for medical examinations and treatments and their relation with hospitals, were the subject of special coverage. For example, 90% of migrant children need vaccination. Other facts that have been covered by the media include: not accepting refugees by some Lebanese hospitals before making them pay a large financial guarantee; the impossibility of payment for medical examinations; the multitude of diseases resulting from housing conditions; and the malnutrition and the spread of skin diseases among children and babies, according to Al-Mustaqbal TV.

Television coverage also focused on education conditions (5%) of the refugees. Statistics reveal that 73% of the street kids are Syrians, which means that they are not attending school.

LBC stated that 300,000 Syrian students need to go to school. However, media reports clearly mention that a higher number is still not attending the 144 schools that have been dedicated to Syrians according to Al-Jadeed TV.

Forms of Television Coverage:

Figure 4 shows that 42% of television coverage was done in the form of news items such as reporting statements, positions, statements or declarations issued by local or international officials with regard to refugee problems.

It also shows that reportages and investigative reports where a refugee is featured and has spoken about his experience encompassed 52% of the total coverage.

**Form of TV Coverage of Refugees' Issues
Dec 2015 – Feb 2016**

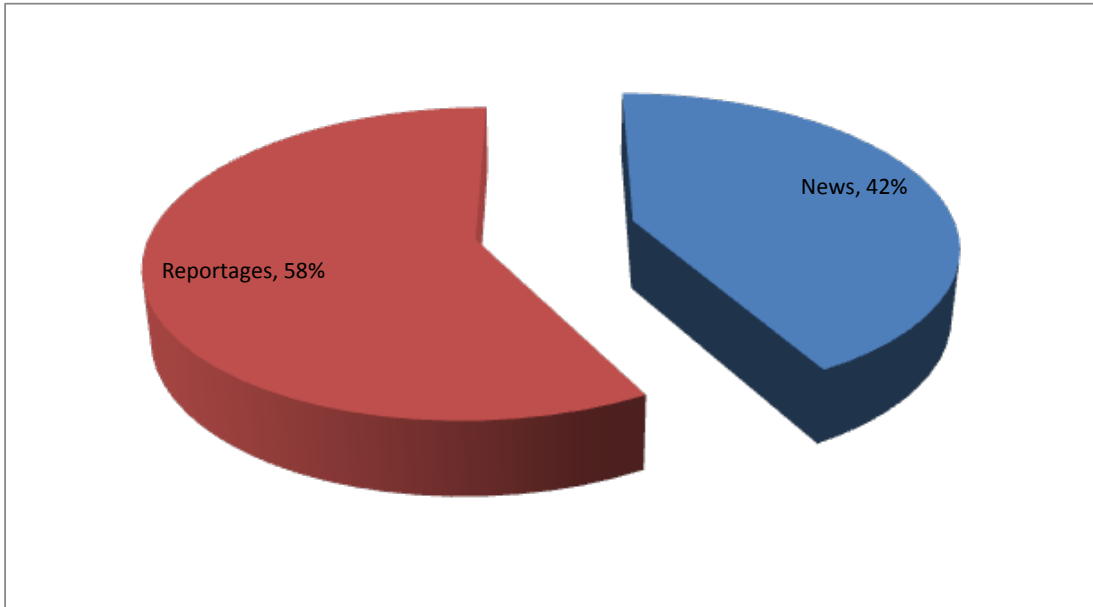


Figure 4

Qualitative Analysis

We have selected a sample of 20 news programs from the evening broadcast of five TV stations. This totals four news programs per station, thus covering all the subjects related to the refugee problems.

Figure 5 demonstrates how each TV station presented refugees' issues in a way that is compatible with its political tendencies.

However, the common denominator between the different stations covering the issues was the question of the hardship and suffering of these refugees, mainly the children and the sick. There was also a consensus on the negative

effects of the Syrian labor on the Lebanese labor market and the difficulty for Lebanon to bear the burdens of this migration, economically and socially.

Half of the Lebanese experienced fear and lack of security because of the increase in incidents of assaults on them perpetrated by Syrians, according to LBC, while two thirds of the Syrians were the subject of attack by Lebanese.

There was almost unanimity on the issue of residence permits and their cost in the coverage as this issue affects 70% of the migrants who live below the poverty line.

OTV focused on Christian migrants, especially Iraqis and Syrians, but it took precedence on all other stations in reporting statements and leaks calling either for resettling refugees in Lebanon or refusing it, and deeming the refugee issue a threat to the fabrics of the country.

Speaking of the inhabitants of the town of Toufail which is located within the Syrian border, MTV pointed out the presence of “Lebanese migrating from their own land,” and called for attention to their plight.

Al-Mustaqbal and Al-Jadeed joined other TV stations in covering social, economic and security issues.

It is worth noting that the majority of these stations gave the refugees themselves the opportunity to express their feelings about their suffering, their needs and their problems.

The following figure shows the amount of air time given to these refugees in the information coverage.

Refugee	LBC	MTV	OTV	Future	Al-Jadeed	Total
Misc.	10	14	6	14	23	67
Child	-	1	-	7	2	10
Total	10	15	6	21	25	77

Figure 5

The participation of refugees in presenting their problems was short and quick, bearing in mind that the average time for a news report is two minutes. It was, nevertheless, accompanied by live pictures which left a strong psychological impact on the viewers.

However, the small number of refugees presenting their case on OTV is due to the fact that the selected sample focused on the statements made by authorities about resettlement issues and the conflict between the UN Commission and the Lebanese authorities.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nv7tWmhilw>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gss3jf4ul>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zfuxfh3e4ps>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sr-qupxy7y0>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h55ob7helww>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m7jqn8ninjs>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xdudt4siua>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zihrixemkb8>

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=accdx5btp4>

Vocabulary and Terminologies Used in the Coverage

	Social Hardship	Economy and Labor	Security	Health	Politics	Relation with Host Community
LBC	Call for a humanely treatment. Campaign to help refugees withstand the cold and freeze. Not accepting	70% are working without official documents . Expanding the labor market. Decline of International support.	Time bombs. 54% of Lebanese do not feel safe. 9% have been subject to assault by Syrians.	28% do not get any medical service.	They bear the laws of nature but international law does not alleviate their tragedy. International justice	67% of Syrians feel that they are not welcome. Deterioration of relations between Lebanese and Syrian

	that kids die of cold.	3,000 Iraqi female workers in need of help. Cost of a residence permit.	2/3 say they have been assaulted by Lebanese. Respect of human rights while imposing security.		at its lowest level. Making their regularization process easier.	societies. Solidarity of local society. Humaneness is the generic quality of the Lebanese society.
MTV	Poor children with hope for a better life. Lebanese displaced from Toufail and homeless not allowed to be registered by the Commission. Lebanese people killed by neglect.	Children working as peddlers. Labor in Hamra Street, Beirut. 300,000LL salary for a Syrian worker. 100% Syrian labor in Syrian restaurants in Hamra. Workers from all kinds of specialties. Syrians have taken all jobs.	Request to protect Lebanese of Toufail village. Syrian Embassy imprisons and beats Syrians because they come from different regions.	Suffering of a child in need of a kidney transplant. Inability to pay dialysis costs.	Request the Lebanese government to summon the Syrian Ambassador. Passports of opposing Syrians are confiscated by Embassy.	Lebanese youth fighting on the regime side. Migration of Lebanese youth.

Al-Mustaqbal	Primitive life. No toilets and no services. Loss of the provider. Mothers and children with no provider. 1,700 camps and fragile societies. Their number exceeded 2 million. Bar-Elias Refugee camp. Nostalgia for their villages. Fear of animals. No education.	Increase of number of migrants beyond Lebanon's capabilities. Difficult situation and high costs. Cost of migration is 7.5 billion. Their integration in the labor market made 300,000 Lebanese workers lose their jobs. Child labor and children exploitation. They can't afford to rent a home.	"Ali" is summoned for erecting tent on someone else's land. Evacuation of refugee camps in Batroun.	Doesn't have 15,000LL to pay a medical examination in dispensary. Pregnant woman does not see a doctor. Absence of decent health and food environment. Diseases and shortage of resources	No more accepting new refugees. Between the hammer of no return and the hard place of international interests.	More strain on water supply and increase of pollution. A quarter of Residents in Lebanon are Syrian refugees. Syrians' dream of return. Bad treatment of Syrians. The Syrian is of no value.
OTV	Derbas: Registration and the Children Code of	Regularization of the conditions of Syrian workers'	1 million armed people against the	Sick people in need of medical care. UN	Attempts of arranging refugees' matters	Syrians' toilets are polluting.

	<p>Rights. Displaced Iraqi and Syrian Christians below the poverty line. Iraqis are on the "Via Crucifix."</p>	<p>participating in the economic cycle. Christian Syrians don't have enough money to leave.</p>	<p>regime and also against the Lebanese people.</p>	<p>has contract with only one hospital. Migration from Lebanon in search of medical insurance.</p>	<p>through international conferences. A UNHCR document asking to register refugees. No new Syrian migration. Measures to monitor their presence. Does the Syrian refugee enter and exit his country? Whoever leaves should not be able to return. International organizations urge the resettlement of Palestinians.</p>	
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					Argument with Minister of Social Affairs. The Minister refuses racial treatment of refugees. Resettlement is unacceptable. Lebanon did not sign agreements on refugees.	
Al-Jadeed	17,000 risk dire poverty by year end. Cold and storms threaten residents in Rmaileh camp. Collapse of houses and huts.	Syrian capitalists transferred their investments to Hamra. 60% are Syrians and 40% are Lebanese. Objections on Commissio	Government warns of evacuation of camp and no place to go. Government actions finish off what was		Refugees are a number game between those who are registered and those who are not. International	Damascus and Aleppo Cuisine. Fears or Diversity? One fourth of Lebanese residents are migrants. Get us out of

	<p>Pictures of child who died of cold. No electricity and no water. In Holy Ramadan, shortage of foodstuff. Hopes and wishes for return. Beggars.</p>	<p>n's assistance. The crisis may cause the economic collapse of Lebanon. Lebanon's loss in more than 2.5 billion dollars.</p>	<p>left of their homes. Troubles in relations with Lebanese on the backdrop of Aarsal explosion s. Accusatio ns against Hezbollah and shelling Syrian refugee, an alibi to accuse the governme nt and the army of harassing refugees.</p>		<p>organizati ons stop assistance</p>	<p>Lebanon. People in poverty living with people in poverty.</p>
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Figure 6

- **Print Press and Websites**

It is clear that Lebanese newspapers have given special attention to the refugees' problems in Lebanon. Figure 7 shows that 122 topics were covered by the four newspapers, with 84% of this coverage dealing with the Syrian

migrants. The remaining 16% dealt with Iraqi and Palestinian refugees displaced from Syrian camps.

Most of this coverage focused on the repercussions of the refugee issue on the political and security situations and on the host country in general.

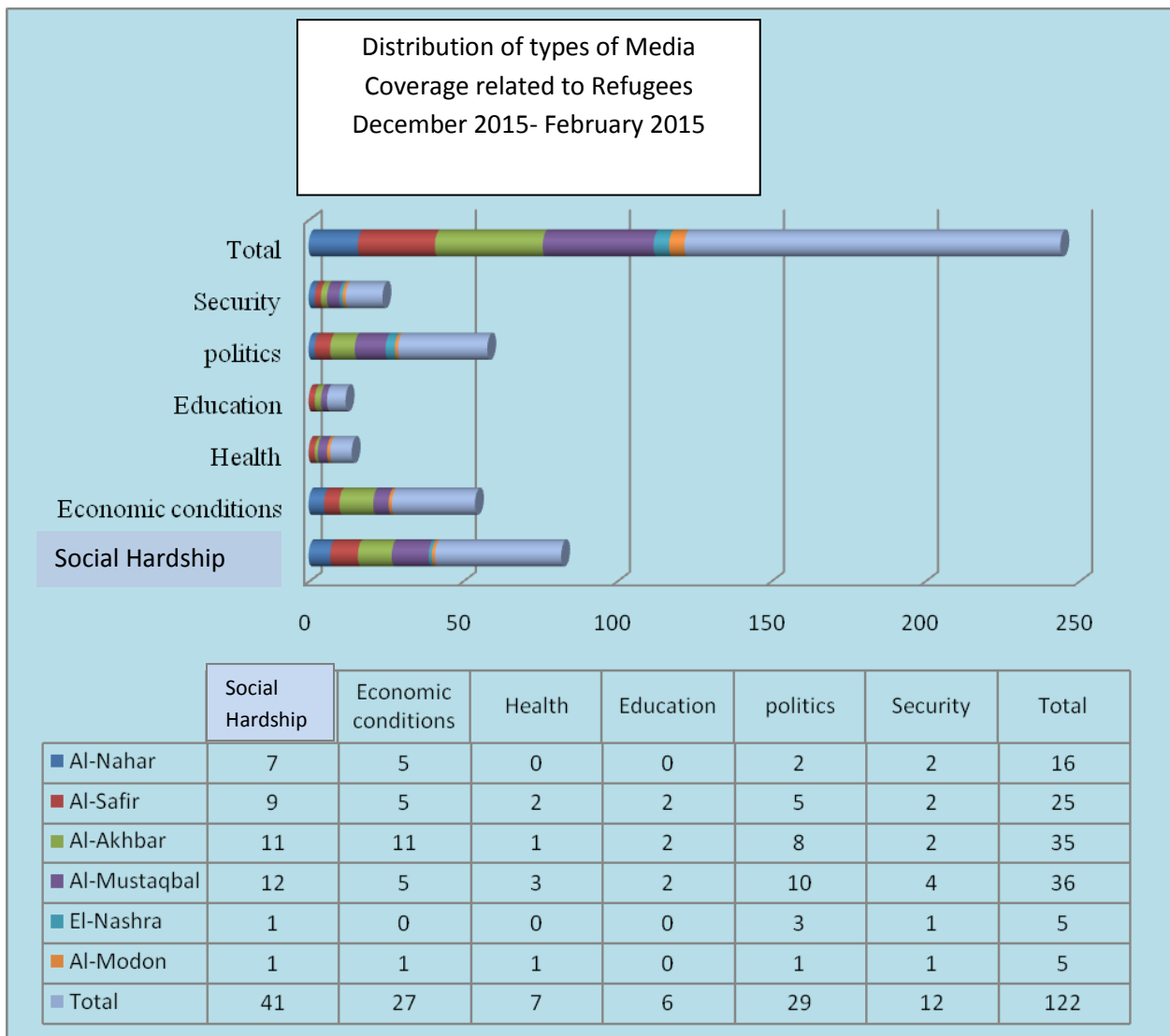


Figure 7

Figure 8 shows that the social hardship of the refugees was the first to be covered among other refugees' issues, followed by the political positions

concerning the whole refugee problem and, finally, the economic and security situations.

Al-Mustaqbal newspaper concentrated on the suffering of the refugees, highlighting the aid provided by Saudi Arabia as well as the popular campaigns taking place in solidarity with the Syrians who migrated to North Lebanon and the Bekaa in particular. It also shed light on the political positions toward this migration, especially in the aftermath of contradictory positions taken by the Minister of Foreign Affairs (President of the National Free Movement) and the Minister of Social Affairs, from the Future Movement.

The economic situation was at the center of the coverage of Al-Akhbar newspaper, especially with regard to the Syrian labor force and the exploitation of Syrian workers and how it reflected on the Lebanese society. The newspaper also covered the new regulations for a legal residence permit and its cost, underlining the fact that human rights conditions in Lebanon are worsening. It also introduced to the public the question of the integration of the Syrians, especially children, in the education system. Al-Akhbar also dealt with the issue of Palestinian refugees, mainly those who were displaced from camps in Syria.

The website Al-Modon brought up the issues of the labor force, the resettlement of refugees and some cases of harassment of Syrian females. It also dwelled on the medical problems, health services and the smuggling rings of Syrians to Lebanon.

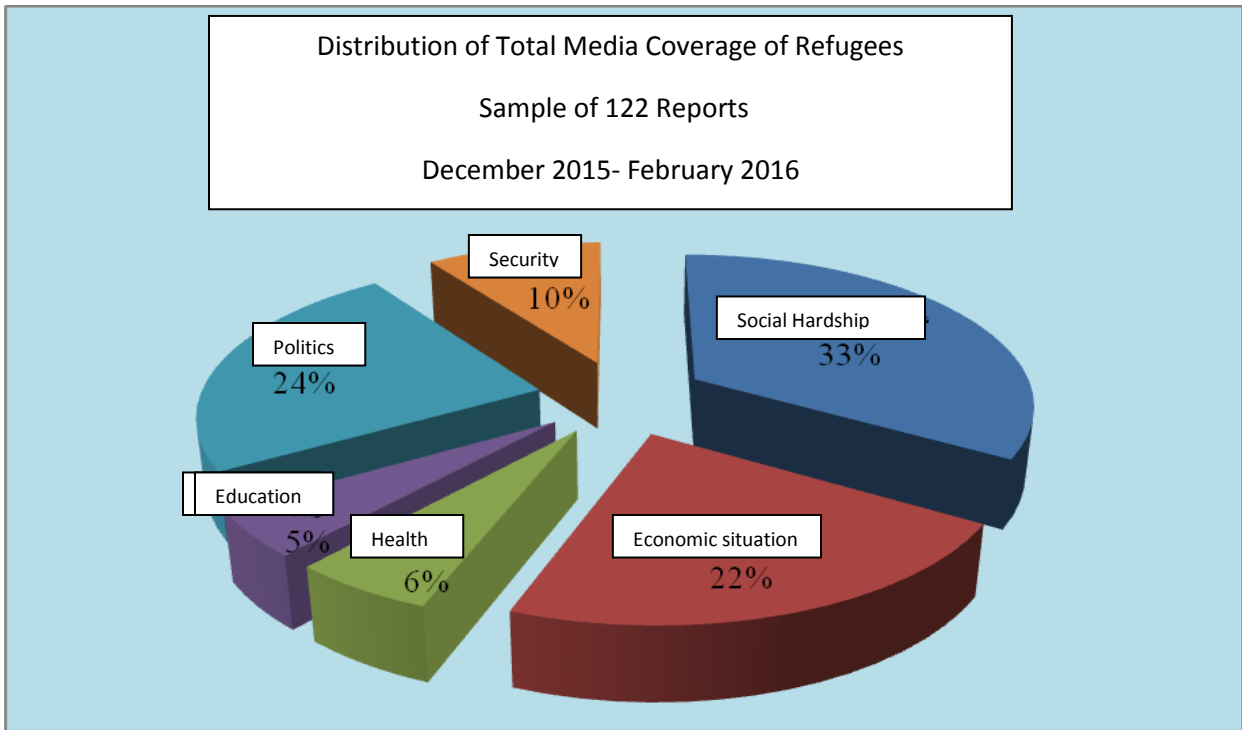


Figure 8

Forms of Press Coverage:

Figure 9 shows that 48% of the press coverage appeared as news items, in the form of statements, positions or declarations made by local or international officials with respect to the refugee issue.

It also shows that reports and investigations where a refugee talks about his own experience are 52% of the general coverage, which is less than what we saw in television coverage. This is due to the nature of the journalistic profession.

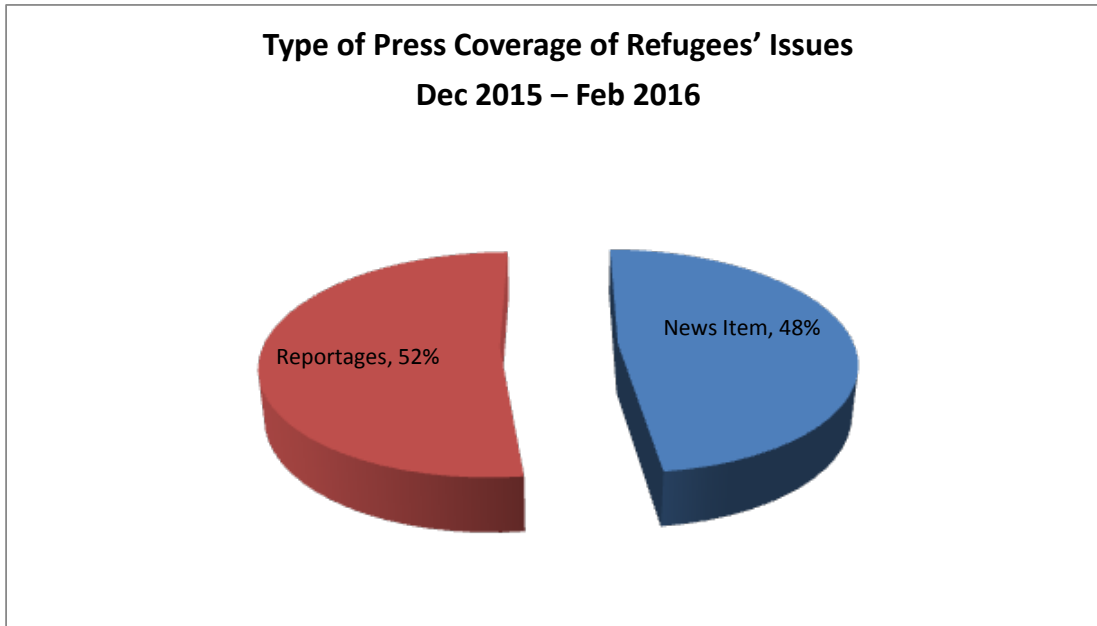


Figure 9

Qualitative Analysis:

Since print press does not have the ability to present live pictures like television does, it compensates this shortfall by describing the suffering of the refugees in creative ways that stick in the readers' memory (See figure 10).

Al-Nahar newspaper concentrated its reporting on the dramatic living conditions of the refugees who were facing freezing temperatures and, at the same time, a complete lack of food security. It also concentrated on the issue of food aid. There was also a decrease in the number of families enjoying food security since only 3% of children between 6 and 17 months of age received the minimum necessary daily nutrition. At this level, 90% of the refugees are drowning in debt, suffering from illness, lack of education and an attitude of segregation by some Lebanese.

Al-Safir newspaper, such as Al-Nahar, presented the tragedy of the refugees, their economic concerns and focused on the necessity of dealing with these problems and considering them the principal cause of extremism. Live

testimonies of some refugees showed a desire to escape humiliation, segregation and sexual assaults.

Al-Modon website presented all the humanitarian, economic and health issues and underlined the problem of the sexual assaults that targeted 77 female refugees.

El-Nashra, in dealing with the issue of the Palestinian migrants from camps in Syria, blamed the USA, Turkey and the Gulf countries for this tragedy.

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- www.assafir.com
- www.annahar.com
- www.almustaqbal.com
- www.al-akhbar.com
- www.elnashranewslb.com
- www.almodon.com

Vocabulary and Terminologies used in the coverage:

	Social Hardship	Economy	Health	Education	Security	Politics	Host Community
Al-Nahar	Dreaming of a pair of shoes protecting his feet from the cold. Floor in the tent	40 liters of fuel enough for only 3 days of heating. \$21 Food coupon per	Suffering from rheumatism. Mobile medical units visit 20 communi	Repercussions on education . Half the children aged 6-14 are not attending school.	Lebanese avoid going to the Hamra area. Security repercussions on	His father was arrested by the regime. A call for the intervention of the	1,400 camps randomly built. Hamra turned black in comparison to

	<p>covered with water. Burning from cold in winter. Difficult weather conditions in mountain camps. Need of fuel and food. Snow blocking roads leading to camps. 70% of refugees under poverty line. Decline in quality of foodstuff. Low level of food safety multiplied. Homeless people everywhere. We</p>	<p>month. \$20 \$30 to rent a tent. \$7 cost of 1 Amp. electricity. Tourism, labor and begging in Hamra. Restaurants with all Syrian employees. Negative impact on the labor market. Azzi: Lebanon has endured more than its capabilities. 90% of refugees are drowning in debt.</p>	<p>ties. Absence of medical care.</p>	<p>Some children attend school only once or twice a week.</p>	<p>situation in Lebanon.</p>	<p>Lebanese gov. Pharaon: A negative impact of the Syrian presence.</p>	<p>Beirut. Hamra, at the mercy of brothers and foreigners is losing its original people. You feel as if you were in Syria. Demographic change in Hamra. Syrians are occupying the country. Begging and indecent views. Decline of the capabilities of local communities to bear this kind of</p>
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	have nothing to celebrate Eid with.	Cost of living has complicated the crisis. Exploitation of Syrian workers: 12 hours work for \$4 pay. Level of international financing . \$200 cost of renting a home.					life.
Al-Safir	1.5 million refugees. Migration terrorism through health and education . Rights Watch: Refugees are in danger. Accusations against security	Work accidents . 300,000L L is a very large amount to reside in Lebanon for 70% of Syrians under poverty line.			Necessity to deal with economic and social problems , as they are the principal cause of terrorism . Fear of the residence formalities and the guarantor	Salam: Refugees are a burden on Lebanon. Lebanon did not sign the Geneva Agreement on dealing with refugees. Derbas: We are	Escape from humiliation, racism, sexual assaults and lack of protection. Facilitating residence formalities for sex services.

	<p>apparatus of sexual exploitation of women. We are living at the margin of society because we do not have legal documents. Victims of brokers and mistreatment. Lagarde: Harsh legal, residential, education and living conditions.</p>	<p>Guarantors exploiting workers. 7 million Euros as French contribution. Reminding of promises : 100 million Euros from French president. "Amel" institution, (1 million Euros).</p>			<p>. Residence conditions facilitate harming Syrians. Residence has made Syrians lose their legal status.</p>	<p>not a state for refugees. French Ambassador: Refugee crisis is going to last very long.</p>	
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	Social Hardship	Economy	Health	Security	Politics
El-Nashra	<p>Living conditions of refugees in El-Bourj camp. Refugees'</p>			<p>Camps in Arsal are under army protection.</p>	<p>Hammoud: We don't accept the way Bassil deals with Syrian refugees. Support for a peaceful solution; elections</p>

	tragedies. Iranian, regional, Turkish and Gulf aggression.					June 3 rd . His statements are racist and we refuse them. We refuse when some people say that Syrians are a threat to Lebanese entity. Hoteit: Syrians are an extortion and exploitation card during the war and the aggression on Syria. Turkey accused of waging the war and Arab Gulf of incitement. Numerous Syrians residing outside Syria registered as refugees. No migrants are in the Gulf. Resettlement is not a solution. Canadian official: We will not send planes to transfer migrants.
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	Social Hardship	Economy	Health	Education	Security	Politics	Other
Al-Modon	Majority of refugees live in dire poverty. Refugees feel threatened	Covering the costs of Syrian migration. Refusing opening the labor market	Problems of medical treatment and related services. Some hospitals		Threats and use of arms against refugees. Serious risks and	Linking assistance to resettlement is not acceptable	Lebanese offer female refugees money for sex. 77 female refugees

	<p>financially, psychologically and emotionally. Fear of being kidnapped. Living in a tent with 10 persons.</p>	<p>as a condition to receiving assistance. Giving incentives to banks with the conditions to give loans to and help in employment of Syrians. Problems and costs of residence. -0.72% USD for daily food card Prevented from working due to conditions of legal residence.</p>	<p>do not fulfill their commitments stipulated in the agreement with Refugees Commission and ask for large sums of money before accepting patients in emergency rooms. In some cases, up to 8 million LL were asked.</p>		<p>fire shots during smuggling operations.</p>	<p>ble. Salameh: we did not discuss resettlement with British Ambassador.</p>	<p>were subject to sexual harassment in public places. Smuggling Syrians for \$300. He refused because they were Syrians.</p>
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Figure 10

VIII - Media Coverage of Refugees' Issues in Jordan

After reviewing numerous news materials, investigations and reports related to the issue of refugees in 2015 in the monitored media outlets, we chose a sample of a hundred materials from each medium, totaling 500. The figures and pie charts below show the following:

- **Visual Media (Official Jordanian TV and Roya News Channel)**

With regard to coverage about the conditions of students' education, the proportion of coverage in the Jordanian television was 14%, while it was 15% in the Roya channel. In the health field, the proportion in the Jordanian television was 3% and in Roya, 4%. Social matters accounted for 10% of coverage on the Jordanian television channel and 12% on Roya.

With regard to preparing reports and investigations, the proportion in the Jordanian TV was 5% and 6% on Roya. In the field of local assistance, the proportion in the Jordanian TV and in Roya was 8% each, while the topic of the international assistance comprised 13% of the coverage on the Jordanian TV and 10% on Roya. With regard to the economic burden and related topics such as labor, poverty, unemployment and how the lives of the refugees are affected, the proportion of coverage in the Jordanian TV was 17% while in Roya it reached 33%. The coverage of hosting refugees reached 15% of the Jordanian TV reporting and 7% of the Roya channel. Finally, the attention given to the security implications reached a proportion of 15% on the Jordanian TV and 7% on Roya.

The above figures are a clear indication of the level of attention each of the stations lends to the living conditions and social issues of refugees. The government TV showed more interest in the question of assistance and hosting of the refugees, as well as the burden falling on the Kingdom due to this problem. See table 1.

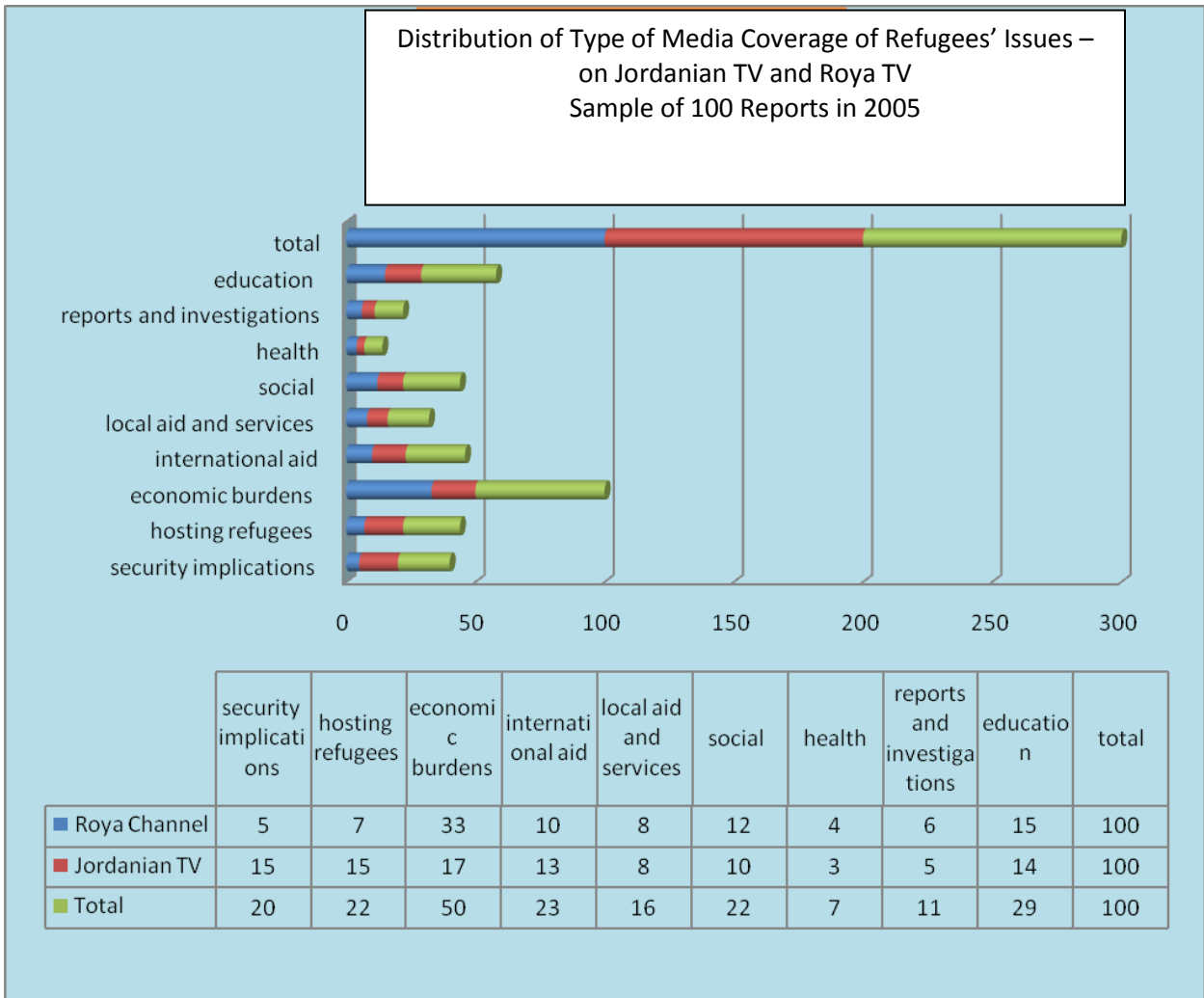


Figure1

- **Print Press (Al-Doustour and Al-Ghad Newspapers)**

Table 2 shows that coverage in education, social issues, international aid, preparing reports, investigations and local and international assistance was comparable in both newspapers. While coverage of health issues in Al-Doustour newspaper was 8%, it was 12% in Al-Ghad. Reporting on the topic of economic burden was 12% of the coverage in Al-Doustour and 15% in Al-Ghad. The amount of attention given to hosting refugees, coverage was 10% in Al-Doustour and 8% in Al-Ghad. Finally, with regard to security repercussions, coverage was 10% in Al-Doustour and 5% in Al-Ghad.

The following table shows that interest in the fields of assistance, hosting refugees and security repercussions occupied a large portion of both newspapers.

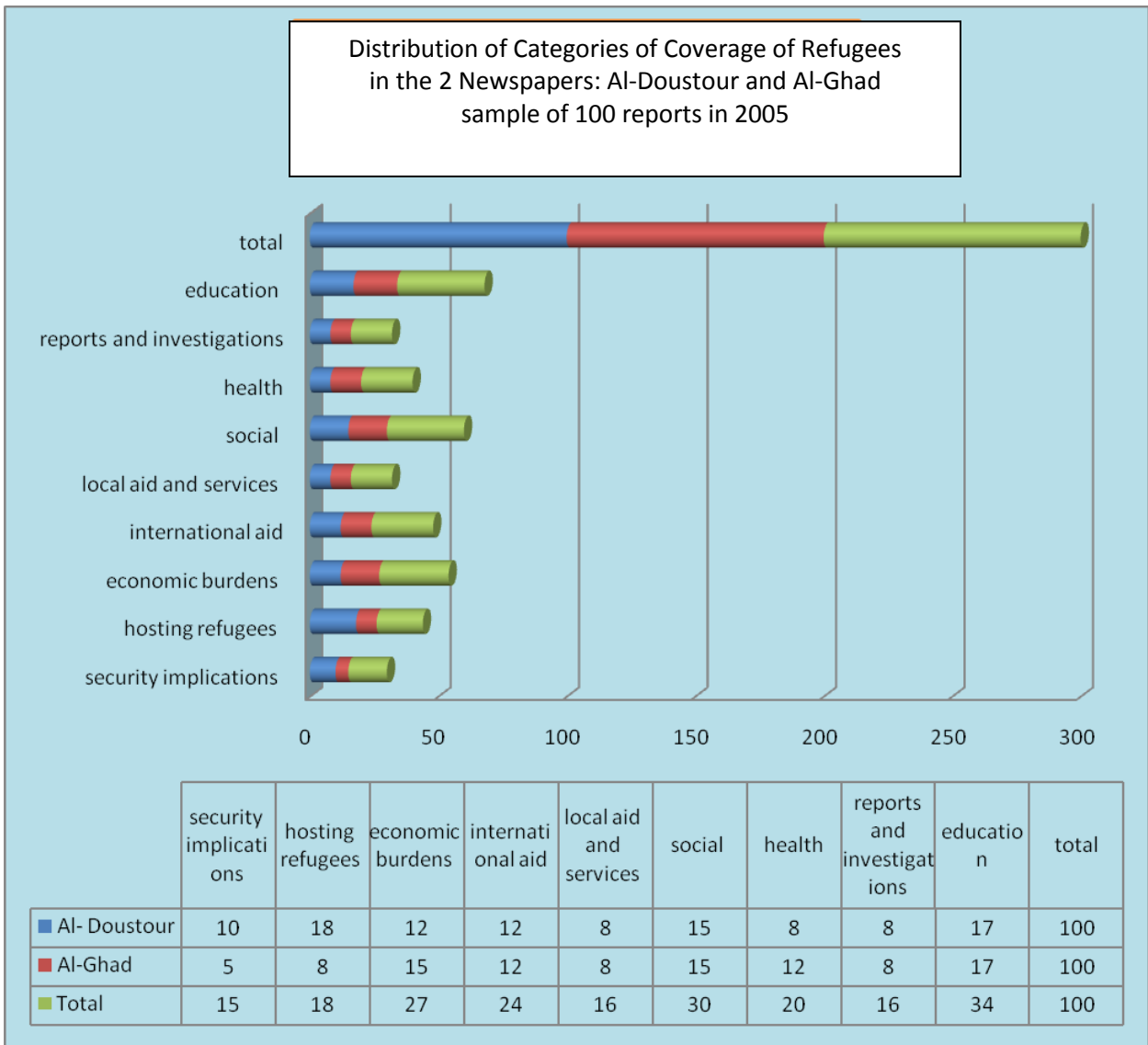


Figure 2

- **Electronic media (AmmanNet Website and Sawt Al-Balad)**

Electronic media has expressed clear interest in covering refugees' problems, especially the AmmanNet website which devoted a special section for that. Through its radio station, it has also consecrated air time for refugees' economic and social issues. As shown in the table below, the proportion of interest in the area of economic burden was the highest in the coverage, reaching 25%, while

coverage of the health, education and society of refugees was 13%, 12% and 15% respectively.

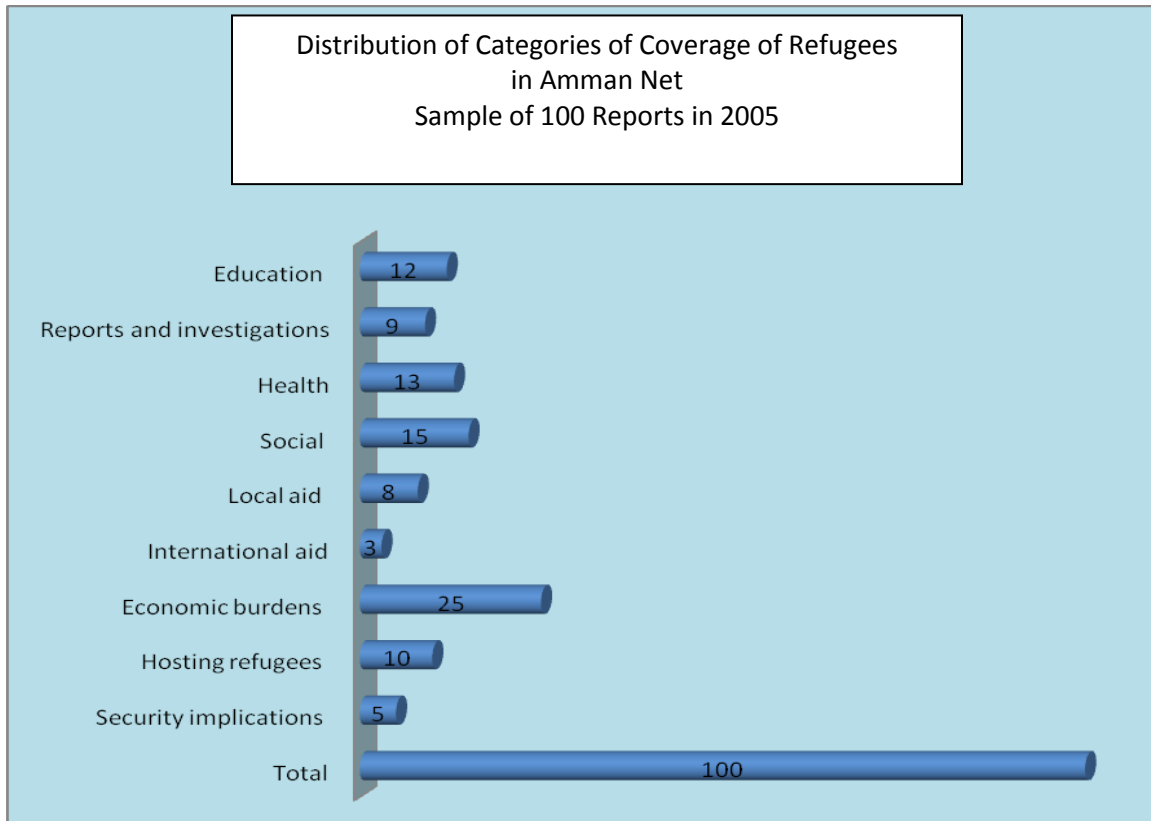


Figure 3

- **Coverage in the Monitored Media, Comparison and Interest Indicators:**

Table 4 below shows the extent of interest the media has in the study categories. Jordanian television expressed the most interest in security repercussions of the presence of refugees, making up 15%. The same percentage was attained with regard to hosting refugees. Newspaper Al-Doustour came second in these two topics with a 10% proportion. The topic of the economy and repercussions on labor, poverty and economic consequences was the most covered by the Jordanian TV with a proportion of 33%, followed by the website AmmanNet with 25%.

With regard to the issue of local and international aid, proportions were almost the same between all monitored media, except AmmanNet with a proportion of 3% in the field of international aid. Regarding the issue of the society of refugees,

proportions were equal in the newspapers Al-Doustour and Al-Ghad, as well as the website AmmanNet, reaching 15%. In the health field, the proportions were, respectively, 13% and 12% in AmmanNet and Al-Ghad. The highest coverage of the education field was reached by the newspapers with a proportion of 17%, followed by the Roya TV station and the Jordanian TV with 15% and 14%, respectively. In the field of preparing reports and investigations, the highest proportion was for the website AmmanNet with 9%, then the newspapers with 8%.

The most covered topics in the media were the economic burden, with 102 articles out of the 500 that were selected for our monitoring. Second came the education field with 72 articles, then 67 in the area of the society of refugees, and approximately 90 on the topic of local and international aid. The field that was the least covered was the reports and investigations with only 36 articles.

	Security implications	Hosting refugees	Economic burdens	International aid	Local aid	Social	Health	Reports & investigations	Education	Total
Roya Channel	5	7	33	10	8	12	4	6	15	100
Jordanian TV	15	15	17	13	8	10	3	5	14	100
Al-Ghad	5	8	15	12	8	15	12	8	17	100
Al-Doustour	10	10	12	12	8	15	8	8	17	100
Amman Net	5	10	25	3	8	15	13	9	12	100
Total	40	50	102	50	40	67	40	36	75	500

Figure 4

- **Remarks on the Coverage of Syrian Refugees by Jordanian Media**

The study came to realize that coverage of the Syrian refugees' problems in Jordanian media was hostage to the general political scene⁷. Dealing with these problems in Jordanian media remained in harmony with the official Jordanian

political position, especially with regard to the international support and assistance.

In dealing with the Syrian refugees' issues and problems, Jordanian media focused mainly on the services sector, such as health, education, water, transportation, environment, shelter, etc.

The interest in this field is becoming one of the top priorities in the Jordanian media's coverage of the Syrian refugees' issues. A prior study noticed that there was a special focus on the services from a financial angle, while the newspapers, to a very large extent, discarded the social and psychological repercussions of the refugee problem.

Our analysis noticed that the voices of the Syrian victims among the refugees, as well as those of the members of the host communities that have been damaged by this migration, were barely heard. On the other side, the voices of the government authorities and of those in charge of the relief agencies were very loud.

Statistics also demonstrate the deficiency of the humanitarian aspect in the way the media deals with the refugees. The large majority of the news broadcasts describe them all in one single word: "refugees". This is as if to say they were all just one group without distinctive features. The analysis also uncovered the news media's marginalization of the most vulnerable among the refugees, including the handicapped, the elderly, the women, and to a lower extent the children. The analysis noticed, too, a clear change in the media discourse toward the refugees; instead of dealing with them as "victims," media coverage has shifted toward treating them as a "burden," thus, straining the national resources of the host country.

The study has come to the following conclusions:

First: Services Sector

In their special focus on the services aspect of the refugee problem, media has concentrated on the services pertaining to health, education, infrastructure,

drinking water, the necessities of life and others. Our analysis has also demonstrated that, in case the press may have rearranged its coverage priorities, issues like health, infrastructure, drinking water and education continue to be its main fixation, while psychological and social repercussions remain at the bottom of their priorities⁷.

Second: International Aid

Jordanian media accorded special attention to this aspect of the manifestations of the Syrian crisis in Jordan because it constitutes the heaviest burden on the economy of that country. This is especially true if we take into consideration the reduction of international aid, causing more economic strains to Jordan.

Third: Portrayal of Refugees

A certain evolution has taken place in the Jordanian media in using three descriptions of the Syrians, starting with describing them first as “refugees,” then as a “burden,” and finally as a “component.” This last description has been used openly in the official Jordanian discourse and it has generated fears in the Jordanian society that some strategies and trends might be taking shape aiming to resettle the Syrian refugees in Jordan.

Fourth: Psychological and Social Expressions of the Refugees

Jordanian media did not give enough attention to the psychological and social expressions of the Syrian refugees, and they did not display them clearly⁸.

Fifth: Press Templates

News items occupied the majority of the coverage of Syrian refugees’ problems, followed by reports and then investigations.

⁷ Dalal Salameh “Syrian Refugees in the Daily Press: The victim becoming a burden.” Published on Dec 18, 2014. Available at the following website:

<http://akeed.jo/%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B1%D9%85%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%B5%D8%A9/1700>

⁸ - With the exception of AmmanNet website and Radio Albalad, especially in their program “Syrians among Us,” in the production of which Syrians residing in Al-Zaatari refugee camp participated, and some limited coverage in the Al-Ghad newspaper.

Sixth: The Absent Voice of the Refugees

With very few exceptions, the voice of the Syrian refugees has been clearly absent from media coverage to the benefit of the voice of the Jordanian authorities and that of international officials and donor countries. This situation has prevented the cause of the refugees from being presented by the persons concerned, and the refugees were not able, in general, to speak for themselves.

It is clear therefore that the marginalization of the discourse of the Syrian refugees has made the readers and the viewers receive a one-sided picture. This marginalization has also led to bypassing the daily living problems of the Syrian refugees in their environment, and those who have suffered most of this marginalization are the persons usually described as the weak and the vulnerable such as children, women, elderly people and the handicapped, among others.

Seventh: The Ignored Women and the Problems of Early Marriage

In the places where migrants have taken refuge, women have been looked upon as victims of sexual assault, early marriage or prostitution. It is from this perspective that this issue has been prominently covered in Jordanian media, especial during 2014 and the previous years. The female Syrian refugee was presented as a mere object of pleasure, marginalized and considered an item of commerce through early marriage or employment in whorehouses. This is an extremely negative stereotype that Jordanian media has focused on. However, there has been coverage of Syrian women different from this negative stereotype and more sympathetic to their plight, although this kind of coverage was rare and very limited.

Eighth: The Marginalized Child

The voice of refugee children were not heard in media coverage except in limited cases. Jordanian media has covered Syrian childhood from a stereotypical perspective. At the beginning of the Syrian crisis, there was a clear and stressful sympathy with the tragedy of the Syrian children in refugee camps. However, the image has changed over time and there was a tendency at featuring them first and foremost as beggars. There was some limited coverage with exceptional

interest in their plight; it dealt with their educational, psychological, social and health problems, and reported issues of child labor which is internationally criminalized.

Ninth: Hate Speech and the Shift from Support to Accusation

In the beginning of the Syrian crisis, Jordanian media has been largely sympathetic to Syrian refugees, but they progressively changed and then took an adverse attitude toward them. This negative shift in attitude developed with the continuing Syrian crisis and the steady flow of refugees to Jordan, with the ensuing consequences.

After starting as a cause to be defended in the Jordanian media, Syrian refugees soon became a burden. Thus, began a change in the nature of the media discourse, turning increasingly against Syrian refugees until reaching the point of becoming, in some media, an inciting discourse and a hate one.

In this context, some writers and journalists noticed early on the growing hatred characterizing the discourse against Syrian refugees. A 2013 report that monitored the Jordanian approach to Syrian refugees' issues confirmed that "there was a resemblance in the titles of articles discussing Syrian refugees' issues, expressing restlessness and anxiety due to their increasing numbers in Jordan and the cost they incur on the government budget. There were also complaints about their negative influence on security and society at large. While newspapers and news websites discarded objectivity and stripped Syrian refugees of their human character and journalists practiced incitement against them, some morning radio programs described them as the new "others" and met them with hate discourse."⁹

Another report mentioned that "hate discourse against refugees, through some media, has found a fertile soil to influence public opinion and change it from

⁹ Sawsan Zaydeh: "Media Campaign against the Syrians; the target is abroad and the influence inside the country." Report published on March 19, 2013 and available on the following link: http://7iber.com/2013/03/mediamonitorsyrianrefugees/?utm_content=buffera6797&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook.com&utm_campaign=buffer

sympathizing with the refugees to hating them and resenting their presence. Some Jordanian media consider Syrian refugees a contributing factor to the deterioration of the economic conditions, the rise in prices, unemployment and even some 'attitudes' in the country."¹⁰

The report cites the journalist, Mr. Fahed Al-Khitan: "The style used by media in covering news of Syrian refugees in particular helps in creating a culture of hatred and incitement against them. They consider the refugees responsible for the rise in crimes of all kinds in the kingdom as well as contributing in making the already existing economic crises more severe." The reason for that, according to the writer, is the deeply rooted culture in the society and the media of "hatred toward the others, especially when they are refugees."¹¹

More from that report: "The majority of the media, when reporting about Syrian migration, use a segregationist discourse that is known to everybody. They highlight every problem involving a Syrian as a title for a news item in the front pages. Some media, and particularly websites, when talking about issues relating to female Syrian refugees, use sensational titles with provocative words, in order to draw the attention of the highest number of female viewers, such as the title written by News Café website 'Marrying a Syrian female refugee in Jordan for \$150'. The title by which Marwan Shehadeh started his report from Jordan to a certain website: 'The collapse of economic conditions prompts Syrian female refugees to look for an easy way to make money through prostitution or early marriage.'"¹²

Another report mentions that "even if the hate speech continues to prevail, bringing a dark cloud over the information profession, it is worth noting that the issues of migration and refugees have put international media to a most difficult

¹⁰ Hisham Chami : "Stereotype adopted by certain media when talking about Syrian refugees in Jordan," report published in March 3, 2014 . Program "Syrians among Us," available at the link: <http://ammannet.net/sy/?p=2052>

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Ibid

test in 2015, although they have also been an inspiration to many media in recounting great journalistic stories.”¹³

Tenth: Absence of the Culture of Human Rights in Journalism

It is clear that most media coverage of the refugees’ problems did not address human rights and refugees problems in their reporting, thus, uncovering a clear weakness with journalists in the culture of human rights and the importance of including it in the information output.

This vacuum with journalists who covered the refugees’ problems led them to make clear mistakes with some cases of violation of human rights and refugees rights, which has a negative impact on their reporting.

Eleventh: Receiving Refugees at Border Centers

Receiving Syrian refugees at the border centers was the subject of great attention and became a daily news item in all Jordanian media. The reception accorded to refugees and the urgent services and the rapid care offered to them in border centers controlled by the Jordanian armed forces were highlighted in Jordanian media. However, these same media did not show interest in listening to the refugees’ stories, the reasons of their migration, the risks they underwent to escape the war, their psychological conditions and what they expect to receive in refugee camps, etc.

- **Content of the Coverage of Refugees Issues in Four Media Outlets:**

- **1 - Al-Ghad Newspaper:** In its coverage of Syrian refugees’ problems, Al-Ghad newspaper paid special attention to all aspects of their humanitarian and political cause. This interest was clear in the important themes reported by the

¹³ Eden White, Moral Press Network; translated by Saad Faour, “Akeed online” report titled: “The Year 2015 Under the Microscope...Terrorism, Hate Speech and the Refugee Crisis” Observatory of the credibility of Jordanian media. Published in January 18, 2016 and available on the link:

<http://akeed.jo/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AA%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%88%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%A9/3044/>

media which tried to reconcile the political and the humanitarian aspects of this issue.

Al-Ghad newspaper published tens of articles and reports about the refugees, addressing humanitarian problems in their daily life and basic necessities such as health, education, housing and food needs, including the refugees' complaints and requests.

Parallel to that, Al-Ghad took an interest in addressing the costs of hosting refugees in Jordan, whether with respect to the financial burden on the government budget or the infrastructure in cities and areas where the majority of the refugees are housed, as well as the security, health, education and water expenses and the negative repercussions on the labor market and unemployment, etc.

Al-Ghad continued to hold the position that the refugee cause, first and foremost, is a humanitarian one. Most of its reporting and analysis were based on this position, in conjunction with its political position laying the blame for the internal conflict in Syria on the regime itself. However, it always adopted the official Jordanian stand that called for a political solution in Syria, considering this as the best way to put an end to the Syrian-Syrian conflict, which will allow the safe return of the Syrian refugees to their country.

- **First: Syrian Refugees as a Humanitarian Issue**

The interest of Al-Ghad newspaper in this issue manifested itself through the news it published, including reports and translations from foreign newspapers highlighting the humanitarian aspects of the Syrian refugees' cause. Some of this reporting can be summarized in the topics mentioned below and monitored by this study during 2015.

Several reports were published, one of which was titled: “Warning of the imminence of a humanitarian catastrophe in the Syrian camps in Jordan.”¹⁴ Al-Ghad also reported on an almost daily basis about Syrian refugees being received across the border and measures taken by the border guard: “One hundred nine Syrian refugees entered Jordan in 72 hours.”¹⁵

In the context of what could be described as “living conditions of the Syrian refugees,” Al-Ghad published numerous reports during 2015 focusing on this subject. One such instance was the report titled “Living Conditions of Syrian Refugees in Zaatari Camp...Inside Zaatari Refugee Camp: The Fourth ‘City’ in Jordan¹⁶.” Another report was titled: “Al-Zaatari Camp...Some Migrate to the West, but Many Put Down Roots.”¹⁷

Minor’s Marriage and Children’s Problems: One of the most prominent manifestations of the humanitarian aspects on which Al-Ghad focused is the marriage of female minors. This issue was widely covered in local, Arabic and International media outlets, especially in the first three years of the Syrian crisis from 2011 to 2013. Media considered this phenomenon as one of the worst consequences of the war, since it prompted Syrian refugees to marry their minor daughters in order to ensure them a better life outside the camps. As an example, we mention here the two following reports: “The Proportion of Early Marriage among Syrian Female Refugees is 35%,”¹⁸ and “Activists Call for Limiting Syrian Female Minors’ Marriage.”¹⁹

In the same context, the tragedy of Syrian childhood appeared as one of the gravest consequences to the Syrian conflict. On this issue, Al-Ghad published numerous news reports such as: “Half of the Syrian Refugee Children Financially Support Their Parents,”²⁰ or “Thirty Thousand Syrian Children in the

¹⁴ Al-Ghad Newspaper- Report “Early Marriage among Female Syrian Refugees is 35%” Published Dec 10, 2015

¹⁵ Al-Ghad- News item: “109 Syrian Refugees Entered Jordan in 72 Hours” Published Apr 19, 2015

¹⁶ Ibid+ Published Sep 9, 2015

¹⁷ Ibid Translated report, published Sep 22, 2015

¹⁸ Al-Ghad, report titled: “Early Marriage among Female Syrian Refugees is 35%” published Dec 10, 2015

¹⁹ Al-Ghad, report titled: “Activists call for increasing financing for the efforts to limit the marriage of Female Syrian Minors” published May 9, 2015

²⁰ Ibid- Published July 2, 2015

Labor Market...Seventy Thousand out of School...68 Dinars is the Monthly Income of 86% of the Syrian Refugees.”²¹

- **Infrastructure and Services:** Infrastructure and services constituted a major part of Al-Ghad newspaper reporting on Syrian refugees.
- **Shelter and Housing:** The “Dafa” report encouraged the creation of a volunteers’ campaign to offer assistance to refugees in the Zaatari camp²². Another report should also be mentioned here: “Launch of a Campaign to Trade 2000 Tents with a Caravan in Zaatari.”²³
- **Education:** Al-Ghad took interest in the issue of the refugees’ right to education. It gave wide coverage and published numerous field reports, one of them titled “Three New Schools in Zaatari to Solve the Problem of Overpopulation.”²⁴ There is also the report titled “One Hundred Thirty Thousand Syrian Students in Government Schools and Thirty Five Thousand on Waiting Lists...Four Hundred Fifty Thousand Schools Are Needed to Accommodate Jordanian and Syrian Students.”²⁵ Finally, Al-Ghad also published a report titled: “Initiatives to Re-Integrate them in the Education System- Ninety-Six Thousand Syrian Students outside School.”²⁶
- **Health:** Reporting on the health conditions of the Syrian refugees occupied a large portion of the Al-Ghad coverage during 2015. This coverage focused mainly on contagious diseases as well as the medical and health services offered to refugees within and outside the camps. It is worth mentioning here the following three reports: “Decline in the Spread of Contagious Disease Among Syrian Refugees in Jordan;”²⁷ “Costs of Treating Contagious Cases Are Fifty Thousand Dinars Each...Director of Cardiovascular Diseases Says: One Hundred Seventy Thousand Cases of Tuberculosis Among Syrian Refugees in

²¹ Ibid- Published Dec 10, 2015

²² Ibid- Published Jan 19, 2015

²³ Ibid- Published Jan 15, 2015

²⁴ Ibid-Report titled “Three New Schools in Zaatari to Solve the Problem of Overpopulation” published Aug 8, 2015

²⁵ Ibid- Published Apr 16, 2015

²⁶ Ibid- Published Oct 28, 2015

²⁷ Ibid- Published Feb 10, 2015

the Kingdom;”²⁸ and “Doctors Without Borders Treat 1,850 Wounded Syrians in the Ramtha Hospital.”²⁹

- **Water and Electricity:** Several articles were published on this issue including: “Breakdown of Generators Cuts Electricity in Areas from Zaatari Camp;”³⁰ “Completion of the Water Network in Zaatari Camp in June;”³¹ and “Forty Percent of the Northern Desert Water is Consumed by Syrian Refugees.”³²

- **Second Migration:** Al-Ghad has shown a special interest in covering the second migration of the Syrian refugees, this time from Jordan to Europe. It published several articles discussing the symptoms of the Syrian crisis, such as the article titled “Europe and the Crisis of the Refugees: a Bad Example.”³³ It has also reported numerous statements of European leaders concerning the migration of Syrian refugees to their countries. Among these statements, for instance: “Merkel, Refugees Constitute an ‘Opportunity’ for Germany”³⁴, or “The Zaatari camp...Some Refugees Migrate to the West, While Many of Them Put Down Roots.”³⁵

- **Second: Crisis of the Syrian Migration and its Local Impact**³⁶

Al-Ghad newspaper showed great interest in the negative impact of the Syrian migration on the local Jordanian host communities. It also paid serious attention to the deeper repercussions of this migration, showing how Jordan was under so much pressure because the international community and the supporting countries did not fulfill their promises of financial assistance to this

²⁸ Ibid- Published Feb 4, 2015

²⁹ Ibid- Published Sep 9, 2015

³⁰ Ibid- Published May 24, 2015

³¹ Ibid- Published May 6, 2016

³² Ibid- Published Jan 22, 2015

³³ Ibid- Translated report, published Oct 15, 2015

³⁴ Ibid- Published Dec 31, 2015

³⁵ Ibid- Translated report, published Sep 22, 2015

³⁶ Ibid- Review of report titled “Fifth Year of the Crisis...Jordan Languishing from Syrian Refugee Burden” published by Al-Ghad on Oct 10, 2015

country. The lack of financial aid to Jordan to support the refugees led to an increase in the deficit of the government budget³⁷. Fears and concerns were high within the political elite concerning plans and scenarios to possibly resettle the Syrian refugees in Jordan or allow them to stay there for a much longer period than originally anticipated. This very issue makes Jordanians, at the level of the people as well as at the level of the government, extremely nervous.

In this context, we would like to mention the following remarks:

Strains on the Infrastructure of the Local Host Communities: This theme was at the forefront of the concerns expressed by Al-Ghad newspaper in covering the issues of the Syrian refugees. The newspaper highlighted the financial and humanitarian costs as well as the costs in different services that local communities incurred by hosting these refugees, whether in health, education or jobs. It also underlined the repercussions on the water and electricity sectors and the general effects of this situation on the government budget and the ensuing social and economic problems.³⁸

Al-Ghad also published numerous news items and reports related to the maintenance and rehabilitation of the infrastructure in the communities hosting Syrian refugees. Here are some examples: “Al-Mafraq: Housha included in the project of social adjustment to face migration problems...A proposal for technical assistance to tackle the impact of hosting refugees;”³⁹ the report describing how the “crossing of hundreds of trucks and water cisterns from the area to the camp has destroyed the infrastructure...The Mayor of Umm el-Jimal threatens to close the roads leading to ‘Al-Zaatari’ for lack of maintenance;”⁴⁰ and the article mentioning that “the distressed

³⁷ Al-Ghad- Report in Al-Ghad titled “1.5 million Syrian Refugees Put Strain on State Resources...Continuation of Crisis Exacerbates Security and Political Burdens...Refugee Crisis Still on Top of National Jordanian Challenges in 2015 and 2016” published Dec 31, 2015

³⁸ Al-Ghad Newspaper- Report titled “Syrian Refugee Crisis...1,5 million Refugees Overwhelm Jordan Economically and Politically” published Jan 1st, 2015

³⁹ Ibid- Published May 3rd, 2015

⁴⁰ Ibid- Report published Jan 1st, 2015

municipality of Al-Mafraq appeals for help to face the impacts of Syrian migration.”⁴¹

- **Popular Fears of Resettling Refugees:** These fears and concerns surfaced clearly with the continuation of the Syrian crisis and the failure to reach a political solution that would allow the safe return of the refugees to their country. This situation has amplified the fears that some scenarios might be in preparation for resettling the refugees in Jordan and to transform the camps into permanent cities and conglomerations. These fears are held by different groups of the Jordanian population, as well as the Parliament.

In this regard, Al-Ghad published numerous reports and news items covering the popular and the official position. Examples include: “Al-Moumni: No resettlement and no naturalization of the Syrian refugees in Syria”⁴² and a report published by the UNHCR titled “One Third of the Syrian Refugees in the Kingdom Will Remain if the Assistance Resumes.”⁴³

- **International Financing Crisis for Jordan:** This issue has taken many dimensions when the media addressed it. In fact, the Jordanian media, without exception, adopted the same position in criticizing the international community for failing to assist Jordan, in order to enable the country to tend to the needs of about one million and a half refugees. This situation increased the burdens on the Jordanian economy, putting it under exceptional strains that the country cannot overcome by itself.

Al-Ghad newspaper showed keen interest in this issue within a context of nationalism, dedicating a large portion of its pages to deal with it, such as the report mentioning “Experts: The International Community Let Down Jordan in the Face of the Burdens of the Syrian Migration;”⁴⁴ the report “Experts: The International Community Has Let Jordan Face the Syrian Migration All

⁴¹ Ibid- Report published June 6, 2015

⁴² Al-Ghad Newspaper- Report published May 14, 2015

⁴³ Ibid- Report published Oct 25, 2015

⁴⁴ Ibid- Report published Oct 10, 2015

Alone;”⁴⁵ and the report titled “Resuming Aid to 229,000 Refugees Depends on the Increase of Assistance.”⁴⁶

- **Third: Refugees Speak for Themselves**

Al-Ghad accorded various degrees of coverage to Syrian refugees to speak about their plight, their problems, their needs and their stories. This coverage materialized in reports detailing their living conditions in the refugee camps.

We noticed, however, that refugees’ stories were often missing from reports dealing with the official national and international narrative of the refugee problem, which usually occupies a substantial space in Al-Ghad when dealing with this general problem.

On the other hand, Al-Ghad has published tens of reports detailing the daily living conditions of the Syrian refugees, such as the report titled “Refugees in ‘Zaatari’ Demand a Just and Fair Distribution of Job Opportunities in the Camp,”⁴⁷ or the report titled “Demonstration in Zaatari Camp Protesting Electricity Outages,”⁴⁸ etc.

- **2 - Al-Doustour Newspaper**

This newspaper has always dealt with the refugees’ issue as a humanitarian crisis the responsibility for which falls on the Syrian regime itself. However, at the same time, it treated this topic in most of its coverage by considering that the refugees constitute an internal crisis for Jordan.

In most of the coverage of Al-Doustour, the voice of the refugees was absent to the benefit of the official narrative. The paper published some special field reports from areas where refugees were living, but it never gave the refugees themselves space on its pages to speak about their plight and requests⁴⁹. This

⁴⁵ Ibid- Report published June 27, 2015

⁴⁶ Ibid- Report published Sep 8, 2015

⁴⁷ Al-Ghad Newspaper- Published Sep 17, 2015

⁴⁸ Ibid- Published May 26, 2015

⁴⁹ Al-Doustour published a news item titled “Syrian Refugees in Emirates’ Camp Celebrate Eid”. The reporter did not give the opportunity to Syrian refugees to speak, but he limited his reporting to the official side- Published Sep 28, 2015

was obvious even in the reports where the needs and the problems of the refugees were addressed: “World Bank: Nine out of Ten Syrian Refugees in Jordan are Poor.”⁵⁰

This is why Al-Doustour, in its reporting, relied mostly on news items and on its correspondents’ reports from different districts where refugees were living, but especially from “Al-Mafraq” district, which hosts the largest number of refugees and where the Zaatari camp is located.

The main themes covered by Al-Doustour newspapers were the following:

- **1 - Syrian Refugees are a Strain on Jordan**

Al-Doustour put a special focus on this theme and published numerous reports revolving around the negative impacts of the refugees on Jordan economically, socially and politically, as well as on the infrastructure and services such as water, education and health, and even on the labor sector. An example of this coverage is the report titled “A Water and Environment Catastrophe in the Zaatari area,”⁵¹ or the news item titled “Report on the Population Conditions: Syrian Refugees Constitute 10% of the Population in Jordan”⁵² in which the paper reported the increase of the proportion of refugees to the Jordanian population.

In this respect, it is worth pointing to the following news items: “Oxfam: Jordan Gives Syrian Refugees 22.56% of its Fair Share;”⁵³ “Al-Noussour: Jordan Should Not Be Punished for Opening Its Borders to Syrian Refugees;”⁵⁴ and “The Syrian Refugee Issue in Jordan...Challenges Exceed Capabilities.”⁵⁵ It is also worth mentioning these news items: “The Higher Steering Committee for Refugees’

⁵⁰ Al- Doustour Newspaper- News item published Dec 18, 2015

⁵¹ Ibid- Report published Aug 10, 2015

⁵² Ibid- News item published Aug 18, 2015

⁵³ Ibid- Published Oct 8, 2015

⁵⁴ Ibid- News item published Nov 10, 2015

⁵⁵ Ibid- News item published Oct 19, 2015

Issues Meets under the Chairmanship of Al-Noussour;”⁵⁶ and “Al-Fayez: Syrian Migration Drains 20% of Jordan’s Budget.”⁵⁷

It is clear that the above-mentioned news focused on the government undertakings with regard to Syrian refugees and the impacts on the Jordanian economy without giving a voice to the refugees themselves or their representatives to speak about their own conditions and problems.

▪ **2 - Impact of Syrian Workers on the Jordanian Labor Market**

This aspect of the crisis was clearly prevalent in the Jordanian media coverage of the crisis resulting from hosting approximately a million and a half Syrian refugees. This wide coverage relied on special field reports, national or international reports dealing with the issue of Syrian workers and their significant impacts on the Jordanian labor market.⁵⁸

Al-Doustour covered this issue focusing on the substantially negative impact of Syrian labor on the Jordanian labor market. It is worth mentioning here the reports “Irbid: Discarding Jordanian Workforce and Trading it for Syrian Workforce is a Deteriorating Crisis,”⁵⁹ “Jordanian Workers Look for Jobs on the Labor Market,”⁶⁰ and the news item “Minister of the Interior: Syrian Refugees Compete with Jordanian Workers in the Labor Market.”⁶¹

Other reports published by the Al-Doustour newspaper include: “Syrian Refugee Issue Increased Level of Poverty and Unemployment in Jordan”⁶² and

⁵⁶ Al-Doustour Newspaper- News item published May 16, 2015

⁵⁷ Ibid- News item published Sep 17, 2015

⁵⁸ One of the most prominent and important studies that dealt with this issue is: “Economic and Social Impact of the Syrian Refugee Crisis on the Jordanian Economy” prepared by the Jordanian Economic and Social Council, Amman. The study has no date on it and is available on the website: <http://www.esc.jo/Photos/Files/325702e8-db93-4db3-b876-49b58327ca77.pdf>

⁵⁹ Al-Doustour Newspaper- Report published Sep 17, 2015

⁶⁰ Ibid- Report published Apr 28, 2015

⁶¹ Ibid- Report published Dec 17, 2015

⁶² Al-Doustour Newspaper- Report published March 11, 2015

“Refugee Question Threatens to Deprive Jordan of its Best Demographic Opportunity.”⁶³

▪ **3 - Impact of Syrian Refugees on the Health and Education Sectors**

Al-Doustour newspaper covered the negative impacts on the education and health sectors in the Kingdom as well as the health and education services offered by Jordan to Syrian refugees, whether inside the camps or in other places of residence.

In the context of covering the education problems of the refugee population, Al-Doustour published numerous news and reports, including: “The American Government Finances 25 Schools at a Cost of one Million US Dollars,”⁶⁴ and the news item “Fakhoury: Increase of the Demand on Education and Health Services Caused by Syrian Refugees.”⁶⁵ The following news items are also worth mentioning: “Two Thousand Five Hundred Syrian Refugee Students Waiting for Available School Space in Northern Desert Area;”⁶⁶ “Right to Education of Syrian Refugee Children is a Moral and Legal Duty of the Jordanian Government;”⁶⁷ as well as: “Opening of Three Schools in the Syrian Refugee Camp Al-Zaatari;”⁶⁸ and finally “Al-Zneibat: Education Cost of Hosting Syrian Refugees 650 Million US Dollars.”⁶⁹

With regard to the health sector, Al-Doustour published many news items and reports including: “When Syrian Refugees Compete with Jordanian Nationals for Medical Treatment, Jordanians Wonder...Where are our Rights?;”⁷⁰ “Five

⁶³ Ibid- Report published Apr 12, 2015

⁶⁴ Ibid- Report published Nov 9, 2015

⁶⁵ Ibid- Report published June 1st, 2015. Mr. Fakhoury is Imad Fakhoury, the Minister of Planning and International Cooperation in the Government of Dr. Abdullah Al-Noussour

⁶⁶ Ibid- News item published Nov 24, 2015

⁶⁷ Ibid- News item published May 17, 2015

⁶⁸ Ibid- News item published Oct 29, 2015

⁶⁹ Ibid- News Item published Sep 6, 2015

⁷⁰ Al-Doustour Newspaper- Report published Aug 25, 2015. The language of this report was a hate and incitement language against Syrian refugees. The report begins: “It is provocative to see a Jordanian citizen withdrawing from a waiting line in a hospital or a medical center because a Syrian aggressively accuses him of stealing his turn...It is provocative when a Syrian refugee in your own homeland takes away your treatment and your medicine and then accuses you of taking his turn...We are not demeaning neither him nor his status as a refugee, we are not

Hundred Sixteen Children Among Syrian Refugees Received Vaccines in Zaatari;”⁷¹ and finally “Syrian Refugee Thalassaemia Patients Are Treated Same as Jordanians.”⁷²

▪ **4 - Syrian Migration to Camps and “Reverse Migration”**

Al-Doustour newspaper also reported on the migration of Syrian refugees from Jordan to Europe and the United States, and on the internal migration from Jordanian cities to Syrian refugee camps, as these camps enjoy better living conditions.

Al-Doustour published several reports on this issue: “Facebook is the Link between Refugees Headed to Europe and Their Smugglers;”⁷³ “Syrian Refugees in Jordan Begin a Reverse Migration Toward the Camps;”⁷⁴ and “The World Sees Thousands of Refugees Fleeing to Europe and Ignores Hundreds of Thousands in Jordan.”⁷⁵ Al-Doustour also published the following news items: “Nine Hundred Syrian Refugees Leave Jordan Daily to Canada Where 25,000 Will Be Settled;”⁷⁶ “Canada Praises Jordan for its Efforts in Resettling Syrian Refugees;”⁷⁷ “Al-Noussour is Briefed on the Measures to Transfer Syrian Refugees to Canada and Calls on Countries to Accept Refugees;”⁷⁸ and finally “Germany Translates Twenty Articles of its Constitution to Help Refugee Integration.”⁷⁹

▪ **5 - Jordan’s Requirements in International Aid to Continue Refugee Assistance**

demeaning anyone, but we are only requesting our rights...Do we see something like that in any other Arab country?”

⁷¹ Ibid- News item published May 5, 2015

⁷² Ibid- News item published July 14, 2015

⁷³ Ibid- Report published Sep 3rd, 2015

⁷⁴ Ibid- News item published Aug 1st, 2015

⁷⁵ Ibid- News item published Sep 7, 2015

⁷⁶ Ibid- News item published Nov 21, 2015

⁷⁷ Ibid- News item published Dec 1st, 2015

⁷⁸ Al-Doustour Newspaper- News item published Dec 28, 2015

⁷⁹ Ibid- News item published Oct 1st, 2015

Jordan has endured a heavy financial burden, more than its limited economic capabilities and potential can withstand. This situation has complicated its financial commitments and has negatively impacted its budget. Therefore, services provided to the population have been substantially affected. Under these circumstances, Jordan has been compelled to keep reminding the international community of its commitment to offer financial aid to alleviate this burden and to enable this country to continue providing humanitarian assistance to the Syrian refugees.

Jordanian media and the government paid great attention to this issue, considering that getting financial aid is an important and basic prerequisite for ensuring Jordan's capability to provide food and shelter to approximately 1.5 million Syrian refugees, 80% of whom are living outside the refugee camps dedicated to them.

Al-Doustour published dozens of news items and reports about this crucial theme and took every opportunity to cover its developments, especially when the government was involved.

This newspaper also published the news items "Hammad Confirms the Necessity to Help Jordan Withstand the burden of the Syrian Migration,"⁸⁰ "Urgent Meeting Calls on International Community and 'Islamic Cooperation' to Open Doors for Syrian Refugees,"⁸¹ etc.

➤ **3 - Jordanian Television**

Jordanian Television represents the official government side; therefore, it is mainly interested in highlighting the government's position. Its major concern is to cover the activities, positions and tendencies of the government toward the Syrian refugees' issues, considering these issues a matter of official concern.

⁸⁰ Ibid- News item published Nov 4, 2015

⁸¹ Ibid- News item published Sep 14, 2015

Jordanian television coverage of Syrian refugees' issues reveals, primarily through reports and newscasts, the channel's interest in the official perspective since news and reports are the most used instruments of the Jordanian TV.

This official interest in TV coverage of refugees' problems, in the majority of its reporting, ignored the refugees per se in their suffering and concerns, to the benefit of the official Jordanian side, or even to the benefit of the international organizations and their employees.

It is to be noted that Jordanian television focused principally on covering the humanitarian aspects of the Syrian refugees by linking it to the international assistance that Jordan needed in order to fulfill its duties in hosting a million and a half persons. These refugees created a real burden on Jordan in different facets of life as the country did not receive enough financial aid to help alleviate this burden.

Jordanian television dealt with this issue from different angles:

- **First: Assistance to Syrian Refugees**

This assistance was well covered by the Jordanian TV, whether it is the assistance provided by Jordan or by the international community and the donor countries, or even the assistance provided by Jordanian nationals.

The interest of the Jordanian TV in covering the services provided by the government to the Syrian refugees was in the forefront of its preoccupations. It broadcast reports about all government activities related to this issue, the most important among them being: "Government Decisions on the Special Donation Agreement to Provide Water to Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees;"⁸² "The Jordan Hashemite Charity Organization and the 'Answer the Call Initiative'

⁸² Report titled "Decisions of the Council of Ministers concerning the Special Donation to Provide Water for Communities Hosting Syrian Refugees" published Feb 2nd, 2015; available on the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k8-dibj5ANM>

Distributes Winter Clothes to Syrian Refugees in Ramtha;”⁸³ “The Jordan Hashemite Charity Organization and the Bahrain Islamic Education Society Sign a Cooperation Agreement;”⁸⁴ and “Opening of Commercial and Services Facilities in Al-Azraq Syrian Refugee Camp.”⁸⁵

Jordanian TV also expressed interest in reporting about assistance provided by individuals and non-governmental organizations, such as when it broadcast the report “Dr. Salah Daak, Distribution of Winter Necessities to Syrians, Islamic Union for Charity.”⁸⁶

▪ **Second: Reception of Refugees at the Border**

This theme was well covered by Jordanian TV through repeated reporting showing hordes of refugees crossing the Jordanian border. The channel showed the refugees’ welcome by the border guards as it was recounted in the following reports: “Border Guards Abort a Smuggling Attempt and Welcome Hundred Seven Syrian Refugees”⁸⁷ and “Border Guard Receive an Increased Number of Syrian Refugees.”⁸⁸

In its coverage, the Jordanian television channel focused on the humanitarian aspects of the Syrian crisis and the connection between Jordan and this crisis from a humanitarian perspective. This coverage reflects the Jordanian position in dealing with the Syrian refugees’ issue, as it was confirmed in a newscast, by

⁸³ Report titled “Jordan Hashemite Charity Organization and the ‘Answer the Call’ Initiative Distribute Winter Clothing to Syrian Refugees in Ramtha,” published Feb 12, 2015 and available on the link: <https://www.toutube.com/watch?v=2Ns6zePnhAo>

⁸⁴ Report titled “Jordan Hashemite Charity Organization and Bahrain Islamic Education Society Sign a Cooperation Agreement.” This agreement aims to provide a housing complex to shelter 35 Syrian families in the Ramtha District. It was published Oct 10, 2015 and is available at the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SwFctCxxOc>

⁸⁵ Report titled “Opening of Commercial and Services Facilities in Al-Azraq Syrian Refugee Camp” published May, 1st, 2015 and available on the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8tj9yYvhg3U>

⁸⁶ Report titled “Dr. Salah Daak, Distribution of Winter Necessities to Syrians, Islamic Union for Charity” published Dec 5, 2015 and available at the link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=33QMh2P4q2s>

⁸⁷ Report titled “Border Guards Abort a Smuggling Attempt and welcome 107 Syrian Refugees” published Sep 10, 2015 and available at the link” <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w1V5U76urtg>

⁸⁸ Report titled “Border Guards Receive an Increased Number of Syrian Refugees” published Dec 29, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=xmDfgXpzZl>

the Minister of State for Information and Spokesman of the Government, Dr. Mohamed El Mounni.⁸⁹

▪ **Third: International Financial Aid**

The International assistance received by Jordan from donor countries and the international community was the subject of wide coverage by Jordanian TV thanks to the connection between the donors and the international community. The Jordanian TV also urged the international community to fulfill its commitments in assisting Jordan financially, in order to withstand the burden of Syrian migration.

In this respect, the TV highlighted the meetings of the King with world leaders to prod them to fulfill their financial commitments. The following reports covered this story: “His Majesty the King Discusses with Cameron and the President of the World Bank Supporting Jordan in Bearing the Burden of the Syrian Refugees”⁹⁰ and “The King Discusses with Norway Prime Minister Assisting Jordan in Bearing the Burden of the Syrian Refugees.”⁹¹

The Jordanian TV station also tackled the positions of some world leaders in assisting Jordan in caring for Syrian refugees. This appeared, for instance, in the following reports: “The President of the Jordanian-German Parliamentary Friendship Association Requests Assistance for Jordan for Welcoming Refugees”⁹² and “Representative of the United Nations Secretary General Calls for the Supporting Jordan in the Refugees’ Crisis.”⁹³

⁸⁹ Report titled “Al-Mounni- Jordan adheres to Human Values and the Hashemite Message in Dealing with Syrian Refugees” published on Jan 1st, 2015 and available at the link: https://youtube.com/watch?v=wREnA-pP_5c

⁹⁰ Report titled “His Majesty the King Discusses with Cameron and the President of the World Bank Supporting Jordan in Bearing the Burden of Syrian Refugees” published Sep 28, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=UOt7OQ46-OU>

⁹¹ Report titled “The King Discusses with Norway Prime Minister Assisting Jordan in Bearing the Burden of the Syrian Refugees” published Nov 8, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=OuFTkralQU>

⁹² Report titled “The President of the Jordanian-German Parliamentary Friendship Association Requests Assistance for Jordan for Welcoming Refugees” published Oct 29, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=RigQMD-w4>

⁹³ Report titled “Representative of the United Nations Secretary General Calls for Supporting Jordan in the Refugees’ Crisis” published on Sep 21, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=9GgWgmAWPIs>

- **Fourth: Economic, Social and Security Costs**

In covering the Syrian refugees' problems, Jordanian television focused on the economic, social, security, educational and living costs to Jordan and its local communities. According to the Minister of State for Information and the Official Spokesman of the Government Dr. El Moumni: "The costs to the national economy of hosting Syrian refugees have caused a serious strain on the budget, resources, infrastructure, education and the labor market. They also had an impact on the border and security. This situation required substantial efforts on the social, economic, political and security levels, with special focus on the efforts conducted by His Majesty King Abdullah the Second."⁹⁴

It is worth noting that Jordan, sitting between a rock and a hard place – Syria and Iraq - and with the existence of a "nurturing environment," has often feared and avoided publishing details about the conditions of Syrian refugees. Therefore, the separations of Syrian families between the Zaatari camp and Jordanian districts were often unreported. Only the arrival of refugees to the Zaatari camp was broadcast, while the entry of those entering Jordanian territory through other crossings and bypassing Zaatari was not reported.

Numerous journalistic reports about the costs of Syrian migration to Jordan were broadcast by the Jordanian television station. The impact of this migration on the local communities in the areas with a heavy presence of Syrian refugees, like the cities of Al-Mafraq, Ramtha and Irbid was also mentioned in these reports, such as the one titled: "Al-Mafraq Faces Numerous Problems" in which it was reported that "Al-Mafraq continues to suffer from the accelerated flow of Syrian refugees which has caused an increase in the population. This fact caused traffic jams and the diffusion of street vendors hindering the citizens' movements and escalating the demands for services, mainly in cleaning."⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Statements of Minister of State for Information, Official Spokesman of the Jordanian Government Dr. Mohamed El Moumni were made during his meeting with a group of students from Harvard University- See relevant report on Jordanian TV. (El Moumni: Jordan adheres to human values and the Hashemite message in dealing with Syrian refugees) published Jan 19, 2015 and available on the link: https://youtube.com/watch?v=REnA-pP_5c

⁹⁵ Report titled: "Al-Mafraq City Faces Numerous Challenges" published Apr 13, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=xwxZG7YQpfM>

- **Fifth: Jordanian Policy**

The economic strains on Jordan caused by the flow of Syrian refugees had a clear impact on Jordanian political positions, despite the fact that Jordan has permanently and officially declared its support to a political solution to the Syrian crisis. These positions were always aired on Jordanian television newscasts. Viewers were informed of Jordan's commitment either to neutrality in covering the problems, needs and hardships of the refugees, or to being in harmony with the positions of the international coalition forces led by the United States. This sometimes prevented the coverage of refugees' living conditions in other areas of migration.

- **4 - Roya TV Station**

This TV satellite station devoted wide coverage to the cause of the Syrian refugees, as this cause occupied the highest portion of coverage that relied first on news and then on reports.

The problems of other refugees did not occupy much space on the Roya station with the exception of some limited reporting on the cause of Sudanese refugees, which was highlighted in some reports. Sudanese refugees were granted the occasion to present their cause which was broadcast through a purely humanitarian background. This happened only after these refugees demonstrated in front of the UN Commission in Amman, which afforded them the opportunity to appear in the media and call attention to their cause.⁹⁶

The Syrian refugees' cause was strongly present in Roya station through three formats: news, reports and seminars. Roya's interest in refugees' problems was also expressed from two main perspectives: humanitarian and political.

- **First: The Humanitarian Perspective**

⁹⁶ Report by Hamza El Shawabkeh titled "3,500 Sudanese Refugees escape from Darfour Violence to Jordan" broadcast on Dec 7, 2015 and available on the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=Z87Ax07bRBg>

Roya's coverage of the humanitarian aspects of the Syrian refugee question was performed by reporting on their daily life in the camps, regarding their health, education and living problems. In this respect, Roya broadcast dozens of news and reports which allowed Syrian refugees to speak directly of their daily suffering. It is worth mentioning the report "Conditions of Refugees in the Zaatari Camp in Winter."⁹⁷

Roya aired numerous field reports about the education problem for the refugee students, such as the one titled "Zaatari Camp...Around Seventeen Thousand Students Start their School Year in 17 Schools."⁹⁸

It is worth noting that Roya TV station's interest in the humanitarian aspects and the daily living needs of Syrian refugees was accompanied by an equal interest in the suffering of Jordanian citizens in the areas hosting Syrian refugees. This was mainly true in labor issues and the increase in unemployment among Jordanians, as well as in the negative impacts of the Syrian migration on the services provided to citizens such as water, education, transportation and others.

In this context, Roya aired numerous news and reports about this problem, including the one titled "Access of Syrian Refugees to the Jordanian Labor Market Reduces Job Opportunities for Jordanians,"⁹⁹ as well as other reports with respect to this problem which aired in this station's newscasts.

Roya TV station has shown a special interest in the Syrian refugees' problems by airing numerous field reports highlighting their humanitarian plight in its

⁹⁷ Report titled "Conditions of Refugees in Zaatari in Winter" broadcast on Oct 29, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=fOIHctJbmyM>

⁹⁸ Report titled "Zaatari Camp..Around 17,000 Students Start their School Year in 17 Schools" broadcast on Sep 1st, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=TenpiXjSDul>

⁹⁹ Report titled "Access of Syrian Refugees to the Jordanian Labor Market Reduces Job Opportunities to Jordanians" broadcast on Dec 25, 2015 and available at the link: https://youtube.com/watch?v=pS4zb_sFwBA
There are also other international reports on job opportunities for Syrian Refugees that Roya TV broadcast- See the report titled "The International Organization CARE launches 2 studies on Syrian Refugees in Jordan". The first report focuses on fixed income and legal employment for refugees, while the second focused on the decline in the level of assistance and access to services- The report was broadcast on June 30, 2015 and is available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=D8y56G6zkUw>

broadcasts during 2015. However, the most prominent coverage was about the government role in dealing with this difficult issue on the political, economic and social levels. This led to special attention being paid to the financial costs resulting from hosting more than a million and a half Syrian refugees, and the following local crises and problems connected to the Syrian crisis and the refugees' problem.

In this specific context, Roya TV station focused on the negative consequences of the Syrian migration in numerous reports, including: "Economic and Social Impact of Syrian Refugees in Jordan;"¹⁰⁰ "Scarcity of Water in Irbid Becomes an Increasingly Complicated Problem"¹⁰¹ in which the water crisis was connected to Syrian migration; and "Syrian Refugee Crisis Constitutes an Additional Strain on Northern Districts"¹⁰² in which there was a discussion on the impact of Syrian migration on the rise of prices of real estate and general products, as well as the unfavorable distribution of services to Jordanian citizenry because of the Syrian migration.

As a consequence of this situation, a special attention was given to the volume of financial aid allotted to Jordan by the international community. This attention was apparent in Roya's coverage of the Syrian refugees' crisis, whether because of its limited volume or because it was not important enough to help Jordan withstand its financial responsibilities toward the Syrian refugees.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Report titled "Economic and Social Impact of Syrian Refugees in Jordan" broadcast on Sep 2nd, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=KIDfsSdKuQc>

¹⁰¹ Report titled "Scarcity of Water in Irbid Becomes an Increasingly Complicated Problem" broadcast on June 2nd, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=19bgx5rtCH0>

¹⁰² Report titled "Syrian Refugee Crisis Constitutes an Additional Strain on the Northern Districts" broadcast on Nov 24, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=NPO-ET605T8>

¹⁰³ See newscast on the King's statements in this respect "Shortage of International Assistance to Jordan despite Hosting Large Numbers of Syrian Refugees" published on Sep 16, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=pb7ZfjrNKy8&spfreload=10> King Abdullah II said that Jordan has been dealing with the Syrian Refugee Crisis for the past 4 years in accordance with human values and the country's historic position toward her sister countries and in adherence to the higher interests of Jordan. This situation has put an additional burden on Jordan since the shortage of international assistance covers only a fraction of the billions of dollars incurred by the hosting of refugees.

▪ Second: The Government Perspective

Roya TV station widely covered the Jordanian government's positions vis-à-vis the Syrian migration. Jordanian and high ranking officials from the UN Refugees Commission were also routinely invited to appear on Roya station.¹⁰⁴

On education, Roya broadcast numerous declarations and statements made by Jordanian officials: "The Prime Minister reaffirms that no Syrian child should be denied his right to education"¹⁰⁵ and "Higher Education: Jordanian Universities are Ready and Willing to Receive Syrian Students."¹⁰⁶

Simultaneously, Roya repeatedly broadcast satellite reports about the official and international positions concerning Syrian refugees in Jordan. These officials, during their appearances, clearly avoided tackling the political aspects of the conflict, limiting their comments to the humanitarian aspects of the crisis.¹⁰⁷ In this respect, Roya station took interest in the way Syrian refugees were welcomed across the border and in the Amount of humanitarian

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- See also the report "Jordan Receives 15% of the Support Needed for the Plan to Respond to the Syrian Crisis in 2015" broadcast on Aug 27, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=8YmQJ4AdUwE>

¹⁰⁴ Program "Dunia ya Dunia" broadcast on Oct 13, 2015 titled "Syrian Refugees in Jordan- A Call by Yassine, Person in Charge of Foreign Relations in the Commission of Refugees." Available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=DBynHWbcb-o>

- See also the report titled "Higher Commission for Refugees Requires Syrian Refugees in Jordan to collect their New Service Cards). This new card allows refugees residing outside camps to receive all kinds of services. Report aired on Aug 21, 2015 and available at: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=s5Bju3L57f4&spfreload=10>

¹⁰⁵ Report titled "Prime Minister Reaffirms that no Syrian Child Should Be Deprived of his Right to Education" aired on May 16, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=j55LF5RQCkE&spfreload=10>

¹⁰⁶ Report titled "Higher Education: Jordanian Universities Ready and Willing to receive Syrian Students" aired on June 6, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube/watch?v=FQwbULrSeZk>

¹⁰⁷ Report titled "Government Reaffirms Policy of Open Borders and Accepting Refugees." It covers statements made by the Minister of State for Information, the Official Spokesman of the Government Dr. Mohamed El Mourni in which he reaffirms that Jordan continues implementing its policy of open borders and receives Syrian refugees on a daily basis. Published on Dec 19, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=Z4qlfy2afZ4&spfreload=10>

- See also the news report titled "Minister of Planification- Jordan did not Close its Borders to the Syrian Refugees" published on Oct 2nd, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=12bGHXQWcVU>

assistance contributed to the cause by the international community as well as local Jordanian communities.¹⁰⁸

Numerous political talk shows on Roya TV station were dedicated to the cause of the Syrian refugees. The connection between this humanitarian cause on one side, and the political aspect of the conflict between the opposition and the regime in Syria on the other side was clearly apparent in these talk shows.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁸ Tens of reports on this issue were aired. We mention here the following:

- The report titled "American Donation of 21 Million US Dollars to Jordan to help Syrian refugees, aired on July 30, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=nBjuKePNBeO>
- A report about donations made by charitable organizations to afflicted Syrian families in Al-Mafraq, aired on Feb 11, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=8NKNtrIAquA&spfreload=10>
- The report titled "A Medical Day Free of Charge at the Greek Catholic Association" aired on June 6, 2015 and available at the link: <https://youtube.com/watch?v=GILkhCgyC9c>

¹⁰⁹ See for instance the program 'The Pulse of the Country'; what will happen after Syrian opposition dominates "Nassib?" aired on Apr 6, 2015 and available at the link: <http://www.royanews.tv/articles/36059->

IX- Media Coverage of Refugees Issues in Egypt

First: Print Press

1- Al-Ahram Newspaper

Articles on Refugees in Egypt Proportional to Refugees in the World (AL-AHRAM) November –December 2015	
Total # of Topics on Refugees	166
Topics on Refugees in Egypt	11
Topics on Refugees outside Egypt	155

Figure 1

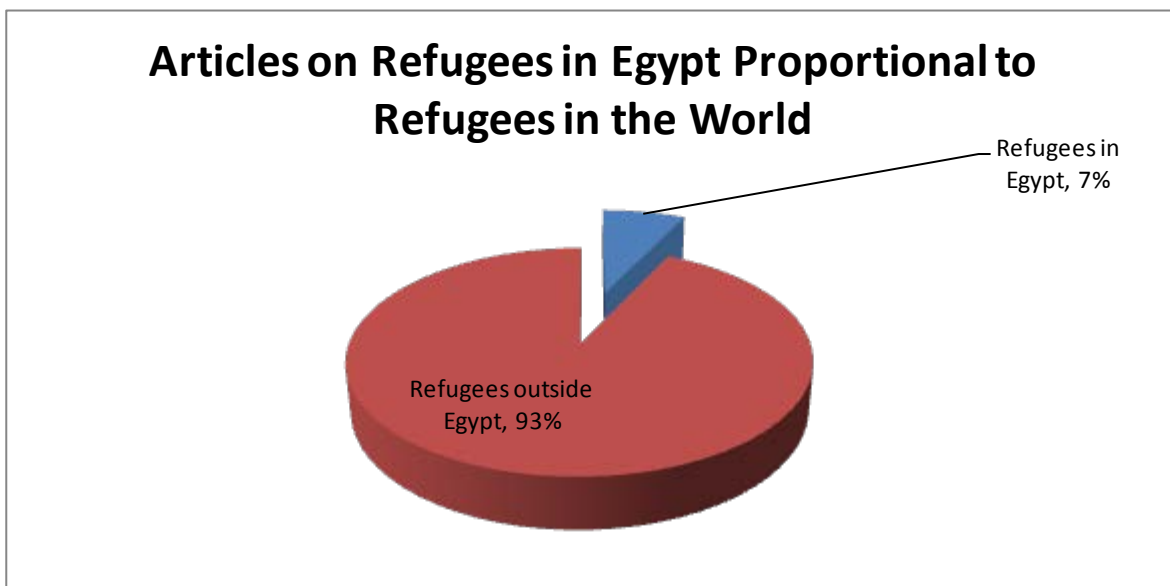


Figure 2

Research of the word “refugee” in the Al-Ahram website showed that the word appeared in 830 articles published in 2015, out of which 171 were in November and December of that year. 166 of these articles were truly about refugees while only five were not about refugees. The number of articles about refugees in Egypt during November and December 2015 was just 11.

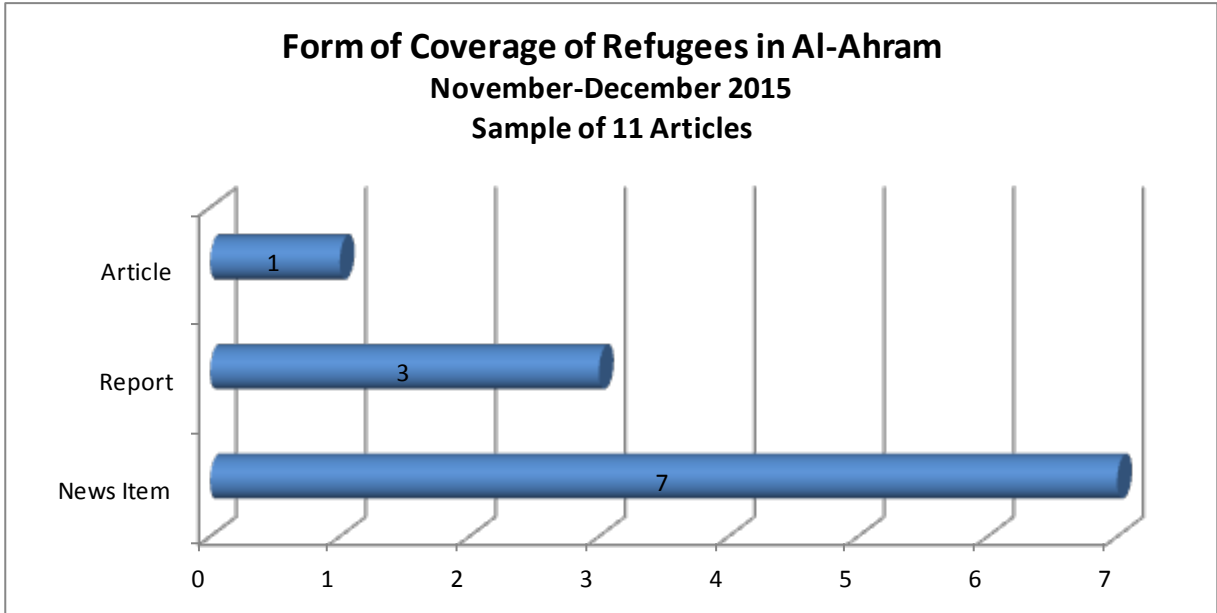


Figure 3

Rating of Coverage in Al-Ahram November-December 2015 Sample of 11 Articles	
Positive	4
Neutral	7

Figure 4

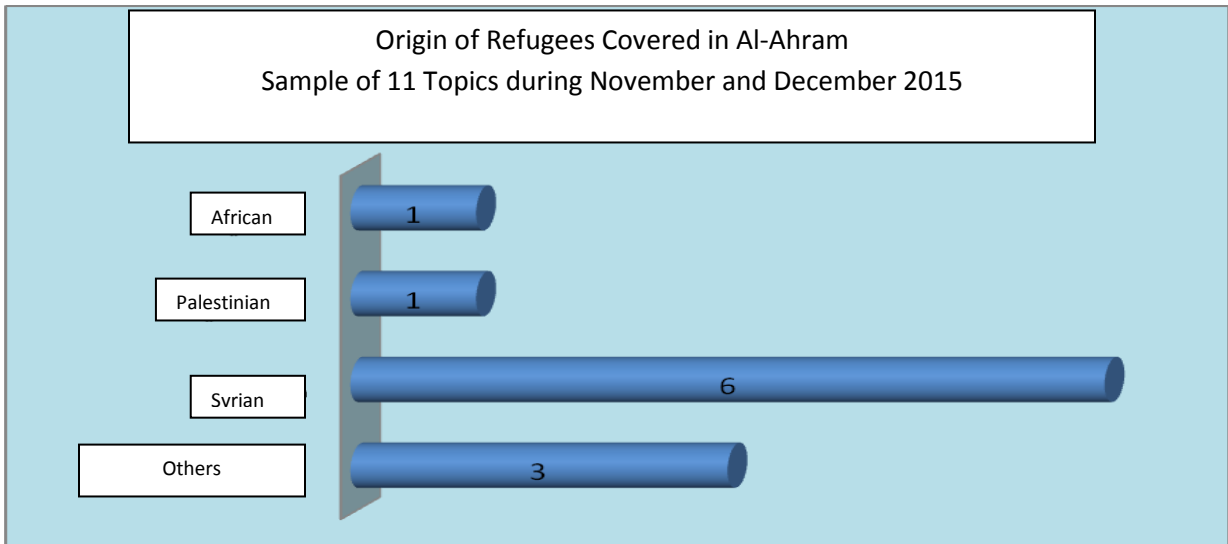


Figure 5

Al-Ahram newspaper took interest in covering news about refugees in Syria and the efforts exerted by the Arab League in Palestinian camps in southern Lebanon. However, with regard to covering the cause of refugees in Egypt, Al-Ahram covered topics concerning refugees but the refugees did not have the chance to speak for themselves in the paper nor was there any dialogue with them. Al-Ahram was interested in covering mainly government officials and others from different institutions connected with the refugees' cause; most of its coverage was about seminars and conferences dealing with refugees' issues.

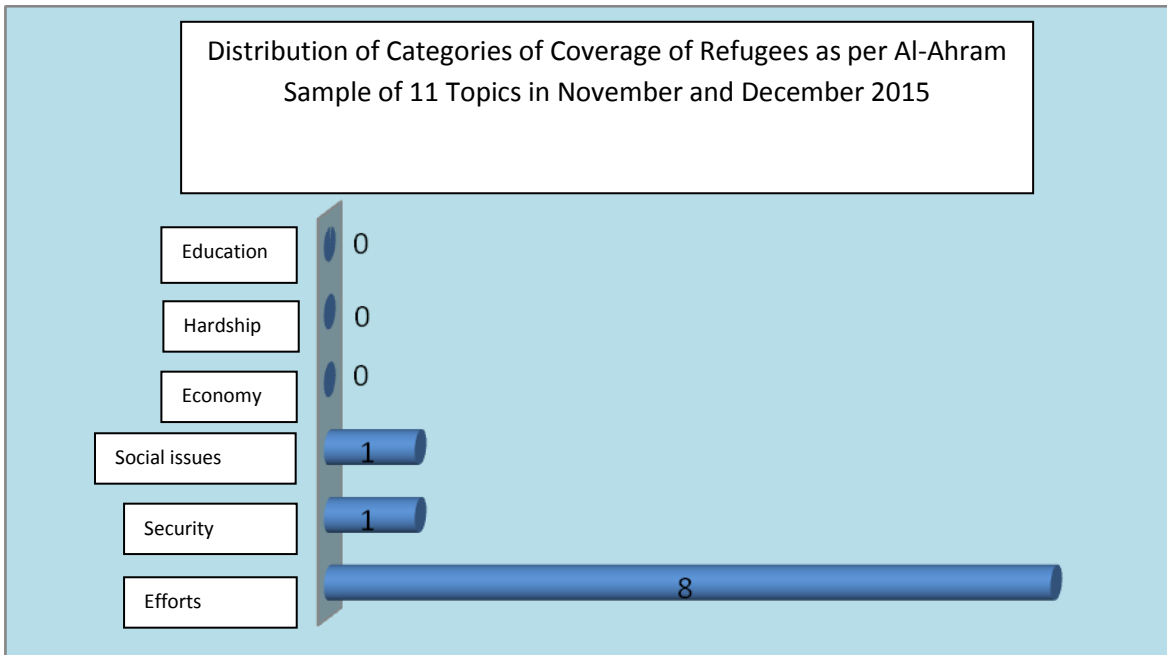


Figure 6

As an example of the Al-Ahram coverage, this newspaper published a news item about a conference titled “Crisis of Euro-Mediterranean Migration and Refugees: Scope and European Reaction,” organized by the “Center for the Studies of Migration and Refugees” at the American University in Cairo. It also covered the participation of the American University in Cairo in the Eighth Arab Meeting, Department of Assistance and International Donations and the Impact on Development in the Arab Nation. The title of this meeting was “Management of Arab and International Donations to Tackle the Cause of Refugees and Migrants in the Arab Nation.” Al-Ahram also covered a seminar titled “New Tendencies: Motives of Migration and Movement of Arab Manpower” organized by the Arab Labor Organization.

This newspaper also published several news items, including information about the conference on Palestinian refugees which took place at the seat of the Arab League in Cairo. It also published news about the speech made by the Director General of the Arab Women Organization (AWO), Ambassador Ms. Mirvet Tallawi, at the opening of a training session organized by AWO. It covered as

well a training workshop in the Arab League about illegal migration and tackling the migration crisis.

Al-Ahram also published news regarding a final report prepared by the Arab Women Organization concerning the female Syrian refugees and the problems they face. This report was prepared following a visit by a delegation representing the organization to refugee camps in Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt.

The newspaper also wrote about the meeting between Egyptian President Abdel-Fattah El-Sisi and the Greek Minister of National Defense, Panos Kammenos, in Mr. Sisi’s place of residence during his visit to Greece. In this news item, Al-Ahram mentioned Sisi’s emphasis on the deterioration of the refugees’ crisis and its impact on the security and stability of the Mediterranean and European countries.

With regard to the refugees’ conditions in Egypt, an article was written in this newspaper addressing the marriage of Syrian women with Egyptian men at a price varying between 500 and 1,000 Egyptian pounds per marriage. Another news item was reported about the departure of 277 African refugees from Cairo after being accepted as refugees in Germany.

2- Al-Youm Al-Sabeh Website

Proportion of Topics Related to Refugees in Egypt as per Al-Youm Al-Sabeh	
# of Topics on Refugees	468
# of Topics on Refugees in Egypt	22
# of Topics on Refugees outside Egypt	446

Figure 7

The total number of topics discussed in Al-Youm Al-Sabeh was 610 during the year 2015. Out of this total, 468 were analyzed. The number of topics about refugees in Egypt totaled 22.

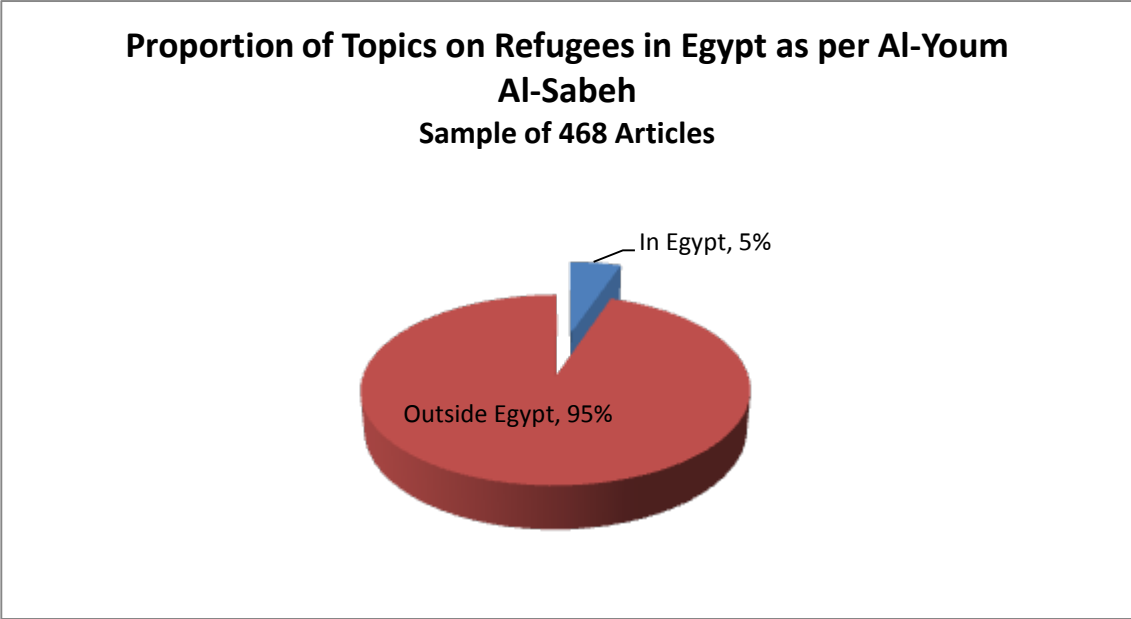


Figure 8

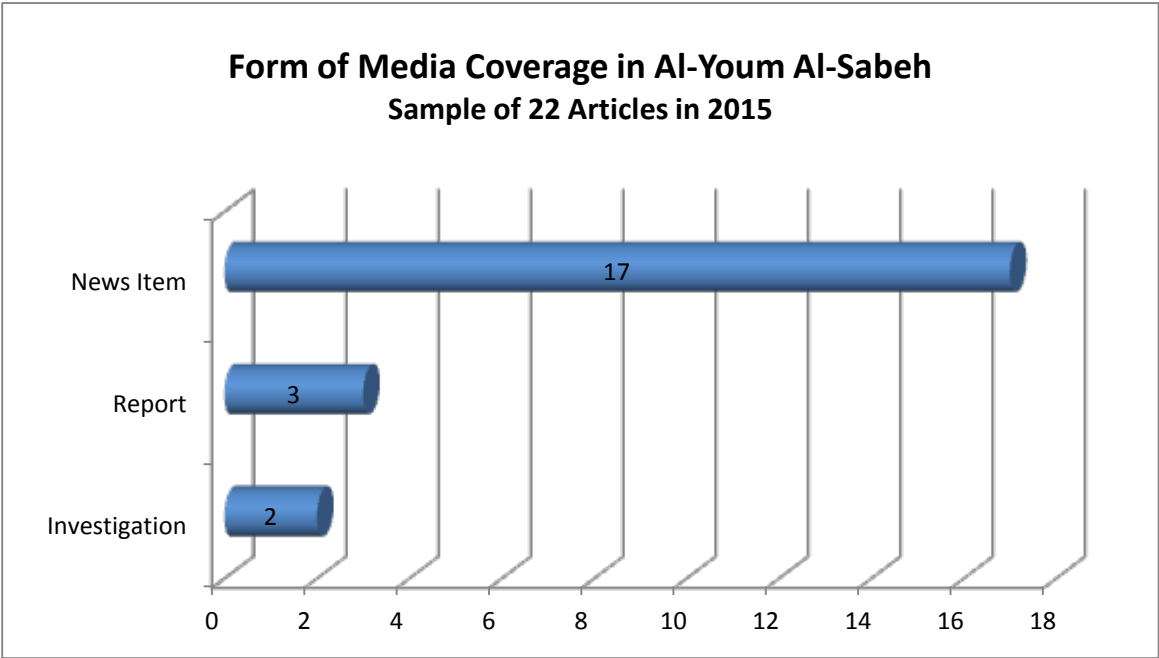


Figure 9

Rating of Coverage of Refugees in Al-Youm al-Sabeh Sample of 22 Articles in 2015	
Positive	4
Neutral	7

Figure 10

The refugees' cause was reported in Al-Youm Al-Sabeh as news items; refugees were not given the chance to express themselves and recount their suffering. The two investigations were done through social media or through Egyptian and Arab efforts to deal with the refugees' cause.

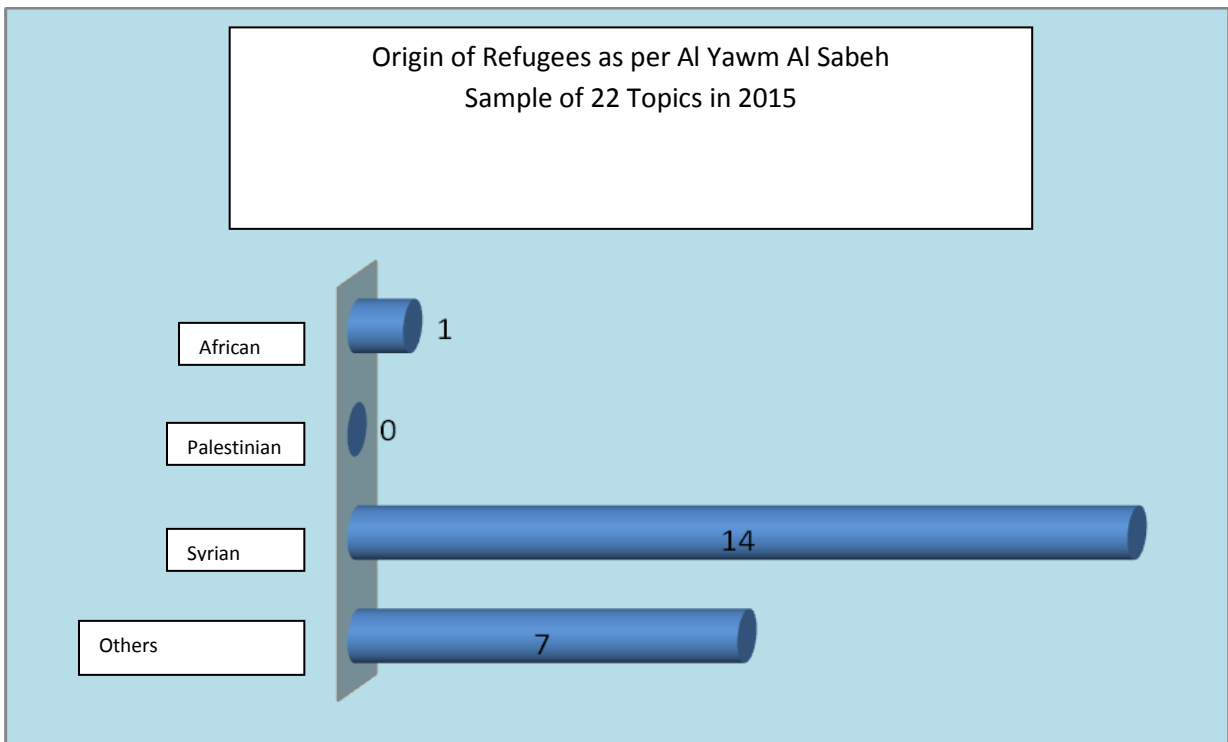


Figure 11

We can say here that Al-Youm Al-Sabeh showed its interest in the refugee question in Europe and to a much lesser extent to the Palestinian refugee cause in Egypt. The larger part of the coverage was given to the Syrian refugees.

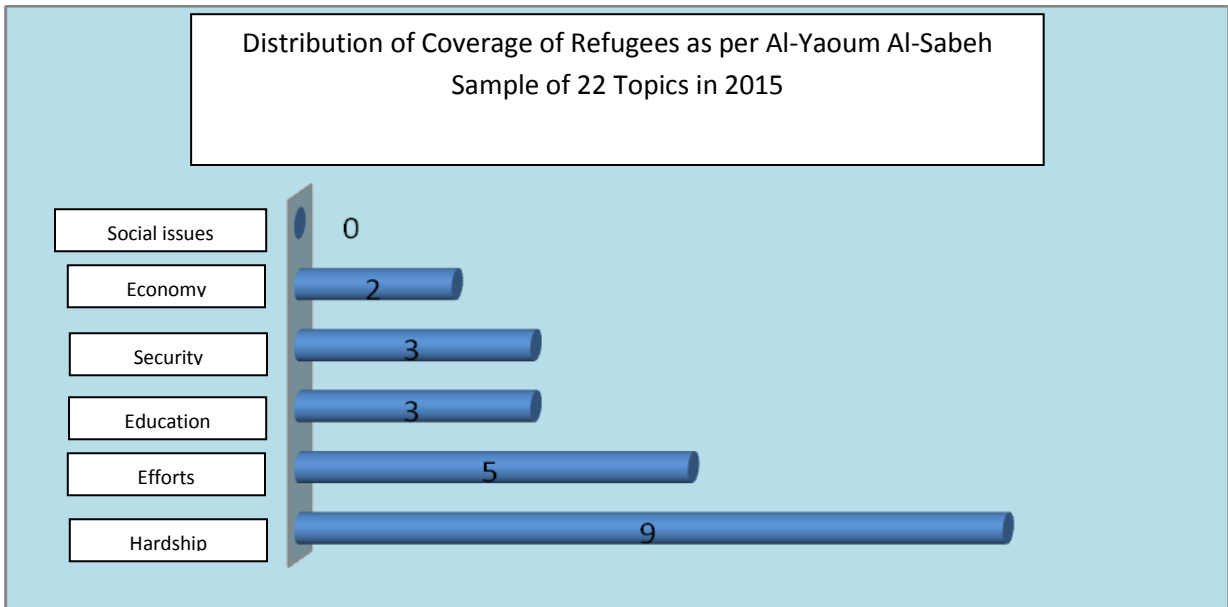


Figure 12

During the months of November and December, news reports revolved around informing people about the suffering and hardships of the refugees, and posting pictures of the sympathy Egyptians were expressing towards their cause. This was achieved through the publication of subjective and emotional news such as the efforts to help orphans, or charity operations to help refugees. One such charity project was that of Mrs. Sheikha Al-Thani, President of the Satok Foundation and the initiator of the World Cup for Orphans idea. The sympathy of the Egyptian people was widely circulated. As an example, we can mention the news that was reported about the taxi driver in the 6th of October city who put on his car a banner reading: “Riding this taxi is free for all Syrians in Egypt. This is our duty.”

The website also covered cultural and artistic activities performed by refugees or in which refugees took part thanks to the efforts of the Egyptian civil society. It praised the initiative of the civil society in showing a play with female Syrian and Somali actresses about sexual harassment, female genital mutilation and violence against women.

The website also reported the sorrow felt by the refugees and the self-blame for the situation in which Arabs and Muslims are now finding themselves. They also agreed on the inevitability of fighting terrorism if stability is to return. News of international and local seminars and conferences about the management of Arab and international assistance to tackle the problem of refugees and migrants in the Arab world, as well as donations allotted to refugees in Egypt, were also posted on the website. The issue of refugees was reported with serious criticism of human rights in a post about “International Day for Human Rights.”

3- Al-Watan Newspaper

Topics on Refugees in Egypt Proportional to the World as per Al-Watan	
Number of Topics on Refugees	125
Number of Topics on Refugees in Egypt	6
Number of Topics on Refugees outside Egypt	119

Figure 13

Results of the search for the word “refugee” showed 625 topics in 2015 in Al-Watan newspaper, distributed as follows: 604 in news, 19 in albums and 3 in interactive subjects. Out of 125 subjects studied, two were picture albums featuring the life of refugees in Europe; the first one was titled “After reaching the number of one million persons....a photo tour inside a refugee camp in Germany,” and the second “Syrian refugees fight cold at the Greek border.” Two other subjects were entirely unrelated to the refugees’ cause.

Subjects on refugees in Egypt numbered seven, six of them in news format. Pictorial information was used in the subject titled “Number of refugees in neighboring countries...and Egypt with the least of them.” Al-Watan successfully used info-graphics three times in 2015 and it presented the problem of the refugees in a graphic form, which made it easy to reach to the public.

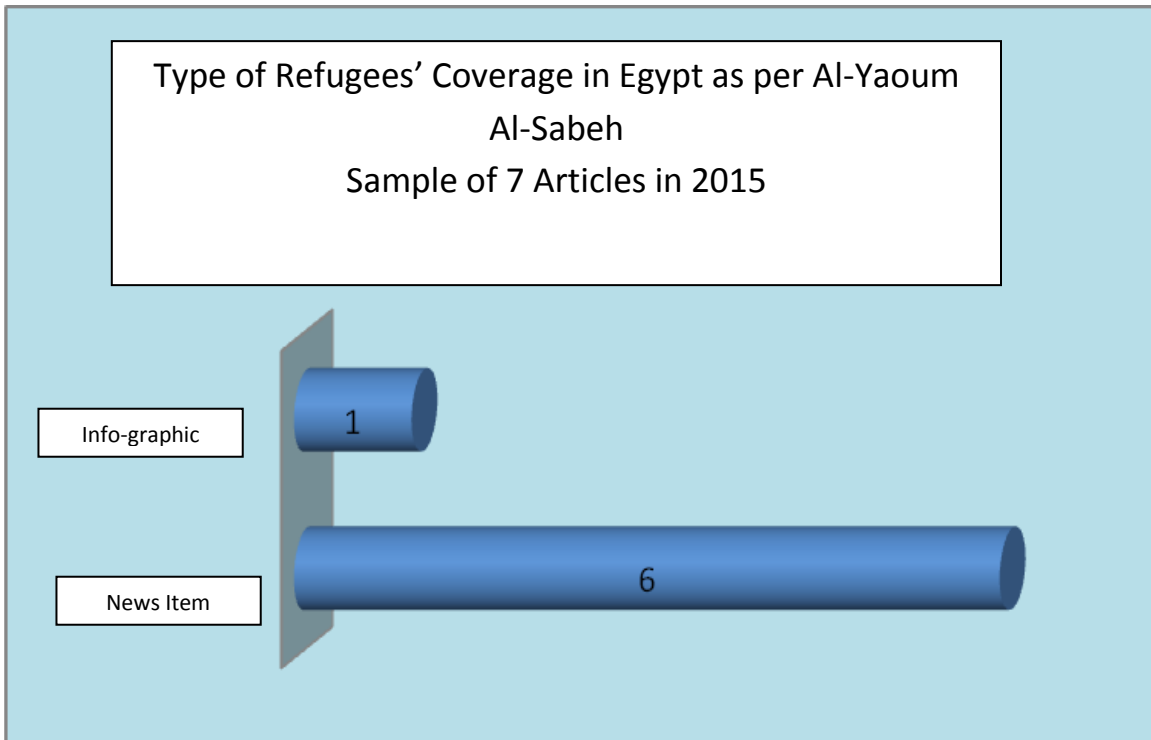


Figure 14

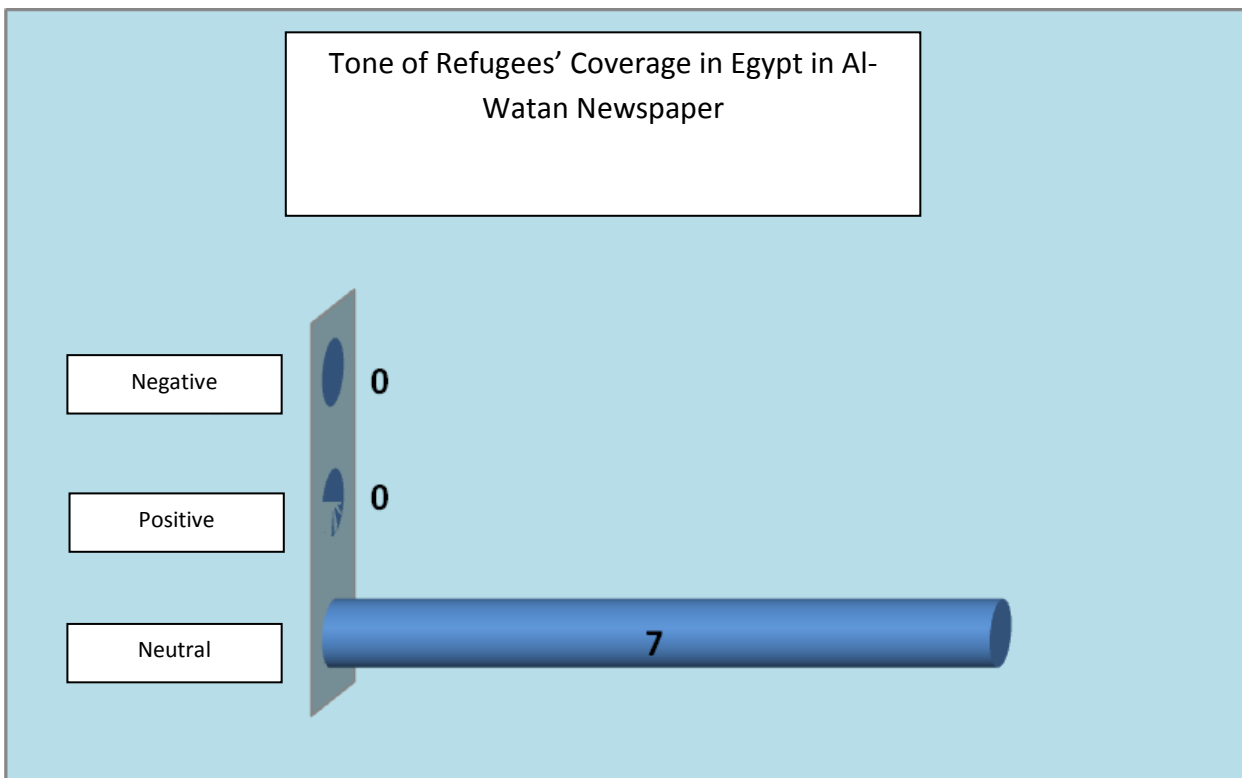


Figure 15

Al-Watan Newspaper covered an overview of the events as news items or in an informational way without expressing a specific opinion. This is why they were considered neutral.

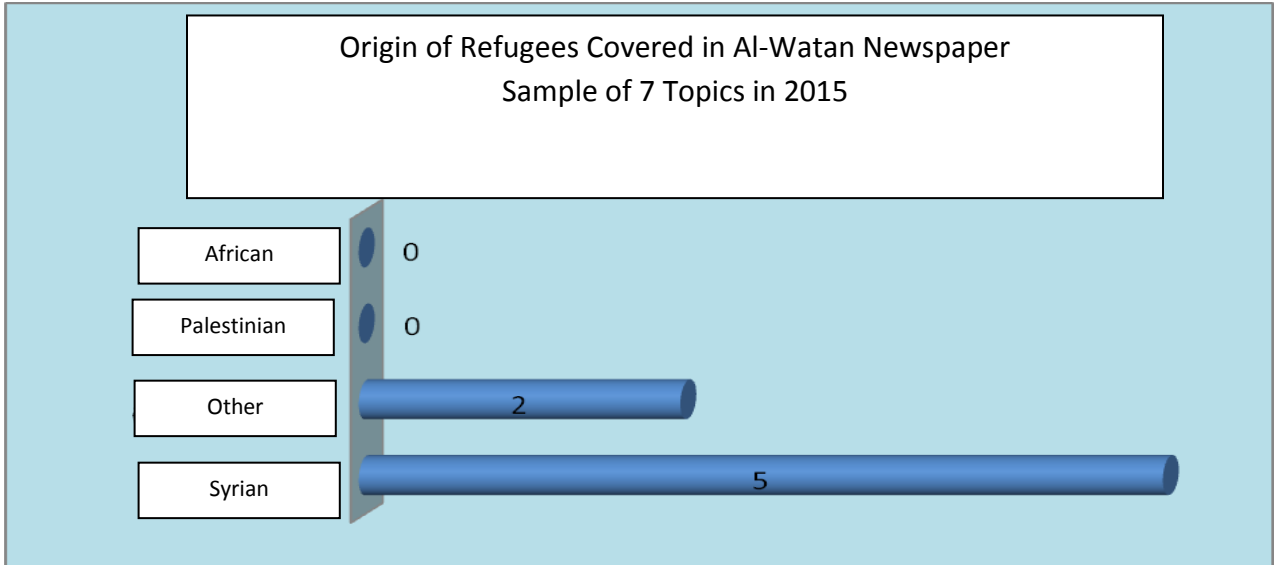


Figure 16

Al-Watan newspaper covered refugees in Egypt in a rather general manner, but focused specifically on Syrian refugees without mentioning other nationalities in the study sample.

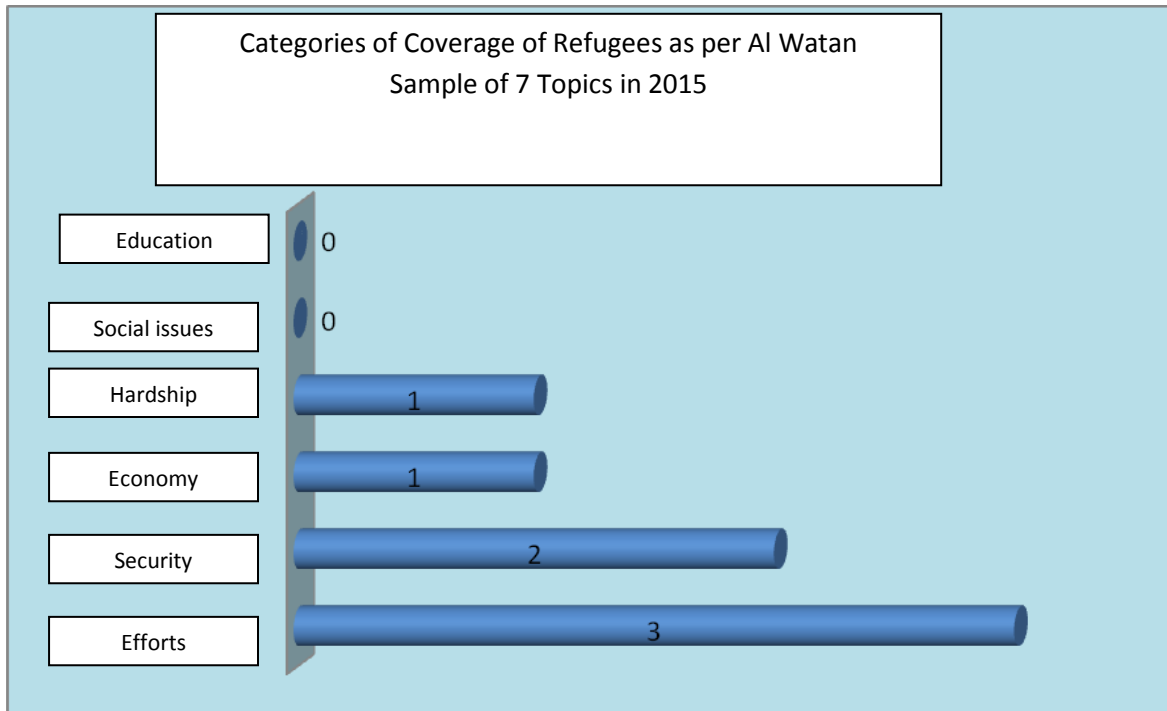


Figure 17

Topics covered by Al-Watan newspaper were diverse; one of them was a report about crises that occurred in the Arab region during 2015. Other topics included the question of Syrian refugees and the scourge of terrorism. On the latter, one report was titled “The Arab World in 2015...’ISIS’ and the ‘Crisis of the Refugees’ at the Forefront of the Scene.” There was also a news item about the Arab Organization for Administrative Development of the Arab League convening the eighth meeting for the management of international assistance and donations and their impact on development in the Arab world. This meeting was titled “Management of Arab and International Aids to Tackle the Problem of Refugees and Migrants in the Arab Nation.” Al-Watan also reported the news about the opening of the training session organized by the Arab Women Organization titled: “Negotiating Skills and Gender Equality and Social Diversity in Peace Keeping Operations.” The issue of refugees was also used in political propaganda through a news item, titled “Tellawi urges women to participate in elections,” in which Tellawi is mentioned as saying “I have come to realize the role played by Sisi when I saw the Syrian female refugees.” On July 30, Tellawi points out that, during her visits to refugee camps in Jordan and

Iraq, she realized the importance of President Abdel-Fattah Al-Sisi's role in defending Egypt. Another news item was published about the statement made by the "National Postal Authority," announcing the signature of a cooperation agreement with the UN High Commission for Refugees aiming to distribute monthly financial aid to refugees during the year 2016 through the post office.

Al-Watan also published the speech of Ambassador Hisham Badr, Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs for Multilateral Affairs and International Security, at the conclusion of the second meeting of the Steering Committee for the European Union and Horn of Africa Initiative, concerning the migration routes also known as the "Khartoum Process." In this speech, Ambassador Badr warned the European Union against closing its doors to refugees and migrants and describing them as "terrorists" at a time when they are themselves victims of terrorism. He also reaffirmed the necessity to respect the commitment to protect refugees and migrants from all kinds of fanaticism and extremism that they are facing.

In general, we could say that Al-Watan strived to explain the cause of the refugees and to cover the activities and statements made by officials expressing the Egyptian government's position with respect to this crisis. It is worth noting here that Egypt looks to international organizations who would assume their responsibilities in this regard. Egypt has also used the refugees' cause as an instrument of political propaganda for the benefit of the Egyptian authorities, presenting them as the savior of the Egyptian people from such a fate. The issue of refugees in Europe gave the Egyptian government the opportunity to blame European countries and urge them to play their role in receiving refugees and treating them decently.

Second: Egyptian News Websites

4- The Egypt News Website

Number of Articles on Refugees in Egypt Proportional to Articles on Refugees in the Rest of the World	
Number of Topics on Refugees	72
Number of Topics on Refugees in Egypt	4
Number of Topics on Refugees outside Egypt	68

Figure 18

The result of the search for the word “refugee” in the website **Egypt News** was 308 topics in 2015, out of which 72 were analyzed and the topics about refugees in Egypt numbered only 4.

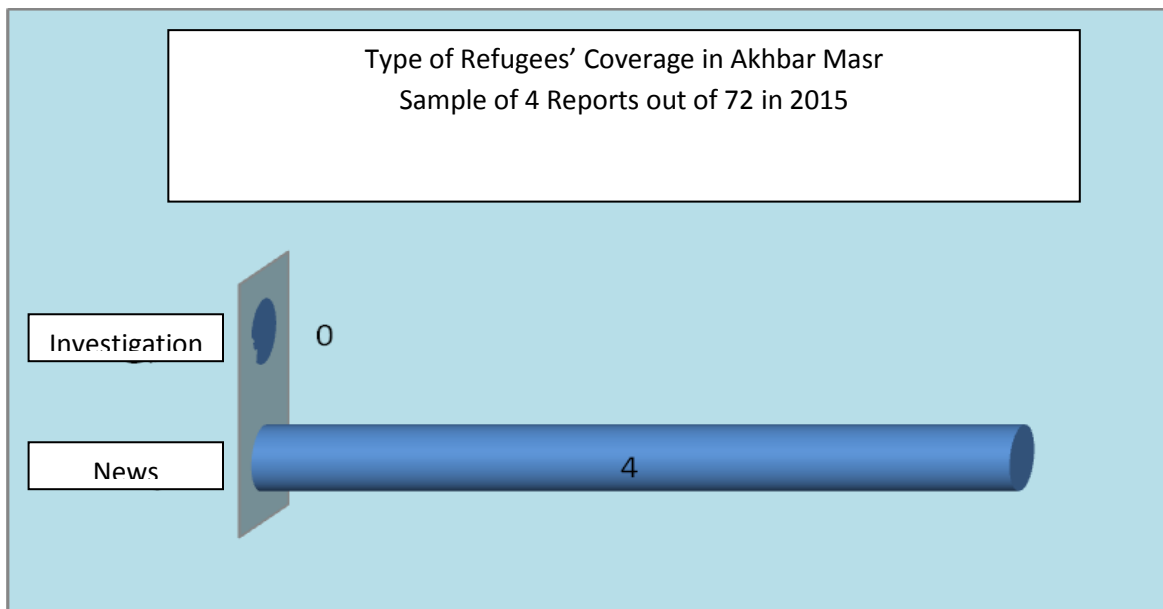


Figure 19

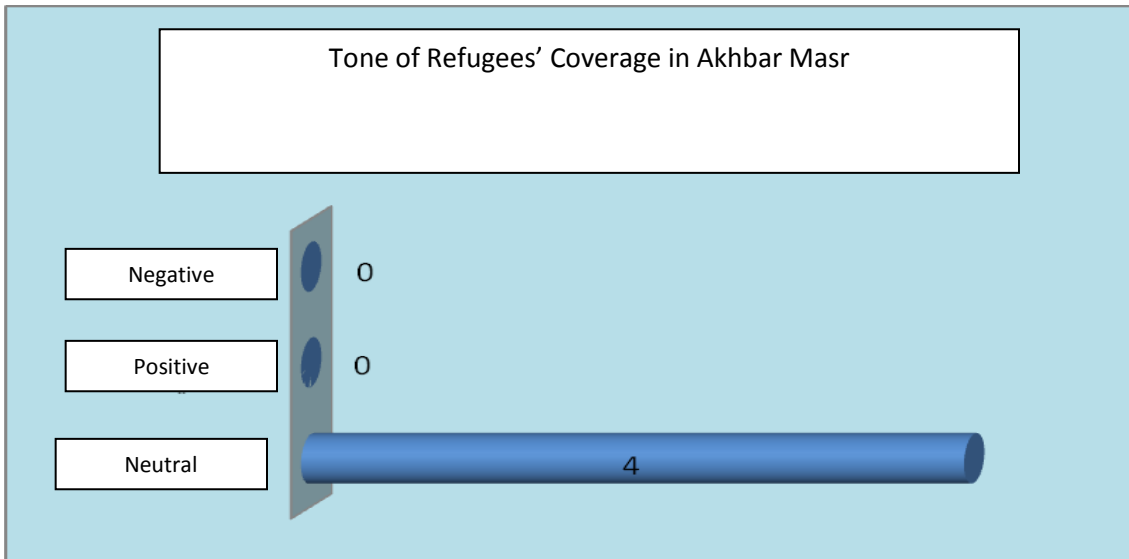


Figure 20

The “Egypt News” website covered the refugees cause in a news format and this was done from the Egyptian government’s point of view. This website limits itself to covering general and official events; therefore, the subjects presented were only about the government’s efforts, the international actors involved in this cause or a general description of the consequences of wars in terms of homelessness and migration.

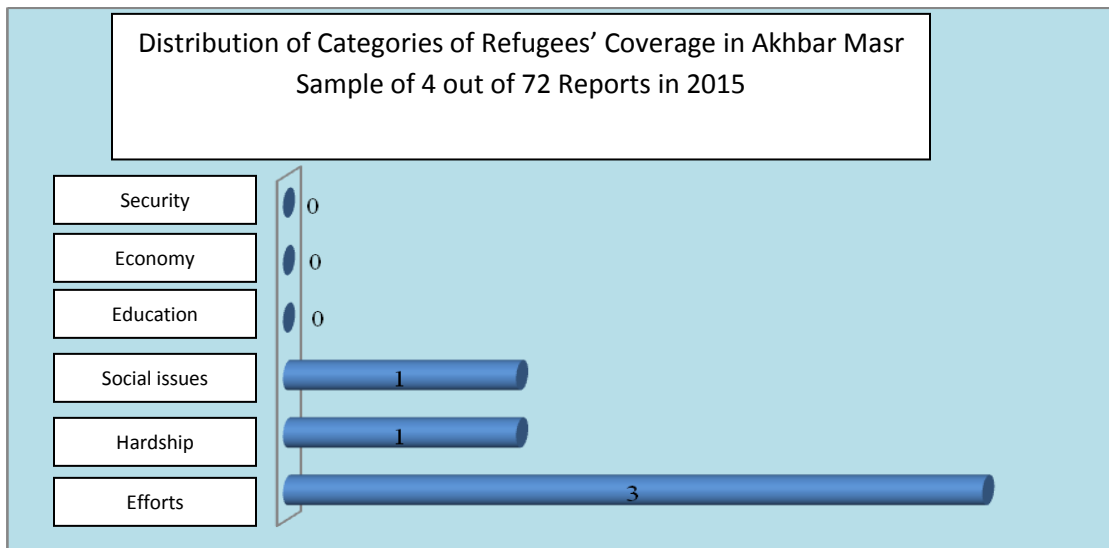


Figure 21

We see here, for instance, the news about Ambassador Hisham Badr, the Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs, expressing Egypt’s warning to the European Union about closing its doors to refugees and migrants and describing them as terrorists. He also reaffirmed the Egyptian government’s call for the necessity to protect refugees and migrants from all kinds of fanaticism and extremism that they may be subject to in Europe.

There is also the news about the German government raising its contributions to the office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Syria and the neighboring countries including Egypt, within the program “Protecting and Helping Syrian Refugees and Internally Displaced Citizens in Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Turkey.”

On that same website, we can also read the news about the Arab Women Organization launching its report on the conditions of the female Syrian refugees and the problems they face. This report was issued following a tour of the refugee camps in Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt by a delegation representing this organization.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the news posted on this website about Ms Tellawi urging women to participate in elections and reaffirming that she realized, on July 30th, the importance of the role President Abdel-Fattah Al-Sisi is playing in defending and protecting Egypt, when she saw female Syrian refugees during her visit to Syrian refugees in Jordan and Iraq.

5- The ElMawke3 News Website

Number of Topics on Refugees in Egypt Proportional to Refugees in the World on AlMawke3 Website	
Number of Topics on Refugees	15
Number of Topics on Refugees in Egypt	5
Number of Topics on Refugees outside Egypt	10

Figure 22

On the “Almawke3news” website, the results of the search for the word “refugee” showed 153 subjects posted in 2015, of which 15 were analyzed. The number of subjects related to refugees in Egypt was 5.

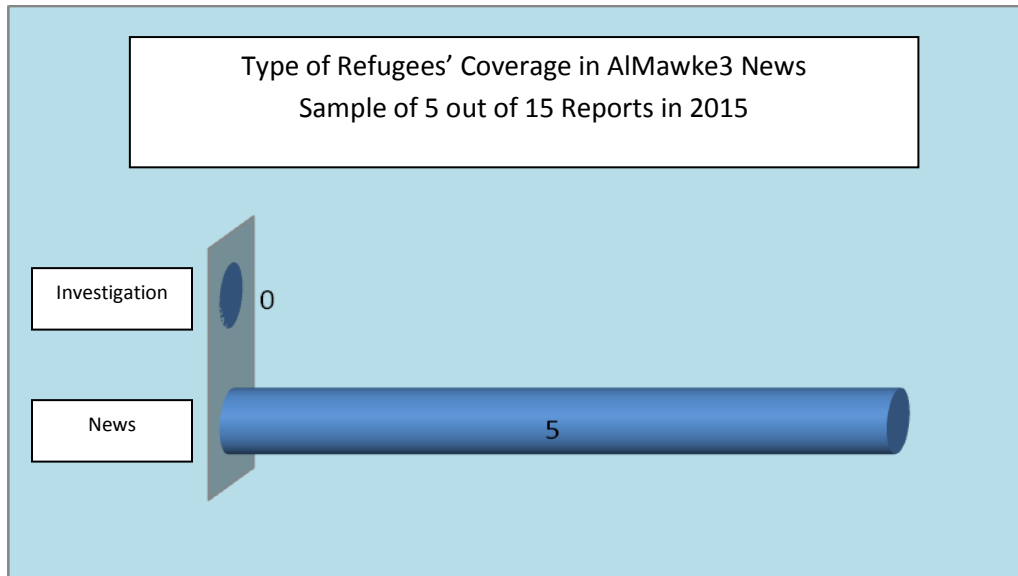


Figure 23

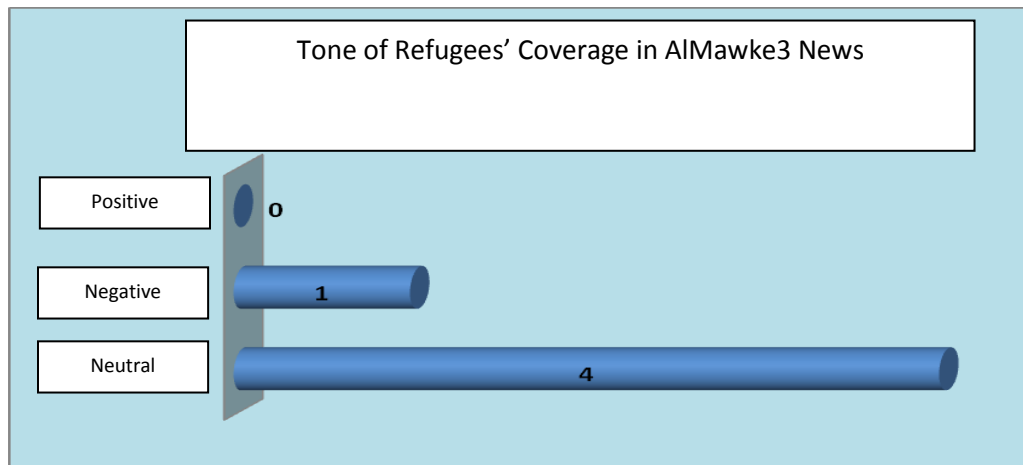


Figure 24

During the year 2015, Almawke3 posted news of Google inaugurating a new website aiming to help thousands of refugees escaping war and flocking into Europe. After finalizing registration on this new website, the user accesses detailed information about available housing, transportation, communications, medical services and more. The website also shows how to make use of all

these facilities. It was designed to consume the least amount of power and it provides simultaneous interpretation to the users.¹¹⁰

In one of its reports, AlMawke3 posted the visit of TV presenter Reham Saeed to Syrian refugees in Lebanon in September 2015 to produce an episode of her TV program. In this episode, she climbs on a truck and distributes donated items to the refugees, letting them rush to the truck and struggle to get these items. The comment accompanying these pictures was: “These are the people who became homeless, divided and lost. This is the fate of those who lose their homeland.” In this regard, the website made clear that it is not enough to send help to the refugees, but we should respect their dignity. It also added that, despite the emotional testimonies that appeared in the program, Reham intentionally humiliated the refugees, which caused a wave of attacks against her, leading to an argument with the journalist Yousra Fouda.

The number of articles posted by this website about refugees in Egypt during November and December totaled four. They included the official visit of the Egyptian President Abdel-Fattah Al-Sisi to Greece on 8 December 2015. During this visit, Sisi discussed with his Greek counterpart, Prokopios Pavlopoulos, and the Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras the rising tensions and conflicts in several countries of the region, and the resulting challenges including terrorism and the deterioration of the refugees’ crisis.

AlMawke3 did some negative reporting on the refugees’ cause which was used as political propaganda for the benefit of the Egyptian President during November and December. In posting a news item about the hashtag “#IamwithEgypt” that was circulating on Twitter, in which tweets were posted in support of Egypt and its president in the aftermath of the Russian airplane crash, the website reported a tweet posted by a journalist in which she said: “#IamwithEgypt simply because, all along our history, we were never refugees, we never left our country and ran away, and we are always together. We are

¹¹⁰ News item titled “Google inaugurates an electronic website to help refugees” posted on Oct 25, 2015. Available at: <http://www.e:mawke3.com> Website visited on Feb 22, 2016

Pharaohs.” By saying this, she implied that refugees ran away and left their country at the mercy of terrorists and plotters.¹¹¹

Third: Egyptian Television Channels:

ONtv Channel

Fifty-one subjects dealing with refugees were detected on Youtube.com during the year 2015. Out of these subjects, eight were reported during November and December without any mention of the news of refugees inside Egypt. On the other hand, it was widely reported that about 820,000 refugees had arrived in Europe in 2015. There was also news that refugees were leaving Greece to be redistributed to European Union countries. Other news reported by this channel were about riots that took place in a refugee detention center on an Australian island following the killing of a refugee, the declaration of the Canadian Immigration Minister about the delay in the arrival of Syrian refugees in Canada due to inclement weather, Obama’s criticism of those calling for religious distinction among refugees and the drowning of 18 refugees close to the Turkish shores during their escape toward Greece.

One Single Picture Summarizing the Information Scene in Egypt:

The Egyptian Armed Forces put a large banner on the gates along the highway between the capital, Cairo, and the second largest Egyptian city, Alexandria. The right side of the banner showed President Abdel-Fattah Al-Sisi and beside him a well-dressed child carrying the Egyptian flag during the opening of the Suez Canal, with the writing, “A Child Who Has His Army.” On the left side of the banner, we could see the picture of the Syrian child “Aylan the Kurd,” who drowned with his family while trying to escape the war in his country, with the writing, “A Child Who Lost his Army.”

¹¹¹ News item titled “Hashtag #Iamwithegypt shines on Twitter in the aftermath of Russia’s decision to stop its flights to Egypt, published on Nov 7, 2015. Website visited on Feb 22,2016

This picture reflected the Egyptian information perspective in dealing with the refugees' question. Most of the traditional Egyptian media, press as well as official and private television, promoted this picture as if the country had made a significant achievement. It presented it as evidence to mark the difference between leadership and an army that protects its people, and an army that was decimated, with all the consequences on its people and its children.

This propaganda was widely criticized on social media and the internet where the majority of users viewed it as showing "selfish happiness" at the failure of the Syrian people in keeping their army. It also was criticized for implying a veiled threat to the Egyptian people for a similar fate if they dared to revolt against their army and their regime.

The traditional media, which is under government control, with the exception of few individuals who criticize the authorities, was promoting the official propaganda pictures during the month of December 2015. Needless to say, the imposed information norm at that time was to accommodate this moral and political decline. The very limited exception was a mere confirmation of the rule. It is to be noted that the majority of the popular information, expressed through the internet and the social media, indicated clear criticism of this moral decline and of the exploitation of refugees' conditions, especially the Syrians, for political purposes.



X- Media Coverage of Refugees' Problems in Morocco

First: News Websites

1- Hespress Website: www.hespress.com

On this website, twelve topics on refugees in Morocco were monitored in January, February and March. The following table shows the results:

Articles on Refugees in Morocco Proportional to Refugees in the World in Hespress. Sample of 236 Topics during the First Three Months of 2015	
Total Number of Topics Dealing with Refugees and Migrants during 2015	1,270
Number of Topics Dealing with Refugees and Migrants during January, February and March 2015	225
Number of Topics Dealing with Refugees and Migrants in Morocco	11

Figure 1

Articles on Refugees in Morocco Proportional to Refugees in the World in Hespress is 236 during the first three months of 2015, and the results came according to the following figures:

Topics on Refugees in Morrocco Proportional to the World (HESPRESS) in the First Three Months of 2015
Sample 236 articles

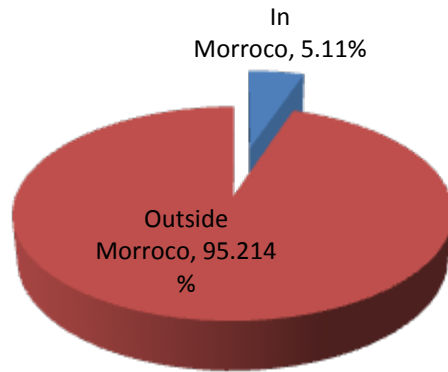


Figure 2

Type of Coverage of Refugees' Issues in Hespress
Sample of 11 Reports in the First 3 Months of 2015

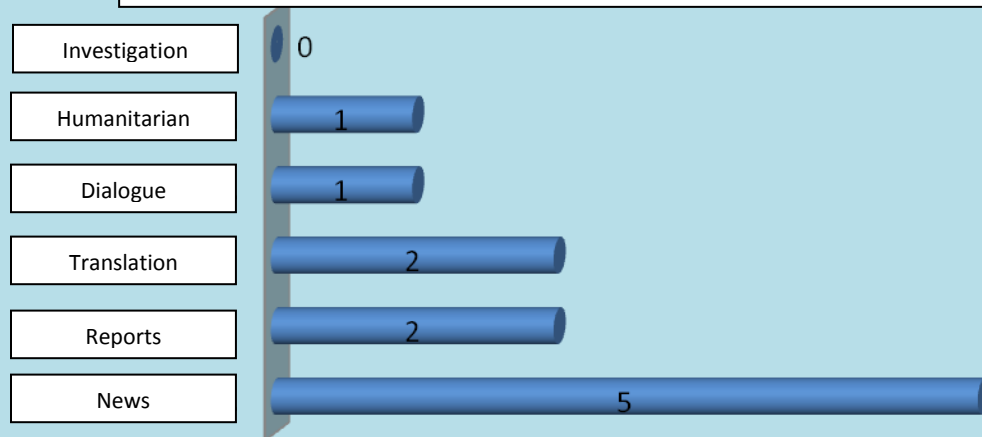


Figure 3

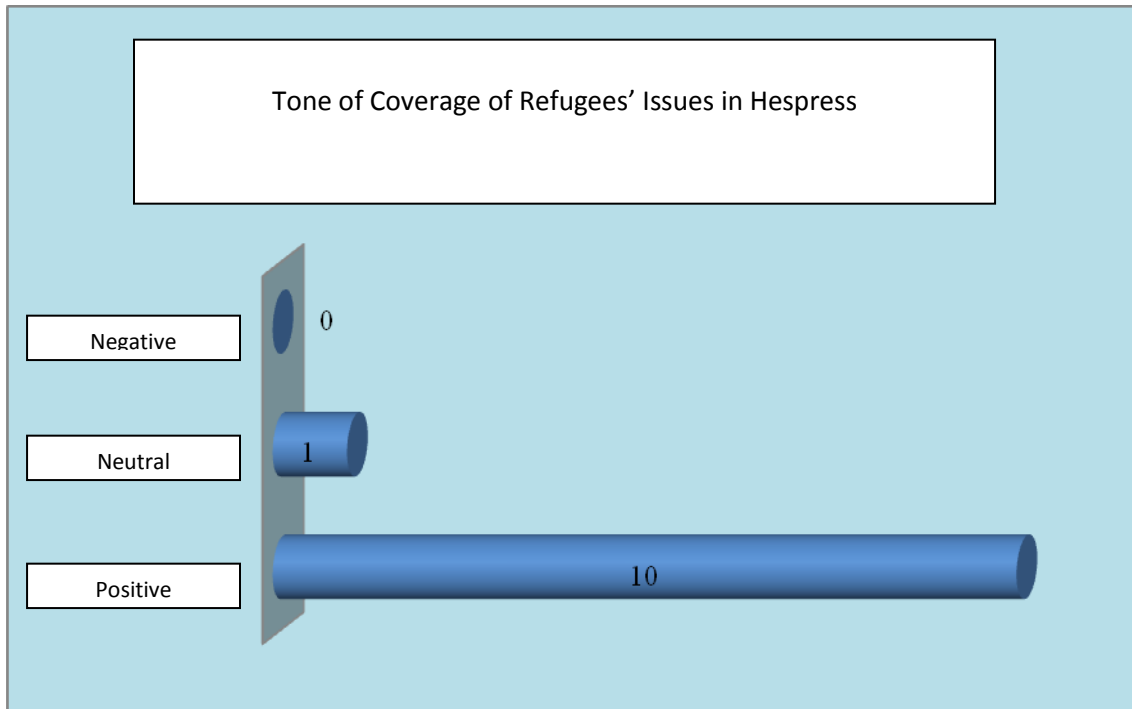


Figure 4

In general, the Hespress Website dealt with the problems of refugees and migrants in a rather positive way. It focused, in the majority of the subjects relating to this issue, on a legal speech urging the achievement of legal, constitutional and administrative reforms in order to solve the refugees' problems and ease their living conditions. It also supported the tendencies and calls for more legal, constitutional and administrative reforms and focused on some salient problems, such as the refugees whose applications for status regularization were refused. The website posted a subject titled "Loutfi: One Year Not Enough to Regularize the Status of Migrants in Morocco." Under this title, the website posted a dialogue with Mr. Ali Loutfi, the Director General of the Democratic Confederation of Labor in Morocco. Mr. Loutfi spoke about a royal decision aimed to regularize the status of refugees in Morocco. He praised this decision which legalized 18,000 illegal migrants out of a total of 30,000, while, at the same time, he calls for more legal and constitutional reforms to legalize a much higher number of refugees. According to him, the conditions stipulated by the royal decision discarded half of the migrants. He also called for a reform of the migration laws in order to make them compliant with the constitution and the

international traditions related to the integration of migrants in trade union activities and others.¹¹²

The website also translated some articles from foreign media dealing with migrants' conditions in Morocco, in a remarkable and professional way. It posted texts criticizing some manifestations of racism toward people of color who, in fact, constitute the majority of the migrants. This action is a very positive endeavor of Hespress, aiming to spread the culture of fighting segregation and racism that might sometimes appear spontaneously. Among the translated articles, the website posted an article titled "A Senegalese Journalist Writes about Morocco: A dream Turns Sour." In this article, written by Senegalese journalist Aisha Deme in Le Monde newspaper, Ms Deme criticizes how she was treated in a segregated way by taxi drivers, train passengers and others, just because of the color of her skin which led them to believe she was a migrant.¹¹³

Other articles translated by the website criticized the government's negative way of treating migrants. These activities, undertaken by the website, constitute a certain way of controlling the authorities by the people and the society and may pressure the government into treating the migrants more humanely. They may also increase the control on government employees dealing with migrants in order to minimize the individual mistakes that they may commit. The website also posted a translated section of a report aired on the French Channel 6 titled "The Sidewalk of the Press: 'Interpol' Tracks Luxury Cars in Bayda." It described how Morocco treats African migrants with brutality and lack of respect for their human condition.¹¹⁴

While the website usually deals with the news of migrants in a regular and focused way, it occasionally ignores some specific details about their treatment by authorities in general, and security forces in particular. The website posts an overview of the news without going into detail which often might be more useful

¹¹² Loutfy: One year is not enough to regularize refugees' residence in Egypt. Hespress Website Jan 1st, 2015 and visited on Feb 9, 2016 <http://www.hespress.com/interviews/250638.html>

¹¹³ A Senegalese Journalist writes about Morocco: "A Dream Turns Sour." Posted on Hespress website on Jan 9, 2015 and visited on Feb 9, 2016. <http://www.hespress.com/orbites/251303.html>

¹¹⁴ Press Sidewalk: "Interpol tracks luxury cars in Bayda." Posted on Hespress website on Jan 26, 2015 and visited on Feb 9, 2016. <http://www.hespress.com/medias/254866.html>

to its cause. For instance, an article titled “Nador Authorities Expel Illegal Immigrants toward Other Cities” was posted on this website. The article recounts the news of expelling approximately 700 migrants from the city of Nador and dismantling their camps in order to move them away from the Spanish border that waves of illegal migrants are trying to reach. However, this news item does not mention how the camps were dismantled or the method of expulsion. Were the migrants forced to leave? Did the authorities use violence against them or did they convince them to leave? Was the method used to expel them humane or were they stacked on top of each other? And so on.¹¹⁵

Another news item posted by the website was titled “Four bodies...Result of an Adventure by Illegal Immigrants on the Shores of Tan Tan.” The website mentions here the news of the rescue of twenty illegal immigrants on a drowning boat, while a number of other immigrants drowned off the shores of the city of Tan Tan. As the news was reported, it mentioned that some migrants were prevented from reaching Spain or were arrested at the border; however, no mention was made of the method used to arrest them, whether some form of violence was used or not.¹¹⁶

Although this website did not ignore the humane aspects of migrants’ stories, it did devote enough space for them to share their own experiences. It posted, for instance, an article titled “Issatu...from Koroko’s Hell to Tangier’s Harsh Life.” It recounts the story of a Liberian female migrant of Guinean origin speaking about the harsh living conditions and her struggle to make ends meet in Morocco.”¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Nador authorities expel undocumented migrants to other cities. Posted on Hespress on Feb 11, 2015 and visited on Feb 9, 2016. [Http://www.hespress.com/regions/254866.html](http://www.hespress.com/regions/254866.html)

¹¹⁶ Four bodies...Result of an adventure by undocumented migrants on Tan Tan shores. Posted on Hespress on Mar 11, 2016 and visited on Feb 10, 2016. <http://www.hespress.com/faits-divers/257693.html>

¹¹⁷ Issatu...from “Koroko’s Hell to Tangier’s Harsh Life. Posted on Hespress on Feb 24, 2015 and visited on Feb 11, 2016. <http://www.hespress.com/societe/256019.html>

2 - Ya Biladi Website: /http://ar.yabiladi.com

Total Number of Subjects about Refugees in 2015	None
Number of Subjects related to refugees in November and December 2015	None
Number of Subjects Related to Refugees in Morocco	None

Figure 5

A search of the word “refugee” during the year 2015 yielded zero result.

Not a single topic related to refugees or migrants was spotted on this website during the year 2015.

There was a total blackout on the refugees and migrants’ issues in Morocco on this website, which did not post any news about them. No news was reported about their living conditions or the way they were treated in Morocco during the whole of 2015. This fact may have a negative effect on their cause as well as on the level of awareness in the society toward their plight.

Recommendations: More coverage should be given to this important humanitarian cause. Media should highlight the news about them, produce reports and investigations on their problems and dedicate enough space to report their living conditions.

Second: Newspapers’ Websites

1- Akhbar Al-Yaoum Newspaper Website: <http://www.alyaoum24.com>

Number of Topics on Refugees Proportional to the World in Akhbar Al-Yaoum Newspaper	
Total Number of Articles on Refugees and Migrants during 2015	189
Number of Articles on Refugees during November and December 2015	52
Number of Articles on Refugees in Morocco	5

Figure 6

Number of Articles on Refugees in Morrocco Proportional to the World in November and December 2015

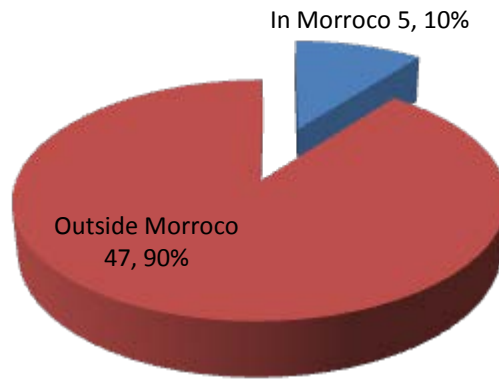


Figure 7

**Form of Refugees' Coverage in Morocco in Akhbar Al-Yaoum
5 Articles during November and December 2015**

<u>Form of Coverage</u>	<u>Number</u>
Investigation	0
Report	0
News Item	5
Dialogue	0
Translated Articles	0
Humanitarian Topic	0

Figure 8

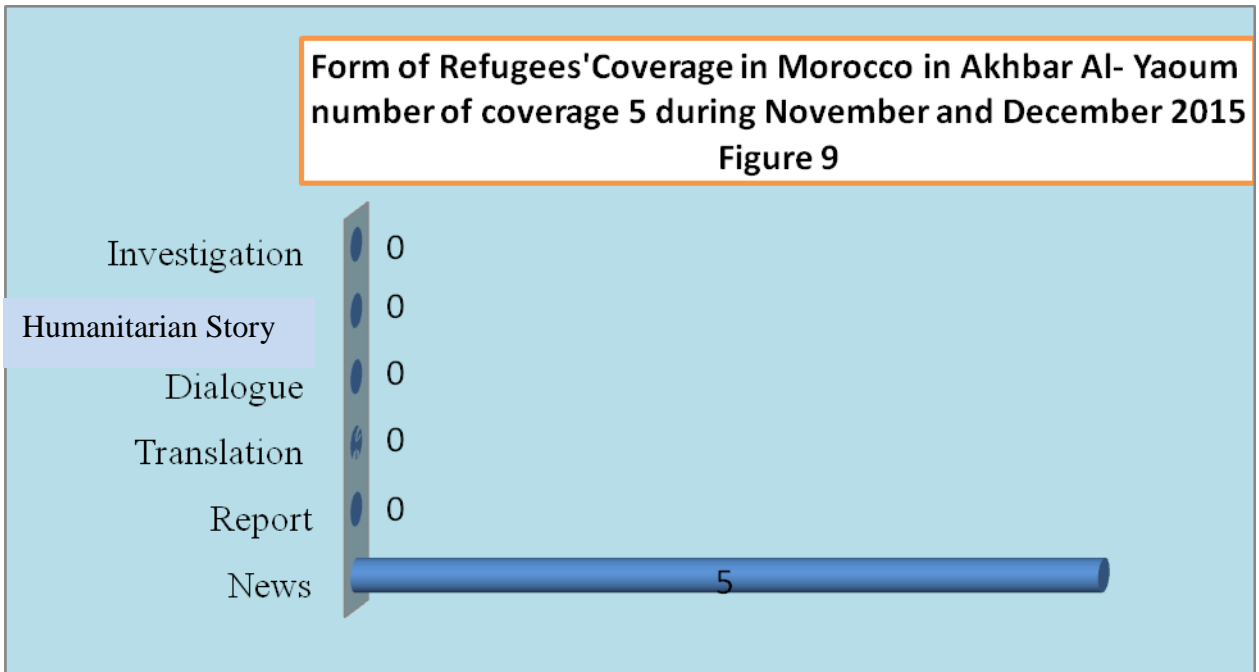


Figure 9

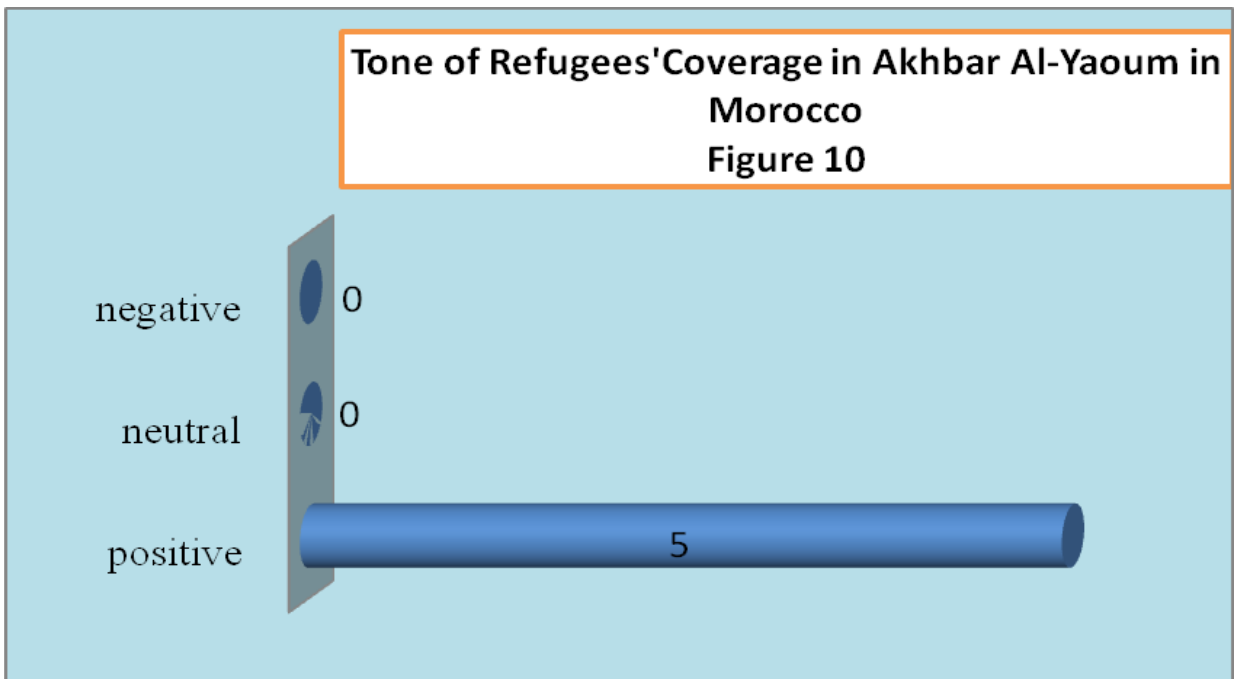


Figure 10

During the months of November and December 2015, five subjects dealing with refugees and migrants were spotted; they were all presented as news items.

This newspaper's website did not devote enough space to the issue of refugees; this is bound to have a negative effect towards promoting the acceptance of these migrants in the society.

The website posted these few subjects as news items without in depth analysis of the migrants' problems and without giving them space to present their cause. A good part of this important problem is, therefore, omitted.

The subjects relating to migrants posted on this website were characterized by focusing on the support of their rights as well as highlighting and criticizing the violations of these rights. In a post titled "The 'Moroccan Association of Human Rights' Requests the Adoption of a Code of Rights for Children," the website posted the news about the call of this Association to issue such a code. It also quoted the call of the Association to take good care of migrants' children and to treat them as equal to the children of nationals without any distinction or segregation.

In another post titled "Ben Abdullah Reaffirms the Necessity for the Migrants to Mix and Integrate with Moroccan Citizens," the website mentioned the call made by the Housing Minister to the Moroccan people and all government employees in Morocco to facilitate the integration of migrants and afford them a life with dignity.

A third post, titled "ANAPEC Launches a Service for Migrants in Morocco Looking for Employment," mentioned the launch of this service aiming to help migrants find employment. This service was made possible by a joint effort between the Moroccan Ministry of Migration and the National Agency for the Promotion of Employment and Competencies.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ The Moroccan Association of Human Rights requests the adoption of a Code of Rights for Children. Posted on Alyaoum24 website on Nov 23, 2015 and visited on Feb 22, 2016.

<http://www.alyaoum24.com/429689.html>. Ben Abdallah reaffirms the necessity for migrants to integrate with Moroccan citizens.

ANAPEC launches a search engine for migrants in Morocco looking for employment. Posted on Alyaoum24 on Dec 9, 2015 and visited on Feb 22, 2016. <http://www.alyaoum24.com/445736.html>

Finally, the fourth news item posted on this website was titled “MAHR Calls for Ending Persecution and Humiliation of African Migrants in Morocco.” It reports the call of the Moroccan Association of Human Rights to stop all kinds of persecution, humiliation and degrading treatment of African migrants. It also calls for putting an end to their arbitrary deportation from the northern region and renouncing all bilateral and multilateral agreements on migration where human rights are not guaranteed. The language used in reporting all these subjects was characterized by accuracy and avoiding the usage of racist words or other anti-migrant vocabulary.¹¹⁹ This is supposed to have a positive effect on their cause.

Recommendations: Extend the coverage of refugees and migrants’ issues, diversify the coverage format and give migrants the opportunity to expose their problems and conditions.

2- Al-Masae Newspaper Website: <http://www.almasaeypress.com>

The total number of coverage about refugees in Al Masae in Morocco in proportion to the world is 83 articles and the results came as follows

Total Number of Articles about Refugees and Migrants during the Year 2015	83
Number of Articles about Refugees and Migrants during November and December 2015	4
Number of Articles about Refugees and Migrants in Morocco	2

Figure 11

A search of the word “refugee” on this website in 2015 yielded 76 results.

Post on Alyoum24 website of Dec 15, 2015, visited on Feb 22, 2016. <http://www.alyoum24.com/452110.html>

¹¹⁹ Moroccan Association of Human Rights requests to stop humiliating and persecuting African migrants in Morocco. Posted on Alyaoum24 website on Dec 21, 2015 and visited on Feb 22, 2016.

<http://www.alyaoum24.com/457068>

Form of Media Coverage in Morocco in Al Masae during November and December 2015	
<u>Form of Coverage</u>	<u>Number</u>
Investigation	0
Report	0
News Items	2

Figure 12

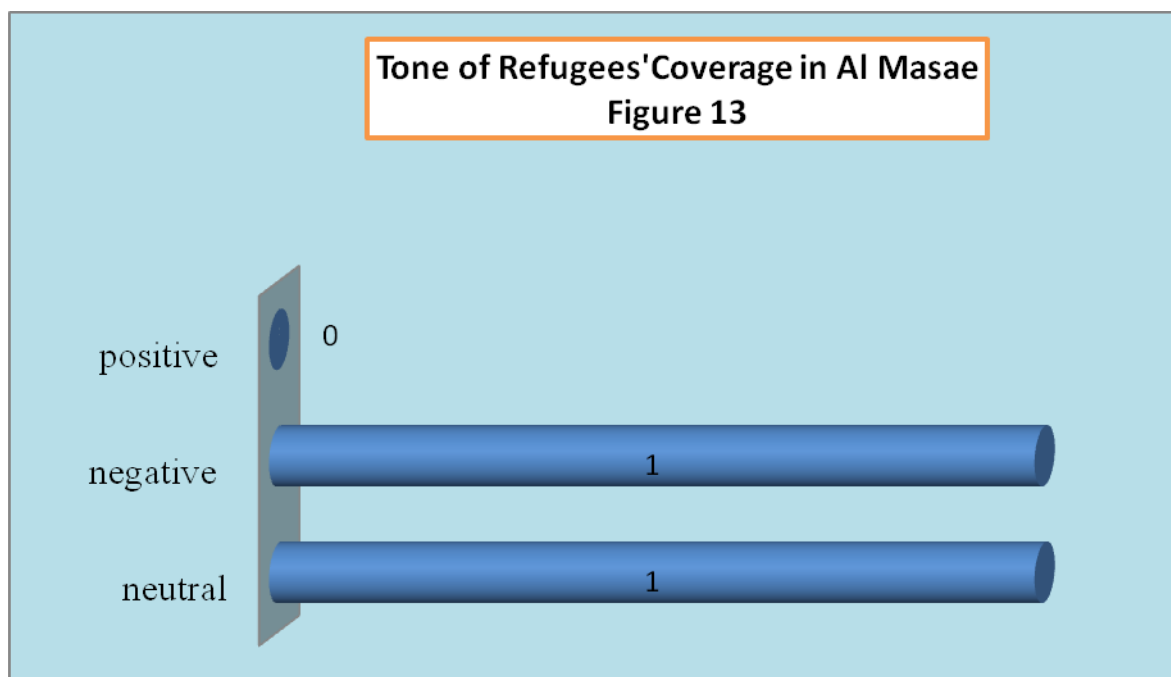


Figure 13

We noticed the existence of only two news items about refugees and migrants in Morocco in the Al-Masae newspaper during the whole year 2015. Remarkably, this paper ignored covering news of refugees and migrants and this should have a negative impact on the efforts to support their cause and their rights.

The newspaper, in its limited reporting on the refugees' living conditions, used biased vocabulary against refugees. It also used words of incitement against them. This fact will negatively affect their cause and it clearly transpires through an article published in this paper titled "African Wounded during Bloody Confrontation between Street Peddlers in Oujda." This article is about a street fight that occurred between African and Moroccan peddlers which led to injury of an African vendor. The other article was titled "African Migrant Prosecuted for Cocaine Trade." It recounts the story of an African migrant who was arrested after being accused of selling cocaine.¹²⁰

Recommendations: The newspaper should be advised to give more coverage to the refugees and migrants' issues within Morocco. It should also improve its vocabulary while writing articles relating to them since the language it used impacts the way they are treated by the society.

Third: Television Stations

Medi1tv Channel Website: <http://www.medi1tv.com>

Number of refugees' coverage in Medi1 TV in proportion to the world during 2015 is 293 reports and the results came as follows:

Total Number of Subjects on Refugees and Migrants in 2015	293
Number of Subjects on Refugees and Migrants during November and December 2015	57
Number of Subjects on Refugees and Migrants in Morocco	2

Figure 14

¹²⁰ African Wounded During Bloody Confrontation between Street Peddlers in Oujda. Posted on Almasae website on Nov 12, 2015 and visited on Feb 22, 2016. <http://goo.gl/Ae5Yuj>
 African Migrant Prosecuted for Cocaine Trade. Posted on Almasae website on Oct 4, 2015 and visited on Feb 22, 2016. <http://goo.gl/XRO2ba>

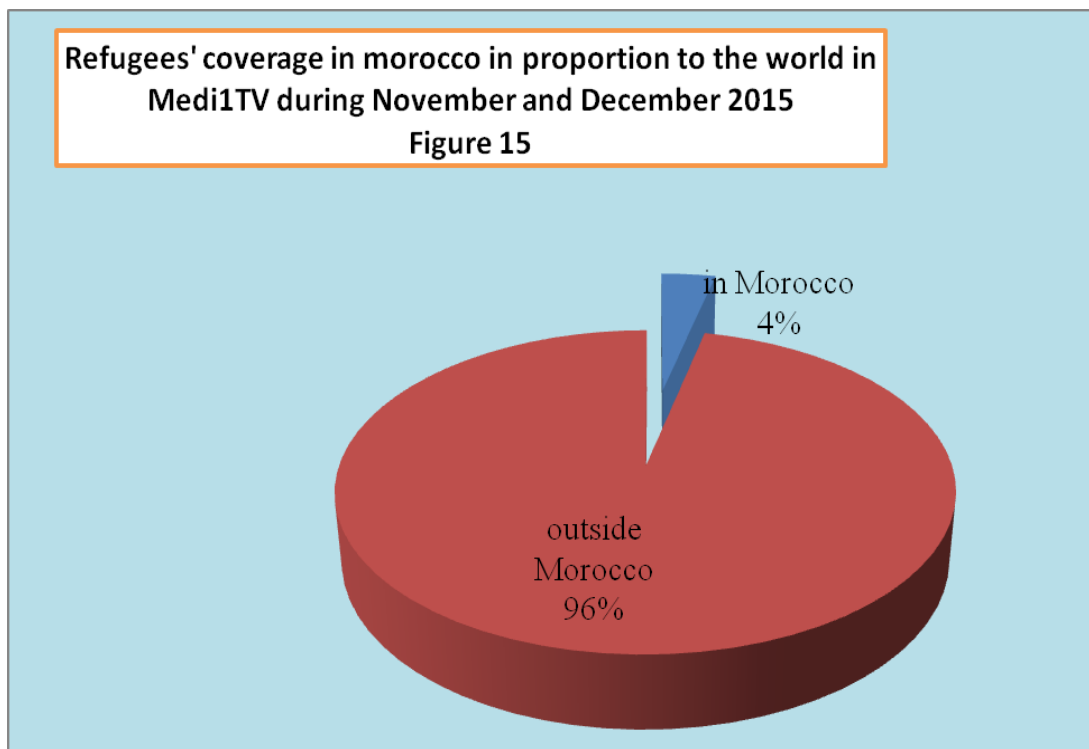


Figure 15

Form of Media Coverage on Refugees in Medi1TV during November and December 2015	
<u>Form of Coverage</u>	<u>Number</u>
Investigation	0
Report	2
News Items	0

Figure 16

Tone of Media Coverage on Refugees in Medi1TV during November and December 2015	
<u>Rating of Coverage in Medi1 TV</u>	<u>Number</u>
Positive	0
Negative	0

Neutral	2
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Figure 17

Only two reports on refugees and migrants were posted on the website of this TV station in 2015; one of them was titled “Tangier...Death of a Migrant after Attack with Sharp Tool.” This report recounts how the body of an illegal migrant was found in Tangier District. Another report was titled “Evacuation of ‘Bou Khalef Apartments’ Led to Confiscation of Inflatable Boats.” This one is about the evacuation of apartments that were occupied by illegal squatters.

It is clearly noticeable, from the scarcity of coverage by this TV channel of the refugees and migrants’ issues, that this station has initiated an information blackout on this important question, which negatively affects it.¹²¹

¹²¹ Tangier...Death of a Migrant after Attack with Sharp Knife. Medi1tv report on July 1st 2015, viewed on Feb 19, 2016, <http://goo.gl/ZCdIfx>
Video...Evacuation of Bou Khalef Apartments Led to Confiscation of Inflatable Boats, broadcast on medi1tv on July 1st, 2015 and viewed on Feb 19, 2016, <http://goo.gl/BYFNsD>

XI- Conclusion

The study of media coverage of refugees' problems clearly showed that this coverage, and especially the coverage of Syrian refugees, was subject to two main factors. The first factor is the magnitude of the problem and the second is the geographical proximity to the migration areas. In this respect, we can say that this issue received more media attention in countries close to Syria, such as Lebanon and Jordan. However, it remained a marginal issue in faraway countries such as Egypt and Morocco which faced different types of problems, with migrants and refugees coming from West and North Africa. They also had to deal with problems of migrants trying to cross to other countries.

The following facts resulting from media coverage of refugees' problems should be taken into consideration:

- Media coverage of refugees' issues depended, to a large extent, on the political positions toward this question in the concerned countries.

While the coverage was in accord with government positions in Jordan, it constituted a subject of conflict in Lebanon. In the latter, a clear controversy appeared among officials with regard to the problems caused by the presence of refugees. There was concern of permanent resettlement of refugees in Lebanon and the repercussions of such resettlement on the demographic balance in the country. There were veiled hints of these fears in some statements.

This position was apparent in requests denouncing any potential resettlement of the refugees, although refugees' issues were well covered in Lebanese and Jordanian media. The media speech slowly changed from describing the refugees as victims to describing them as a burden, then a component (in Jordan). This fact generated fears of their resettlement.

In Egypt, the Syrian refugee issue was exploited in electoral campaigns. It was used in political propaganda and in focusing on government activities toward refugees.

- Although solidarity campaigns with migrants received a good share of media attention, signs of concerns and fears from the social and economic repercussions, especially on the labor market, have started to change the feelings of the host countries (Lebanon and Jordan) toward refugees. This took place at a time when the potential of the local communities to carry the burden was declining.
- After being supportive of the refugees' situation, the speech began opposing the issue because of violent acts and fears of increase in crime (Lebanon and Jordan). It is clear that the relations between the migrants and the host communities have been negatively affected on both sides of this relationship. In Lebanon, for instance, 67% of Syrians feel that they are not welcome and that Syrians are worthless in Lebanon where they are so badly treated.
- The services sector had a good share of the coverage because the increase in demands for basic services on the part of refugees has contributed in forcing some communities to request that refugee camps be moved to areas farther away, since poor people cannot live off poor communities.
- A segregationist media speech emerged against Syrian refugees (in Lebanon). "Their toilets are polluting the Berdawni River." There have also been demands to deport them in order to protect tourism, especially in areas that were known as "Champs-Elysees of Lebanon" (Hamra Street). The demographic composition of this area has changed dramatically and it has become a place for "beggars and demeaning scenes." It has also turned "black" in a veiled hint to new clothing traditions (Note from the translation: in Arabic, Hamra means red).

In the face of this negative speech, numerous migrants have expressed the wish to escape humiliation, segregation, sexual assaults and the inability to get protection.

- The female refugee was seen from a stereotyped perspective (in Lebanon and Jordan): Sexual harassment, exploitation, early marriage, prostitution, etc.
- The refugees were presented as being a single homogeneous group and they were featured in a very negative way.
- Underprivileged groups (elderly, children, handicapped, etc.) were marginalized and randomly mentioned in media coverage.
- There was a total absence of the culture of the respect of human rights and its integration in media reports.
- It is certain that media coverage contributed to presenting information on migration that had generated support and solidarity campaigns on the part of hosting communities.
- Refugees did not have a fair chance to express their views on their problems, although media coverage in Lebanon gave refugees the opportunity to expose their plight, requests and wishes. However, these exposures were circumstantial and dependent on some security event or maybe a snow storm; sometimes they were a reaction to government measures aiming to regularize migration.

XII- Recommendations

1- To Media Outlets:

- Media outlets should not blindly sympathize with the complaints of the local communities negatively impacted by the burden of migration.
- They should assure a balance between host communities' rights and refugees' human rights.
- Refugees' issues should be covered by experienced and skilled journalists, who have been trained to give sincere and neutral reporting.
- Every media institution should use the same unified terminology with regard to refugees' issues, in order to avoid different interpretations that could eventually harm that institution. Some interpretations could be understood as hate speech or incitement against refugees.
- Journalists specialized in covering refugees' issues should be given enough time and the necessary support to produce investigative reports about the refugees, their problems and their daily life.
- A special space should be devoted in the media to cover refugees' issues, especially with regard to their rights and problems.
- One service to be provided to refugees is to let them know the location of the Refugees' Commission's offices in host countries and the modalities of registration.
- While covering refugees' issues, media should make the connection between what they are covering and the refugees' rights in international agreements.
- Media should develop and improve the forms of coverage relating to refugees by paying more attention, for instance, to journalistic methods such as news stories, reports and dialogues.
- Media should also use visual means of communications such as videos, info-graphics and wide pictures with minute details.
- Egyptian media should allow more diversity in reporting opinions concerning refugees in Egypt.

- Make use of Google information to offer different services to refugees and create links, communication guides or pages on social media to facilitate the contacts between journalists and refugees.
- Increase the number of joint programs between host and refugee communities in order to decrease tensions, fears and concerns.
- Establish joint information ventures with international information institutions and agencies and produce programs and reports in foreign languages in order to increase foreign aid and reduce economic tensions on local communities.
- Journalistic patterns in reporting daily news of refugees and migrants should enjoy more diversity and variety. The same applies to special reports on their living conditions and investigations highlighting the hardships they are subject to in host countries. Refugees and migrants should also be given more space to relate their problems and conditions.
- Any government practice against refugees and migrants should be highlighted and focused on pointedly.
- Support should be given to modern means and technologies that aim to facilitate refugees and migrants' attempts in reaching out to media. Popular media's experience should also be taken advantage of in this respect.
- Wage an information campaign aiming to reduce the cost of living for refugees.

2- To Media Persons:

- In reporting on refugees and migrants, it is important to take into consideration the human aspect of the issue. Applying a positive approach toward them is also very important in order to spread the culture of friendliness through society. Warning about segregationist behaviors against them and adopting a general speech supportive of their rights are also crucial ways of dealing with this question.

- The speech and language used in writing reports on refugees should be improved, as the language used has a direct impact on the way refugees are treated by society.
- A connection should be made between subjects relating to refugees and migrants and the rights that are stipulated in constitutions and international agreements.
- A focus should be placed on the use of human rights and refugee rights' documents through merging the human rights approach with all journalistic formats.
- Special attention should be given to the economic, social, psychological, educational and health aspects of the refugees' living conditions.
- An investigative method should be used in reporting.
- Refugees should be given enough space to directly speak for themselves.
- Media persons should enroll in training programs on covering refugees' issues (television, electronic press, print press) and integrating human and refugees' rights in stories and news.
- Words, expressions and descriptions that could be interpreted as hinting to hate speech against refugees should be avoided.
- Media persons should avoid stereotypes of refugees that are promoted and used by local host communities.
- Media persons should strive to be neutral, credible and objective in covering refugees and migrants' issues.
- Reporting on problems and requests of local communities feeling that they have been harmed by Syrian migration should be objective and neutral.
- Marginalized communities should be given special attention while reporting their problems such as the issues of women, children, elderly and handicapped persons.

3- To Governments:

- Separate the refugees' question from political divisions and bickering and avoid using this question in local conflicts.

- Adopt a more positive speech in respect to refugees and migrants' issues and strive to spread the culture of acceptance and tolerance in different media and information outlets.
- Governments should give more freedom to the media in order to control the way a government deals with refugees and migrants, in order to prevent and solve problems that hinder their lives. Individual errors and mistakes that may be made toward them should be minimized.
- Provide humane living conditions to refugees and migrants. Give them the opportunity to have a decent life and facilitate their integration in the society.
- Provide basic necessary needs for refugees and migrants, such as medical treatment, childhood education and personal security.

4- **To Institutions of the Civil Society and Human Rights:**

- These institutions should actively participate in spreading the culture of acceptance of migrants and refugees by organizing seminars, symposiums and workshops on this topic.
- Raise awareness about the rights and dignity of refugees and migrants.
- Continue the registration process of refugees and try to solve the problems of those whose applications have been rejected.
- Initiate new technical and information instruments to help refugees deal with emergencies, such as smart phone apps, for example.
- Prepare a code of conduct for the coverage of refugees and migrants' issues and their rights.

In conclusion, we can say that the scarcity or lack of coverage of these issues and problems negatively impacts the acceptance of temporary refugees and migrants in host societies. Therefore, media should have a stronger presence with one single purpose: urge all those involved and capable to solve the social, economic and health problems of the migrants. Thus, we can prevent the

forces of darkness from creeping into these groups and trying to make them trade their desperate situation for empty promises of reaching Heaven through extremism.