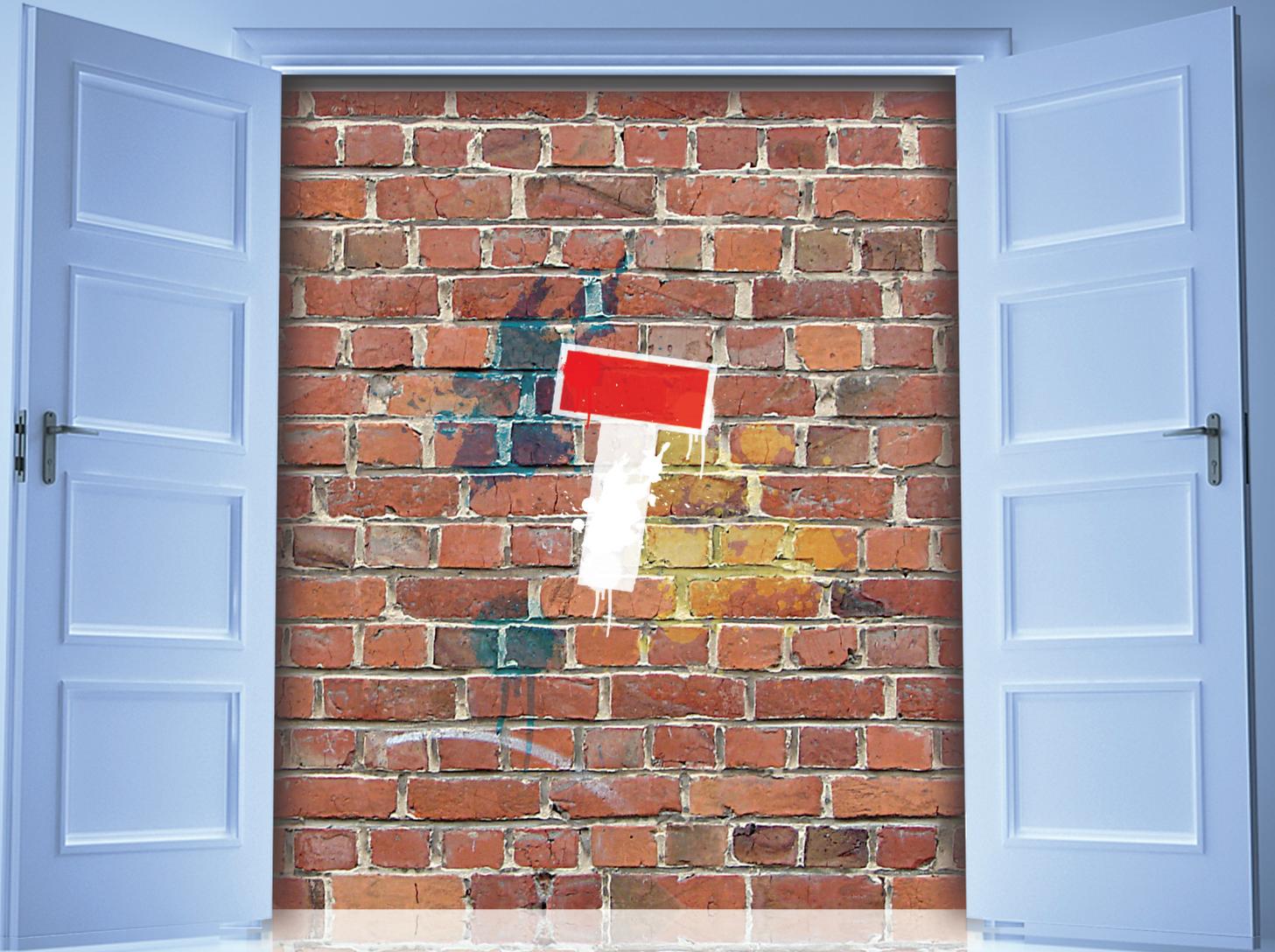


DEAD END

Media Freedom Status In Jordan

2014

Executive Summary



مركز حماية وحرية الصحفيين

Center for Defending Freedom of Journalists

Dead End



**Media Freedom
Status in Jordan
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Executive Summary

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Prelude

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Dead End

The Media At the Verge of Death ..

No promise of joy emerges from the darkest ink, nor a voice announcing freedom knocks on the door..

A colorless, tasteless year has passed. Even the grayness that colored how we are, became faint, holds defeat. Even the taste of hunger that pained journalists languishing on the sidewalks waiting for a morsel of bread, became a meaningless description.

Five years on the beginnings of the Arab Spring passed. Dark tragedies, they saw. From a victorious freedom ecstasy; the roaring of freedom fighters- to defeat, one decline after another and what seems to be a “curse” casted on media became the unchallenged status-quo.

The year 2014 was no different, but perhaps summed up the declines which took place, and which we paid up price for in effort and pain.

In mourning freedom of the media, we previously said: “broken train.. the one that carried promised freedom that we waited and celebrated when people voices claimed reform and fair and democratic changes.. freedom didn’t continue the journey, and the and roses didn’t blossom.. Walls that shaded our dreams and pens reconstructed all over again. Were we falsely dreaming; of Spring?! “.

“Following the footsteps of a declined popular movement and giving up to ruling matrix which dominated the media for decades; we trembled the fallen down and the consequence was backward, march”.

Do you still remember the government hall of shame when it blocked 291 websites?

Yes; it became reality that does not need; one which we have coexisted with and treated as being the rule. It even become part of how do we envision our priorities.

When the government enforced licensing to electronic media, we raised our voice in rejection, but they overwhelmingly talked about benefits, incentives, and promised that this law would be an end to arrest and imprisonment of journalists.

Their promises were gone before the ink law is written with dried up. Imprisonment remained so did law's restrictions.

The year 2014 did not hold promises to take us out of the state of lost, on the contrary, the crisis become more complex. We used to witness daily screams of journalist who are assaulted and violated, but today we are seeing hundreds of journalists who lost means of living after their newspapers dumped them out.

The daily newspapers' crisis may not be a freedom issue in its entirety. However, it casts threatening dark shadows over lives and freedom of journalists. Journalists that can't find something to feed the mouth at home will barely be able to defend liberty?

They contain journalists through taking away the money that can buy the bread. They strangle them into an endless cycle of running after a glimmer of hope for a decent life.

Alongside the impact of this tragedy is still living and aspired to prevail; there continues the series of attacks on journalists, and even more; those who dare to raise their voices to protest, will be promised more punishment. As if we are imitating sates that hold up death chambers.

You have to remain silent, be part of the convoy and not deviate off the path and the assigned road. Do not attempt to reach the riversides of truth- this is not the time of those who reveal facts or those who approach or those who dig in fields of mines or come close to taboos and red lines.

This is a time for silence. But the most dangerous types of silence is that when you to cut off your tongue with your own teeth; to silence your voice in your own well, to exercise self-censorship on yourself that even blackouts the permissible: you become more stringent on yourself even more than the most notorious informers!.

Self-censorship in the media prevailed after declining slightly, and is the outcome and the result of years of interventions, law cases and intimidation.

The time when journalists were directly contacted as a mean of pressure, is gone. It rarely happens these days. But why do they need to do so if the leaders of the media themselves carry out the “filtering” and prior censorship on behalf of the government and its security forces and all other influential persons?

What happened in 2014 happened: many journalists were prevented from coverage, many were denied information, many journalists have been attacked. They were all victims, but we did not hear that there has been anyone who was held accountable for these abuses. In brief they all find shelter in impunity.

It’s a dead-end; you get way from them once, they get you somewhere else. You maneuver along some margins; they push you to the walls. You try to write, but their erases is faster than your words.

The media freedom 2014 defeat repeats as in 2013. There are no exceptions, but history says that freedom does not die if defeated, and freedom of information does not end albeit crushed, and pens of the liberated grow spears, even if broken.

Liberty is Life that grows “as the grass grows between the bones of a rock”.

INTRODUCTION

The reports on the media freedom status in Jordan, which the Center for Defending Freedom of Journalists (CDFJ) started to publish 14 years ago, is an attempt to diagnose the reality, crises, problems, failures, and successes of the media.

Over the past years, the prevailing feeling as the report was prepared was that the media compass is absent, and it is difficult for one to foresee or expect where we are heading with the media march in Jordan.

Jordan has all the necessary qualifications for maintaining an advanced position in the media freedom index. The truth of the matter, however, is that reports by international organizations classify Jordan as an unfree country where the media is concerned, or a partially free country at best. What is it then that prevents and hinders us from becoming a free country, and to upgrade the media to become a partner not only in democracy and reform, but also in the sustainable development process? Where do the problem and the crisis lie? Is it obscure or is it clear, easy to diagnose, and could be overcome?

CDFJ has completed an extensive study entitled “Under the Microscope: Diagnosis of the Media Reality in

Jordan.” In it, CDFJ highlighted all the aspects of the crisis, starting with legislation, through the policies and all the way to self-regulatory mechanisms and the state of violations.

In order not to indulge in theorization, it can be said that we need a conclusive political will to end the media crisis. All elements of the equation, including the government, the Royal Court, the intelligence, journalists, and civil society organizations, need to sit around one table to develop a realistic framework for a roadmap that would take us to a better state of the media freedom and independence, and to confront the “bullying” against living security, plaguing media outlets.

This report on the media freedom status in 2014 is a lantern we light to illuminate dark corners, and to take the hand of those interested to work together for a free, independent, and professional media.

For the first time, the 2014 report on the media includes two surveys. The first is the survey that have been regularly doing over the past 14 years. It listens to media practitioners and measures their opinion with regard to the state of freedoms. The second survey was part of our study “Under the Microscope” for diagnosing the state of the media. It focused on the professional aspects, particularly the official media and self-regulatory frameworks, as well as social diversity and legislation.

Both surveys reveal the perceptions of journalists regarding dealing with all the requirements of practicing the profession of journalism. They also reveal the magnitude of the crisis and the contradictions through which journalists evaluate their issues. Journalists, for example, admit to common and wide-scale interferences in their work, and admit to negative practices. They admit also to control over the media to a large extent, but they may respond that their media institutions, in spite of everything, maintain credibility and are not biased and operate professionally.

The second main component of the report for this year is the section on violations. This includes monitoring and documentation based on the legal approach that is adopted by the “Ayn” [Eye] Unit for monitoring and documenting violations, and developed since 2010, continuing to build on it, and crossing paths with the effort exerted by the Network for Media

Freedom Defenders in the Arab World (SANAD), which is managed by CDFJ in cooperation with partner companies in the Arab World, working on a systematic and institutional monitoring of violations against the media in the Arab World.

What is new in the section on violations is our attempt to compare the reality of violations over the past five years. Enough has been accumulated in freedom reports over the past years to warrant reading the dimensions, motives, and reasons for these violations and who the perpetrators are. These illuminations and comparisons benefit the parties concerned to move and reduce violations, and to confront the phenomenon of impunity.

Like all CDFJ reports and studies, the media freedom status 2014 report is an effort that is subject to right, wrong, and development. It remains an attempt to remind of the media freedom in Jordan.

Section I: Media Freedom Status Survey

Not much has changed between 2013 and 2014 as far as the media freedom status is concerned. There has not been a historic turn that would instigate journalists to express optimism. Rather, the level of frustration may be increasing among them, now that the Arab Spring is gone and the popular movement has subsided, and the only thing floating on the surface of the scene is the autumn, with its numerous indications.

Nothing has changed. The answer springs rapidly out of media practitioners in the opinion survey, with 41.4% of them believing that freedoms remained the same, while the rate was low in 2010 and 2011, not exceeding 29.5% and 28.5% respectively. Within the same context of the state of retreat, the rate of those who believe that the media freedom status has retreated to a large extent amounted to 19.7%, while the rate of those who believe that it progressed substantially was 3.2%.

Along the same line and direction, the percentage of those who describe the media freedom status in Jordan as 'excellent' retreated to 2.4%, while those who describe it as 'low' reached 26.5%. Separation within the media is clear; the overwhelming majority does not see any progress, and when they are asked to describe the situation, they

choose the harshest terms to express their protest.

The harshest form of expressing the media freedom status is the fact that 95.2% of journalists admit that they practice self-censorship. This is a major increase in the levels of this phenomenon, where media practitioners create a censor inside themselves.

Self-censorship is a mechanism used by journalists to deal with the stressful environment in which they live, starting with the legislation, to policies and practices that form a restraint on their freedom.

A state of optimism prevailed in 2012 that self-censorship would decrease to 85.8%, but the political developments were disappointing and it ended up increasing once again, reaching 91.1% in 2013. It then increased last year to reach a record 95.2%

The survey revealed that the armed forces is the main subject that journalists avoid to address. The percentage of those who believe this is 93.2%.

For the first time, media practitioners point out very clearly that they are too scared to criticize the king, the ruling family, and the palace, and even the

Royal Court. The percentage of those registered 90.4%.

It is well-known among journalists that the king is immune from criticism according to the provisions of the Constitution.

At the top of the list of taboos and prohibitions among journalists is the criticism of tribal leaders, reaching 86.7%, which highlights the stressful social environment, and not only the political one. This is followed by the security apparatus at 83.9%; a ratio that saw substantial decrease in 2011 and 2012, reaching 65.3% and 67.9% respectively.

Of the three most significant subjects that media practitioners avoid criticizing, the Royal Court assumes the top position with a percentage of 23.3%. This is followed in second position by the army and the armed forces with 22.4%, the security systems in third position with 13%, and religious issues in fourth position with 11.2%.

What was revealed by journalists summarizes the true nature of the situation. These are the main taboos in Jordan, and they are directly reflected and interpreted by the media.

The basic constant in the media freedoms survey since its launch in 2001 is the agreement over the

continued government interference in media outlets.

Despite the slight decrease of government interference, which registered 81.1% in 2014, a review of the average for the percentages of government interference in the media over the past five years shows that it stands at 83.7%, which is indeed a very high percentage that dissipates the government's slogans that it does not touch the media.

In spite of some disparity, laws and legislation continued to be, according to the majority of journalists, a restriction for the freedom of the press. More than half of the journalists see them as such, at a rate of 51.8%, while 32.5% believe that they do not affect the freedom of the media, and 15.7% believe that the legislation contributed to supporting freedoms.

Between 2008 and 2014, or close to ten years, indications continue to emphasize in opinion surveys that more than half the journalists believe that legislation in Jordan are restrictive of the freedom of the media.

The noteworthy phenomenon this year is the separation between media practitioners in the public and private sectors. 29.7% of those working in the official media believe that laws represent a constraint against the freedom of the press. This percentage

increases noticeably among journalists in the private sector, reaching 59.5%. This is an expected outcome, since it is the private sector journalists who pay the price of these pressuring legislation. They are the ones that get referred to courts and against whom lawsuits are filed.

One of the important indications of the journalists' conviction that the government is not serious about reforming the state of the media, is the conviction of 20.1% of journalists that the government did not adhere to implementing and practicing the constitutional reforms related to the freedom of the media.

The 2014 survey has undergone intensive revision and refocus, resulting in the removal of several questions that were obsolete or that were proved by review and checking not to have any added value. At the same time, the research team summarized the survey's questionnaire after journalists complained that it required a long time to complete. In addition, we carried out another survey this year on the state of the media, concentrating on the problems and professional challenges as part of our project "Change," to reform the media in Jordan. It is published in full as part of the report on the state of freedoms, after using its basic indicators in the study "Under the Microscope: Diagnosing the Media Reality in Jordan."

What is new about this year's survey is that the research team was keen to compare the results of the past years, particularly the last five years. The survey's methodology designed a questionnaire that contained 206 questions aimed at measuring the evaluation of Jordanian journalists and media practitioners of the media freedom status, with all their aspects and dimensions, as well as measuring the extent of their satisfaction with media legislation and their effect on the media freedom status, in addition to identifying problems and pressures they are exposed to. This is in addition to measuring the extent of their satisfaction with regard to CDFJ's performance and services after more than 16 years of its establishment.

The study's community comprised about 1153 journalists and media practitioners. This included journalists and media practitioners who are registered members in the Jordan Press Association, in addition to CDFJ's lists, which were updated up until the date of implementing the survey in the period from 19/3/2015 until 1/4/2014.

The number of the survey's sample was lowered this year to 250 media practitioners operating in the media sector. This is due to some difficulties that faced the data gathering team, in addition to the increase of the number of retired journalists or those who left to work outside Jordan.

The systematic random sampling method was adopted in designing the study sample, with a 95% confidence level and a standard deviation of 5.4%. Journalists and media practitioners were divided into two groups weighted according to the size of each group as follows:

Group One: Includes journalists and media practitioners operating in the government sector. They made up 23.2% of the framework.

Group Two: Includes journalists and media practitioners operating in the private sector. They made up 76.8% of the framework.

Journalists and media practitioners were also distributed in each group by gender and according to the weighted size. The male journalists and media practitioners reached 77.6% and the female journalists and media practitioners reached 22.4% in the framework.

Working journalists and media practitioners who are not registered in the Jordan Press Association were also taken into consideration and distributed throughout the sample, weighted by size. The percentage of journalists and media practitioners registered with the Association reached 79.4%, and the percentage of those not registered with the Association reached 20.6%.

The other aspect of the media crisis in Jordan is certainly an internal one, far from the restrictions of legislation and violations. Three years after passing and two years after implementing the Press and Publications Law, which required websites to be licensed, journalists continue to have conflicting opinions towards it and towards its effects, particularly on electronic media. 34.1% believe that it constitutes a restriction to freedoms, while 34.5% believe that it contributed to enhancing them, and 30.1% believe it did not affect freedoms.

Within this context, 39.4% believe that blocking the websites that were not licensed is considered a restriction, while 34.5% see otherwise, and believe that it contributed to enhancing freedom. 25.7% believe that this did not affect freedoms.

The percentage of those who believe that blocking websites with a judicial decision represents a restriction to media freedom increased to 45.8%, while the percentage of those who believe that it contributed to its progress decreased to 25.5%. This situation became clearer when they were asked whether a comment is considered part of the press material, with 49.8% believing that this constitutes a restriction on freedom, against 27.7% who did not believe so.

The survey reveals that the conditions

set in the Press and Publications Law did not produce a professional career and did not help end negative aspects, and what is considered corruption in the electronic media.

The shocking truth is that the state of professionalism and commitment to balance, objectivity, credibility, and bias remains the same, as indicated by more than 50% of journalists.

Reviewing the responses, we find that the most prominent is that 43.8% believe that the phenomena of libel, slander, and contempt have decreased. However, the general picture is completely unsatisfactory, as resorting to blackmail, according to journalists, is still at 23.3% and is increasing. Meanwhile, 16.1% believe that the defamation cases are growing and increasing.

The phenomenon of containment and control of media practitioners continued at the hands of various parties, with the government taking the lead. This phenomenon also increased in 2014, reaching 22.5%. The government assumes the top position with these containment attempts, at the rate of 25%, followed by commercial companies at 23.7%, businessmen at 19.7%, and the security apparatus at 7.9%.

The most common forms of these containment and control attempts is

financial donations and gifts, reaching 50%, followed by the facilitation of services and procedures in government institutions for journalists, at 29.4%, and finally jobs and appointment in a government position at 10%.

What is interesting and catastrophic at the same time is that an overwhelming majority of journalists, reaching 58.1%, believe that these containment attempts do not affect their professional direction and performance of their work.

As part of this phenomenon of containment, 49.4% of media practitioners heard about other journalists who were subjected to such containment attempts. This brings the overall total of those subjected to containment, whether directly or indirectly, to 79.1%. This is a shocking result, because it means that only 20% were not exposed to containment attempts or other attempts to influence their positions.

Also related to the phenomenon of containment, there have been accusations of various forms of corruption leveled against media practitioners floating to the surface.

The extensive spread of nepotism throughout the official media outlets (Petra, Radio and Television) reached 59.4%, while it stood at 51.8% in daily newspapers, 43% in news websites,

31.7% in private radio stations, and 36.5% in private TV channels.

What is worse is the rampant phenomenon of accepting bribes. News websites came at the top of the list, and journalists believe that it is widely spread at 37.8%, followed by weekly newspapers at 25.3%, private radio stations at 24.1%, daily newspapers at 23.7%, and finally private TV channels at 23.3%.

Accusations are also rampant regarding the practice of blackmail to acquire personal gains. News websites again assumed the top position at the rate of 43%, followed by private radio stations at 24.9%, and private TV channels at 24.1%. The figure decreases for the official media to 19.7%, and less at 18.5% in daily newspapers.

The presence of corruption aspects continues in the media, with a focus on paid-for news writing, coverage, and investigations. According to media practitioners, news websites do this the most, registering 47.4%, followed by TV channels at 32.9%, private radio stations at 32.5%, daily newspapers at 31.3%, weekly newspapers at 29.3%, and finally the official media at 23.3%.

Accepting gifts within the journalists' circles is considered an acceptable act and is not perceived as a contradiction to the professional ethics of journalism. This phenomenon is widely spread in

news websites, reaching 46.2%, weekly newspapers at 34.4%, daily newspapers at 34.1%, private TV stations at 33.7%, the official media at 33.3%, and private radio stations 31.3%.

It does not seem that the phenomenon of conflict of interests attracts much attention among media practitioners, and we rarely find that it is a subject for discussion or that it is brought up as something that contradicts the professional codes of conduct. Once again, news websites rank at the top of the list with 45.8%, followed by private TV channels at 29.03%, private radio stations at 28.9%, weekly newspapers at 28.5%, the official media at 26.5%, and finally daily newspapers at 24.9%.

Violations continue in the media outlets. Detention has decreased to 0.8% from 1.7% in 2013. However, in return, the percentage of journalists being taken to court has increased to its highest level in five years, registering 9.6%.

It is a given that lawsuits and resorting to litigation is an inalienable right and is not considered a violation unless it is accompanied by detention or imprisonment measures or transgressions against the norms of fair trials. However, discovering that 20% of lawsuits are filed by the government - not to mention those filed by officials in their personal or official capacities, which registered 25% - is indicative of

a practice that aims and seeks, at the end of the day, to harass journalists and to use the law to exercise pressure against the freedom of the media.

▪ **Evaluating the CDFJ Services and Work**

Sixteen years since its launch on 30/11/1998, CDFJ has been keen to complete a review and evaluation of its performance through surveying the opinions of media practitioners who benefit from its role and services.

The first question addressed to the journalists was: To what extent do you think that CDFJ defends the freedom of the media?

75.3% of participants in the survey believe that CDFJ defends the freedom of the media, while only 2.8% believe the opposite. CDFJ receives an even higher level of confidence, when 82.3% stated they believe that it provides legal assistance services to media practitioners facing press and publications lawsuits filed against them.

The level of confidence in CDFJ's work grows. The majority of respondents value its role in monitoring and documenting violations against journalists, with 85.9% of those surveyed believing that it fulfils its duty and role. More importantly, journalists believe that CDFJ has a basic role to

play in reducing violations they are subjected to. 29% of them believe that it carries out this task to a large extent, 44% to a medium extent, 17.7% to a limited extent, and 5.2% believe that it has no role in reducing violations.

The results of the survey revealed that the overwhelming majority of those surveyed (73.8%) are satisfied with CDFJ's performance. It is the opinion of 56.3% that CDFJ's services have improved compared to previous years, while 78.3% of the respondents believe that CDFJ contributed to developing the media practitioners' legal culture and developed their capacities in dealing with legislation that restrict media freedoms.

Additionally, 75.3% find that CDFJ contributed to the development of legal practitioners and specialized lawyers in legal cases involving defense of freedom of the media and expression. Moreover, 75.3% also believe that it contributed to providing assistance and legal support to media practitioners and media institutions. Furthermore, 72.3% believe that it contributed to the development of legislation that regulate the work of the media and the legislation that impose restrictions on the media. Finally, 73.6% believe that it contributed to strengthening the principle of the supremacy of the law and fair trials in media related cases.

Furthermore, 71.6% of respondents

confirmed that CDFJ contributed to strengthening the role of the judiciary in protecting the freedom of the media and expression. 72.4% believe that it contributed to limiting violations against media practitioners, and 66.2% believe that it contributed to holding the perpetrators of violations accountable through local and international legal mechanisms.

Along the same lines, the survey revealed that 70.9% of respondents believe that CDFJ contributed to developing the professionalism of the media, while 70.9% believe that it contributed to developing the media's surrounding environment.

Moreover, 71.9% of respondents know about the existence of the Legal Assistance Unit for media practitioners, "MILAD," which defends journalists before the courts of law, while 19.6% had already resorted to MILAD to acquire its legal services or legal advice.

In addition, 77.1% of media practitioners confirmed that they know about the presence of the unit for monitoring and documenting violations against media practitioners, "Ayn." Meanwhile, 10.4% of respondents indicated that they had filed complaints with the unit regarding violations or harassment they were subjected to.

Furthermore, 81.5% of journalists

confirmed that they examined CDFJ's data and declared positions, and that 78.3% examined the studies and reports of the media freedom status that it publishes.

77.4% of the journalists expressed their satisfaction with CDFJ's speedy response to the remarks, requirements, and complaints they submit regarding the violations they face, and 74.5% are satisfied with the follow-up mechanism for the journalists' needs, remarks, and complaints.

72.6% said that they are satisfied with the effort and method carried out by CDFJ to inform them of CDFJ's work procedures and mechanisms in responding to their requirements, comments, and complaints regarding the violations they faced. Additionally, 79.5% expressed their satisfaction with the way CDFJ's staff deals with their communications, requirements, comments, and complaints.

The survey showed that 80.8% of media practitioners are satisfied with the level of professionalism in the performance of CDFJ's staff and/or its lawyers, consultants and/or trainers in providing services, and that 80.3% are satisfied with the extent to which CDFJ's staff are knowledgeable of the tasks they are supposed to perform.

Results also showed that 77.8% feel CDFJ's interest in pursuing their comments, needs, and complaints.

According to the results, CDFJ also excelled in providing legal assistance to media practitioners and was considered by 48.3% of respondents as the most effective institution in serving them. This was followed by the Jordan Press Association at 37.6%, and the National Center for Human Rights at 3.8%.

59.5% believe that CDFJ ranks at the top of the most effective institutions in monitoring and documenting violations in an institutional and organized manner. This was followed by the Jordan Press Association at 27.5%, and the National Center for Human Rights at 4.2%.

CDFJ assumes a top position in its attention and regularity in issuing

an annual report on the state of freedoms, whereby 63.6% believe that it is the most effective party in this field, followed by the Jordan Press Association at 25.6% and the National Center for Human Rights at 2.6%.

94.2% of the journalists said that they would provide advice to their friends to approach CDFJ to file complaints if they were subjected to any violations or if lawsuits were filed against them and they needed legal assistance.

69.1% of respondents said that they received invitations to attend CDFJ's activities. 40.2% stated that they participated in the Ramadan evening function that CDFJ organizes annually to honor media practitioners.



Section II: Surveying the Professional State, Policy, and Self-Regulation

This is the first time that we complete a specialized survey about the state of the Jordanian media, focusing on its professional aspects and general limitations. This included attempts to identify journalists' understanding of media policies, studying the reality of self-regulation, extrapolating their position from the establishment of a complaints council, the state of the right to access information, the reality of gender in the media, and persons with disabilities.

The survey highlighted the journalists' knowledge and perception of the recommendations resulting from the periodic review of human rights at the Human Rights Council in Geneva, which were ratified in October 2013.

By reading this professional and technical survey, which is published as part of the state of freedoms report - whose indicators were used in the study entitled "Under the Microscope: Diagnosis of the Media Reality in Jordan" and linked to the state of freedoms survey that is carried out annually - the picture of the media scene becomes complete to a large extent.

The professional reality is doubtlessly inseparable from the state of public

freedoms. Hence, this survey started by asking, "To what extent do journalists believe that the Jordanian media is witnessing a state of reform at the present time?"

26% believe that the media is not witnessing any state of reform, while 6.5% only believe that this is happening at a large scale, 33% believe that it is happening at a medium level, while 34% believe that it is happening at a limited level.

Along the same lines as the first question, 46.5% of the participants in the survey believe that the state of the media is witnessing a recession, though at different, medium, and low levels. Meanwhile, 26.5% are certain that the state of the media is progressing at all levels, and 26.5% believe that the state of the media remained without any change.

Moving on from the general questions to diagnosing the reality of the media, the state of satisfaction with the performance of the Jordan News Agency "Petra" registered an unprecedented level of 76.5%. Analysis shows that those who were very satisfied reached 14.5%, while those who expressed medium satisfaction reached 46%, and low satisfaction reached 16%. On the

other hand, 22.5% were completely unsatisfied with Petra's performance.

It is noteworthy that 23.8% of the sample responding to the survey comes from the official media, which includes Petra and the Jordan Radio and Television Corporation.

The state of satisfaction with the performance of the Radio and Television Corporation was less than Petra. Those who expressed their satisfaction at different levels were 68.5%. Those who said they were satisfied with its performance increased to 29%. Satisfaction with the performance of daily newspapers increased to 80.5%. However, figures indicate that those who expressed major satisfaction reached 6.5% only. The majority was satisfied to a medium extent at 53.5%, and those satisfied to a small extent were 20.5%. Those completely unsatisfied were 18.5%.

News websites received a higher level of satisfaction than before, with 83.5%. In the details, 22.5% were very satisfied, 48% were moderately satisfied, and 13% were satisfied to a small extent only. 16% were completely unsatisfied.

Private radio stations scored the highest levels of satisfaction, reaching 88%, divided as 22.5% at high levels,

52% at medium levels, 13.5% at low levels, and 10% who are completely unsatisfied.

Private TV channels occupied the second position in journalists' satisfaction after private radio stations, and scored a general 86.5%, distributed over 17% at a high level, 53.5% at a medium level, 16% at a low level, and 13% expressed their dissatisfaction with their performance.

Looking more closely at the results of journalists' satisfaction with their different media outlets, we find that they are clearly high. The important question that requires additional research and survey is: Do the same media outlets enjoy the same levels of satisfaction among the public that is very critical of those outlets?

The other question is: How do media outlets receive these levels of satisfaction, whether they are government or private, and at the same time, journalists themselves are highly critical of their independence and professionalism, accusing them of rampant corruption, from blackmail, to paid investigations, and bribery?

The clear result is that this is the opinion of the journalists themselves, and perhaps some people explain them as defending the outlets and finding justification for themselves.

Trends of Media Practitioners' Satisfaction with the Performance of Media Outlets

Media Outlets	Large	Medium	Low	Unsatisfied	Refused to respond
Petra	14.5%	46%	16%	22.5%	1%
Radio and TV	5%	33.5%	30%	29%	2.5%
Daily Newspapers	6.5%	53.5%	20.5%	18.5%	1%
Weekly Newspapers	2%	25%	29.5%	34.5%	9%
Websites	22.5%	48%	13%	16%	5%
Private Radios	22.5%	52%	13.5%	10%	2%
Private Televisions	17%	53.5%	16%	13%	5%

If the media enjoys the satisfaction of media practitioners, does that mean that they see it as moving in the right direction? Here, another discrepancy arises. Those who see it moving in the right direction to a large extent reached only 6%, while those who see it as moving in the right direction to a medium extent reached 43.5%, and to a low extent reached 28.5%. More importantly, 20.5% believe that it is not moving in the right direction at all.

The state of contradictions can be seen more clearly when surveying the opinions of journalists regarding the control of the government over the media outlets. 97.5% of media practitioners believe that the government controls the Press Agency "Petra" at various levels. What is more important in expressing the crisis is that only 1.5%

believes that the government does not control Petra. Among journalists, 80% believe that the government controls Petra to a large extent.

The details of the crisis continue. 98.5% of journalists believe that the government controls the radio and television stations. 84% of them find that this control is highly pervasive. The crisis deepens, with only 0.5% believing that the government does not impose its complete control over the radio and television stations.

What is strange about the journalists' opinion is that they believe that the government completely controls the daily newspapers, registering 99%, taking into consideration that the daily newspapers are not affiliated with the government and are supposed to be

independent. Levels vary regarding the status of daily newspapers, from 45.5% who believe that they are highly controlled, to 44% who believe they are controlled to a medium level, to 95% who believe they are controlled to a small level.

In spite of the talk that website are outside the government's control, journalists do not see this conclusively. 87% believe they are under the The media scene in Jordan is on a hot tin roof. This is what the survey indicators say. This is because those who believe that the government is not serious about building a free media at all

government's control, though only 10.5% believe that this control is to a high level, 45.5% to a medium level, 31% to a low level, and 12.5% believe the government does not control them.

The same firm impression is deep-rooted about radio stations, with 86% believing that the government imposes its control over them to varying levels. The same applies to private television channels, registering 85%.

were 41.5% of the respondents. In the other direction, 57.5% believe that the government is serious about building a free media, while 8% believe that the government is working seriously

The Extent to which the Sample Believes that the Government Controls Media Outlets

Establishment	High	Medium	Low	Does not Control	Do not know	Refused to respond
Petra	80%	12.5%	5%	1.5%	0.5%	0.5%
Radio and TV	84%	9.5%	5%	0.5%	0.5%	0.5%
Daily Newspapers	45.5%	44%	9.5%	0.5%	—	—
Weekly Newspapers	14.5%	39%	24%	8.5%	13%	1%
Websites	10.5%	45.5%	31%	12.5%	0.5%	—
Private Radios	9%	46.5%	31%	10%	3.5%	—
Private Televisions	9.5%	44%	31.5%	12%	3%	—

towards that, 21.5% at a medium level of seriousness, and 28% at a low level.

Hence, those who see the government to be very serious are very few. The majority sees it at a low level, and they are close to those who have doubts in its seriousness and position regarding building a free media.

If the Jordanian media is witnessing all these fluctuations in positions between widespread satisfaction and widespread interference in its affairs as well, it is important that journalists ask about the most effective players and parties in the media scene.

There is no surprise when media practitioners say that the government occupies the top position at 14.6% in influence, followed by the Intelligence Department at 13.2%, and the Royal Court at 11.6%. But journalists then go back to point to the security apparatus in fourth position at 10.6%, businessmen in fifth position at 9.7%, advertising companies in sixth position at 8.9%, civil society organizations in seventh position at 6.8%, the parliament in eighth position at 5.8%, public relations departments in ninth position at 4.7%, followed by the Jordan Press Association, other unions, and other parties at 3.6% each. The catastrophic situation is that the public's influence over the media outlets came last at 1%. It is supposed throughout the world

that journalists address the public, being the most important.

This very serious situation belies the independence of the media outlets, with the Intelligence Department and the security apparatus together forming a 28.3% level of influence, followed by the government and the Royal Court. The professional state survey targeted 250 male and female journalists from the study community, comprising around 1450 journalists. The framework contained journalists and media practitioners who are registered members in the Jordan Press Association, in addition to lists at the CDFJ, up to the date the survey was carried out between 27/9/2014 and 22/10/2014.

The systematic random sample system was used in designing the study sample, with a confidence level of 95%, and a standard deviation of 3.6%. Journalists and media practitioners were divided into two groups proportional to the size of each group as follows:

Group 1: Includes journalists and media practitioners operating in the government sector, representing 23.8% in the framework.

Group 2: Includes journalists and media practitioners in the private sector, representing 76.2%.

Journalists and media practitioners

were distributed in each group according to sex in proportion to size as well. Male journalists constituted 76.4% on the framework, while female journalists constituted 23.6%.

Working journalists and media practitioners who are not registered in the Jordan Press Association were also taken into consideration and distributed proportionately in the sample. The percentage of journalists and media practitioners registered in the Press Association was 58.2%, and the percentage of journalists and media practitioners not registered in the Press Association was 41.8%.

Data was collected by telephone from the targeted sample, and the members of the work team trained qualified and competent male and female researchers on making phone calls with those surveyed, away from bias or insinuation, to guarantee the accuracy and good quality of the data. Researchers were trained in advance, on all concepts and terms in the questionnaire. Another smaller team of researchers was also trained for the purpose of checking questionnaire forms to ensure their comprehensiveness and consistency. Another specialized team was also trained on coding the questions, particularly open-ended ones, which

mostly contain other items in some questions. A data-entry program was prepared using a CSPro 5.1 package, taking into consideration checking entered data in terms of repetition of entered and coded forms, checking the extent of each question in the form, and some consistency and comprehensiveness issues. The data was then transferred to the SPSS statistical package for purposes of preparing statistical tables, analyzing the study data, and extracting the final report results.

With regard to the question about the parties that are most influential in the media outlets, the survey sought to find out who the media outlets express in their address and rhetoric. 26.2% believe that the radio and television express mostly the government's opinion, followed by the Royal Court at 15.2%, the security apparatus at 13.4%, the Jordanian state at 12.7%, and the public opinion at 5.4%.

Presenting the same question about Petra, the government came in first position, that Petra expresses its opinion, at 15%, the opinion of security apparatus at 13.4%, the state's opinion at 12.4%, followed by parliament at 9%, and the public opinion at 5%.

The Parties that the Official Media Express

Party	Radio and TV	Petra
Government	26.2%	25.5%
Royal Court	15.2%	15%
Security Systems	13.9%	13.2%
Government Systems	12.7%	13.2%
Parliament	7.8%	9%
Private Sector	7.4%	6.7%
Public	5.4%	5%
Other Unions	3.4%	3.6%
Trade Unions	2.7%	2.9%
Political Parties	2.7%	2.6%
All the Above	2%	3.4%
The Street	1.3%	—
Nobody	1.2%	1.2%
The Journalist	—	1.2%
Unsure	—	1.2%

Delving deeper into the details, 31.5% of respondents stated that the Jordan Press Agency “Petra” has a code of ethics and a professional manual. 46% stated that it has no code of ethics or a professional manual. 22.5% do not know if it does or not.

Presenting the same question about the Jordan Radio and Television Corporation, 24% of respondents stated that they have a code of ethics and a professional manual. 15.5% emphasized that no code of professional conduct or professional manual exist, while 24.5% said they did not know.

The concept of government media was more confusing to most journalists. 16.6% believe that it is the media

financed by taxes and fees collected from the public, and should provide a public media service. 13% said that it is owned by society and should aim at independence and professionalism. 10.2% defined it as a partner media with the authority and not a financier of it.

56% expressed that Petra, radio, and television can be turned into a public media, while 37.5% ruled out this possibility.

72.5% supported turning radio and television, as well as Petra into public media. This idea was rejected by 24% of the respondents.

86% supported the creation of an

independent board of directors for Petra and radio and television. This idea was opposed by 11% of respondents.

21.5% of media practitioners considered the government as the reference that governs the policy and performance of radio and television. The General Intelligence came in the second position at 17%, followed by the Royal Court at 14.4%, the Minister of Information at 12.2%, and finally the institution's board of directors at 8.8%.

The government also came first as the reference for the Jordan Press Agency at 22.6%, the General Intelligence came second at 16.1%, the Royal Court third at 14.1%, the Minister of Information fourth at 11.0%, Director of Petra fifth at 10.7%, and Petra Board of Directors sixth at 9.2%.

90% of the journalists participating in the survey supported a separate budget for the radio and television, and for Petra, at different levels, most important of which was 78.5% supporting it strongly, and 7.5% who do not support it at all.

11% of media practitioners believe that stopping government interference is the main guarantee for the independence of the radio and television and Petra. The second guarantee is the appointment professional media practitioners at 9.6%, an independent board of directors at 8.9%, ending security interference at 6.8%, adhering

to the code of professional conduct at 6.4%, and technical development of equipment at 5%.

In spite of all these notes on independence and the parties most influential and interference in media outlets, still, 84% of respondents believe that the radio and television adhere to objectivity and non-bias in addressing social issues, at varying levels, with 10% at high level, 43.5% at medium level, 3.5% at low level, and 15.5% only who believe that the radio and television commit to objectivity and non-bias.

On the same question but regarding the Jordan Press Agency "Petra," 83% of media practitioners believe that Petra adheres to objectivity and non-bias, 13% believe it to a medium level, 25.5% to a limited level, and 15% believe it does not.

57% of media practitioners participating in the survey believe that their media institution has a guideline or manual that governs the standards of media work, while 41% believe that no such guideline or manual exists.

56.5% stated that the establishments they work for commit to the guideline or manual standards at different levels. What is unusual is that 57.5% of journalists stressed that there is no "ombudsman" in their institutions to listen to complaints by the public. 41.5% stressed that there is no such person. The truth of the matter is, after examining the reality of media outlets,

that there is no such independent position, and Jordanian media outlets never adopted it. The responses, in our opinion, are based on a wrongful understanding by those who stressed that this position exists.

62.5% stated that the establishment they work for has standards for integrity and non-bias, while 34.5% stated that there are none. 82% of journalists emphasized that their establishments do not approve that their journalists accept gifts, while 12% responded that their establishments do not object to that.

51.5% stated that there are no conditions set by their media establishments to prevent conflict of interest, while 43.5% stated that there are conditions preventing that.

67% stated that they examined the journalists' code of honor at the Jordan Press Association. 32.5% did not see it.

Regarding professional and ethical standards to which journalist adhere, 93% indicated that media practitioners in Jordan adhere to pluralism in providing opinions, at different levels. 94.5% adhere to protecting sources, 88% to professional conduct codes, 93.5% respect personal individual freedoms, 86.5% respect integrity and transparency regarding sources of funding in their work, 91% avoid instigating of hatred, 90.5% are committed to defending the values of media freedoms, 94.5% are committed to the human rights charter, and 94.5% are committed to avoiding defamation, libel, and slander.

Table 6: Extent to which Journalists Adhere to the Following Values (%)

Value	High	Medium	Low	Do Not Commit	Refused to Respond
Credibility and Impartiality	6.5	66	19.5	7	1
Pluralism in presenting opinions	8.5	71	14	6.5	—
Protecting the confidentiality of sources	35.5	46.5	12.5	4.5	—
Codes of Conduct	14	55.5	18.5	10.5	—
Respect of Personal Freedoms	23.5	51.5	18.5	6	—
Integrity and transparency in financing	14	48	24.5	12	—
Avoiding instigating hatred	26.5	49.5	15	8	1
Defending the Freedom of the Media and its Independence	28.5	49.5	12.5	8.5	—
Defending Human Rights	27.5	52	15	4.5	1
Avoiding Defamation, Slander, and Libel	24	54	16	5.5	—

A quick reading of the journalists' commitment to professional, ethical, and legal standards reveals that in light of these answers, it would be inevitable for media outlets to enjoy a high level of independence, without any interference or control by any party, without accusations of corruption, or a large number of lawsuits.

This muddling, confusion, and overlapping may also extend to concepts that are dealt with on daily basis. The important question was: "What does the media policy mean to you?"

15.9% of the surveyed sample believes that media policies are the directives which are passed to media outlets to be impeded. They change with governments and political and security leaderships.

15.7% of the surveyed sample believes that the media policies are the strategies and plans approved by the state according to which media institutions should work. 14.8% believe that it is an interpretation of and implementation of laws and regulations relevant to the media.

11% believe that it is the government's plans, directives, and instructions to control the media and specify the methodology with which it deals with events and information. 9.9% believe that it is the group of verbal orders and

instructions issued by the government to media institutions. 4.6% believe that it is all of the above.

53% of the sample responded that there are no media policies in Jordan, against 41.5% who responded that such policies do exist. 5% stated that they do not know or are not sure, and one respondent refused to respond, at a ratio of 0.5%.

Among those who responded that there are media policies in Jordan, who represented 41.5% of the respondents, 72.3% said that media policies aim at controlling the media. Only 24.1% said that they are meant to develop the media. 2.4% said they do not know, and 1.2% refused to respond to the question.

This response fully agrees with the previous conclusion that most Jordanian media practitioners believe that there are media policies that aim at controlling rather than developing the media. They also cross with the responding sample's conviction that the government controls and directs the media.

Among the 41.5% who responded that there are media policies in Jordan, 22.9% believe that they are only slight compatible with international standards, 49.4% believe they are compatible with international standards to a medium extent only, and 19.3%

believe they are compatible to a large extent.

4.8% of those who believe there are media polices in Jordan said that such policies are not compatible with international standards at all. 3.6% refused to respond.

13.3% stated that the standards are compatible to a slight extent, while 49.4% said that they are compatible to a medium extent. 28.9% that the standards are compatible with the constitution and the laws governing media work to a large extent.

2.4% stated that they are not compatible

at all with the constitution and the laws governing media work, while only 2.4% answered that they do not know and are unsure. 1.2% refused to respond.

Within the part of the sample members who responded that there are media policies in Jordan, amounting to 41.5% of the total sample, 3.6% believe that the official media “Petra” and the radio and television do not have a clear and specified media policy that is known to them, against 6% who responded that such a policy is there, though at a limited level, 43.4% said it is there at a medium level, 44.6% at a large level, and 2.4% refused to respond.

Table 7: To what Extent Do You Believe that the Following Media Outlets Have a Clear and Specified Media Policy? (The responding sample was 41.5% of the total sample, and they believe that there is a media policy in Jordan)

Media Establishment	High	Medium	Low	Do Not Agree	Refused to Respond
Radio, Television, Petra	18.5%	18%	2.5%	1.5%	1%
Daily Newspapers	15%	22.5%	2.5%	1%	0.5%
Weekly Newspapers	6%	17%	10%	6%	2.5%
Websites	7.5%	17.5%	11.5%	4%	1%
Private Radios	8.5%	18.5%	10%	3.5%	1%
Private TVs	8%	20%	9%	3.5%	1%

Once again, the government came at the top of the list of the most effective parties in setting and specifying media policies in Jordan. 19.3% responded that the government is the most effective party in setting and specifying media policies in Jordan, followed in second position by the General Intelligence Department at 17.1%, the Royal Court in third place at 13.6%. The Minister of State for Information Affairs is in fourth position at 10.1%, while advertising companies are in fifth position at 9.2%, and journalists themselves come in sixth position at 8.3%.

63.9% of respondents believe that the government is not implementing a strategic plan in dealing with the media to improve it. 1.2% stated that they either do not know or are unsure.

96.5% said that the right guaranteeing access to information did not see any improvement in its implementation in 2013 and 2014 at all. Only 0.5% stated that it improved to a large extent. 20.5% said that they did not know or were not sure, and only 0.5% refused to respond to the question.

Responses indicate conclusively that the Law Guarantee the Right to Access Information remained the same without any development or change in implementation or any amendment, which indicates that the problem of flow of information to the public

remained, and the government did not treat implementation problems related to the law, in addition to the inadequacy of the law to guarantee the flow of information to citizens, researchers, and journalists who request it.

About half the surveyed sample said that they do not know or are unsure that there are forms for accessing information at three official parties, with a ratio of 49.1%, which indicates that half the sample members do not know the names of ministries or government institutions that have forms requesting the right to access information. This indicates that half the responding sample did not care to follow the law and its applications in government institutions and ministries, and did not use it to begin with.

18.2% of the sample members believe that too many amendments to legislation and laws led to the decline of the Jordanian media, against 22.2% of the responding sample who believed that too many amendments since 1993 kept the Jordanian media as it is, while 21.5% believe that it led to developing the state of the media.

17.5% believe that the amendments led to lifting restrictions off the media, against 16.7% who stated that they increased the restrictions.

More than half the respondent sample

(52.5%) believe that the media regulatory legislation negatively affect the media policies to a large extent, 30% believe they did so to a medium extent, and 5.5% to a small extent.

More than half the sample (52.5%) stated that they never heard, read, or saw anything about the comprehensive periodic review of human rights in Jordan as part of the Human Rights Council meetings in Geneva in October, against 46% who stated that they heard, read, or seen. Only 0.5% said that they do not know or are not sure.

The ratio of those who believe that the government is not serious in implementing the recommendations on periodic human rights review increased. 39.5% stated that the government is serious to a small extent, 34.6% to a medium extent, and 7.4% to a large extent.

16% of journalists believe that those recommendations are non-binding at all to Jordan.

34.6% believe that they are binding to the government to a small extent, 23.5% to a medium extent, and 24.7% to a large extent. 1.2% stated that they do not know or are not sure.

4.9% believe that these recommendations will not support at all the media freedom in Jordan.

22.2% believe that the recommendations will support the media in Jordan to a small extent, 17.3% to a medium extent, and 54.3% to a large extent. 1.2% refused to respond.

The concepts and definitions of the surveyed sample differed with regard to the complaints council. This question offered the responding sample a choice of more than one response.

The definition of the complaints council as an independent agency working at developing codes of professional ethics and defend the freedom of the press received 15.1% of the sample's responses.

14.5% believed that the complaints council is an independent agency that includes media experts, legal experts, and representatives of society, and is considered a complaints group that people resort to in order to receive justice for violations and mistakes of the media. Media outlets comply with its decisions and implement them. It does not annul the right to resort to the judiciary, and may be formed in accordance with the law, or self-regulated. It can also be part of the tools of self-organization.

13.9% of the sample members chose the definition of the Complaints Council as «an independent agency that works at ending disputes among

journalists and the public through mediation, so that they cannot be referred to the judiciary.» 12.6% of the sample chose to define the council as «a totally independent agency from the state, composed of representatives of the publishers (owners of the press institutions), journalists, and the public.

12% of the surveyed sample members defined the Complaints Council as «an independent agency working at solving complaints submitted by the public as related to what journalists write, which is not based on the laws but rather on moral norms and charters.»

The same 12% was repeated in defining the Complaints Council, as «the ideal framework for activating the principle of self-organization which requires that professionals manage their sector by themselves to prevent interference or control by the state in it.

8.3% of the sample believed that the definition of the Complaints Council is a court of honor and not a common court of law, since it does not issue, in most cases, any financial penalties or decisions to stop newspapers from publishing.

6% of the sample defined the Complaints Council as an independent agency that represents a structure for practicing control over journalists, or to interfere in the internal affairs of press institutions.

2.5% of the sample members chose all the above definitions. 1.9% said that they do not know, 1% refused to answer. One respondent provided another definition in which he said that it is an independent and fair council that is subject to the authority of the Islamic Shari'a.

7.25% stated that they did not hear, read, or see any suggestion to establish a council for complaints, while 25.5% said that they heard, read, and saw a proposal to establish one. 2% only said that they do not know and are not sure.

57% supported the establishment of a complaints council. 85.5% supported the establishment of a complaints council through a law, while 28% of the same sample supported the establishment within the framework of self-regulation. Only 0.5% stated that they do not know or are not sure.

91% believe that the establishment of a complaints council contributes to reducing media mistakes toward society to a large extent (52.5%), to a medium extent (31.5%), and to a small extent (7%), while 7% of the sample members stated that it would not contribute to reducing media mistakes towards society at all. 1% stated that they do not know or are not sure, while 1% refrained from answering.

90% of the sample members believe that the establishment of a complaints

council contributes to developing media professionalism in Jordan to a large extent at 50.5%, to a medium extent at 34.5%, and to a small extent at 5.5%, against 7.5% who believe that it will not contribute at all to developing professionalism in the media in Jordan.

35% of media practitioners believe that women in the media do not suffer at all from discrimination against them, compared to men in the media.

In return, 65% of the surveyed sample members believe that women in the media suffer from discrimination against them, compared to men in the media at a smaller level at 14.5%, at a medium level at 25%, and to a large scale at 25.5%.

Sample responses revealed that there is a gender discrimination against women, compared to men in the media.

94.5% of the sample believed that women in the media can practice their work in journalism freely compared to men. 48.5% stated that women can do that to a large extent, 35.5% to a medium extent, and 10.5% to a limited extent.

Results show that a major percentage of respondents believed that women in the media can practice their work with the same freedom enjoyed by men, against 5.5% only of the total number of the sample members, who answered

that women cannot practice their media work compared to men.

23% of the survey believed that representation by women in the media in leadership positions is not sufficient at all, against 22% who believed that women representation is sufficient to a large extent, 39% who believed that it is sufficient to a medium extent, while the ratio of those who believed it is sufficient to a limited extent was 16%.

The largest ratio representing more than half the surveyed sample, acknowledged the presence of constraints facing the promotion of women in the media, at a rate of 61%, while 39% believed that there are no obstacles facing them.

The overwhelming majority of the surveyed sample stated that women in the Jordanian media accept to perform all roles and tasks assigned to men. 42% stated that women would accept roles to a large extent, 42% to a medium extent, and 13% believe that women accept that but to a limited extent. Only 3% stated that women would not accept such roles and tasks.

62.5% of the surveyed sample believed that women in the media are subjected to the same violations as those to which men are exposed, while 36.5% of the sample denied that. 1.5% responded that they do not know.

73% of respondents believed that women in the media are exposed, by the nature of their media work, to sexual harassment to a large extent at 18%, to a medium extent at 28%, and to a small extent at 27%.

18% believed that women in the media are not exposed at all to sexual harassment due to the nature of their work. 8% stated that they do not know or are not sure. 1% of the sample members refrained from responding.

70% of the surveyed sample denied that job opportunities in the media sector are available for disabled persons to work as journalists. 28% stated that job opportunities in the media sector are available for disabled persons to work as journalists. 1.5% responded that they did not know. Details of responses reveal that there is a conviction among the large sample that there is discrimination in media institutions against the disabled.

45% believed that media institutions do not guarantee at all work for the disabled as media practitioners, against 37.5% who believed that media institutions guarantee that to a small extent, 12.5% to a medium extent, and 1.5% to a large extent. 3.5% responded with «I do not know» or «I am not sure.»

64% of the sample stated that there are no employees at the media institution they work for who is disabled, working

as a journalist. 32% stated that there were disabled persons working as journalists in their media institutions. 4% stated that they do not know or are not sure.

69.5% of the sample stated that media institutions do not take into consideration facilitating arrangements in their headquarters and buildings for disabled persons. 25% of the sample members stated that media institutions take into consideration facilitating arrangements in their headquarters and buildings for persons with disabilities. 5% of them said that they do not know or are not sure.

90.5% believed that legislation regulating the Jordanian media contribute to violations against those working in the Jordanian media sector to a large extent at 20.5%, to a medium extent at 47.5%, and to a small extent at 22.5%.

6.5% believed that they do not contribute at all, against 3% who responded that they do not know or are not sure.

25.9% believed that the concept of self-regulation for them is the codes of conduct and manuals used by media outlets, while 19.3% believe that they are the voluntary frameworks established by the media outlets to regulate their work. 14.7% believed that it is the regulations and instructions

implemented by the media outlets. 9.7% believed that they are the laws that regulate the work of media outlets.

59.5% of the sample agreed that developing self-regulation mechanisms is linked to trade union pluralism, with 15.5% agreeing strongly to this. 44% agreed.

43.5% agreed that mandatory membership in the Jordan Press Association contradicts the constitution and is not compatible with international criteria for media freedom. 13% strongly agreed, and 30% just agreed.

44.5% did not agree that mandatory membership in the Press Association contradicts with the constitution and is not compatible with international criteria for media freedom, while 6% remained neutral (did not agree and did not object), and 6% refrained from responding.

More than half of the participants in the survey (52.5%) approved the establishment of new associations for media practitioners, against 44% who

did not. The neutral sample (did not agree and did not object) was 3.5%.

59.5% approved strongly the establishment of specialized associations for media practitioners, such as an electronic media association and a television media association, against 38% who did not approve or strongly disapproved. The neutral sample size was (did not agree and did not object) was 2.5%.

89% strongly agreed that the more the self-regulation mechanisms in the media developed, the more its independence increased. 25% of them agreed strongly. 64% agreed, against only 5.5% who did not agree. Neutral responses (did not agree and did not object) were 3.5% and 2% refrained from responding.

The percentage of those who agreed and strongly agreed that as the self-regulation mechanisms in media developed, the more professional it became, increased to reach in total 91.5%, of whom 26.5% agreed strongly.



Section III: Violations and Complaints

Violations against media practitioners did not see any dramatic development or change, remaining within its averages before 2013. The press work environment in Jordan continued to bear the margins of relative freedom, and serious violations continued to be linked to with assaults against journalists during their coverage of sit-ins in particular. Detention continued to be a measure accompanying dispersing protests and sit-ins, with journalists being the first victims. Meanwhile, access to information remains an unfulfilled right and the withholding of information is hardly reported by journalists although it is widespread.

What was worrisome in the case of media freedoms in 2014 was the continued deterioration of the print press, and its ramifications on the security and stability of livelihoods of media practitioners. It became expected rather than unlikely that daily newspapers would close down, with large numbers of employees terminated, as was the case in Al-Arab Al-Yawm. What is also worrisome is the continued use of the law and rules by the government as a tool for restriction. The same applies to issuing circulars to media institutions demanding that they refrain from publishing material on specific cases, which is considered

a prior censorship. What is more worrisome was the continuing referral to the State Security Court in cases related to the press and publishing, on the basis of the anti-terrorism law.

The Violations and Complaints Section contained three chapters as follows:

Chapter 1: Complaints and Violations 2014

Chapter 1 of this section presents the results of the questionnaire forms on complaints and violations against journalists, media practitioners, and media institutions in Jordan in 2014. It presents the efforts of “AIN”, CDFJ’s unit that monitors and documents violations against media practitioners.

The results presented in the Complaints and Violations Chapter are the result of work by AIN’s researchers and monitors, who worked at monitoring and collecting information about violations to which journalists and media practitioners are subjected in Jordan on a daily basis. For that purpose, they have used all methods possible to access information they sought, in addition to attempts to reach out to victims for the purpose of verifying violations and classifying them on proper scientific basis.

This year's report highlighted the violating parties, which journalists alleged, through complaints and statements to the AIN unit, they committed violations against them. The aim behind this comes in the context of identifying parties that commit violations against journalists and are not held accountable, and therefore are not brought to justice.

The report took into consideration the distribution of media practitioners and persons working in media institutions who were subjected to assaults and violations because of their work in the media, and paid attention as well to the gender distribution among male and female media practitioners.

Among the most important results the section on violations talked and drew attention to is that the law has become a tool to which the authorities resort increasingly to pressure media practitioners, including, as an example, issuing circulars that prohibit publishing information about the security systems or deliberating issues that were considered by the law to affect the state security directly, in addition to continuing to refer journalists to the State Security Court.

- **Complaints:**

The report analyzed the complaints and

statements' questionnaires received by "AIN" unit of CDFJ, which were sent to journalists and media experts who were subjected to assaults and violations during 2014. It also presents cases of self-monitoring it performed and documented.

"AIN" unit documented 153 violations against media practitioners, journalists, and media institutions over the past year. These violations were mentioned in 46 questionnaire forms received and documented by the unit out of 65 forms. It was decided that 23 forms out of the total number of forms, after completing the required information and reviewing them scientifically and legally, did not include violations and were thus filed.

Furthermore, all violations documented in the report took place in 37 cases, whereby one case may contain more than one violation, such as a journalist being prevented from coverage, physically or verbally assaulted, or his freedom is restricted.

Following is a table showing the number of questionnaire forms received by the "AIN" unit, the type of these forms, and the number of violations they contained, noting that one form may contain more than one violation of a human right or recognized media freedoms:

Type of Questionnaire	Violations Included	Did not Include Violations and was Filed	Total
Complaint	37	17	54
Report	3	1	4
Monitoring	6	5	11
	46	23	69

It was evident from the nature of the complaints received by the “AIN” unit during 2014 that the majority of journalists who submitted complaints alleged that the security apparatus caused them or were behind them.

It is clear in light of analyzing these complaints that 85 violations were committed by the security apparatus, out of a total of 153 violations recorded. Hence, the security apparatus come at the top of the list of committing violations.

After the security apparatus, complainants alleged that members and employees of the Lower House of Parliament committed an average of 17 violations represented in prohibition from publishing (seven cases), five violations of prohibition from publishing, five violations of withholding information, three violations of verbal assault, and one violation for each of physical assault, death threats, and humiliating treatment.

It was stated in the questionnaire forms that officials and influential persons committed and/or caused 13 violations, of which seven violations were prohibition from coverage, three violations of threats of inflicting injury, and one violation for each of harassment, character assassination, and verbal abuse.

Violations committed by common citizens were equal in number to violations committed by officials and influential people, according to the claims and allegations stated in the forms, whereby journalists are subjected, in some situations while performing their duties of coverage, to assaults or harassments by common citizens, which reached 13 violations, four of which were harassments, four threats of inflicting injury, two of assaulting work equipment, two of prohibition of coverage, and one of physical assault.

Violations by government departments and agencies included the decision by the press and Publications Department

to block nine websites, and a circular which was issued by the Media Authority prohibiting publishing or circulating news or information related to the armed forces affair and their members. These included violations of prohibition from publishing and withholding information.

Journalists claimed that they were subjected to prior censorship, prohibition from publishing, and subsequent censorship by media managers and officials in the media institutions where they work. These reached a total of 6 violations.

Some of the cases documented by “AIN” included violations by unknown people who were registered as “anonymous,” who committed 5 violations, including two of electronic piracy, one of murder, one violation of verbal assault, and one violation of incitation and character assassination committed by anonymous perpetrators.

The report registered two violations of withholding information and prevention from coverage as a result of the Press Association sending a circular to government authorities and departments prohibiting dealing with any journalist or media practitioner unless he is a member of the Association. It documented one case where a businessman threatened a female journalist with injury because of an investigative task.

▪ **Diversity of Violations:**

The report registered 25 types and forms of violations to which media practitioners were exposed in Jordan during 2014. These were: Prohibition from coverage; security summons for investigation; prior censorship, consequent (post) censorship; deleting camera content; prohibition from publishing; harassment; electronic piracy; torture; physical abuse; verbal abuse; inflicting injury; threats with injury; death threats; deprivation of medical treatment; withholding information; restriction of freedom; arbitrary detention; loss of property; assault against work equipment; confiscation of work equipment; assault against the work place; confiscating work equipment; incitement; and character assassination.

The prohibition from publishing violation continued to top the list of violations to which journalists are subjected, as was the case in previous years, in addition to prohibition from coverage, which received 19.6% of the points, followed in the second position by the withholding of freedom violation, which was repeated 19 times at 12.4%, followed in the third position by arbitrary detention which was repeated 16 times, at 10.5% of the total number of violations. Physical abuse and threats of injury came next in the fourth position, with each repeated 13 times at 8.5% each. Verbal abuse

came fifth, being repeated 11 times registering 7.2%. The harassment and blocking of websites violations came next in sixth position, with each being repeated nine times at 6% each.

The percentage started to decrease when it came to withholding information violation, which came in the sixth position, being repeated seven times at 4.6%. The prior and post censorship violations, each of which was repeated three times came in the seventh position with 2% each.

The position before last was occupied by violations of prohibition from publishing, electronic piracy, death threats, assault against work equipment, confiscation of work equipment, incitement, and character assassination were repeated twice each, registering 1.3% for each violation. The last position was occupied by security investigation summons, deleting camera content, torture, sustaining injuries, prevention from treatment, loss to property, assault against the work place, and withholding work equipment, with one violation each.

The report arrived at the conclusion that the arbitrary detention and physical abuse registered high averages compared to other violations. They are among the serious violations repeated in Jordan.

Violations were distributed over 6

human rights, with journalists and media practitioners being exposed to them due to their media work. In the first position was the right to the freedom of opinion and expression as the most violated human rights which media practitioners were subjected to due to their media work, registering 39.2%, followed by the assault on the right to personal safety at 27.5%, the right to personal freedom and security at 23%, followed by the right to ownership and the right to access of information at 4.5% each, and finally, the right to non-discriminatory treatment at 1.3%.

Researchers in “AIN” unit found that 34 out of 153 violations were serious violations whose perpetrators normally go unpunished. It was not evident to “AIN” unit that any of the perpetrators of these violations was held accountable, which means they were never brought to justice.

Results showed that the arbitrary detention and physical abuse violations registered the highest levels of serious violations. Arbitrary detention was repeated 16 times at 10.5% of the total number of violations of 153, while the physical abuse violation was repeated 13 times at 8.5% of the total number of violations. It was noted that the rate of these two violations compared to other violations documented by the report this year is considered high, and indicate that perpetrators of assaults and violations to which journalists are

subjected are not held accountable and brought to justice, which gives them the opportunity to repeat their violations in the absence of a deterrent, and normally go unpunished.

Returning to the violating party which caused or committed the serious violation, security systems registered the highest levels of being responsible for most serious violations, reaching 32 out of 34 serious violations registered by the report, according to claims by those who filed complaints and reports.

The report presented 22 cases that are considered the most prominent cases and complaints received by “AIN” unit.

Chapter 2: Comparing and Analyzing the Types and Forms of Violation and their Frequency over Five Years (2010 - 2014)

For the first time, the Media Freedom Status in Jordan Report presents comparisons of violations against media practitioners between 2010 and 2014. CDFJ took the opportunity of these comparisons to measure the effect of media freedoms on what is called the “Arab Spring” and the democratic transformations that stormed the Arab region and affected Jordan in particular in 2011, for the purpose of identifying the reality of media freedoms and the violations they are subjected to, and to understand their reasons and trends.

The “AIN” unit was able to monitor and document 869 violations against Jordan during the comparison period, and registered 35 types and forms of assaults against journalist and violations of the media freedoms in spite of the disparity in their rates from one form to another.

The most repeated violation that took place over the past 5 years was the blocking websites violation, which was repeated 317 times at a rate of 36.5% of the total number of violations monitored by the “AIN” unit. What raised its level this high was the amendments to the Press and Publications Law in 2012, which were implemented in June 2013 and resulted in blocking 291 news website because they were not licensed.

Prohibition from coverage was a violation that prevailed in the violations list during the comparison years, and was repeated 85 times and registering 10%, followed directly in third position by the threat of injury, which was repeated 74 times and registering 74%, the harassment violation in fourth position, repeated 56 times and registering 6.4%, followed in fifth position with a small difference by the physical assault violation, which is a serious violation and was repeated 54 times and registering 6.2%, and the withholding freedom violation in the seventh position, which was repeated 40 times and registering 4.6%. The

verbal abuse violation came in the eighth position and was repeated 39 times and registering 4.5%.

Researchers in “AIN” unit believed that the violations which prevailed in the violations list during the comparison years, occupying the top eight positions, were the most commonly repeated ones to which media practitioners in Jordan are subjected continuously and repeatedly.

▪ **Violations and Violated Human Rights during the Comparison Period 2010 - 2014**

“AIN” unit registered over the past five years 78 serious and grave violations to which journalists in Jordan were subjected. These serious violations represented 9% of the total number of violations monitored by the unit during the comparison period.

The physical abuse violation came in the first position, registering 54 violations at the rate of 69.2% of the total number of serious violations. This violation falls within the framework of the right to personal safety, which assumes the second position among violated human rights. In the second position came arbitrary detention at the rate of 24.3% of the total number of serious violations and was repeated 19 times during the comparison period. However, it was noticed that it was repeated extensively during 2014. It is

followed by the death threats violation which was repeated twice in 2014 at the rate of 0.2% of the total number of serious violations.

Chapter 3: Media Freedoms Index

For the first time, CDFJ designs an index for media freedoms in the Arab World, which seeks to measure the reality of freedoms. This effort was part of the efforts of the Network for Media Freedom Defenders in the Arab World (SANAD) which issues a regional report on the status of media freedoms in the Arab world. It is currently in its third edition.

The index, which included six Arab World countries that include, in addition to Jordan, Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen, Iraq, and Palestine, was based on a systematic questionnaire that includes basic axes.

The full details of this index are considered the first experience. It is an effort that is open for criticism and scrutiny, and is published as part of the Report on the Status of Media Freedoms in the Arab World, which carries the title: “Media under Fire.” In this report, we present issues related to the status of media freedoms in Jordan and the status and position it occupied in this index.

In order to respond to this index, CDFJ held a meeting for a focus group

in Jordan on 6/9/2014 in which 22 media practitioners and legal experts with experience in the media freedom status in Jordan participated. Their discussions contributed to highlighting in detail the dimensions of the press freedoms problem and the challenges facing them. We present their opinions in this chapter in concentrated detail.

The research team prepared an investigative questionnaire composed of 22 pages containing six main sections. Different sections were given relative degrees according to their importance and the criteria they include. These are: The political environment, the legislative framework, targeting media practitioners, impunity, access to information, and right to association. Each axis has special measurement degrees and criteria.

The total number of the questionnaire index degrees was 275 after deleting the

axis on defining the media practitioner. Participants in the focus group were requested to evaluate the situation regarding the protection and freedom of journalists in Jordan. Experts participating in the focus group filled out the index questionnaire regarding the conditions of the press and the media in Jordan. The qualitative and gender composition in the meeting were taken into consideration, with the number of male participants being 15, at the rate of 68%, against seven female participants at the rate of 32%. The total average responses over the six axes in the questionnaire on Jordan for the “Protecting the Rights and Freedom of Journalists in the Arab World,” to which participants; media practitioners, journalists, and legal experts in the focus group on Jordan responded, was 97.7 degrees out of a general total of 275 degrees, representing 35.5% of the general average of the index, as the following table shows:

Axis	Degrees	Result / Average Degrees
Political Environment	40	19.2
Legislative Framework	15	4.5
Targeting Media Practitioners	80	64.5
Impunity	95	0
Access to Information	20	5.5
Union and Association Rights	20	4
Total	275	97.7

The estimated grades given by the participants during the focus group's meetings gave low grades for the status of freedoms in Jordan, which reflects their personal perception and convictions regarding the difficulty of the current situation which the media lives, especially in view of the repercussions of living security and their convictions that legislation, though they carry positive indicators, are not similar to the reality.

If this is the opinion of the Jordanian focus group, which gave low grades of 35.6% of the total grades, the research team, in light of the actual information from evaluating the political or legislative situation or the state of monitoring and documentation of violations, which was given a large weight in the targeting of media practitioners axis, found that Jordan deserves 64.5% of the total index grades, advancing to occupy the fifth position on the Arab level, according to the interpretation and perception of the report researchers.

The report presented the results of the index's axes in detail, in addition to comments and opinions from the participants, which were recorded in designated areas or presented them during the discussions that took place during the focus group's meeting. It also includes all the main questions set for each axis.

Within the framework of the participants' evaluation the political environment axis in which media practitioners operate and the area of state intervention in their work, the questionnaire discussed eight criteria, with a total number of 40 grades. The average grades set by the participants in their responses to this axis questions was 19.2 grades out of 40 grades.

The legislative framework axis questions included the laws and constitutions which govern the work of media practitioners and the extent to which they influence media freedoms. They included three criteria with a total of 15 grades. The average grades set by the participants for Jordan in this axis was 4.5 grades.

In addition to the written comments made by the participants on the index questionnaire, the participants found in this axis that the legislation and laws governing media work have a fairly good margin of freedoms. Participants believe that if the laws are implemented and came out of the realm of writing to that of implementation, it will be capable of granting media freedom, though partially.

Participants emphasized that media practitioners are being subjected to referral to courts outside the civil jurisdiction, such as the State Security Court, although any case related to press or media material belong under the Press and Publications Law and not

the State Security Court Law or courts that are not qualified to address press and publications.

When evaluating the axis of targeting media practitioners, average responses were 64.5 out of 80 grades. A lengthy discussion took place among the participants regarding targeting media practitioners and the violations they are subjected to, with the majority of media practitioners stressing that journalists are subjected to violations, yet the nature of these violations in Jordan has not reached the level of saying that they are serious and/or heavy.

Participants pointed out that self-censorship continues to form an obsession for journalists, and is basically the result of violations they may be subjected to whether by the government or the security systems, or even by common citizens, especially that the Jordanian society and the social environment continue to adhere to customs and traditions. The participants also pointed out that tribalism, which is rampant in Jordan, is considered one of the most important incentives for self-censorship.

The participants found that most violations against media practitioners take place while they cover sit-ins or marches, whereby the security systems use dispersing these sit-ins or marches as an excuse to suppress media practitioners and prevent them from reporting the truth.

The average number of participant grades regarding impunity questions was 45.3 out of 95 grades. It is important to emphasize here that these grades represent the point of view and perception of the participants in the focus groups, while researchers in CDFJ agreed that Jordan, as is the case in all Arab countries, did not take any measures to prevent impunity. Hence, they gave a zero grade for the impunity axis.

During the discussions, the participants agreed unanimously that they did not record any case in which a journalist was vindicated after being assaulted or his rights violated, bringing the perpetrators to justice, although more than one case of assault against media practitioners was investigated recently.

The average responses in the access to information axis set by the participants was 5.5 grades out of a total of 20 grades allocated for this axis.

The average for responding to the questions in this axis on the trade union rights and rights to association in Jordan, according to the evaluation of the participants was 4 out of a total of 20 grades.

Chapter 4: Abstracts

The report arrived at eight abstracts from the reality of violations and complaints it presented and analyzed for the past year 2014, or when

comparing and analyzing violations and complaints documented by “AIN” unit over the past five years (2010 - 2014), or when reading the journalists’ rights and freedoms index for Jordan as follows:

First: Penalizing Complainants and Whistleblowers

In a striking development in the violations monitoring and documentation issue, the Secretary General decided to instruct relevant parties to pursue media practitioners who complained to the “AIN” unit for being assaulted with beating, breaking their cameras, and detention while covering a protest sit-in at the Kalouti mosque in Al-Rabiya, after Judge Ra’ed Zuaiter was martyred at the hands of the Israeli occupation forces.

What is new is that the Public Security formed an investigation committee according to its letter number ع / 4/9/34952 dated 24/7/2014 in the wake of official letters from CDFJ that presented the complaints received from the journalists who were assaulted by members of the public security and the gendarmerie. This was considered a good step.

After listening to the testimonies of some journalists who were assaulted, the investigation committee in the public security arrived at the following results, which were sent to CDFJ in an official letter number ع /4/9/45666 dated 19/11/2014.

1. Members of the public security and the gendarmerie participating in the duty mentioned are not responsible due to the absence of any evidence implicating them, according to article (30/A) of the Criminal Procedures.
2. Abdul Aziz Osama and Khaled Sadaqa are to be referred to the relevant administrative and judicial authorities after it became evident that they practiced media activities while they were not duly registered at the Jordan Press Association, according to their testimony under oath, which contradicts the provisions of the Jordan Press Association Law.
3. The demand for financial and moral compensation requires suing for personal rights and proving it in order to specify the value of damage incurred, especially that it was proved that there was no confiscation, breaking, or damaging any of the equipment or tools belonging to those whose testimony was taken by the investigation committee. This indicates the absence of damage requiring compensation.
4. Journalists are required to introduce themselves and their media institution to members of the public security and gendarmerie during such events, in order to preserve their security and safety, and to avoid any assault against them by trouble-makers, and as a commitment and

adherence to the press protocol and the understanding between the Press Association and the public security and gendarmerie, in order to distinguish journalists by having them wear special vests and carry special press badges, as well as occupying safe locations when covering events and activities in order to avoid exposing their safety to danger in case of any riots taking place.

In isolation from the result of the investigation, threats of pursuing complainants worries and scares media practitioners, pushing them to being reluctant in submitting complaints, because they do not realize in advance that there is no real accountability and that the danger may revert to them.

In this direction, CDFJ would like to stress once more the importance and the need to form independent investigation committees in accordance with the international human rights standards. It is not permissible that the party accused of committing the violation is the party that carries out the investigation.

Second: Continuation of the Phenomenon of Journalists Refraining from Disclosing Violations they are Subjected to.

The violations documented in this report and in previous reports do not reflect the reality of violations

against media practitioners. They are most certainly much larger than this. Journalists are an integral part of their reality, and when the culture of fear and avoiding problems is dedicated, it is most certain that they will not resort to reporting and disclosing, and they will resort to silence in fear of consequences, especially that they know that the parties they are complaining about have the ability to harass them and affect their future and livelihoods. This is coupled with the poor management of media institutions which do not defend their journalists sufficiently. Some of them may even take a position alongside perpetrators, taking penal actions against him, because, at the end of the day, they are not independent institutions.

Disclosure among journalists is subject to the political situation prevailing in the country. In view of the progress in political reform and the increasing talk about freedoms, disclosure among journalists is increasing. As an example to this is what happened after what is called the “Arab Spring” in 2011 and 2012 before matters returned to what they are now.

With the increase in threats against livelihood security and the crisis through which print journalism and larger media institutions in Jordan are passing, which mean a receding chance of finding job opportunities, it is only normal that most journalists resort to

silence preferring their “livelihood” to talking about prior-censorship or any interventions or harassment procedures.

In light of this, the “AIN” unit, through its monitors, has exerted larger efforts to follow up on what it receives in terms of information about violations or encroachments. Physical assaults, detention, and arrest are easy to detect as they happen, however, dozens of issues of communications, interference, threats, withholding information, and prohibition from covering continue to be anonymous. What is dangerous about this is that they think that by remaining silent, they protect themselves. What they do not know is that with their silence, they encourage and allow the perpetrators to repeat their violations against the same persons and against others, and that disclosure and reporting are tools of deterrence, and the most important tools of accountability and pursuit.

Third: Prior Censorship

Years ago, journalists complained openly about the interference by the Department of Intelligence in media institutions’ work, and even journalists themselves. It was common to talk about the “Hello” culture or the instructions that come through a telephone communication. It was known that some were being subjected to pressures while others were sweet-

talked and appeased. In other words, it was the politics of the carrot and the stick.

What is evident as well, according to stories from different media leaders and chief editors in the print or electronic media is that the intensity of interferences has subsided noticeably. Stories are being sarcastically floated that journalist who were used to receiving directives have lost their bearings.

In return for this positive measure to stopping or reducing security interferences, it was being said that media institutions’ management is assuming the control role over the media content, and is specifying what can be published and what cannot.

Areas have become confused between what is professional interference, which is the right of the chief editor or his deputy, and is allowed and followed in the most reputable press institutions in the world, and between what is political, personally beneficial, and personal, and has nothing to do with professional issues, but is prohibited and amended, not because it violates the law but because some editorial managements know the general approaches of the state and operate within the pre-set limits and margins. Hence, many writers in some newspapers publish articles on their personal Facebook pages and point

out that they were prohibited from publishing them in the newspaper.

Obviously, what applies to writers does not always apply to journalists who work full-time at newspapers and media outlets. Those rarely talk about their suffering with prior-censorship and what they are allowed to address in terms of stories and press investigations, and what is prohibited and a taboo.

What is noteworthy about the issue of prior-censorship is that there are no professional codes or guidelines that identify clearly the separation lines between what is professional and falls under the jurisdiction of the media institution's management, and what is outside the professional limits and is considered prior-censorship and an assault against the media freedom the freedom of expression. Due to this confusion and the grey area, this common type of violation which takes place every day is absent and is not reported.

Fourth: Self-Censorship

The journalists' opinion survey carried out by CDFJ for 2014 reveals an increase in the level of prior-censorship among media practitioners, reaching 95.2%, after the 2013 survey showed 91.1%. This result is not an exception but an extension of previous years.

The story of self-censorship among media practitioners is controversial, and is one of the most serious phenomena that hinder media freedoms and prevent the delivery of information and facts to the public.

The seriousness of this phenomenon lies in the fact that the censor is not a security system or a chief editor, but the person himself. In this case, prevarication and evasion attempts are futile.

It is only natural that this phenomenon spreads in societies where journalists feel the danger, whether against their personal safety or being held accountable, or even losing their jobs and threats to their livelihood security.

Self-censorship is influenced by the political, economic, and social environment. The more this environment incubates media freedom, the less journalists practice self-censorship.

When we speak about self-censorship, it is practiced not only to avoid risks from the authority and its security systems, but perhaps media practitioners practice a more stringent form of censorship on themselves when they address social, religious, or sex issues, or issues related to a social component. Many are the red lines that have become more brutal and dangerous than the political or security power encroachment.

Self-censorship is a prior-protection philosophy set by the journalists to stop any potential violation. It is a violation practiced by the journalist on himself. It is a violation against society, when the journalist is expected to report the truth honestly, far from his own interests and personal considerations

Fifth: Job and Livelihood Security

The year 2014 was the most dangerous on the media institutions' situation, particularly daily print newspapers. After Al-Arab Al-Yawm was closed and most of its staff were dismissed, and then published again with a core staff, Ad-Dustour continues to suffer under the threat of closure after the newspaper management stopped paying salaries and wages to its staff.

In parallel, Al-Ra'i, the largest daily newspaper started to feel the winds of the economic and financial crisis as it witnessed complaints and protests against the way it is managed by its board of directors. There is talk around its corridors about the need to start restructuring after advertising revenues subsided and after the losses caused by the printing press project and accusations floated about possible corruption.

What is certain is that the winds of the economic and financial crisis through which the Jordanian media is passing are seriously affecting media freedoms.

When the rights of journalists to a respectable life are not preserved, press freedoms issues and violating them become marginal and out of the frame of attention.

It is known that "AIN" unit does not monitor labor and financial media practitioners' problems. It does see, however, the ramifications of the job security on freedoms, and the heated debate between them. Storming the rights to living of journalists and their feeling of instability makes them more prone to violations, and, more seriously, those that are not addressed.

In these climates, indicators show that journalists become more amenable to interferences, whether they were official or from those who own the media institutions, at the expense of independence and freedom of the press, in order to maintain their livelihood, accepting all that cannot be accepted had there been a strong protection of their job security.

This approach to protection does not apply to beneficiaries who do not work or produce in media institutions.

In short, the specter of the print media crisis has renewed the importance of recommending the following:

- Ending the government's ownership of the print media, directly or indirectly.

- Give priority to the establishment of a public media along the lines of the BBC.
- Establish codes of conduct that guarantee the separation and independence of editorial policies from the ownership of media outlets.
- Renew the emphasis on the importance of the pluralistic trade unions as a tool for defending the interests of media practitioners.

Sixth: The Law as a Constricting Tool

Ever since the return of parliamentary and democratic life to Jordan in 1989, the law has been used as a tool to restrict the freedom of media. In 1997, the government amended the Press and Publications Law and set prohibitive financial conditions for publishing newspapers that resulted in the closure of 13 weekly newspapers. They were not published again until they obtained judgment that the law was unconstitutional.

This was followed by many amendments that increased exceptions and taboos that cannot be addressed or written about, and making penalties more stringent, including prison sentences or increasing fines.

Within the same context, the amendment of the Press and Publications Law in

2012 and enforcing it in June 2013, which required licensing electronic media, resulting in the closure of 291 websites, came about.

As a continuation of using the law, regulations, and instruction to crack down on media freedom, the government and its security systems expanded the issue of circular, including the following, as an example: The Media Authority sent a circular to licensed and approved satellite and radio channels and websites on 9/12/2014 referring to the letter from the Public Security Directorate “not to publish or circulate news or information related to public security affairs and members, except through a direct and clear request from relevant authorities, and to refrain from accepting and publishing articles and comments except within the framework of the information and news published legitimately, and without prejudice to the integrity of the public security and its members in any direct or indirect way, based on the provisions of article 20 paragraphs (L and M) of the Audio and Visual Media Authority Law number 71 for the year 1988 and its amendments. Kindly adhere to the contents of this letter subject to legal liability.”

Due to these different circulars, the following comments may be made:

- It is considered a form of prior-censorship. The foundation is that

if any media outlet violated the law, a legal case is filed against it, and the judiciary is the party that decides if the media outlet has committed a crime or not.

- These circulars pay no attention to the rights of media practitioners to accessing information from their various sources, and strive to interfere in the journalists' work and identifying legitimate and acceptable sources of information.
- These circulars expand developing restrictions and prohibitions against publication and broadcasting. It is unreasonable to ask that information in general not be published about security authorities or matters of interest to the public opinion unless these parties announce them, even if this information does not violate the law or form an abuse.
- These circulars do not take into consideration Jordan's commitment to international conventions it signed and ratified, which stipulate respecting the freedom of expression and the media, and the right to access to information without obstacles, specifically article 19 of the Civil and Political Rights Charter.
- It is important to emphasize that the exceptions mentioned in article 19, which permit placing restrictions on the media freedom "to protect the national reputation and security" is not absolute. The committee

concerned with human rights stress in their interpretations that these exceptions should not waste the right and do not represent a risk to it.

Seventh: Association Membership is a Restriction on Practicing the Profession

The Jordan nPress Association Law acknowledges that and approves a definition of the journalist as a member of the Jordan Press Association, and considers anyone who practices the profession without being a member as an imposter. The law stipulates that such a person should be pursued and penalized. The former law had stipulated a prison sentence, but the penalty in the amended law was restricted to a financial fine.

It is well-known that there are hundreds who practice the press profession who are not members in the Association, either because they do not wish to be members and consider this to be their right, or because the membership conditions do not permit their membership. In the old law, the Association did not recognize media work except within specific media institutions such as the daily and weekly newspapers and the Jordan Press Agency "Petra." Journalists and those who perform media work in the radio and television sector were added

later. Private radio and television stations, and obviously, websites, and reporters for news agencies and foreign television stations were not included.

This automatically means that these people cannot join the Association because they do not qualify. Even after the last amendment which enlarged the scope of membership, those permitted to join, such as media practitioners in the electronic media, the radio, and private TV stations, are required to undergo a training period. Years spent prior to applying for membership are not considered as a training period. They also have to prove that they subscribe to social security through the same institution they applied with for membership.

The government was not interested, most likely, during the past years in focusing on dealing with journalists only if they are members in the Association. Many reporters for important Arab and international media institutions are not members in the Association. In return, the Association did not bring up this issue. During the last few years however, and in 2014 in particular, the Association issued memoranda calling on the government, the parliament, and all parties not to invite any media practitioner unless he is a member of the Association, because otherwise he is considered, in their opinion, an imposter and an intruder to the profession.

The government used this legal text in cracking down on journalists who are not members in the Association, considering them as working illegally, which is what happened with the media practitioners who were assaulted. Instead of dealing with them as victim, the public security called for pursuing them because they claim to be journalists while they are not members in the Association.

It is important to point out that the mandatory membership and failing to open the scope for trade union pluralism contradicts Jordan's international commitments and the International Civil and Political Rights Charter.

Eighth: Impunity

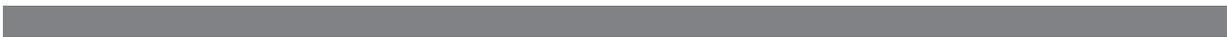
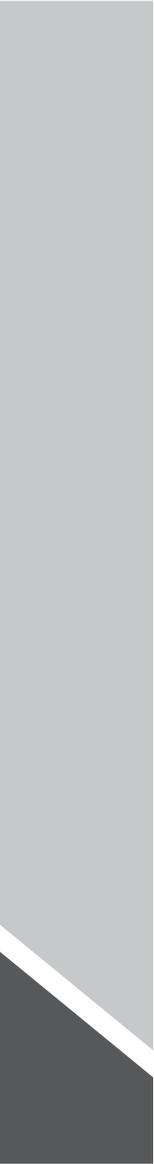
Impunity does not seem to be a phenomenon related to Jordan only. All information and indicators reveal that the rate of impunity even in serious violations is 100%. This was arrived at by the media freedoms index adopted by SANAD, which gave a zero grade to all Arab countries because they could not arrive at violation cases where the public authorities showed seriousness in pursuing perpetrators and/or bringing justice to victims among media practitioners.

In Jordan, and in spite of continued calls for pursuing those responsible

for violations against journalists, especially physical assaults which are considered serious violations that are repetitive, until now, no official or employee entrusted with implementing the law has been indicted in any assault case on a journalist.

The step by the public security to form a committee to investigate assaults against journalists last year near Al-

Kalouti mosque met with appreciation, although it is not an independent committee. The surprise was that although evidence was available that the violation did take place, including video footage documenting the event at the sit-in location, the committee emphasized that no member of the public security committed any violation. On the contrary, it demanded that the claimant journalists be pursued.





Network for Media Freedom Defenders in the Arab World

Network for Media Freedom Defenders in the Arab World (Sanad) is a coalition of civil society institutions advocating the freedom of the press.

Sanad was established in implementation of recommendation by the First Forum for Media Freedom Defenders in the Arab World, organized by the center for Defending the Freedom of Journalists (CDFJ) in Amman, in December 2012, immediately after the birth of the Arab Spring.

The first achievement of Sanad was the “Ain” (eye) Program for Monitoring and Documentation of Violations against the Media. Work was kicked off by training national teams to monitor and document such violations in Egypt and Tunisia, while work was still underway in Jordan to achieve that goal.

Under “Ain” Program, a plan was designed to expand in the Arab world through setting up national teams for monitoring and documentation, within a realistic and workable timeframe.

The national teams will be working on detecting and documenting violations against the media in the countries where they function, applying a scientific rights-based approach consistent with international media and human rights criteria. Side by side with that, professional researchers will be monitoring violations in the countries where “Ain” monitors do not exist, relying on data collected from the media, communication with rights group and monitoring their reports on violations against the press, along with field visits and direct contacts with journalists who are victims of these violations.

Sanad seeks to institutionalize efforts exerted to defend the media freedom in the

Arab world. Towards that end, it has launched its web-based observatory to shed light on the violations against journalists, providing an electronic platform that works effectively to expose violators, mobilize support for journalists and offer a venue for networking between advocates of media freedoms.

Sanad will continue embracing the Forum for of Media Freedom Defenders in the Arab World, and working to expand the base of media supporters, eyeing a wider margin of freedom, enhancement of achievements and attracting international experts to back Arab journalists who are struggling with huge challenges to win their freedom and independence.



برنامج رصد وتوثيق
الانتهاكات الواقعة على الإعلام

The Unit for Monitoring and Documenting of violations against the media

Vision:

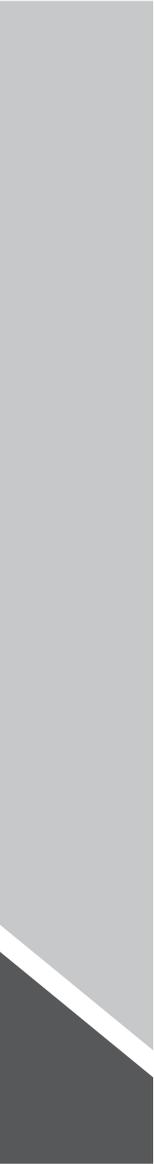
To end violations committed against journalists and media institutions to strengthen the freedom and independence of the media

Mission:

To monitor and document the problems, transgressions, and violations committed against journalists and media institutions during the exercise of their profession, and to peruse their perpetrators.

Objectives:

- To build a qualified team of lawyers, journalists, and researchers to monitor and document the violations against journalists and media institutions according to internationally agreed upon principles and standards.
- To encourage journalists to disclose the problems, transgressions, and violations they encounter during the exercise of their work and to use relevant reporting mechanism.
- To develop and institutionalize the mechanisms for monitoring the problems and violations that journalists encounter
- To raise the journalists' awareness of their rights and their knowledge of the international standards for media freedom, as well as the definition of the violations they encounter.
- To urge the government to adopt the necessary measures to end the violations against the media and to hold their perpetrators accountable.
- To urge the Parliament to formulate legislation and laws that guarantee media freedom in order to end the violations against the media and hold their perpetrators accountable.
- To provide support and legal assistance to media practitioners who encounter problems and violations, inclusive of helping them receive fair compensation for violations they encountered and suffered from.
- To use UN mechanisms to limit violations committed against journalists.





Center for Defending Freedom of Journalists [CDFJ] was established in 1998 as a civil society organization that works on defending media freedom in Jordan; the center was established after a series of major setbacks on a local level, starting with issuing the temporary press and publication law in 1997, which added more restrictions on media and caused many newspapers to shut down.

CDFJ works on protecting freedoms and democracy in Jordan and the Arab world, in addition to respect of human rights, justice, equal rights, and development in the society encouraging non-violence and open dialogue.

CDFJ always maintain an independent role like any other civil society organizations, and is not part of the political work, but in terms of defending media and journalists freedoms CDFJ stands against all policies and legislations that may impose restrictions on media freedom.

CDFJ is active on regional level to develop media freedom and strengthen the skills and professionalism of journalists in the Arab countries, through specialized and customized programs and activities, in addition CDFJ works with media and the civil society on protecting the democracy and promoting respect of human rights principles.

CDFJ Vision:

Creating a democratic environment in the Arab Countries that protects media freedom and freedom of expression and enhances the society's right in knowledge through building professional Journalists committed to the international standards of independent and free media.

CDFJ Mission:

CDFJ is a non-government organization, committed to defending the freedom and security of journalists through addressing the violations to which they are exposed, and building sustainable professional capacities as well as enabling them to have free access to information, along with developing and changing restrictive media related legislations, and building a supportive political, social, and cultural environment for free and independent media.

CDFJ main Goals are:

Supporting the freedom and independence of media organizations and journalists.

Defending journalists, protecting their safety, and stand against the violations committed against them.

Strengthening the professionalism of media and its role in defending democracy, freedoms and reform.

Developing the legislative, political, social, and cultural environments that embrace media and journalists.

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Center for Defending Freedom of Journalists