

REPUBLIC OF TURKEY  
GAZIANTEP UNIVERSITY  
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
COMMUNICATION AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION  
MASTER'S PROGRAM WITH THESIS

**SYRIAN JOURNALISTS IN TURKEY**  
**AN EXPLORATORY RESEARCH ON**  
**CHALLENGES AND REALITIES**

**MASTER'S THESIS**

**Mohammad ISSA**

**Prof. Dr. M. Emre KÖKSALAN**

**GAZIANTEP**  
**Ağustos 2021**

## **ABSTRACT**

### **Syrian Journalist in Turkey**

### **An Exploratory Research on Challenges and Realities**

ISSA, Mohammad

Master Thesis

Communication and Social Transformation Department

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. M. Emre KÖKSALAN

August 2021, 160 pages

In this research, the reality of Syrian journalists in Turkey and the challenges they face has been studied, in order to reach a clear understanding of all aspects related to and affecting the conditions in which they live and work. As an example of immigrant or refugee journalists, their circumstances provide a model that helps in understanding what it might be like for immigrant or refugee journalists in general. Because they are refugees in origin, they, like other refugees, face great challenges, in addition to challenges related to the nature of their journalistic profession and their specialization in covering the thorny Syrian issue.

This research has adopted the exploratory survey method, because knowledge of the subject does not allow for a descriptive analytical study. Therefore, a descriptive analysis of the general situation of Syrian journalists residing in Turkey was conducted, and an exploratory field research methodology was adopted by conducting a survey using a questionnaire form designed to answer the questions raised in the study. In the end, the data was categorized and analyzed to reach the results and discussed, in addition to the conclusions.

The research claims to have achieved its goal by being able to answer the main question about what it means to be a Syrian journalist in Turkey. This is in light of the sub-questions that he set to cover all the social, security, legal, economic and professional aspects under which Syrian journalists live and work in Turkey.

**Keywords:** Immigrant Journalism, Refugee Journalists, Syrian Press, Journalists' Rights, Turkey.

## ÖZET

Türkiye'deki Suriyeli Gazeteciler  
Zorluklar ve Gerçekler Üzerine Keşifsel Bir Araştırma

ISSA, Mohammad

Yüksek lisans Tezi

İletişim ve Toplumsal Dönüşüm Anabilim Dalı

Danışman: Prof. Dr. M. Emre KÖKSALAN

Ağustos 2021, 160 sayfa

Bu araştırmada, yaşadıkları ve çalıştıkları koşullarla ilgili ve bunları etkileyen tüm yönlerin net bir şekilde anlaşılması için Türkiye'deki Suriyeli gazetecilerin gerçekliği ve karşılaştıkları zorluklar incelenmiştir. Göçmen veya mülteci gazetecilere bir örnek olarak, içinde bulundukları koşullar göçmen veya mülteci gazetecilerin genel olarak nasıl olabileceğini anlamalarına yardımcı olan bir model sağlar. Menşei mülteci oldukları için, diğer mülteciler gibi, gazetecilik mesleklerinin doğası ve çetrefilli Suriye meselesini ele almadaki uzmanlıklarıyla ilgili zorlukların yanı sıra büyük zorluklarla karşı karşıyalar.

Konunun bilgisi betimsel analitik bir çalışmaya izin vermediğinden, bu araştırma keşifsel tarama yöntemini benimsemiştir. Bu nedenle, Türkiye'de ikamet eden Suriyeli gazetecilerin genel durumlarının betimsel bir analizi yapılmış ve araştırmada ortaya çıkan soruları yanıtlamak için tasarlanmış bir anket formu kullanılarak bir anket yapılarak keşifsel bir saha araştırması metodolojisi benimsenmiştir. Son olarak, sonuçlara ulaşmak için veriler kategorize edilmiş ve analiz edilmiş ve sonuçlara ek olarak tartışılmıştır.

Araştırma, Türkiye'de Suriyeli gazeteci olmanın ne anlama geldiğine dair temel soruya cevap bularak amacına ulaştığını iddia ediyor. Bu, Suriyeli gazetecilerin Türkiye'de yaşadıkları ve çalıştıkları tüm sosyal, güvenlik, yasal, ekonomik ve profesyonel yönleri kapsayacak şekilde belirlediği alt soruların ışığında.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Göçmen Gazeteciliği, Mülteci Gazeteciler, Suriye Basını, Gazeteci Hakları, Türkiye.

## **PREFACE**

The Syrians lived for decades under a totalitarian regime that controlled the state and society through a comprehensive security system. March of 2011, peaceful protests erupted; calling for an end to the state of tyranny and corruption which dominated the country, and within a short period of time anti-regime demonstrations spread to most areas of the country. They were met with excessive repression through massive arrests and shooting of protesters by the security services of the regime.

Gradually, a movement of defection from the army and security forces began, which led to confrontations between these forces and those who defected from them, in addition to some civilians who decided to take up arms to stand up to the repression practiced by the regime forces. Later the confrontations turned into an armed conflict that resulted in the loss of the government control of vast areas of the country, and therefore regime forces resorted to the policy of the scorched earth in an attempt to regain control of the areas lost, by bombing, siege and starvation, which led to the tragic humanitarian conditions in these areas.

From the first moment, the Syrian regime was keen to keep the occurrences out of the media, and exported its own story of what happened, claiming that the young people who are demanding an end to injustice, repression, corruption and the release of freedoms, are just terrorists who are funded from abroad, and their goal is to spread terrorism all over the world from Syria, and therefore, the battle is not his battle alone, but the battle of the whole world against terrorism.

This led the youth to try to refute the regime's narration by transferring the image of what happened in Syria to the world, using simple means, and what they could access from social media and global media, to make up for the absence of professional journalists, so these activists called the term: (citizen journalists), which most of them later turned into professional journalists.

In parallel, many Syrian professional journalists or graduates of media colleges joined the revolutionary movement against the regime, but their numbers remained fewer than media activists, yet they contributed their scientific and practical experience alongside activists to transfer the reality of what is happened in Syria to the world.

With the regime's loss of control of vast areas in Syria during the year 2012, its ability to control media coverage in these areas had diminished, which had led to a boom in media coverage in it, and in contrast, the security authorities of the Syrian regime had to increase their grip more on media coverage in their areas of control, which they made most of the international media to withdraw their reporters from Syria.

Since 2013, many media workers began to flee even from areas outside of the control of the regime, for various reasons; the reason was the constant bombardment by the Syrian regime forces; the insecurity and stability, and the emergence of jihadi groups that looked with suspicion to everyone working in the media sector.

As a result, most Syrian journalists and other media workers arrived in neighboring countries such as Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon, especially those who chose to continue to cover the ongoing hot events inside their country. In order to be close to the location of the event, and to increase the ability to communicate with their sources at home, and perhaps also to enter Syria to cover specific events and then return to wherever they came from.

The largest number of these journalists decided to stay in Turkey, for many and varied reasons, the most important of which are political reasons, as the Turkish government announced early support for the demands of the Syrian demonstrators against the regime, and showed welcome to the Syrian refugees through the open border policy, which lasted for nearly four years, until the number of Syrian refugees in Turkey grew to more than three and a half million refugees.

The geographical closeness was another reason that pushed the Syrian journalists to stay in Turkey, where the Syrian-Turkish borders extend approximately 950 km, in which residential areas overlap on both sides, which also adds a social dimension to the reasons for their stay in Turkey.

As a result, most of these Syrian journalists decided to live and work in Turkey. As well as continuing to practice their profession as journalists, and engaged in covering the Syrian issue. This created great challenges for them to add to their usual burdens as refugees.

In this context, and within the scope of the thesis, this research studied the reality in which these journalists live and the challenges they face, with the aim of arriving at a clear vision of the social, economic, security, professional and legal conditions in which they live and work, as an example for refugee or immigrant journalists.

## CONTENTS

|                       |     |
|-----------------------|-----|
| ABSTRACT.....         | ii  |
| ÖZET.....             | ii  |
| PREFACE .....         | iv  |
| CONTENTS.....         | vii |
| TABLE OF FIGURES..... | x   |
| ABBREVIATIONS .....   | xii |

## INTRODUCTION

|                                                  |    |
|--------------------------------------------------|----|
| A. Subject and Problem of Research.....          | 1  |
| B. Purpose and Importance of Research .....      | 3  |
| C. Research Methodology .....                    | 6  |
| C.1. The method: .....                           | 6  |
| C.2. The research sample:.....                   | 6  |
| C.3. Place of research: .....                    | 7  |
| C.4. Time of research: .....                     | 7  |
| D. Assumptions .....                             | 7  |
| E. Hypotheses .....                              | 10 |
| F. Limitations .....                             | 11 |
| G. Definitions .....                             | 12 |
| H. Theses and Studies Related to The Topic ..... | 14 |

## UNDERSTANDING THE SYRIAN REFUGEE/MIGRATION JOURNALISM

|                                                                                          |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1.1. The Media Ecosystem in Syria: A Political-Economic Overview .....                   | 29 |
| 1.1.1. The Institutional Organization of Media in Syria.....                             | 29 |
| 1.1.2. The Political and Juridic Background of The Media in Syria ....                   | 37 |
| 1.2. Understanding The Migration Journalism: In Theory and Practice.....                 | 56 |
| 1.2.1. Defining The Journalism in Migration and/or as Refugee .....                      | 56 |
| 1.2.2. The Obstacles in Refugee Journalism: Rethinking the Syrian Case<br>.....          | 60 |
| 1.2.3. Limitations to Freedom of Movement.....                                           | 61 |
| 1.2.4. Under Cover Work .....                                                            | 64 |
| 1.2.5. Threats and Security Constraints .....                                            | 66 |
| 1.2.6. Press Coverage of Crises .....                                                    | 69 |
| 1.2.7. Media Ethics in Time of Crises: Bias and Objectivity in Reporting<br>Crises ..... | 73 |

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

|                                                                                                      |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 2.1. The Results .....                                                                               | 81  |
| 2.1.1. Social and Personal Conditions of Syrian Journalists in Turkey                                | 82  |
| 2.1.2. Legal Status of the Syrian Journalists in Turkey .....                                        | 86  |
| 2.1.3. Freedom of Movement for Syrian Journalists in Turkey .....                                    | 90  |
| 2.1.4. The Security Challenges that Facing Syrian Journalists in Turkey<br>.....                     | 96  |
| 2.1.5. The Kind and Nature of The Work of Syrian Journalists in Turkey<br>.....                      | 104 |
| 2.1.6. The Type and Legal Status of Institutions that Syrian Journalists<br>in Turkey Work With..... | 107 |

|                                                                                                                                 |            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| 2.1.7. The Relationship of Syrian Journalists with Their Institutions and the Extent to Which They Feel Job security .....      | 110        |
| 2.1.8. The Pressures That Syrian Journalists are Exposed to During the Practicing Their Journalistic Work .....                 | 113        |
| 2.1.9. The Feelings of Syrian Journalists Towards Protecting Their Right to Freedom of Expression .....                         | 116        |
| 2.1.10. The Most Important Challenges That Syrian Journalists are Believed They Face During Their Stay and Work in Turkey ..... | 117        |
| 2.1.11. The Possibility of Obtaining a Job in the Media Field for Syrian Journalists in Turkey .....                            | 118        |
| 2.1.12. The Possibility of Syrian Journalists in Turkey to Joining Unions That Defend Rights of Journalists .....               | 120        |
| 2.2. The Discussions .....                                                                                                      | 122        |
| <b>CONCLUSION.....</b>                                                                                                          | <b>135</b> |
| <b>REFERENCES.....</b>                                                                                                          | <b>146</b> |
| <b>ANNEXES.....</b>                                                                                                             | <b>153</b> |

## TABLE OF FIGURES

|                                                                                                                                                              |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| <b>Figure 1.</b> Sex of the participants in the answer to the questionnaire.....                                                                             | 82 |
| <b>Figure 2.</b> The social status of the participants in the questionnaire .....                                                                            | 83 |
| <b>Figure 3.</b> Ages of the respondents to the questionnaire .....                                                                                          | 84 |
| <b>Figure 4.</b> With whom do the respondents live .....                                                                                                     | 85 |
| <b>Figure 5.</b> Duration of stay of respondents in Turkey .....                                                                                             | 86 |
| <b>Figure 6.</b> The percentages of respondents in the questionnaire to illegally cross the Turkish border.....                                              | 88 |
| <b>Figure 7.</b> Documents which respondents are based on their presence in Turkey .....                                                                     | 90 |
| <b>Figure 8.</b> The possibility of hindering the movement of respondents because of the document they hold.....                                             | 91 |
| <b>Figure 9.</b> The ability of respondents to cross the border into Syria and return in a safe and legal way.....                                           | 93 |
| <b>Figure 10.</b> The possibility of missing the opportunity to complete tasks because of the length of time required to obtain permission to movement ..... | 94 |
| <b>Figure 11.</b> The respondents feeling about protecting their right of movement.....                                                                      | 96 |
| <b>Figure 12.</b> Respondents feel insecure or compelled to give up their rights because of their documents .....                                            | 97 |
| <b>Figure 13.</b> Exposure Respondents to Serious Threats.....                                                                                               | 98 |

|                                                                                                                                       |     |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <b>Figure 14.</b> Relationship of threats to journalistic work or political opinion .....                                             | 100 |
| <b>Figure 15.</b> The most important sides that respondents think is behind the threats they have received.....                       | 101 |
| <b>Figure 16.</b> The extent respondents feel safe.....                                                                               | 102 |
| <b>Figure 17.</b> The relationship of respondents' legal status to their feeling that they and their journalistic work are safe ..... | 104 |
| <b>Figure 18.</b> Define respondents themselves professionally .....                                                                  | 105 |
| <b>Figure 19.</b> The kind of journalistic work practiced by the respondents .....                                                    | 106 |
| <b>Figure 20.</b> The nature of jobs that respondents work.....                                                                       | 107 |
| <b>Figure 21.</b> The type of institutions that respondents work with.....                                                            | 108 |
| <b>Figure 22.</b> The legal status of the institutions that respondents work with.....                                                | 109 |
| <b>Figure 23.</b> The nature of the relationship of Syrian journalists in Turkey with their institutions.....                         | 111 |
| <b>Figure 24.</b> The respondents feeling of job security .....                                                                       | 112 |
| <b>Figure 25.</b> Respondents experienced pressures related to their ability to continue their journalistic profession .....          | 114 |
| <b>Figure 26.</b> Sources of pressures that respondents were exposed to while practicing their journalistic profession.....           | 115 |
| <b>Figure 27.</b> The feelings of Syrian journalists towards protecting their right to freedom of expression .....                    | 117 |
| <b>Figure 28.</b> The most prominent challenges that the respondents think they face in Turkey .....                                  | 118 |
| <b>Figure 29.</b> The Possibility of Obtaining a Job in the Media Field for Syrian Journalists in Turkey .....                        | 119 |
| <b>Figure 30.</b> The possibility of Syrian journalists in Turkey to joining unions that defend rights of journalists.....            | 121 |

## ABBREVIATIONS

|        |                                                                      |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| UN     | United Nations                                                       |
| UNHCR  | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees                        |
| RSF    | Reporters Without Borders                                            |
| UNESCO | The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| USA    | United State of America                                              |
| PODEM  | Public Policy and Democracy Studies                                  |
| YÖK    | Turkish Council of Higher Education                                  |
| HRW    | Human Rights Watch                                                   |
| SNHR   | Syrian Network for Human Rights                                      |
| SCM    | Syrian Center for Media and Freedom of Expression                    |
| ISIS   | Islamic State Organization                                           |
| EU     | European Union                                                       |
| CPJ    | Committee to Protect Journalists                                     |
| KSD    | Kurdish militia in Syria                                             |

## INTRODUCTION

### A. Subject and Problem of Research

Like the rest of the Syrian refugees in Turkey, after arriving in safe areas, Syrian journalists had to find a way to secure their needs with their families to live within socially acceptable borders, but their goal of staying in Turkey was not only to secure a decent standard for decent living, but also included to continue their media work and cover the field and humanitarian developments inside Syria.

Consequently, the public obsession with providing a safe life and providing daily live necessities mixed with the special concern of journalists and their endeavors to complete what they started in their country as an important part of what motivated them, and therefore they found themselves compelled to work to cover the events of their country from another neighboring country, and this produced new means of journalistic work, the most important of which is the formation of huge networks Activists or citizen journalists within Syria, and also to rely on local sources and ordinary citizens as important sources of news and image.

They are also obligated to find ways to deliver the news and materials they receive to the world. Therefore, they have chosen various ways to perform their mission. Some of them have worked with international media, be it news agencies, news channels, newspapers, magazines, or websites. Others have worked with local media, such as channels or websites opposed to the Syrian regime.

As a result, most of these journalists are working to cover events that do not happen in Turkey, the country where they are currently. They also direct their news to

an audience that is mostly outside this country, as they work in media that were not originally intended for the Turkish audience. They are also working to cover the humanitarian, social and economic conditions of Syrian refugees in the country they are in.

All this makes the phenomenon of Syrian journalists in Turkey unique, and it deserves study and research to know their reality and methods of practicing their profession, and the difficulties they face in performing their work. But for this, it must be placed in its general context as part of the phenomenon of immigrant journalism in the region and the world. It is a phenomenon as old as the press itself.

In this regard, it is necessary to refer to the historical roots of this phenomenon, as well as to benefit from previous studies carried out by researchers to study similar phenomena in different regions, whether those that shed light on the Arab immigrant press and its history in particular, or those that dealt with similar press migrations in other regions of the world.

The Arab press in general and the Syrian press in particular knew migration at an early stage of its inception in the late Ottoman era. The first private (unofficial) Arab newspaper was issued from a city outside the borders of the currently known Arab countries, and it is the newspaper "Mira'at Al-Ahwal", which was published by the Syrian journalist Rizkallah Hassoun Al-Halabi in Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire in 1855 (Alnuaimi, 2011).

According to (Abuzeid, 1985), Syrian journalists were the first to know the phenomenon of migration in the Arab region, which began with their migration to Turkey first, then England, then France, Italy, Cyprus and Russia, and then to the United States of America. The reason for the migration of Syrian journalists is due to their lack of freedom in their country.

Among the most prominent Arab newspapers issued by Syrian journalists in Istanbul during the era of the Ottoman Empire are the weekly Al-Etidal newspaper issued by Ahmed Qadri in 1883, the Al-Insan magazine issued by Hassan Hassan Pasha Al-Tuwarani in 1884, and the facts magazine issued by Abu Al-Nasr Yahya Al-Sarawi in 1885, and Muhammad Al-Makhzoumi issued Al-Bayan newspaper in 1893, Muhammad Taher established the information newspaper in 1895 (Meki, 2016).

As for the most prominent Arab newspapers published in America, the first Arabic-language newspaper in New York was *Kawkab America*, which was published by Najib Arbeli in 1888. The publisher, Noam Moukarzel, published *Al-Asr* newspaper in Philadelphia in 1894 and *Al-Huda* newspaper in 1898 in New York. Youssef Al-Maalouf published *Al-Ayyam* newspaper in 1897. Other Lebanese published several newspapers in New York, such as *Mirat Al-Gharb* by Najib Diab, *Al-Funun* by Nassib Arida, *Alhares* for Amin Al-Gharib, *Al-Shaab* by Youssef Murad, *The Tourist* by Abdel-Masih Haddad, and *Al-Samir* by Elia Abu Madi (Amer, 2014).

(Abuzeid, 1985) refers to the controversial issues raised by the phenomenon of Arab press migration. On the one hand, it constitutes a continuous bleeding for the Arab press that would deprive it of its best elements. On the long run, this leads to the weakening of the local Arab press in favor of the immigrant press. The influence of these newspapers and their growing influence in Arab political life gives this phenomenon a dangerous dimension, because it means placing the tools of journalistic influence in the hands of those living abroad.

On the other hand, the immigrant Arab newspapers have another dimension that may reveal positive aspects of the phenomenon. The mere appearance of these newspapers may push the local Arab press to develop its capabilities to enable competition. Also, these immigrant newspapers will create a new generation of Arab journalists who may transfer to their countries what they have gained of experiences if they return to it.

## **B. Purpose and Importance of Research**

The Syrian issue constituted an important turning point in the situation in the Middle East, and its effects extended to reach various parts of the world. One of the most important of these effects was the massive wave of refugees from Syria due to the transformation of the popular revolution in it into a brutal war. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) said in 2014 that the volume of its operations in Syria is the largest in its history since its inception in 1950, Syrians have become the largest number of refugees in the world, and the Syrian crisis has become the largest humanitarian emergency of our current era (UNHCR, 2014).

Therefore, the Syrian issue, with all its aspects and the factors affecting it, deserve to be studied and shed light on, especially the aspects whose influence extended beyond the borders and became part of the scene in other countries.

According to a study (ERDOGAN, 2017), Turkey is witnessing the largest mass migration in its history since 2011. As of December 2016, the number of Syrian refugees in Turkey has exceeded 3.1 million. As of December 2016, the number of Syrian refugees in Turkey has exceeded 3.1 million. Even more importantly, only 8% of these refugees live in the 26 camps in 10 provinces; the rest live as “urban refugees” in all of Turkey’s provinces together with Turkish local community.

The Syrian journalists who left Syria since the beginning of the events in 2011 are part of this refugee wave, and they played an important and influential role in the development of events in Syria by highlighting them and conveying them to the world. According to Reporters Without Borders (RSF), its researches found that Turkey is the number one destination for Syrian journalists and media workers who want to continue working on Syrian affairs (RSF, 2016).

Therefore, these journalists who are in Turkey, make up an important subject of study and research, both as an important and influential part of the Syrian issue and the resulting refugee status or because they constitute a unique case helps us understand the phenomenon of the presence of journalists in the Diaspora in general.

According to the preliminary information and available reports mentioned later in this research, it is not clear whether the rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international agreements to protect refugees are fully applied to Syrian journalists who are refugees in neighboring countries. These include their rights to freedom of movement and residence, their right to leave the country in which they reside and then return to it, as well as their right to protection from threats and dangers, in addition to obtaining legal protection on an equal basis with other journalists, so that they are not subject to exploitation or work without Guarantees of their moral and financial rights.

Therefore, this study attempted to explore the reality in which Syrian journalists live in Turkey and the challenges that they face, with the aim of knowing the conditions in which they live, the types of problems they face while carrying out

their profession and their responsibilities, as well as the challenges they face in their daily lives, and then suggested solutions to these problems.

The study explored this reality and challenges by obtaining answers to the study questions from a random sample of Syrian journalists in Turkey. These questions were organized through a questionnaire form that covered the most important personal, legal, social and economic conditions of these journalists, which represented all aspects of the study.

The presence of Syrian journalists in Turkey also can be considered a phenomenon that merits research due to the type of work they do and the conditions under which they work, as most of them cover military, political and humanitarian developments in Syria from abroad depending on networks of journalists and activists present within the country.

They also work to cover the conditions of the Syrian refugees in Turkey from all humanitarian, social, economic and other aspects, and they also simultaneously cover the conditions of the Syrians working in the media field in Turkey from all sides, as they are part of the refugee community in this country.

Because they work with a media that directs their messages to audiences outside the country in which they are located, they face economic, legal, social, and logistical difficulties and problems that limit their ability to do the work required of them.

Moreover, the security concern of these journalists cannot be underestimated, because they are primarily targeted by the Syrian regime and its agents, as more than one attempted aggression or kidnapping of anti-Syrian activists has occurred in countries where they are outside Syria. At the same time, they are also targeted by organizations or groups that may come under criticism from them during their coverage or perhaps for highlighting what could be considered violations by these groups in their areas of control inside Syria.

Therefore, given the estimates that indicate the large number of these Syrian journalists in Turkey, the role they play through the performance of their work, the impact they made, the conditions in which they perform their work, they constitute an important phenomenon deserves studying that has not been shed Light on it by study and research, so this study is important and necessary.

## **C. Research Methodology**

### **C.1.The method:**

This research adopted the method of the exploratory survey, because knowledge of the subject does not allow to conduct an analytical descriptive study. But due to the results of the research it is planned to realize a descriptive analyze concerning the general situation of Syrian journalists living in Turkey. The purpose of this methodology is to explore and clearly describe the research problem to modify concepts and assumptions, which paves the way for further studies.

Therefore, it was necessary to adopt an exploratory field research methodology by conducting a survey using a semi-structured and structure questionnaire model that was designed to answer the questions raised in the study. The questionnaire model was based on the logical sequence of the transition from one question to another.

The data was collected by taking answers to the questions in the questionnaire from the persons who make up the sample of the research, either through a personal interview or by emailing them. Finally, the data was classified, analyzed and discussed, leading to findings and recommendations.

### **C.2. The research sample:**

The community of this research is represented by the Syrian journalists in Turkey. An official census of their number in Turkey was not available, nor were accurate unofficial figures available. But (RSF, 2019) estimated their number in the hundreds. According to its estimates, the number of Syrian journalists illegally present in Istanbul alone is more than 300. This number can be considered an indicator of the size of the presence of Syrian journalists in Turkey, if we take into account their potential legal presence in Istanbul, as well as their presence in other cities, especially border cities such as Gaziantep, Antakya, Urfa and others.

As for the sample of this research, it was scheduled to include 100 people who meet the definition of a Syrian journalist in Turkey, and an effort was made to make this sample diverse and cover as much as possible all variables such as gender

difference (male or female), and the nature of work (permanent, temporary or independent) and other variables.

However, the number of responses to the research questionnaire was limited to 64 responses out of the number of Syrian journalists who were asked to participate by answering the questions asked in the questionnaire, and the rest apologized for participating for reasons most of which were related to their security or job concerns, and some of them also expressed their sense of the futility of participating in changing their reality. Despite the efforts that were made to persuade them, they did not accept participation.

### **C.3. Place of research:**

The research was conducted in places where Syrian journalists are located in Turkey. Where they are concentrated in cities near the Syrian border in southern Turkey such as Gaziantep, Urfa and Antakya, also in major cities such as Istanbul and Ankara.

### **C.4. Time of research:**

The time of implementation of the research was in the period between the beginning of September of 2020 until the end of February of 2021.

## **D. Assumptions**

Since this research attempted to reach a clear vision of the conditions of Syrian journalists in Turkey, and compare them with what their situation should be, it was necessary to start from the legal structure that governs their presence in Turkey. In the light of this legal structure, assumptions were made, and according to them, the research hypotheses were built.

Article 90 of the Turkish Constitution states that international agreements that have been properly implemented have the force of law. It may not be challenged before the Constitutional Court on the grounds of unconstitutionality. In the event of a conflict between the properly implemented international agreements and the laws regarding fundamental rights and freedoms, as a result of the difference between the provisions relating to the same matters, the provisions of the international agreements shall prevail (Constitution of the Republic of Turkey, 1982).

Considering that the Republic of Turkey is a signatory to the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 and its 1967 Protocol, as well as it voted in favor of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966, in addition to the Geneva Convention of 1949 and its protocols 1977. The Republic of Turkey has recognized all the rights stipulated in these laws and the aforementioned international agreements, and therefore the Syrian journalists present in Turkey should benefit from these rights.

Given that Syrian journalists in Turkey are refugees in origin, they must benefit all the rights stipulated in international refugee laws and agreements. The 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol are the most important source of international law that provides a clear definition of who a refugee is, and stipulates the rights and protection that he should benefit (The United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its Protocol, 1951).

The Convention defines a refugee as any person who is outside his country of nationality or habitual residence because of a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, and who, because of that fear or He does not want to take shelter in the protection of that country or return to it for fear of persecution.

Therefore, everyone who left Syria outside due to fear of persecution is a refugee, and this applies to most Syrians who arrived in Turkey since 2011, and of course this definition includes Syrian journalists as well.

The Convention states that the host country is responsible for protecting and caring for the refugee and providing his rights and freedoms. It also states the rights he must have, such as freedom of belief, the right not to be returned to the country from which he fled or to be expelled to a country where he does not feel safe, the right to housing, the right to move from one place to another, the right to obtain an identity card and travel documents, the right to education, the right to work for remuneration, the right to engage in business and liberal professions, the right to benefit social security benefits, the right to litigate before the courts, the right to join professional associations and unions, and the right to obtain administrative assistance.

Signatories to the Convention shall refrain from imposing criminal penalties on refugees who enter or are in their territory without permission, because of their

illegal entry or presence, coming directly from a territory where their life or freedom was threatened, provided that they present themselves to the authorities without delay and that they demonstrate sound reasons. their illegal entry or presence.

No signatory to the Convention may expel a refugee or return him in any way to the borders of territories where his life or freedom is threatened because of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or because of his political opinions.

The Convention states in its preamble that the Contracting States bear in mind that the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights approved by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948, affirmed the principle that all human beings benefit from basic rights and freedoms without discrimination of fundamental rights and freedoms.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states in Article 19 that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and this right includes freedom to hold opinions without any interference, and to seek, receive and broadcast news and ideas by any means, regardless of borders and geography (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948).

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, approved by the United Nations General Assembly in 1966 in Article 19, states that everyone has the right to embrace whatever he wants without harassment, and everyone has the right to freedom of expression, and this right includes the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds. To others in any form and by any means of his choice, and without regard to frontiers (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966).

In the UNESCO Declaration on the Contribution of the Media to Supporting World Peace and International Understanding, Strengthening Human Rights and Combating Racism and Incitement to War of 1978, Article Two states that the exercise of freedom of opinion and expression and media freedom recognized as an integral part of human rights and fundamental freedoms is an essential factor in supporting international peace and understanding (UNESCO Declaration, 1978).

As for international humanitarian law, Article 79 of the Additional Protocol to the 1949 Geneva Convention for the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War

stipulates that civilian journalist who perform their duties in areas of armed conflict must be respected and treated as civilians, and protected from every form of deliberate attack, provided that they do not Acts contrary to their status as civilians (Geneva Convention, 1949).

**As a result:** every Syrian journalist present in Turkey since 2011 should benefit protection and the right of residence, the right of movement, the right to obtain official documents, the right to practice his profession and express his opinion freely, the right to litigate before the courts, and the right to join associations and unions, as well as the right to administrative assistance.

### **E. Hypotheses**

Based on the assumptions of the research, this study attempted to arrive at a clear perception of the legal, security, social, economic and professional situation in which the Syrian journalist in Turkey lives and works, and to answer the following main question: **What does it mean to be a Syrian refugee journalist in Turkey?**

In order to answer the main question, it was necessary to answer the sub-questions that covered the most important aspects that represent the reality of Syrian journalists in Turkey, their fears and the challenges they face, as follows:

1. Who are the Syrian journalists in Turkey?
2. What is the legal status of Syrian journalists in Turkey?
3. Do Syrian journalists have freedom of movement in Turkey?
4. What are the security challenges facing Syrian journalists in Turkey?
5. What is the kind and nature of the work of the Syrian journalists in Turkey?
6. What is the type of institutions do Syrian journalists work with in Turkey and what is the legal status of these institutions?
7. What is the nature of the relationship between Syrian journalists and the institutions they work with, and do they feel job security?
8. Are Syrian journalists subjected to pressures during the practice of their journalistic work, and what is the source of this pressures?

9. Do Syrian journalists feel that their right to freedom of expression is protected?
10. What are the main challenges that Syrian journalists believe they face while they stay and work in Turkey?
11. To what extent is it possible to get a job in the media field for Syrian journalists in Turkey?
12. To what extent can Syrian journalists in Turkey join a recognized union or federation that works to protect the rights of journalists or media workers?

In order to answer these sub-questions, a questionnaire form was organized that included thirty questions covering all the topics raised by the sub-questions. By analyzing and discussing the answers to the questionnaire questions, the sub-questions were answered, and thus a clear understanding was reached of what the reality of Syrian journalists in Turkey could be and the challenges they face, and accordingly it was known what they lack to do their work to the fullest.

## **F. Limitations**

The most important limitations that faced the completion of this research were as follows:

1. The lack of sources and references on the subject of the research, which led to a great effort to find alternative sources for the formation of the theoretical framework and database of the problem. The scarcity of studies and academic research that examined the subject of research and related topics, and the difficulty of accessing them. As well as the lack of reports and articles that covered areas related to or affecting the research problem.
2. The lack of official statistics or accurate figures showing the number and location of Syrian journalists, and how many of them are still working in the press or in a profession related to the media field, nor the number of journalists who left Turkey after trying to settle there, so it is difficult to obtain these numbers except through Informal estimates or through the

information of the people participating in the study within the research sample.

3. The dispersion of the research community, represented by the Syrian journalists who are spread across different cities and regions of Turkey. They also move from one area to another due to the nature of their work, which made it difficult to reach them to meet them in person. As a result, the search abandoned the method of personal interview, and resorted to obtaining data and information by answering only the questionnaire questions. Undoubtedly, being limited to this model placed more restrictions on the volume of data and the depth of information that the research could collect and discuss to reach its objectives.
4. A large segment of the research community did not cooperate, and a large percentage of them refrained from answering the questionnaire for various reasons, most of which were related to concerns about their security or their job. Some of them were also not convinced of the usefulness of participating in the research, because they did not see that this research would contribute to changing their reality. Despite the efforts that were made to persuade them, they did not accept participation. In the end, the participation rate was limited to only 64% of the targeted sample.
5. The circumstances resulting from the spread of the Covid-19 epidemic, which coincided with the time period in which the research was conducted, And the procedures followed to limit the spread of the epidemic have postponed many of the dates related to the completion of the research. These measures also made it difficult to move and reach the places where it was needed. These procedures caused the closure of libraries for long periods, in addition to the difficulty of going to them if they were opened, which led to the delay in completing the research, and made it more difficult.

## **G. Definitions**

This section deals with procedural definitions of the most important terms dealt with by the research, and these definitions are only for the purpose of clarifying what is

meant by these terms within this research, and it is not necessary that they match the general or linguistic definitions.

The following are the most important of these definitions:

**Journalist:** Every person who practices a journalistic work, whether this work is editorial, technical or administrative, and whether he practices this work within an institution or independently.

**Journalism:** It is the profession that collects and analyzes news and opinions, checks their credibility and presents them to the public. These news are often related to political, local, cultural, sports, social and other developments. The means used to convey the press message to the public may vary, be written, visual or audio, and may be mixed, as is the case in electronic media and digital platforms.

**Syrian refugee:** Every Syrian citizen who left his country because of his justified fear of being persecuted, and because of that fear he is unable or does not want to return to Syria, or to seek protection from the ruling regime in it.

**Syrian regime:** means the official and governmental authorities that control the government in Syria, and all its political, military and security systems.

**Host country:** It is the country that the refugee has chosen or was able to reside in, regardless of his legal status or the document on which he is relied upon for his presence there. In this research, the host country is meant the Republic of Turkey.

**Syrian Revolution:** It is the state of rejection and protest that the Syrians started against the authoritarian regime in Syria with popular demonstrations in Damascus on March 15, 2011. It expanded to include most of Syria. The Syrian regime confronted it with severe repression and violence, and later it turned into a violent multilateral military conflict.

**The right of expression:** is the freedom to seek, receive and impart all kinds of information and ideas to others without restrictions. It is a fundamental human right enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

**The right of movement:** is the freedom of the individual to choose his place of residence or work, and to move from it to any other place, whether within the country in which he resides or to leave to another country and his ability to return to it at any time and without restrictions.

**Job security:** It is the employee's feeling of comfort about the possibility of his continuity and development in the job, position and benefits within the organization.

**Temporary Protection ID:** It is an identification card granted by the Turkish government to Syrians who arrived in Turkey due to the events in Syria, according to which they have the right to stay temporarily in Turkey, ensure that they are not forcibly returned to Syria, and obtain the protection of the Turkish state, in addition to a set of basic rights and needs, the most important of which are Health care and education.

**Professional unions:** A body comprising a group of individuals who practice the same profession or similar professions whose objective is to serve the interests of its members, defend them and preserve their rights.

## **H. Theses and Studies Related to The Topic**

The previous theses and studies that could be accessed dealt with the issues of media and journalist migration in different regions of the world, and focused on the history of this phenomenon, its causes, effects and consequences on the media and political level, in addition to the concerns of the immigrant media, their positions, the content they produce, and the implications of this content. However, all these studies did not examine the reality of immigrant journalists in terms of their social, economic, security and occupational conditions. Some of these studies examined the aforementioned aspects, but their attention was focused on refugees in general, including Syrian refugees in Turkey, and did not address the professional aspect of Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey. Therefore, the studies closest to the research topic were selected.

### **1. Moses Shumow (2012) Immigrant journalism, ideology and the production of transnational media spaces**

A study that examined the conditions and modus operandi of the Venezuelan media after the explosion of their numbers in southern Florida, as a result of the significant growth of Venezuelan immigration to the United States of America in the period following the election of Hugo Chavez in 1999. Although these media outlets focus on local issues facing the expanding immigrant community, the contacts

produced between their members are also transnational, including events in Venezuela (Shumow, 2012).

**Research objectives:** The study attempted to answer a central question: What are the professional motives and ideologies that guide immigrant media producers? This is to gain insight into how the media produce transnational immigrant communities, as well as why these media emerge in the way they do, in order to advance understanding of immigrant media production in a transnational context.

**Methodology:** Given the scarcity of similar research, a grounded theory inquiry, was used by investigating the nature and working conditions of Venezuelan journalists in southern Florida. The research analyzed 34 in-depth interviews with Venezuelan journalists in South Florida in order to understand immigrant media production in a transnational context.

**Results and Recommendations:** The results indicate that the production of immigrant media in a transnational context is a hybrid form of journalism, dependent on cultural background and national identity, and also dependent on ideology and connections with other immigrants. The main results of the research were placed in three sections:

(1) The close connection between migration, cultural adaptation and the production of means of communication. The interviewees spoke of living in two worlds, being deeply affected by the training they received in Venezuela, and contrasting it with the different forms of professionalism they experienced upon arrival in a new country. They spoke of wanting to connect fellow immigrants to the events taking place back home, while at the same time seeing that their work is also important in helping members of their community adjust to their new life as immigrants.

(2) The ideological factors shaping the work and professional identity of these immigrant journalists were just as important as their immigration experience, and in many cases closely linked to their identity as Venezuelans. They struggle to remain objective, while at the same time feeling the need to defend on behalf of their community.

(3) The context of production as well as the confluence of contrasting journalistic cultures at home and the host country and the ideological motives influencing the work of these immigrant journalists have resulted in the production of

transnational media spaces, extending to symbolic production across cultural and geographic borders, and creating transnational links, a clear consequence of the forces of globalization.

The research addressed the lack of knowledge surrounding how narratives of the core collective experience of national and transnational identities emerge. It therefore recommended that in-depth research be conducted on the public response to the media produced by immigrant journalists, as well as a comprehensive analysis of the content produced by these journalists. This is to achieve a more nuanced understanding of immigrant media production and how these media tools are shaped, enabling researchers who study the intersections between media and migration to build a more complete picture of twenty-first century migration.

## **2. Terje Skjerdal (2012) Journalists or activists? Self - identity in the Ethiopian diaspora online community**

A study that investigated the role of online diaspora media as stakeholders in the transnational Ethiopian landscape, through content analysis of selected websites and interviews with editors. The study discussed how these websites adhere to recognized journalistic values, and how these editors view themselves in terms of their journalistic professionalism. She noted that these editors differ little among themselves in their perception of whether activist journalism conflicts with professional standards of the ideal type, but they justify the practice either because of the imperfect conditions at home or because they assert that the combination of activism and professionalism is a progressive view of journalism. This raises a serious debate about the limits of journalism, as many of these editors are not professional journalists in the mainstream sense of the word, do not belong to well-known media schools, have not learned to be journalists, are rarely members of professional media organizations, and their main occupation is something other than the media enterprise. So, they are busy with something like journalism. Where should they be placed in relation to journalism as a profession? Are they journalists, activists, or something else? (Skjerdal, 2011).

**Study objectives:** The study attempted to answer two main questions, the first: How does the content of websites indicate their attitude towards objectivity, independence and participation in the practice of journalism? The second: How do editors view themselves in relation to the journalistic profession? The study indicated

that the two topics are related, but while the first research question aims to describe the websites' approach in terms of content and style, the critical focus of the research is on answering the second question, which interrogates the ideology of journalistic editors on the basis of their interviews.

**Methodology:** The study used to reach its goal the method of analyzing the content of the selected websites, in addition to interviews with the editors working in them. The research data was mainly collected from interviews with editors and managers in selected Ethiopian diaspora sites, in addition to a longitudinal reading of the same sites as well as two additional important sites in the Ethiopian diaspora media landscape.

**Results and recommendations:** Analysis of selected Ethiopian diaspora websites and interviews with editors confirmed that the respective media channels challenge in several ways standards of objectivity, journalistic independence, and traditional divides between content producers and audiences. This is at the level of actual media production, and the study went further by identifying the discrepancy between journalistic performance and the editors' ideal view of journalism. Editors believe that the press should be impartial, independent and ethically consistent, but restrictions within the Ethiopian media field dictate a journalistic practice characterized by activism and nepotism, both of which are particularly evident in online media that are exempt from legal persecution by the authorities. This is similar to the media situation in various other societies that suffer from political and social constraints.

Consequently, what the research suggests regarding the Ethiopian diaspora online community is that the preferred style of journalists under these circumstances should not be confused with ideal professional standards, while the application of journalistic professionalism is subject to social modification and changes in media forms, normative perceptions of journalism ideology It looks more durable.

The emergence of relevant media channels in the diaspora indicates an unequal relationship with the ideals of traditional journalism. First, websites conflict with the objective dimension through political bias declared in reports and analysis. Second, on autonomy, the independence of the press is supported in an unambiguous separation from the Ethiopian incumbent, but is also challenged by alternative

accommodation with political opposition groups. Third, in terms of public participation, websites support participation in principle, but maintain a professional distance between journalists and the public in practice.

### **3. Hazem Al-Naimi (2011) The first or ancient migration of Arab newspapers towards Europe**

A study that examined the phenomenon of ancient and modern Arab press and media migration abroad, from the late nineteenth century until the twentieth century. Then the new immigration from the mid-seventies of the twentieth century until now. The study sheds light on the size of this phenomenon, its importance and its role as a major and effective part of the Arab media system. It has an impact on the general political movement, on decision-makers, on the Arab masses, and on the Arab individual of different age, educational and cultural groups. The study also dealt with the reality of this immigrant press, the dimensions of its existence as a phenomenon, the motives and reasons for its emigration, leading to an evaluation of its work and performance, and whether it was able to achieve achievements that justify its emigration, and bring it closer to the goals that it sought to achieve through this emigration (Alnuaimi, 2011).

**The study objective:** an attempt to determine the nature and framework of the phenomenon of press migration, its reality and causes, the goals it seeks, and the extent to which it is able to achieve these goals. By answering the main questions: What are the causes and motives for the migration of Arab newspapers and journalists abroad. Was the main objective of the newspapers and the media in their migration to obtain conditions of greater freedom to serve the Arab recipient by providing news, information and opinions, in respect of his right to knowledge and information, and his right as an individual or groups to express and publish opinion and deliver it to Arab public opinion.

The study started from positive preconceived hypotheses, based on the basis that these newspapers migrated due to restriction and persecution in the first place, and that they are trying to take advantage of the freedom environment available to them in the diaspora country to carry out their media duties towards their recipients honestly, and to provide news, information and different opinions to him, and that they are trying

within the influential circumstances. It should be open to different intellectual, political, cultural and social currents.

**Methodology:** The study followed the descriptive-analytical approach by reading the reality and analyzing it in a general and preliminary exploratory manner to reach to prove the validity of the hypotheses or their wrongness, with the use of the historical and documentary method in part, and the critical method for studying media phenomena that seeks to evaluate information and evidence to derive facts about the construction of the phenomenon. and the factors affecting it.

**Results and recommendations:** The study concluded that the main reason for the migration of Arab newspapers and journalists is persecution, restriction and prevention of independence and press freedoms, and that it sought to obtain a greater atmosphere of independence and freedom, and exploited this atmosphere for the benefit of the Arab liberation movement. It has also performed its duties in disseminating news, information, opinions and multiple and competing viewpoints.

However, this generalization does not mean that there are no motives and special interests for some of these newspapers and some journalists from their emigration. On the other hand, the immigrant newspapers achieved technical success that enabled them to gain the trust of the Arab reader, which led to the registration of their experience within the new Arab media system. This new reality prompted Arab governments and political and social forces to show respect for the press and the role of journalists in public life.

This press migration did not achieve everything that the citizen and the Arab public dream about of having independent media that benefit wide media freedoms that achieve his right to obtain news, information, opinions and ideas from all sources, secure his freedom of choice and selection, and give him the right to publish and exchange his information and opinions. With others, especially the political and social forces and civil society institutions, it abolishes blackouts, prohibitions, and government red lines aimed at ignoring it and pushing it to retreat, negativity and individualism. Although this immigrant model did not achieve all the hope, it created a change for the better, regardless of its relative nature and methods of journalistic work, its functions, its role and its impact on the political and social reality.

#### **4. Faruk Abuzeid (1985): The Arab Immigrant Journalism**

A research study that attempted to identify the dimensions of the phenomenon of Arab press migration since the inception of this phenomenon until the time of the study. The study started from the history of this phenomenon and its causes, and shed light on the contemporary reality of the Arab immigrant press, its content, its position on Arab regimes, and the methods on which these newspapers rely in securing their funding (Abuzeid, 1985).

**study objectives:** To identify the dimensions of the phenomenon of migration in the history of the Arab press since the inception of this phenomenon, and to study its causes, and its reality in terms of its content and its relationship with Arab regimes and methods of financing them.

**Methodologies:** Because of the diversity of the fields of study and the multiplicity of its dimensions, the researcher resorted to using more than one scientific method for research. In the section on the historical origins of the phenomenon of press migration, the researcher relied on the social approach in historical studies, in order to link the migration of the Arab press with the growth of liberal ideas and social and economic development in some Arab societies. In some aspects, the research included some descriptive and analytical studies, especially the recent migration of the Arab press, which prompted the researcher to use multiple research tools, including the content analysis tool, which the researcher used in the process of studying the image of Arab regimes in the Arab immigrant press, and in his study of financing Arab newspapers. immigrant, by analyzing the content of the media spaces in these newspapers. The researcher also resorted to using the questionnaire tool to shed light on the migration of Egyptian journalists to the Arab Gulf countries.

**Results and recommendations:** The study confirmed the validity of the three scientific hypotheses that it presented. It proved that the migration of Arab newspapers and Arab journalists was due to their lack of journalistic freedom of expression within their Arab countries, based on the study conducted by the research on the phenomenon of Arab press migration at its beginning, and contemporary Arab journalistic migration.

The study also found that some Arab immigrant newspapers play the role of a tool for some Arab regimes in defending their domestic, Arab and international policies, and a media weapon they use in their political battles with other Arab regimes.

The study reached this conclusion based on its analysis of the content of a sample of immigrant newspapers in the contemporary period to identify the image of Arab regimes in these newspapers.

The study also found that some Arab newspapers rely on self-financing to cover their expenses, while others rely on direct external funding (material support) or indirect funding (support announcements) by Arab regimes. The research reached this conclusion based on its study of the historical origins of the financing phenomenon in the Arab immigrant press and monitoring the development of the phenomenon. And by calculating the advertising spaces in the immigrant Arab newspapers, to know whether these spaces reach the minimum necessary to finance the newspaper. And also by analyzing the content of the advertisements in these newspapers to determine what they are, and whether it is a marketing advertisement that serves purely commercial purposes or it is (an advertisement of support) any advertisement that hides hidden funding to serve political purposes.

As a result, the study concluded that there is a close correlation between the degree of press freedoms in a society and the phenomenon of press migration. The greater the area of press freedoms in society, the lower the proportion of immigrant newspapers, and the fewer press freedoms in society, the greater the proportion of immigrant newspapers.

##### **5. Murat ERDOĞAN (2020): Syrians Barometer<sup>19</sup>: A framework for achieving social cohesion with Syrians in Turkey**

A study that is the widest and most comprehensive that deals with the situation of Syrian refugees in Turkey, whose number exceeded three and a half million at the end of 2019. The study sheds light on the conditions and challenges of Syrian refugees covered by temporary protection, their relations with Turkish society, their satisfaction with their conditions, and whether they intend to stay and stability in Turkey, or do they wish to return to their country, and the study also examined the feasibility of policies adopted in dealing with their presence by the Turkish government and institutions (ERDOĞAN, 2020).

**Objectives:** The study attempted to provide reliable data on a regular basis to public institutions, researchers, academics, civil society organizations, international organizations and other interested parties, to serve as a source for policies based on

empirical data. The study tried to stay out of political discussions as much as possible and draw attention to the social reality between Syrians and Turkish society. The study also examined mutual perceptions, and tracked, measured and analyzed the shift/evolution in perceptions. In this context, experiences, outlooks, expectations, anxiety, cooperation, and social cohesion processes are examined and analyzed, within the inevitable constraints of social science research.

The study focused mainly on the field of society by investigating the social situation, making empirical observations, and providing a framework on "integration". The study preferred to engage with the empirical findings of the field study and stress the fundamental importance of perceptions and social acceptance of integration, rather than developing theoretical discussions on the issue.

**Methodology:** The study measured and analyzed the views and attitudes of Syrians in Turkey and Turkish society. It is the most comprehensive study on social cohesion in this field and its main objective is to provide a "framework for achieving social cohesion with Syrians in Turkey". This is done by conducting comprehensive and extensive opinion polls, and focus group meetings. To be sure, the results that come from comprehensive surveys and focus group meetings, which serve as the basis for analysis, cannot be fully generalized.

**Results and recommendations:** The study reached a large and detailed number of results, and made many recommendations for various parties in all areas related to the issue of Syrian refugees within Turkish society.

The study concluded that the hopes and determination of Syrians in Turkey to return have diminished in part due to the continuing war and instability in Syria, in addition to their normalization of the life they established over the years in Turkey, and their ability to open up some space in every aspect of life for themselves. The study indicated that they feel more secure and satisfied with their lives in Turkey, as the problems they face in the areas of working conditions, communication, accommodation, nutrition, discrimination, health and education have decreased.

The study confirmed that despite the high level of sympathy shown by the Turkish society towards the Syrians, there is a significant decrease in this level. There is strong resistance in its midst against giving political rights to the Syrians. The study recommended developing a communication strategy based on comprehensive and

accurate information, as the results showed that a large part of negative opinions and attitudes towards Syrians in Turkish society are based on misleading or incomplete information. The study also recommended intensifying efforts to strengthen the level of social acceptance in Turkish society and make it sustainable, without overlooking its concerns.

The study said that a central planning process for the settlement of Syrians was not carried out due to their large numbers and the lack of expectation of their stay for long periods in Turkey, which caused an unbalanced number of them in different cities and regions, but this planning process is no longer possible now because of the long period that has passed and various other risks. The study recommended reconsidering the policy of travel restrictions on Syrians in terms of their necessity and possibility of implementation.

The study emphasized preventing the deterioration of the quality of services provided by public institutions, enhancing material and human capacities, improving multi-purpose community centers and increasing their numbers, and enhancing the role and effectiveness of civil society organizations.

The study recommended engaging Syrians more effectively in policy-making and integration processes, by using Syrian students in universities as strategic actors in integration processes, ensuring that they play an active role in integration processes as social bridges and role models, and ensuring the empowerment of Syrian women and to play an active role in these processes. The study indicated that although integration policies are risky, because they encourage continuity, but if the prospects for continuity are really strong, postponing integration policies is risky.

The study advised to combat informal economic activities because they are not sustainable, and create risks and losses, as well as lead to dangerous exploitation. It also recommended a reassessment of the temporary protection status of Syrians, as the average length of their stay in Turkey has exceeded 4.5 years. She pointed out that this situation began to negatively affect the merger operations. She also cautioned that the current practice of moving from temporary protection to "exceptional citizenship" creates a number of different concerns and complaints among the public. It advised allowing Syrians who have resided a certain period of time in Turkey and who meet

certain criteria to move from temporary protection to residence permits, thus finding new alternatives to granting citizenship.

The study confirmed that there is a high degree of reaction and concern within the Turkish society about the issue of granting citizenship to Syrians. Although only “skilled” individuals who are “expected to contribute to Turkey” have been granted citizenship through “exceptional citizenship”, it is necessary to manage the process with more transparency, to explain the facts more clearly and to share more information with the community, and to share funding information. External sources from the European Union and other sources with the community would help reduce the pressure on social reactions.

The study also recommended making more efforts in the field of compulsory education to prevent Syrian children from turning into “lost generations.” It stressed the need to empower Turkish teachers and increase their numbers. It also advised focusing on directing Syrian youth and adults towards vocational training, as well as the agricultural and animal husbandry sectors.

#### **6. Fulya Memişoğlu (2018): The Syrian Community in Turkey: Perspectives, Prospects, and Policies**

A research study focused on the environment that accommodates the Syrian society in Turkey by understanding and analyzing the policies made to regulate the influx of Syrians fleeing from the civil war and to facilitate their social integration into society. And examine how the policies targeting Syrians have tended to address the process of integration on legal, economic, and social levels (Memişoğlu, 2018).

**The aim of the study:** To know how the policies targeting Syrians tended to address the integration process at the legal, economic and social levels, and to increase the available knowledge about the situation of Syrians in Turkey, by identifying some of the main challenges and opportunities as told by the Syrian refugees living in Gaziantep and Istanbul. and obtaining Syrians’ insights on the extent to which local policies and regulations have facilitated an effective integration process, and how they affect the lives of Syrian society members in the public sphere. This is in various areas, including the legal status and the implications of the temporary protection regulation; employment and education opportunities; Relationships with the community and local

institutions. and the challenges facing the Syrian society in the public space, in addition to their priority demands and expectations for the future.

**Methodology:** The research relied mainly on qualitative data collected through field work in these two main refugee-hosting cities. 40 in-depth interviews were conducted with Syrian humanitarian actors, journalists, legal professionals, activists, university students, teachers, civil society and business representatives. Two workshops were also organized in Gaziantep and Istanbul, which included an in-depth discussion between the Syrian participants, officials from local authorities and relevant experts.

**Results and Recommendations:** The study concluded that the classification of Syrian refugees as guests led to the ambiguity of their legal status and made it difficult for them to understand their legal rights and obligations. She noted that there is a general lack of awareness among the public about the legal framework for refugees and temporary protection. Frequent changes in procedures, discrepancies between policies at the central level and implementation at the local level. and a lack of effective communication channels between Syrian refugees and local authorities. All this led to a blurring of their sense of legal stability in Turkey.

On the other hand, the flexible response of the Turkish state, and the tolerant attitude of the host society, was one of the most influential factors in helping refugees develop a sense of belonging and a continuity of a sense of identity. The study emphasized that learning the language of the host country facilitates social integration, and the lack of communication between the local community and the Syrians could lead to a negative bias on both sides.

However, the unexpected scale of the refugee movement and the growing security concerns of the Turkish authorities have led to the introduction of a range of restrictive policies, particularly with regard to the movement of refugees. These include the need for Syrians under temporary protection to obtain a travel document from the immigration directorates before traveling inside Turkey, the visa requirements imposed on those coming to Turkey from third countries, the tightening of border regulations, the construction of a wall on the border with Syria, and the adoption of additional conditions that made it difficult to renew the short residence permit.

The study indicated that the majority of Syrians feel that they share close cultural ties and values with the Turkish people. They appreciated the strong solidarity and sympathy shown by the local communities, the assistance provided to new arrivals, and the provision of housing and other basic needs. At the same time, they believe that their presence is now viewed negatively by the host society. This is due to the stereotype reinforced by the media in the public sphere. The most prominent aspect of this stereotype is that they are uncivilized or uneducated, and that they receive money from the Turkish government.

Given that people of working age make up a large proportion of the total Syrians in Turkey, obtaining legal work remains one of the most important issues. The most common problems in this field are the language barrier, difficulties in finding jobs in specific areas of expertise, wages below the minimum allowable, excessive working hours, as well as the conditions and restrictions in the Regulation on obtaining work permits.

Refugees find it difficult to access jobs in their areas of expertise and to obtain recognition of their professional qualifications due to language and bureaucratic barriers. Work permits in the health and education sectors require approvals from the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of National Education or the Council for Higher Education (YÖK).

Syrian entrepreneurs want better integration into Turkey's financial system and improved relations with Turkish business groups and private sector actors. Syrians who started their business in Turkey confirmed their intention to expand in the coming years, but the uncertainty caused by various factors, made them feel insecure about the future and its prospects. According to figures provided by the Human Development Foundation in October 2017, Syrians have established nearly 8,100 companies in Turkey, with investments close to \$500 million, and have provided job opportunities for about 100,000 people.

Most respondents welcomed the Turkish government's decision to eventually transfer all Syrian students into the public education system, although some expressed concerns that their children might forget their mother tongue and that it would take time to adjust to Turkish schools. The main criticisms of the technical education centers have been the poor quality of education, the segregated study environment for

children, and the lack of experienced teachers with the ability to deal with refugee students, who often need psychological support.

Respondents noted their positive experiences in Turkish schools, but highlighted some important issues. Chief among them is the difference between clear policy on education at the central level, and problems with implementation at the local level. Some families have faced resistance or rejection from school principals when enrolling their children. Sometimes children experience similar behavior during school times. Syrian families are concerned that this type of behavior harms children's sense of belonging and also creates an obstacle to social integration. The language barrier is a challenge for both teachers and students. Moreover, the discrimination and bullying that Syrian refugee children are exposed to in public schools is a social issue that requires the immediate attention of the authorities.

The study recommended the need to remove ambiguity in the legal status of the Syrians, to enhance their sense of belonging and coexistence. and establishing effective channels of communication between local authorities and the Syrian community to improve Syrians' public awareness of legal procedures and their rights.

It also recommended directing policies towards sustainable solutions to meet the long-term needs of Syrians. and encourage them to join decision-making to improve their social integration. and provide more opportunities for their interaction with the host community. The study emphasized the importance of making more efforts to provide Turkish language courses for both children and adults. She stressed the importance of the effective use of media tools in raising awareness among the local population towards Syrians, with the aim of avoiding negative perceptions or stereotypes against them.

The study suggested establishing local units that Syrian women and children can turn to obtain support and assistance in case they need protection. It recommended increasing initiatives that could expand Syrian women's employment prospects, particularly through vocational training and income-generating activities.

With regard to enabling the economic integration of Syrian society, the study emphasized the need for comprehensive strategies to facilitate Syrians' access to legal work, and to establish support mechanisms that can meet the diverse needs of skilled professionals. And taking the needs of the Syrian community into consideration in

regulating the work permit system. Including overcoming challenges in the equivalency of certificates for Syrian professionals, especially those working in the health and education sectors.

The study suggested integrating Syrians into the International Manpower Law (2016), especially those whose qualifications are expected to contribute significantly to the national economy and investments as well as science and technology. And providing more support to Syrian businessmen and investors to do business in Turkey with the support of the private and public sector.

The study indicated that there is a clear need to empower Syrian civil society groups in Turkey that are trying to support Syrian society and express their challenges. Encouraging joint activities between local civil society organizations and Syrian civil society organizations to enhance the sense of trust towards the latter and improve its recognition among the public.

## **FIRST CHAPTER**

### **UNDERSTANDING THE SYRIAN REFUGEE/MIGRATION JOURNALISM**

#### **1.1. The Media Ecosystem in Syria: A Political-Economic Overview**

##### **1.1.1. The Institutional Organization of Media in Syria**

##### **1.1.1.1. The press in Syria since the Ottoman era until Al-Ba'ath Party coup in 1963**

Syria knew journalism early compared to neighboring countries, where a number of newspapers were born before the beginning of the twentieth century, but most of them did not have a long life.

The first Syrian newspaper was in the Ottoman era under the name of Majma' al-Fawa'id, which was published in 1851, and not much information is available about it (Ahmed, 2011). As for the first official newspaper was “Syria”, the first issue of which was issued by order of the Ottoman governor in Damascus in 1865. The Syrian capital witnessed Also the birth of a newspaper called “Damascus Newspaper” that lasted for nine years between 1878-1887, followed by “Al-Sham” newspaper in 1896 and continued until 1908AD. Both newspapers are official, state-owned (De Tarrazi, 1945).

At the late of the Ottoman era, there was a great development in the field of the press, freedom of expression and the number of newspapers. With the issuance of the 1908 constitution, the number of newspapers in Damascus doubled, reaching 37

newspapers in 1915 (Luka, 2008). The number of newspapers in the whole of Syria exceeded 80 newspapers (Arslan, 2008). In 1910, Mary Ajami published "Al-Aarous" Magazine, which was the first magazine concerned with women's rights in the Middle East (Alrifaey, 1969).

According to (Alolabi, 2016), the phenomenon of freedom of expression and this media movement soon subsided due to several factors, including:

1. The deterioration of the economic conditions in the region.
2. The First World War.
3. The emergence of strict censorship laws to monitor the press.

However, that activity soon resumed with the beginning of 1918. After this date, about 42 newspapers and 13 periodicals arose in Damascus, Aleppo, Homs, and Hama, but most of them were published in Damascus (Khadur, 1972).

Then came the period of French colonialism from the beginning of the year 1920 until the independence of Syria in 1946. During this period, newspapers were subjected to severe censorship and many of them were closed, so that by 1932 there were only six newspapers remaining. The practices of the French did not stop at the end of closing newspapers, as they also imprisoned writers, thinkers and journalists opposing the French rule (Abbas, 2015).

After independence in 1946, the Syrian press experienced a kind of relative freedom, but the obstacles and restrictions were soon renewed, as they were during the days of French colonialism, albeit to a lesser degree. Any newspaper calling for reform or criticizing officials was suspended, and its owner or editor was prosecuted. (Aldughaim, 2018).

On the other hand, Publications Law No. 35 of 1949 was issued, which lifted some restrictions on the freedom to publish and own independent and partisan newspapers. The number of publications in Syria reached a record number in the fifties, reaching 52 different publications (SCM, 2007).

It is fair to say that the restrictions on the press during this period were lighter than the restrictions that were known to the press later on, in light of the military coups. The emergence of parties at this stage played a role that helped the press to continue and move. Most of the newspapers turned into a partisan press. For example, "Al-

Baath” was the mouthpiece of Al-Baath Party, “Al-Manar” was the mouthpiece of the Muslim Brotherhood, “Al-Shaab” was the newspaper of Alshaab Party, “Al-Qabas” represented the National Party, and “Sawt Al-Shaab” was the newspaper of the Communist Party (Elias, 1983).

This prosperity continued until the Syrian-Egyptian unity came in 1958, where Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser stipulated in order to complete the unity, the Syrian situation would be in harmony with the current situation in Egypt, which means the abolition of political parties, parliament and the press, which actually happened when the Syrian political forces complied with these conditions, considering that unity is more important than democracy, and this constituted a severe blow to freedom of opinion, expression and the press in Syria (Aldalati, 2020).

This period was in complete contrast to the relative freedom of expression and the remarkable media activity in the period that preceded it. The unity government established a Ministry of Information and Culture with broad powers, modeled on the Egyptian model. This ministry included a department for monitoring and another for managing newspapers and other mass media, and all independent newspapers and media were banned, and this situation did not change until after the unit ended. During the short period of separation between 1961 and 1963, partisan and political life moved, and the various media flourished with it, until the coup of March 8, 1963 came and the Baath Party seized power. A new phase began with the suppression of freedom of expression, the closure of newspapers and the complete control of the state on the media (SCM, 2007).

#### **1.1.1.2. The press and media in Syria under the rule of Al-Baath Party since**

##### **1.1.1.2.1. The printing press in Syria:**

After the Baath Party came to power through a coup in 1963, and took control of the government in Syria, the government closed all party and independent newspapers, leaving only three official newspapers speaking in the name of the authority. Al-Baath newspaper, the mouthpiece of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party. and Al-Thawra newspaper, which was established in 1963 immediately after the coup that brought the Baath Party to power in Syria. And Tishreen newspaper, which was established in 1974 (Alhalak, 2014).

These three newspapers are almost identical copies of each other, with the exception of some exceptions that characterize Tishreen newspaper, which was given a limited margin in its criticism of the ministries and ministers. Moreover, these newspapers are obliged to adopt one news agency as a source of news, which is the Syrian News Agency (SANA), which was established in 1965 and is also subject to the control of the Ministry of Information. A recent study showed that 95 percent of what is published in Al-Baath newspaper are local news and ninety percent of international news comes from this agency. The Syrian Times is the only English-speaking newspaper published by the Tishreen Foundation.

The three newspapers (Tishreen, Al-Thawra and Al-Baath) collectively distribute about 61 thousand copies per day to the entire population of about 23 million people. This number includes copies that are distributed free of charge to ministries, official departments and public institutions in various governorates. Therefore, the citizen's chance of obtaining a daily newspaper is very small (Eisa, 2009).

There is a comparison made in 1994 between a number of countries in the number of copies distributed: in Syria there were no more than two newspapers per hundred people, compared to five newspapers in Jordan, 6 in Egypt, 17 in Lebanon, and 28 in occupied Palestine. In this same year, Syria's consumption of printing and writing paper was 2.6 tons per thousand people compared to 5 tons in Egypt, about 7 tons in Jordan, about 17 tons in Lebanon, and about 49 tons in occupied Palestine, this is ten years ago, while this percentage has not changed. A lot in Syria, it has changed incrementally in occupied Palestine. As for the Syrian Times, the number of copies distributed reached nearly twelve thousand, and it has not changed since the mid-eighties (Alolabi, 2016).

#### **1.1.1.2.2. Foreign publications in Syria:**

There are not many foreign publications in Syria because the Syrian government strictly controls the entry of these publications. Distributors and sellers of foreign periodical publications must hand over copies of them to the Ministry of Information before they are distributed in the market in line with Article 9 of the Publications Law, and it is forbidden to enter or circulate these publications if it has been found that they violate national sovereignty, disturb security, or are incompatible with public morals, and these expressions that carry broad meanings give the

government unlimited authority and enable it to restrict the freedom of Syrian citizens to access information contained in foreign publications. And since many of these newspapers and magazines have become available on the Internet, the government efforts exerted in monitoring this network, as well as in blocking news sites, are very large, and this will be mentioned later when we talk about the Internet (HRW, Memorandum to the Syrian Government: Human Rights Concerns, 2002).

#### **1.1.1.2.3. Broadcasting in Syria:**

In the modern history of Syria, and since 1949, Radio Damascus has been the platform for military coups, from which statement No. 1 was broadcast, and this continued until the coup of 1963 on March 8, when some military forces from the front marched to the radio under the leadership of officers from the Baathists and Nasserites, they broadcast statement No. (1). Then the Ba'athists filtered the Nasserites with subsequent statements from Radio Damascus. In 1965, the National Command and the President of the Republic, Amin al-Hafiz, were removed with Statement No. 1, followed by fighting in the streets of Damascus. In 1970, Hafez Asad published a statement of the corrective movement and removed his opponents (Bani Ayesh, 2017).

At the time of the Ba'ath Party's accession to power, there were only two radio stations in Syria, the first being the main radio station in Damascus, and the other secondary broadcasting two hours a day from Aleppo. Subsequently, two subsidiary radio stations were established in Damascus, Sawt al-Shaab and Sawt al-Shabab. All of these radio stations are official radio stations owned by the state (SCM, 2011).

As is the case for journalists working in the written press, all radio employees are subject to dismissal from their jobs and jobs, or prosecution and investigation for the slightest political error that one of them may fall into. The radio is also subject to close monitoring by the Ministry of Information. Only the official political discourse, and some cultural, artistic and other topics that are not directly related to politics are allowed in it (Alolabi, 2016).

This situation continued until the issuance of Legislative Decree No. 10 on 2/4/2002 that amended Law No. 68 of 1951 and thus partially abolished the Syrian government's monopoly on the entertainment radio broadcasting service only, and thus the Syrian government abandoned its monopoly only on songs, music and commercial advertisements and entertainment programs, towers, and light social programs, and

remained a monopoly on everything else (SCM, *The State of Media and Freedom of Expression in Syria: A Year of Iron Censorship*, 2007).

#### **1.1.1.2.4. TV channels in Syria:**

Syrian TV with its regular and satellite channels is the official television in Syria, it was established in conjunction with the Egyptian TV in a time of unity between Egypt and Syria, as it began broadcasting in both of them in one day, the twenty-third of July 1960 (Media in Syria, 2017).

Since its inception, Syrian television has been used in all eras as a means of visual propaganda for the regime, and it has grown in use during the Ba'athist rule as a tool for unilateral official discourse, broadcasting the statements of officials, presenting their analysis, and explaining the theories and opinions deduced from their speeches and positions, and its administration supervises one of the close officials (Alali, 2020).

Broadcasters, journalists, and technologists working in visual media are subject to a strict regime of control, which may be more severe than that of those working in the written press. This is because the authorities are more sensitive to the presentation of political propositions on the screen, perhaps because the numbers of receiving audiences are much greater than the readership of the print press (Alolabi, 2016).

All television channels in Syria remained state-owned until 2005, when the Syrian regime allowed some of those close to it to open some private channels without an official license, and their activity was limited to showing drama, songs and various programs. It was subject to strict control by the regime's institutions and security forces, and some of them were closed shortly after its launch under the pretext of not having an official license. After the beginning of the Syrian revolution and the regime's need for media outlets, the regime allowed one channel (Al-Dunya TV) to broadcast political programs and news bulletins promoting the regime's narrative about its exposure to terrorism and a "universal conspiracy." This channel is owned by businessman Rami Makhlouf, a relative of the President of the Syrian regime, Bashar al-Assad, and one of the most powerful men within the narrow circle of the regime.

The Ministry of Information is directly responsible for managing government channels, supervising their work, and appointing their employees. The security forces

also follow up on journalists working for them and monitor their every move. In order to ensure control and discipline of what these channels broadcast, the entire broadcast is recorded and the live broadcast is almost non-existent, except for the speeches of the President and those of some close officials. As for cultural programs, news, sports, etc., they are all recorded and watched by the competent regulatory authorities, before they are broadcast on the air (Alolabi, 2016).

But usually, they are not sentenced to long prison terms unless they are accused of belonging to banned parties, as happened with the TV reporter Imad Nadaf, who was arrested in 1982, tortured and imprisoned in Tadmur prison, as well as the radio and television reporter Anwar Badr, who was arrested in 1986, and the two were accused of belonging to the Communist Action Party.

As for satellite dishes, they were not officially allowed at first, but despite that they were smuggled or manufactured without the approval of the authorities, until they imposed themselves and became a *fait accompli*, which the state later condoned. International and Arab satellite news channels have become the favorite of the Syrians, as they are the main source of information and news that Syrian television does not provide (SCM S. , The State of Media and Freedom of Expression in Syria: A Year of Iron Censorship, 2007).

#### **1.1.1.2.5. The internet in Syria:**

Although the world is now experiencing a communications revolution represented in communicating via the Internet and replacing the real field with the electronic field, Syria is considered one of the very late countries in this field, for until a short period the introduction of computers was originally a difficult thing in Syria in addition to other devices such as fax, mobile phone and others that remained Banned until recently. Access to the Internet was limited to elite party members, officials and workers in the authorities or those close to it, and it was not available to the general public (SCM, Online Media in Syria, 2011).

However, the authorities could not stand for long in the face of the technological revolution, and they were no longer able to prevent the use of this network, so they had to expand the circle of beneficiaries from it, but they did not give up their censorship obsession, so they blocked many sites that they believed disturb national security, as they say, it blocked many news sites, and the sites of various

human rights organizations, as well as those of the Syrian opposition abroad (Tkacheva, et al., 2013).

The government has imposed strict control over Internet service since its entry into Syria in 2000. The government has strengthened this control by controlling service providers, blocking many websites, and also by using advanced means to monitor and track users' activities. Syria is considered one of the most dangerous countries in the world for citizens, journalists and bloggers (Freedom on the Net 2012 - Syria).

The law requires internet cafe owners to register customers' names and ID numbers, but the application of this varies from place to place. While you see advertisements in the fronts of Internet cafes in the university district in Damascus indicating the necessity of registering customer data, it is rare for Internet cafe owners to ask about the identity card in the diplomatic quarter or in the Old Damascus area frequented by tourists (Helberg, 2009).

As for the online press, the most important obstacles it faces in Syria are the restrictions on it, the blocking of some websites, the lack of funding, and the lack of recognition by the Arab Advertising Agency. However, the biggest obstacle is the control of the censor, and if the traditional censor is absent from the electronic media, the restrictions are the same, and the ghost of the self-censor, which the media person exercises harshly and accurately, still prevails. The online publisher is fully aware of the limitations imposed on traditional, official and private media. An important point is that the media-carrying environment in general in Syria is the same ( AbuRashid, 2020).

It should be noted that after the start of the Syrian revolution in 2011 and the flight of large numbers of Syrian journalists to from Syria, many websites have been established that are run by refugee journalists from abroad. Most of these websites are of a political nature, and their position is against the Syrian regime, and they are always keen to attack it and highlight its violations against civilians.

## **1.1.2. The Political and Juridic Background of The Media in Syria**

### **1.1.2.1. The state of the media and freedom of expression in Syria**

#### **1.1.2.1.1. Government control of the media:**

On the first day of the Baath Party coup and its assumption of power in Syria, Statement No. 4 was issued on March 8, 1963, which categorically stipulated stopping the publication of newspapers throughout the country, with the exception of only three newspapers. It is the Arab unity, Barada, the Baath. It also stipulated that printing presses should stop printing any publication without the permission of the competent authority. In fact, this statement represents an unprecedented case in the history of laws restricting freedom of the press. With only five lines, he canceled a long history of the Syrian press, and laid the foundation for the final elimination of free civilian journalistic life (Abbas H. , 2021).

Indeed, all newspapers and periodicals were closed, and a large number of their owners were arrested. The printing presses were closed, printing tools were confiscated, the movable and immovable property of the owners of printing houses and publishing houses and the money of their families were confiscated, and they were deprived of any compensation (Bani Ayesh, 2017).

The country has entered the stage of directed government media, which believes that the media is one of the properties of the ruling party, the leader of the revolution, and he must mobilize the masses to support the goals of the party and the revolution, as well as journalists, as their task is limited to fulfilling this role.

According to (Albaba, 2012), the late Minister of Information Ahmed Iskandar, who reshaped the media in Syria according to an authoritarian perspective, addressed a group of journalists in a meeting with them. saying: "I want the entire Syrian media to be like a symphony band led by a maestro who is the Minister of Information and all of its players look at the stick that the maestro is carrying, they play according to its movements".

Then this understanding was formulated in the form of legal articles in the system of the Syrian Ministry of Information, Article 3 of which stipulates that: "The mission of the Ministry of Information is to use all media to enlighten public opinion and consolidate Arab national trends in the country and support links with Arab

countries and friendly countries according to the principles of the Arab Socialist Baath Party and state policy".

The clampdown on the media and freedom was further tightened through a set of exceptional laws, the most important of which is the Law for the Protection of the Revolution, promulgated by Legislative Decree 6 of 1965, of which Article 4 punishes with life imprisonment with hard labor or the death penalty for anyone who commits an act contrary to the socialist system, whether it actually occurred, verbally or in writing, or by any means of expression or publication. Here, the legislator deliberately did not clarify the criminal acts violating the socialist system and did not specify their nature and pillars, to use them in the face of opponents and violators and punish them with life imprisonment or the death penalty (SCM, The legal environment for the media in Syria. Paris, 2020).

The state's monopoly on all types of media continued until 2001, when a new law on publications was issued by Legislative Decree No. 50. This law gave the right to establish private media for the first time in nearly four decades, but at the same time imposed severe restrictions on the press and journalists that increased their repression, and reduced of their ability to exercise their right of expression. In terms of the result, the press and the media under the Baath Party regime in Syria have been governed for five decades by the unilateral approach pursued by the one party, the leader of the state and society, which does not allow for freedom of expression outside the framework of power.

In 2012, the Anti-Terrorism Law was issued, Article 8 of which punishes anyone who distributes printed material or stored information, whatever its form, with temporary hard labor with the intention of promoting terrorist means or terrorist acts. The same penalty is imposed on anyone who runs or uses a website for this purpose. It is clear here that the text of the article did not clarify what are the means of terrorism or the intended terrorist acts, nor did it specify its elements or its supposed results, and therefore this law can be used without any restrictions against any expression of a contrary opinion. Especially since the Syrian regime constantly accuses most of the political opponents and opposition activists of being terrorists. It must also be noted that the regime did not only punish for publishing or expressing an opinion, but for the mere use of websites that it considers terrorist.

Consequently, journalists in Syria remain vulnerable to this unilateral approach, as well as the repressive measures followed by the authority to ensure that it does not deviate from the red lines it imposes on freedom of expression, the press, and the media, and this has caused the migration of a large number of Syrian journalistic competencies abroad. There is no place here to talk about political, economic, or administrative reforms as long as the spaces for freedom of expression remain closed to a free and independent press, which performs the tasks of the Fourth Authority in terms of oversight, awareness and guidance.

#### **1.1.2.1.2. Publications Law No. 50 of 2001:**

The Syrian Publications Law No. (50) of 2001 increased the intensity of surveillance and imposed additional restrictions on journalists. Although it allowed the establishment of a private print media for the first time in nearly four decades of a total monopoly of the media by the government, it imposed significant restrictions on the exercise of the press and freedom of expression, and gave the government wide authority to restrict the work of the press and journalists and prevent them from practicing their profession freely.

However, the application of this law on the ground was not completely identical to what was stated in it, but the application was tainted by many violations of what was stipulated in the law itself. The following is a review of the most important provisions of this law (Syrian Publications Law, 2001):

Article 51 in Paragraph (A) criminalizes the transmission of “incorrect news” and the publication of “fabricated or forged papers.” The decree does not include a specific definition of any of the broad terms contained in Article 51 (A), which is characterized by a lot of vagueness, allowing for expansion Interpreting it in a way that justifies imposing sweeping restrictions if the authorities so will. This article stipulates that whoever does this is punished by imprisonment from one to three years and a fine of five hundred thousand to one million Syrian pounds, and this is considered exorbitant financial penalties in Syria. Then the article provides for the imposition of the maximum of the two penalties together “if the publication or transfer was done in bad faith or caused a disturbance to public comfort or disturbed international relations or undermined the prestige of the state or its dignity or harmed national unity or morale of the army and armed forces or caused damage to the

economy National and currency safety. These are also vague statements and may be subject to different interpretations, under which many things may fall. The entire decree does not include a specific definition of any of these terms, which are characterized by a lot of vagueness, and allow the imposition of severe restrictions according to the whims and desires of the authorities.

The Publications Law criminalizes “defamation, insult, and contempt,” and stipulates that those convicted of these crimes be punished with a fine ranging between 100,000 and 200,000 Syrian pounds and imprisonment from two months to a year according to Article 49 (A). In addition to the foregoing, Article 29 prohibits the publication of information on these issues, which is a double violation of freedom of expression.

Perhaps the most dangerous article is Article 52 (a), as it opened the door wide to the prosecution and imprisonment of journalists, writers, thinkers and others if they published or wrote something that the state considers relevant to incitement to crimes, leading to the attempt to commit them or praising them in a way that incites crime or drives to commit these crimes.

Article 52 (A) states that “Whoever incites the commission of an offense by means of publications distributed, sold, prepared for sale, or displayed in shops and public gatherings, or by advertisements hanging in the streets, and this incitement directly produces an attempt to commit an offense, shall be punished with the penalty imposed on the partner in the mentioned offense”. By releasing the text in this way without specifying these crimes or their nature and without limiting them to criminal cases, the Syrian authorities, for example, can condemn writers and journalists who call for freedom of association for all political groups in Syria. Some individuals have been prosecuted for holding peaceful meetings and engaging in other activities that the authorities consider “criminality”. Peaceful political activity and civil activity may not be included in acts that deserve prosecution.

Article 55 (b) of the Legislative Decree prohibits the receipt of funds from foreign companies or institutions "directly or indirectly" for the purpose of "advertising them and their projects through publications"; The decree does not include any definition of the term “advertising,” indicating its types, or specifying

foreign companies or institutions. Violators are punished with imprisonment from six months to one year, and a fine "equal to twice the sums received."

As for Article 55 (a), it stipulates stiffer penalties for everyone who "contacts a foreign country and receives money from it or its representatives or clients in exchange for its publicity or for its projects through publications", which is imprisonment from six months to two years and a fine from 50 thousand Syrian pounds to 100 thousand Syrian Pounds.

These rulings give the authorities wide discretionary power to prosecute members of independent civil society groups that receive funding from abroad to publish periodicals, reports, or other documents, if their content is not acceptable to the government. In addition to this, the Prime Minister has the right to revoke the license of any publication if one of its officials violates the provisions of Article 55, and Syrian civil organizations must benefit the freedom to request and receive financial support from abroad in accordance with clear legal criteria for the purpose of practicing their peaceful civil activities, including collecting information and publishing it in their own publications.

Article 55, in its paragraphs (a) and (b), contradicts the main principles that have gained wide international acceptance, deposited in the "Declaration on the Right and Responsibility of Individuals, Groups and Organs of Society in the Promotion and Protection of universally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms".

The decree in Article 44 punishes anyone who publishes a periodical without a license from the Prime Minister, with imprisonment for a maximum of three months, and the Prime Minister has the right to refuse to grant the license "for reasons related to the public interest at his discretion."

Article 56 (d) states that the license of "every publication that calls for changing the state's constitution by unconstitutional means" shall be canceled, and that those responsible for it - most likely the owner, director, and editor-in-chief of the publication - be punished with "the penalties stipulated in the laws in force." It is important to note that the term "in unconstitutional ways" can include acts that are non-violent and do not involve any incitement to violence. Hence, Article 56 (b) in fact guarantees that no publication in Syria will dare to publish articles calling for

changing the constitution in a way that changes the role of the ruling party, for example.

Article 29 provides for a long list of subjects prohibited from publishing. This list includes information related to accusation, investigations into misdemeanors and felony cases before they are read in a public session, and the facts of insult, slander, and slander cases.

It also includes the facts of secret trials and all trials related to divorce, desertion, or paternity lawsuits, all case facts that the court or investigation departments prohibit publishing, forensic doctors' reports on moral crimes, and the People's Assembly confidential memoranda.

As well as articles and news affecting national security and the unity of society, as well as those related to the security, safety, movements, numbers, armaments, equipping and camps of the army, with the exception of those issued by the Ministry of Defense or which this ministry is permitted to publish, in addition to books, letters, articles, investigations, drawings and news that contain a challenge to private life.

It seems that the ban on these topics aims to prevent any investigations or press comments regarding a wide range of cases presented to the judicial system in Syria, as well as the cases that are discussed in the elected People's Assembly, and they are two important areas of government activity.

Article 14 (1) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights permits preventing the press and the public from attending the trial, in whole or in part, for reasons of public morals, public order, national security in a democratic society, or the requirements of the privacy of the parties to the case, or in the minimum that the court deems necessary when in some exceptional circumstances, publicity would prejudice the interest of justice. However, the decree reflects the logic involved in this international standard, as it makes the prohibition of the dissemination of information the rule and its disclosure the exception.

Any violations of Articles 51 (A) and 29 may lead to the publication being suspended for a period ranging between one week and six months according to Article 22 (3). If a publication violates these provisions twice within one year, the Prime Minister may issue a decision to revoke its license based on the proposal of the

Minister of Information. The inclusion of these banned topics appears to be intended to impose a system of self-censorship on the press and other publications, and to prevent journalists and authors from reporting on a wide range of issues related to domestic and foreign policy.

The decree leaves a range of ambiguous terms without any explanation, which opens the door for their arbitrary interpretation by the authorities. The decree also places on writers, editors and publishers a burden of injustice to be imposed on them, which is a guessing of what the government might mean behind terms such as the unity of society. And national security, otherwise they may face prison sentences and fines and have their publications suspended, confiscated or closed.

The Publications Law requires that all publications being printed in Syria are subject to censorship by the executive authority. Printing houses are required to keep a register in which all books or publications that have been printed are recorded, and to hand over copies of them prior to their publication to the Ministry of Information. This rule also applies to owners of printing houses in Syria.

Article 2 (c) defines the printing press as every machine or device prepared to transmit words, pictures, badges and numbers on paper, cloth or other materials. The device prepared for solar photography and typewriters used in departments, shops, institutions and the device that is used is not included in this definition. For purely commercial purposes or to preserve copies of documents.

The owners of the printing presses must keep a record in which the titles of books or publications prepared for publication, the names of their owners, and the number of copies printed are recorded each time and in sequence of the date. This record shall be presented to the administrative or judicial authority upon each request, and the owner of the printing press must deliver copies of each publication on the day of its publication to the Ministry of Information.

Article 8 of the law stipulates that the date of printing and the serial number of the record kept by the printing press shall be mentioned in every publication, adding that this measure applies to all types of publications and leaflets issued in any printing method, as well as to photography, engraving, drawing and musical pieces, and whoever violates any of these the sentences are punishable by imprisonment from ten days to three months, and a fine of between 10,000 and 50,000 Syrian pounds.

Then the law exaggerates the punishment and uses in the light of this loose expressions that do not contain precise legal determinants such as breaching the security and the integrity of the country as it permits the courts to decide to close the printing presses or libraries temporarily or permanently in the event of repeated violations that breach the security or the sovereignty and integrity of the country Article 43 (a).

This law prohibits periodical publications licensed as non-political from publishing political articles, and the owners of publications that violate this ban are punished with a fine ranging between 20 thousand Syrian pounds and 50 thousand Syrian pounds according to Article 44 (d). It is known that it is impossible to separate politics issues with economic, social, cultural or Religious, so thus the government can employ this article at any time it wants. This ban is considered as comprehensive government censorship and violates international standards for freedom of expression.

Articles 16, 18 and 19 of the Legislative Decree stipulate that the owner, director, and editor-in-chief of a periodical should be a Syrian Arab, which suggests that Syrian citizens of other ethnicities are not entitled to own newspapers and other periodical publications or to hold high-ranking positions in them.

Article 16 prohibits the owner of any periodical having been previously convicted of a heinous crime, dismissal from his job, or stripped of his civil and political rights. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of peaceful political activists in Syria have fallen into such a situation, who have been imprisoned for long periods in many cases, after the State Security Court convicted them of vaguely worded criminal charges, which are unconstitutional, which do not meet the international standards to Fair Trial in its procedures and practices, and its rulings may not be appealed.

This court, when issuing its rulings on political activists, has used to impose an additional legal penalty on them, which is to strip them of their civil rights for a period of seven or ten years, after the term of imprisonment imposed on them has expired, and the application of Article 16 would prohibit former political prisoners from possessing Newspapers or other periodicals or holding key positions in them, such as directors and editors-in-chief.

The legislative decree gives the prime minister the authority to grant licenses for newspapers and other periodical publications, including those issued by licensed

political parties. Article 12 (a) grants the prime minister the right to refuse to grant a license for reasons of public interest, and the legislative decree is devoid of any definition of the expression of public interest, and Article 12 (b) suggests that there are additional special conditions related to the licensing of political daily newspapers, as it stipulates that they must be complied with instructions Related to preparing the newspaper, its specifications, editors and correspondents, and subscribing to news agencies that are determined by a decision issued by the Minister.

The law imposes governmental controls on journalists, as it requires that journalists working in the media, including researchers and translators working in the field of media, be registered with the Journalists' Union in order to be able to obtain a press card granted by the Minister of Information, valid for one year (Articles 27 and 28). Thus, the freedom to practice journalistic work according to this law is conditional on the journalist's joining the Syrian Journalists Union.

Human Rights Watch believes that the application of this law would stifle the free flow of information and opinions in Syria and the right of citizens to be fully informed of information in this era of almost instantaneous exchange of information worldwide. The problem of these provisions, according to Human Rights Watch, is that the practice of peaceful political activity is still criminalized by law in Syria.

After the publication of Publications Law No. 50 of 2001, Human Rights Watch said that it expressed in a letter to President Bashar al-Assad its condemnation of its issuance, and expressed its concern about the freedom of presses, libraries and publications, and urged him to delete or amend the texts contained in it that violate one of human rights. internationally recognized right to freedom of expression (HRW, Syria: Stifling Freedom of Expression, 2002).

The organization said in a report issued ten years after the law was issued, that it gives the government wide powers to control and censor newspapers, magazines and other periodicals, as well as anything else printed in Syria, from books to leaflets and brochures to posters and banners. The government has extended these restrictions to writing on Internet outlets, and has previously prosecuted journalists, bloggers, and citizens who dared criticize the authorities or the president (HRW, Syria: The Lost decade, 2010).

#### **1.1.2.1.3. Legislative Decree No. 10 of 2002 amending the Law on the Basic Statute of Broadcasting:**

The Syrian government adopted a policy of gradualism in abolishing the state's monopoly on the media. After nearly a year had passed since private publications were permitted in accordance with the new Publications Law in 2001, Legislative Decree No. 10 of 2002 was issued (Legislative Decree No. 10, 2002), which added an article to Law No. 68 of 1951, which excluded private and commercial radio stations of the decision restricting the right to use the air broadcasting waves in government and military agencies in accordance with Article 1 of Law 68 of 1951, as Article 2 of Law No. 68 states:

Paragraph (a): Commercial and private radio broadcasts are excluded from this restriction, which is limited to music programs, singing programs and advertisements, provided that the provisions of Article 8 of Law No. 68 are adhered to. The decision to license these broadcasts is issued by the Prime Minister upon the proposal of the Minister of Information.

Paragraph (b): A regulatory decision issued by the Prime Minister upon the proposal of the Minister of Information shall determine the rules for granting licenses to private commercial broadcasters, their principles and conditions, in addition to the conditions for the exercise of their duties and work.

Thus, the Syrian government has abolished its monopoly only on songs, music, commercial advertisements, entertainment programs, horoscopes, and light social programs, and has remained monopolizing everything except that.

#### **1.1.2.1.4. Journalists Union Law No. 1 of 1990:**

When the Union of Journalists was established, there was no private press in Syria, and Legislative Decree No. (58) of 1974 limited the right to join the union to journalists working in state institutions only. The Union's law (Law of the Syrian Journalists Union, 1990) did not stipulate the abolition of these provisions. Dozens of private newspapers that include hundreds of journalists who cannot join this union, do not have the right to be members with full rights and capacity, and do not have the right to form independent unions.

At the same time, the Syrian Journalists Union includes hundreds of members who are not journalists and have never practiced the profession of journalism, and they

are entitled to exercise all rights to nominate, elect, and membership in press bodies and committees, and to benefit from all privileges.

The Syrian Journalists Union Law is considered one of the most laws in the world that establishes the dependence of the Journalists Syndicate to the ruling party and to the government, transforming it from an independent professional union into a mobilizing administrative and directive body.

The definition of the Journalists Union came in Article (3) of the law to confirm this, stating that “the Journalists Union is a professional trade union organization that believes in the goals of the Arab nation in unity, freedom and socialism and is committed to working to achieve them in accordance with the decisions and directives of the Arab Socialist Baath Party.”

In order to be a member of the union, the journalist was required to “believe” in these specific goals. In Article 4, the Union committed itself to work in cooperation with the official, popular and professional bodies to achieve these goals. “Building a conscious, nationalist Arab media that strengthens the bonds of brotherhood between the sons of the Arab nation and contributes to the struggle to achieve its goals of unity, freedom and socialism, and supports its struggle against imperialism and Zionism and its racist base (the Zionist entity) in occupied Palestine and exposing all the forces dealing with it.” Article (41).

Article (5), in its fifth paragraph, requires the union to coordinate with the competent office in the regional leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party in order to carry out any events, activities, conferences or festivals.

Article (2) of the law deprives journalists of the possibility of establishing multiple independent federations by stipulating that "journalists in the Syrian Arab Republic shall form one professional trade union organization called the Union of Journalists".

The law opens the door for the intervention of both the Minister of Information and the Prime Minister and gives them exceptional powers that amount to the dissolution of the Journalists' Union. In addition to considering the organization and registration of reporters as one of the rights of the Minister of Information alone without the Union, the Minister of Information is also the one who forms by a decision from him the Disciplinary Council according to Article 57 deals with imposing severe

penalties on journalists, which amount to final removal from the Federation's tables, according to Article 54 (b).

In addition, the Minister of Information is the one who issues and approves the executive regulations of the Union's law, such as the Federation's internal system, the financial system, and the internal system of the Journalists' Pension Fund.

Usually, grants, donations, and wills constitute the main source of the Union of Journalists, which may give it the possibility to develop the work of journalists and increase their earnings, and although the law allows the union to accept this vital type of resource, it requires the approval of the Prime Minister according to Article 65 (5).

Article (103), gave the Council of Ministers the right to dissolve all or any of the elected bodies of the Union: "It is permissible by a decision of the Council of Ministers to dissolve the General Conference or the Federation Council or its office in If any of them deviates from their duties and objectives, and the decision is not subject to any method of review or appeal.

Article (104) gave the Prime Minister the powers of the President of the Union to call for the election of a new council and office, and if that was not possible, the Prime Minister could replace the General Conference of Journalists and the Federation Council and appoint a temporary office for the Union that exercises the functions of the office and the Council.

Article (10) paragraph (c) of the bylaw of the Union of Journalists gave the right to workers in any media outlet of the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party or popular organizations the right to register in the list of participating journalists, while it prohibited him from other political parties, even those in alliance with the Ba'ath Party in the National Progressive Front, and also prohibited him from Employees of independent organizations.

Article (6) paragraph (7) also stipulates that the affiliation of persons appointed to public authorities with a profession or work that has nothing to do with journalism is not accepted. This article also graduates a wide range of actual journalists who work in other professions for public agencies. For example, a teacher or engineer cannot, while a teacher can or the engineer who works in the private sector may affiliate with the union, and that adopting the principle of work for a public authority implies an incomprehensible discrimination.

Despite the acceptance of the law in Article (8) of the principle of resorting to the judiciary in the event of rejection of the registration application, but it was returned in Article 12 and deprived of this right for the trainee who spent the training period - which sometimes reaches four years - and successfully passed the exercise test of this right in the event of a confirmation request His membership, as paragraph (b) of Article 12 gave the right to reject his request by a decision concluded by the Union's office without having any rights to object to this decision, which makes the Union's office absolutely control the selection of the active members in it, and who alone belongs to them the right to participate in the association General and the right to be nominated and elected.

In addition, Article (10) stipulated that the office accept the press agency chosen by the trainee to train in it, and also without the right to object or review if it was rejected.

Article 18 stipulates that in order to practice the profession of journalism, the journalist must be registered in one of the Federation's schedules, that is, he must be a working journalist, an apprentice, or a participant. Therefore, anyone who is not registered in one of the Federation's schedules is not entitled to practice the profession of journalism.

The law gives the president of the federation wide - obstructive - powers that make him able to obstruct the decisions of the General Conference and the decisions of the Federation Council and the Federation's office, as well as disrupt the elections by abstaining from issuing these decisions or abstaining from calling meetings without indicating the way to act in the event that the President of the Federation uses these powers stipulated in Articles (21), (22), (26), (27), (34), (41), (44) and (45).

#### **1.1.2.2. Syrian regime's violations against Syrian journalists**

All journalists in Syria are subject to strict censorship and held accountable for every word. They may be punished with various penalties if they cross any of the many red lines, or are exposed to any of the prohibited topics that contained in the publications law (Alolabi, 2016).

According to the laws mentioned in the previous section of this study, all journalists working for official newspapers are required to be members of the Ba'ath Party, except for some exceptional cases of some close to the regime or statesmen.

They are also required to be registered with the Syndicate of Journalists. The law requires the head of the Journalists Syndicate to prepare a list of journalists and to classify them into working journalists, trained journalists, and cooperating journalists. Syrian law stipulates that no journalist is allowed to work unless his name is on this list and that the list has been approved by the Minister of Information.

The Syrian Center for Media and Freedom of Expression published a list of the Syrian regime's violations of freedom of expression in Syria during the period between the fifth month of 2007 and the fifth month of 2008. This list can be considered as an example of what journalists and activists are exposed to in Syria. The list included attacks on Syrian journalists during the mentioned period (SCM & RSF, The state of media and freedom of expression in Syria, 2008):

The sentencing of journalist Michel Kilo on May 13, 2007 by the Second Criminal Court in Damascus to imprisonment for a period of three years on charges of weakening national sentiment in accordance with Article 285 of the Syrian Penal Code, and imprisonment for a period of three months on the charge of awakening sectarian strife in support of Article 307 / From the Syrian Penal Code, the two penalties were combined in favor of the more severe punishment.

Sentencing of journalist and political activist Mahmoud Issa by the Second Criminal Court in Damascus on 05/13/2007 to three years imprisonment on charges of weakening national sentiment.

The ruling against writer Adel Tawfiq Mahfoud by the Court of First Instance in the city of Tartous on May 14, 2007, to six months imprisonment and a fine of 200 pounds for disturbing the purity of the nation.

The issue of 17/5/2007 of Baladna newspaper was withdrawn from the markets and its publication was halted by an oral decision by the Ministry of Information until further notice following the publication of a caricature by Alaa Rostom on page 32 depicting how to approve the nomination of President Bashar Al-Assad in Parliament to the state New presidential.

The kidnapping of journalist Salar Aussi by the Syrian security services from the street in the President's Bridge area in Damascus at 6:30 pm on 06/03/2007, where he was detained in solitary confinement and was not released until ten days later without any charges being brought against him.

The trial of journalists Muhannad Abd al-Rahman and Alaa Hamdoun by the Military Court in Damascus on 25/6/2007 on charges of undermining the prestige of the state according to Article 287 of the Penal Code, after their arrest by the Political Security Agency.

Blogger Tariq Omar Al-Bayasi was arrested by the Military Security Branch in Tartous Governorate for the second time in a week on 7/7/2007, and it is likely that the reason for his arrest is related to his access to electronic websites.

Issue 116 of Boursaat and Aswaq Magazine was withdrawn from the market on 7/8/2007 by an oral decision from the Ministry of Information, against the background of the investigation prepared by journalist Tamer Al-Awam on the issue of burying nuclear waste in Syria

The poet Khalaf Ali Al-Khalaf was interrogated by the Palestine Branch in Damascus during his visit to his country, Syria, from Saudi Arabia, against the background of an article entitled Syria, a country without hope.

Japanese News Agency correspondent, Saif al-Khayyat, an Iraqi journalist, was expelled on 9/8/2007 after covering the presidential referendum and being beaten by members of the Syrian security services and forcing him to sign a pledge to leave the country within three days.

The investigation with the journalist Maya Jamous after the publication of a press investigation entitled (Mazza 86, a distorted city - a suffocated countryside and the state is waiting for an earthquake) by the Mantaqa branch in Damascus for the third time, and she was asked to sign a declaration pledging not to publish on electronic opposition sites and not to mock state agencies in Her articles.

Sentencing to imprisonment Zain Al-Abidin Majaan for two years on 9/23/2007 by the Supreme State Security Court on charges of "carrying out actions, writings, or speeches that are not authorized by the state and corrupting its relation with foreign country", because he published comments on the Internet in which he attacked Saudi Arabia.

Journalist Waddah Muhyiddin was banned from publishing in government media by a decision of the Syrian Ministry of Information No. 293 dated 2-12-2007, and the ministry also requested both the Director General of the Unity Foundation for Press, Printing and Publishing, the General Director of the Public Authority for Radio

and Television and the editors-in-chief of Tishreen newspaper Al-Thawra and Syria Times not to deal with the aforementioned and not to publish any article about him in these newspapers or affiliated newspapers in the Syrian governorates.

The writer and political analyst Akram Al-Bunni was arrested from his home at 9 am on the 12th of December 2007.

The arrest of journalist Ali Al-Abdullah, a graduate of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Damascus, who writes for a number of Arab publications, including Al-Hayat, the Ambassador, and the Gulf, against the background of his participation in the meeting of the National Council of the Damascus Declaration. Al-Abdullah was targeted in the past, as he was arrested in 1994 at Damascus International Airport upon his return from Tunisia, and he was released six months later, and he was arrested for the second time in March 2005 because of his activities in the Jamal Al-Atassi Forum for Democratic Dialogue. He was accused of spreading false news, and he was sentenced to six months in prison, of which he served five months, before he was released. Under a presidential pardon, he was arrested for the third time in March 2006 with his son Muhammad Al-Abdullah, while they were participating in a peaceful march in front of the Supreme Court of State Security.

The arrest of the journalist Fayez Sarah by the Syrian State Security at 11 noon on Thursday 3/1/2008 against the background of his conviction in a television program he hosted on January 1, 2008, the mass arrests of December. He was slapped, kicked, punched and beaten on the face and on other parts of his body during his detention, and the journalist Fayez Sarah works as a reporter for the Jordanian newspaper Al-Arab Al-Youm, and writes for several Arab publications, including Al-Hayat, Al-Safir, Al-Mustaqbal and Al-Noor.

The passport of writer Hassiba Abdul Rahman was refused renewal by the Immigration and Passports Department in Damascus on 1/6/2008 due to the presence of two security notes prohibiting her from traveling.

Journalist Mazen Darwish and Hassan Kamel were arrested on 11/1/2008 while they were conducting a press investigation into the events that took place in the Adra Al-Balad area, where they conducted interviews with the people and took

pictures showing the attacks on private property, and they were arrested and referred to the Military Police and the Military Prosecution.

The attack on the studio of the plastic artist Talal Abu Dan by those believed to be members of the security forces in the city of Aleppo on 01/21/2007, where they destroyed all the assets, including paintings, statues and objects.

Referring the writer Ahmed Al-Hajji Al-Khalaf to the military judiciary following an article he published on multiple websites on the Internet criticizing the Directorate of Education in Raqqa, based on an allegation made by the Minister of Education, considering what was mentioned in the article affects the prestige of the state, weakens confidence in public authority and undermines integrity The public case was brought against him by the Military Public Prosecution in Aleppo on 4/2/2008 for the offense of defaming a public administration in support of Article / 378 / General Punishments.

Writer Osama Edward Qaryo was arrested by the State Security Service in Al-Hasakah on 27/2/2008 for his writings and expressing his opinion through an article he wrote under the title No gas, no oil, no electricity.

The arrest of the journalist Muhammad Badi Dak al-Bab, who works for the Space Toon channel for children on 2/3/2008, by the Military Security Service in Damascus against the background of an article he had entitled (Minister of Information without Borders) on January 27 2008 in which he criticized the performance of the Syrian Minister of Information Mohsen Bilal defending the regime's policies in Syria during the Without Borders program on the Qatari satellite channel Al-Jazeera

The director of programs at the Syrian Center for Media and Freedom of Expression, Adnan Hamdan was arrested by the Military Security branch in Damascus and interrogated against the background of his general activities on 3/13/2008.

Writer Pierre Rustom was arrested on 3/15/2008 by the Air Security Branch in Aleppo Governorate, after which his house in the village of Jenderes was raided by a patrol belonging to the same organization and confiscated his personal computer and some of his books and papers.

The director of the press office at the Ministry of Education declared on 3/17/2008 that he had instructions from the Minister not to deal with correspondents of local websites, accusing them of misleading and lying.

Writer and journalist Firas Saad was sentenced to four years imprisonment by the (exceptional) Supreme State Security Court in Damascus on 7/4/2008 on the charge of publishing false news that weakens the nation's psyche, on the background of his writings for several articles in Arab newspapers and periodicals, especially those published on Al-Hiwar Al-Civilized website Among them are his articles on Syria's position on the July war between Lebanon and Israel and an article analyzing Syria's international and Arab approach and another entitled Michel Kilo revealing the Syrian disease. The ruling came in accordance with Article 268 of the General Penal Code as indicative of Decree No. 6 of 1968 related to countering the goals of the revolution in unity and Freedom, socialism and opposition to the socialist system against the background of its exercise of its natural right to express opinion.

On 4/8/2008, journalist Jaber Bakr was dismissed from his work due to his suggestion to send journalists to follow a training course on media laws, on 4/8/2008, and he was working on a site affiliated to the Syrian Scientific Society for Informatics.

The director of the press office in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor improperly determines the tasks of his office by dealing only with correspondents of official newspapers and refrains from submitting the reports issued by the ministry to private media correspondents.

The First Criminal Court in Aleppo issued Decision No. 873 on 7/26/2007, which obliges both the journalist Waddah Mohiuddin and the editor-in-chief of the magazine Mrs. Hana Zantout and the citizen Basil Kossan, the owner of the case, to pay 100 thousand Syrian pounds as material compensation to the judge who was accused of corruption after the fall The criminal case for amnesty, because the magazine published in Issue 65-66 documents and defenses supporting the corruption incident and on which the appeal submitted against the decision of the First Criminal Court in Aleppo will be based in a press investigation entitled (This is in Aleppo) prepared by the journalist Waddah Mohiuddin and published in Issue 9 of Buqaa Dawah magazine, dated 5/8/2006, reveals a case of corruption taking place in the corridors of the Aleppo City Council and the corridors of the Justice Palace in Aleppo, according to the magazine's description.

The Syrian Network for Human Rights (SNHR) said that 709 journalists and media workers were killed by the parties to the conflict and the controlling forces in

Syria from March 2011 until May 2021, including 52 who were killed due to torture, and 9 foreign journalists.

According (SNHR, 2021), the Syrian regime forces and allied local and foreign militias killed 552 during the mentioned period, including one woman, 5 foreign journalists, and 47 due to torture inside detention centers. While the Russian forces killed 23 journalists, the ISIS 64 journalists, including 3 foreign journalists, Hayat Tahrir al-Sham (formerly Al-Nusra) 8, the armed opposition 25 journalists, the SDF (Syrian branch of PKK) 4 journalists, the International Coalition forces 1 journalist, and 32 journalists at the hands of other parties Not specified. The network added that 1,563 were wounded by the parties to the conflict and the controlling forces in Syria.

On the level of arbitrary arrest and enforced disappearance, (SNHR, 2021) said that it had documented at least 1,211 cases of arrest and kidnapping of journalists and media workers at the hands of the parties to the conflict and the controlling forces in Syria since March 2011. At least 432 of them remain, including 3 women and 17 foreign journalists. Under arrest or enforced disappearance until May 2021. And 357 journalists were arrested or forcibly disappeared by the Syrian regime, including two women, 4 foreign journalists, 8 journalists by Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham, 12 by the armed opposition, 7 by SDF forces (Syrian branch of PKK), in addition to 48 including a woman, and 8 foreign journalists had been arrested by the ISIS, and they were among the forcibly disappeared, of unknown fate.

According to (RSF, World Press Freedom Ranking, 2020), Syria ranked 174th out of 179 countries worldwide in the Press Freedom Indexes for 2020. Syria also ranked second in the world in the Committee to Protect Journalists' Global Impunity Index. The index identifies the deadliest countries for journalists in terms of targeting journalists with murder out of revenge, while the killers remain free (CPJ, 2020).

As for (FreedomHouse, 2021), Syria ranked last in the world in terms of freedoms for the year 2021, based on indicators assessing the state of freedoms and democracy in 195 countries. The report ranked Syria number 1 globally, as the worst country that respects freedoms and democracy. The indicators of the report measure the rights and freedoms benefited by individuals, especially with regard to political

rights and civil liberties, based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The report relies on 25 indicators to assess the state of democracy in countries, and categorizes them into three levels, free, partially free, and not free.

## **1.2. Understanding The Migration Journalism: In Theory and Practice**

### **1.2.1. Defining The Journalism in Migration and/or as Refugee**

The migration of the press or its resort to countries other than the countries to which it belongs is not a relatively recent phenomenon, but it has not been subject to much scientific research as a social phenomenon, much light has not been shed on it except within the context of the political and human rights issues that led to it. Also, most of the studies that dealt with the phenomenon of the immigrant press focused on its conditions and effects, did not focus on setting a specific definition for it, so it is not easy to reach a scientific definition in the light of previous studies and related literature.

In the Middle East, at the Arab level in particular, the phenomenon of press or media migration began since the late nineteenth century, and has continued to the present time, and has constituted an important factor in the development of Arab media and its means, and had a clear impact on political and social changes in the region.

(Alnuaimi, 2011) defined Arab press migration as the transfer, formation, issuance or creation of newspapers, magazines and publications directed primarily to the Arab region and the Arab citizen from Europe. He pointed out that the role and impact of this migration cannot be overlooked, as it was and still is a major and active part of the Arab media system, and it has an impact on the general political movement, on decision-makers, various forces and events, on the street, the Arab masses and their groups, and on the Arab individual from various segments. age, educational and cultural.

As for (Alghobashi, 2004) defined the Arab immigrant press as being the newspapers issued by Arab immigrants to Western countries and speaking in Arabic, not the newspapers issued by non-Arab parties in the Arabic language, nor the

international editions that appear in some Arab newspapers. He explained that the most important factors behind the emergence of this type of press is the lack of Arab journalists, as well as Arab newspapers in many Arab countries, of the ability to express their opinions, ideas and positions freely, either due to the authoritarian nature of some regimes, or due to the presence of legal restrictions on the exercise of press freedoms, or because of a dispute between newspapers and journalists and the regimes of government in their countries.

There are other factors in the opinion of Alghobashi that contributed to the existence of this phenomenon, such as the interference of external forces, foreign or Arab, which prevented journalists from expressing their opinions and ideas. As well as the existence of laws for publications in Arab countries, which prevent individuals from issuing newspapers, the nationalization of the press in some countries, as well as encouraging some Arab regimes to establish newspapers in the diaspora to be an informal voice expressing their policies. Some countries have turned into an arena of civil war that prevents the stability of newspapers. In addition to the fragmentation that occurred in the Arab countries after the Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel.

As for (Abuzeid, 1985) elaborated on the historical roots of the phenomenon of the Arab immigrant press and its ancient and modern causes, and spoke about the content of these newspapers and their view of the Arab regimes, and also touched on their sources of funding and the accusations leveled against them, but he did not put a clear definition of it as a phenomenon. Although his study of it clarified many aspects of this phenomenon, which helps in defining it.

According to the definition provided by (Alqaoud, 1992), the Arab immigrant press is a phenomenon whose owners wanted to search for a better climate than freedom of expression. Therefore, they traveled with their pens to some Western capitals to publish a number of newspapers through which they aimed to address the issues of the Arab world, away from the censorship authority and the interventions of the regimes, in addition to paying attention to the affairs of Arab minorities in the West. However, he believes that despite the noble purpose for which these newspapers were issued, in fact they deviated from their course and contributed to deepening the distorted reality, increasing division, and deepening differences between the Arab

countries each other. A service to some of the regimes that used to finance these newspapers.

For his part, (Shumow, 2012) defines “transnationalism”, as an introduction to understanding the phenomenon of immigrant journalism, and defines it as the multiple links that connect people or institutions across the borders of nation-states, which are formed and reformed through the activities of immigrants who at the same time assimilated into More than a community, it can be carried out by larger institutional entities, such as corporations, but also by a mass of ordinary people.

On the human rights side, most international organizations focused in their reports, statements and agreements that contributed to their implementation on the aspects that fall within their interest in the phenomenon of immigrant journalism. About where they are, the nature of their work, and the destination they are targeting. For their part, organizations concerned with refugee affairs focus on the fact that they are refugees who left their countries for fear of persecution for expressing their opinions. Thus, these organizations' approach to the phenomenon is limited to the part that falls within their interest only, so they define it regardless of the rest of the aspects of the phenomenon.

As for the definition of a journalist from a human rights perspective, the international conventions concerned with the protection of journalists did not specify it, whether in the regulations on the laws and customs of land wars annexed to the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, which also did not address the definition of newspaper reporters who accompany the armed forces stipulated in Article 13. We also find that Article 81 of the Geneva Convention of 1929 stipulates the press reporter without giving any definition of it like the two previous agreements. As for the Third Geneva Convention of 1949 concerning the treatment of prisoners, it stipulates in Article 4/A that war correspondents who accompany the armed forces without being part of it without giving a definition to the journalist. The same applies to Article 79 of Additional Protocol I of 1977, which is not mentioned in it also a statement of the concept of journalists (Aldamen, 2012).

It should be noted that the first definition of a journalist or a war correspondent was included in Article 2/A of the draft United Nations Convention to Protect Journalists Who Perform Dangerous Tasks in Areas of Armed Conflict, but

this agreement has not yet seen the light of day. It states that a journalist is every reporter, press informant, television cameraman, photographer and their technical assistants in the cinema, radio and television who practice the aforementioned activity on a regular basis as their main profession (Elhawary, 2017).

In the practical dictionary of international humanitarian law, a journalist is defined in times of armed conflict as a person who seeks to obtain information, comments on it, or uses it for the purpose of publishing it in the press, radio, on the screen, or his assistants. Some believe that a war correspondent is what international law defines as every specialized journalist who is present in the theater of operations with authorization and protection from the armed forces of one of the warring parties, and his task is to inform about relevant events during the occurrence of hostilities (Bouchet-Saulnier, 2007).

As for the definition of a refugee, the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees defines him as every person who is outside his country of nationality or country of habitual residence because of a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of race, religion, nationality, or membership of a social group, or to political opinion, and because of that fear he is unable or unwilling to seek shelter in the protection of that country or to return to it for fear of persecution (The United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its Protocol, 1951).

For a migrant, the International Organization for Migration defines it as any person who moves or has previously moved across international borders or within the borders of the same country, away from their usual place of residence, regardless of the person's legal status; whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; reasons for moving; or length of stay (IMO, n.d.).

As a result, a migrant journalist can be defined as every person who practices a journalistic work, whether it is editorial or technical, or works for the benefit of a press institution to serve its journalistic work, outside the borders of the country to which he belongs, regardless of the reasons that prompted him to do so.

As for a refugee journalist, it can be defined as every journalist who was forced to leave his country or place of residence, for fear of persecution, because of practicing his profession or because of expressing his opinion, and he continued to

practice his profession, whether his work targeted an audience in his country of origin or in the host country.

Immigrant press can also be defined as press institutions that operate outside the country to which they belong, speak its language, and target its audience, regardless of where this audience is located, whether it is in the home country or in the host country.

As for the press in asylum, it can be defined as press institutions that are established outside the country to which they belong, or that were forced to leave it due to persecution or restrictions there, and speak its language, and target their audience, whether inside or outside it.

### **1.2.2. The Obstacles in Refugee Journalism: Rethinking the Syrian Case**

Despite the passage of more than a decade since the beginning of the Syrian revolution, and its subsequent transformation into a violent armed conflict, due to the excessive force used by the regime in the face of defenseless civilians protesting against it. And what followed was a wide split in the army, and then multilateral foreign intervention and trends. Despite the issues and effects that resulted from all of this, most notably the huge wave of refugees, which was described as the largest refugee wave in the modern era, or at least since World War II, few studies and reports dealt with the phenomenon of Syrian journalists, as they are an important and influential part of this. The events, especially in terms of the restrictions and difficulties they face in the neighboring countries in which they settled most, especially Turkey, which was the biggest destination for them.

The report of Reporters Without Borders (RSF, Syrian Journalists Leaving to Tell The Tale, 2016) is one of the few publications that dealt with the issue of Syrian refugee journalists in Syria's neighboring countries and the obstacles they face. The report dealt with the Syrian journalists present in Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon, using the method of repeated and intersecting testimonies that human rights organizations usually follow. The report included multiple testimonies that talk about the conditions in which Syrian journalists live and work in the three mentioned countries, in addition to their fears and challenges.

The organization chose, as a title for its report: "Syrian Refugee Journalists Leave to Tell the Story" To indicate the peculiarity that distinguishes the conditions of

these Syrian journalists from the rest of the Syrian refugees, because they chose to stay in neighboring countries after they left their country, Syria, to be able to continue working on reporting what is happening inside their country borders to the world. Therefore, it is important in this research to review what was mentioned in this report, with the aim of shedding light on the situation of Syrian journalists in neighboring countries through the testimonies contained therein, as a starting point that was used to understand this phenomenon and its circumstances. In view of the subject of this research, the focus will be on the part related to it, which is the part of the Syrian journalists present in Turkey, and the testimonies contained in it that can be considered a background that helps in developing a perception of what could be the conditions of these journalists in Turkey.

As Syrian journalists are part of the phenomenon of refugee or immigrant journalism in general, the obstacles they face will be an example of the difficulties that the immigrant press or asylum can face. Therefore, these obstacles will be reviewed in this section of the research and the subsequent sections in this chapter.

At first, (RSF, Syrian Journalists Leaving to Tell The Tale, 2016) stated that United Nations statistics confirm that Turkey hosts the largest number of refugees in the world, and that it has also received the largest number of Syrian refugees. The report indicated that research conducted by Reporters Without Borders found that Turkey is the first destination for Syrian journalists and media professionals who wish to continue working on covering Syrian affairs. The report pointed out that a closer look at the situation of Syrian journalists in Turkey shows significant legal, security, economic and social obstacles they face in order to carry out and maintain their work, and thus affect their ability to secure their needs, and ensure their personal security and the security of their families, and this affects their future and the future of the Syrian media as a whole. The report suggested that the situation could be improved by legal recognition of their profession and providing the media in which they work with the necessary licenses, as well as publishing police investigations into security issues affecting Syrian journalists in Turkey.

### **1.2.3. Limitations to Freedom of Movement**

In general, freedom of movement is one of the basic human rights recognized by international laws and norms, and it is respected by the constitutions of most

countries around the world. (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948) states in Article 13: “Everyone has freedom of movement and the choice of his place of residence, within the borders of every state” and “Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to it”. Also, (International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966) recognized the right of movement in Article 12: “Everyone has the freedom to move and choose his place of residence anywhere within the state in which he is lawfully located,” and “any individual has the right to leave any state freely, including his own”. Defenders of the rights of migrants and refugees rely on these texts in that the right of movement is not limited to movement within the borders of one country, but goes beyond that to movement between different countries.

As for journalists, their profession has a special nature that requires constant movement to reach the places of events and news sources, so ensuring their right to movement is crucial to ensuring their ability to continue practicing their profession as it should. With regard to Syrian journalists in Turkey, (RSF, Syrian Journalists Leaving to Tell The Tale, 2016) in its section on restrictions on freedom of movement conveys testimonies about the way in which the majority of Syrian journalists interviewed by Reporters Without Borders arrived in Turkey, where most of these testimonies indicate that they arrived illegally due to lack of There is a legal way to allow them to enter.

However, the report mentions here that since 2011 the Turkish authorities have maintained an open border policy with Syria, but in 2014 began to apply restrictions on border gates until the border was completely closed to Syrians in early 2015, with very few cases allowed. The exceptional humanity in crossing, and when the borders were open this allowed journalist to go freely to Syria to work there and return to their place of settlement in Turkey, but the closure of the borders prevented almost all journalists from continuing their work in Syria.

The report also provides testimonies of violations against Syrian journalists while trying to cross the border into Turkey by the border guards, and how the border guards arrested them, beat them, cursed them, and then returned them to Syrian territory, where they were later able to return to Turkey through smuggling, so most of them decided That they do not return again to cover from inside Syria, and only work on remote coverage from where they are in Turkey.

With regard to talking about the freedom of movement of Syrian journalists in Turkey, it is necessary to pass on their legal status, which directly affects their freedom of movement. They, like other Syrians, are entitled to temporary protection status, once they have registered with the Turkish authorities and obtained the foreigner's temporary protection identity card. Thus, they can receive medical care, education and the right to work, under certain conditions. However, registration on this card is not always open in all Turkish provinces, and is also subject to different regulations and practices in each province.

Although their stay in Turkey is legal under this card, the freedom of movement of Syrian journalists within the country is restricted. For example, when Syrians registered in Gaziantep wish to travel to another city, they have to apply for a travel permit with the local authorities. And return the document to the issuing office upon their return, and if they do not, they face administrative problems, and given that most provinces have stopped providing Syrians with identity or travel permission, their freedom of movement between Turkish regions is considered restricted.

According to (ERDOĞAN, 2020), the measures to restrict the movement of Syrians between the Turkish provinces are not feasible and difficult to implement and have lost their necessity, and although there are systems that prevent them from leaving the city in which they are registered, it is not possible to stop their movement in practice, so it is clear that the regulations regarding Syrians' travel restrictions definitely need to be reconsidered in terms of their usefulness, necessity and feasibility.

As for (Memişoğlu, 2018) reported that the unexpected scale of the refugee movement and the growing security concerns of the Turkish authorities led to the introduction of a set of restrictive policies, especially with regard to the movement of refugees. These include the need for Syrians under temporary protection to obtain a travel document from the immigration directorates before traveling inside Turkey, visa requirements imposed on those coming to Turkey from third countries, tightening border regulations, building a wall on the border with Syria, and introducing additional conditions that made it difficult to renew a short stay.

These cumbersome procedures add to the burdens on exiled Syrians, which are exacerbated when they are journalists, although these restrictions are considered acceptable by many Syrians, given that they view them as security rules and

procedures set by the authorities, but when it comes to journalists, these restrictions become a challenge to their work, depriving them of freedom of movement so essential to their profession, and to be clear, there are certain official days and hours when a journalist is allowed to apply for a travel pass, and of course when events happen they don't wait for a journalist to get a travel pass to cover them.

Some journalists have found a legal solution that can help them bypass these restrictions and do their work, as they request and obtain a tourist residence permit, allowing them complete freedom of movement in Turkey. However, this type of permit deprives them of some of the benefits that they are entitled to when they hold a temporary protection identity, such as access to medical care, education and some aid. Very few journalists were able to obtain a work permit, which is the best way to work legally and benefit from freedom of movement in Turkey. Obtaining a work permit is difficult because it requires conditions that the majority of Syrians cannot meet.

According to (RSF, Syrian Journalists Leaving to Tell The Tale, 2016), all journalists interviewed by Reporters Without Borders expressed their urgent need to obtain an identity card recognized in Turkey, in order to facilitate their work in Turkey and across the border in Syria. On January 22, 2016, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan met with a number of Syrian journalists in Istanbul to discuss their problems. He said at the meeting that the Turkish authorities were studying the issue of proper licensing and granting press identification cards to Syrian media organizations and Syrian journalists in Turkey. Indeed, a number of journalists have been granted work licenses, and others have been granted Turkish citizenship, and thus the ability to work and move freely, but these procedures have not yet covered most Syrian journalists in Turkey.

#### **1.2.4. Under Cover Work**

Working in unlicensed institutions is one of the most prominent challenges facing Syrians in general in Turkey. The same applies to their work in licensed institutions without obtaining an official work permit. However, work without official permission is often the result of working in unlicensed institutions. This situation raises many legal and financial problems, the most important of which is the lack of a sound legal formula between the worker and the institution in which he works that protects

the rights of both parties. Not to mention working under conditions that do not comply with the rights of the worker and expose him to exploitation by employers.

The same applies to Syrian journalists who are refugees in Turkey, most of whom work in unlicensed media organizations or have not been able to obtain the necessary permits to work on Turkish soil. This may reflect on their job security and guarantee their professional and financial rights, and may hinder their ability to practice their profession.

According to (ERDOĞAN, 2020), although Syrians have been granted the right to apply for work permits since January 2016, it seems that most of them are still working in the informal economy, that is, in unlicensed enterprises. The problem of the informal economy is one of the most important structural problems of the Turkish economy, and it is not limited to Syrians only, but it makes them work in a difficult and unsafe working environment for very low wages. On the other hand, their work in the informal economy in maintaining a high level of social acceptance, played a role in preventing crises in Turkey in the short term by allowing the Syrians access to paid work, and reducing the level of Turks losing their jobs due to Syrians.

As for the Syrian media institutions in Turkey, (RSF, Syrian Journalists Leaving to Tell The Tale, 2016) said that unlicensed media threaten the job security and long-term career goals of their employees. Although it can be said that Syrian media organizations and journalists work freely in Turkey - that is, without interference from the government - they do so illegally and without an appropriate legal framework, and this makes them liable at all times, and makes the organizations and their employees vulnerable and puts them under constant threat shutdown or worse.

(RSF, Syrian Journalists Leaving to Tell The Tale, 2016) reports testimonies of Syrian journalists who confirmed that the institutions in which they work have not faced any problem, interference or harassment by the Turkish authorities. However, they faced some security problems, and they were not able to deal with them due to the lack of a license for the institutions in which they work. For example, one of the directors of media institutions in Turkey spoke of being assaulted in his office by someone, and when he went to the police to report this, the police officer told him that

if he wanted to take legal procedures, they had to report his illegal office and work, so he had to give up his right to police protection.

In this context, (RSF, Syrian Journalists Leaving to Tell The Tale, 2016) confirms that most Syrian media organizations in Turkey do not have a legal license, and they rarely take legal steps to obtain it or take other steps such as registering as a non-profit organization, production company, or others. As a result of this lack of legal or “semi-legal” status, these media outlets are not entitled to provide their employees with legal employment contracts that would allow them to obtain work permits, and thus do not receive the protection of the labor law or decent working conditions, which greatly affects their level of satisfaction with their jobs and their sense of job security.

An independent Syrian journalist in Gaziantep, says that he was exploited by one employer, and the other is also a Syrian journalist, because he had no choice, he used to sign empty monthly salary receipts, and he did not know the real monthly salary that he was supposed to be due to them, and sometimes They did not pay him at all, according to his testimony. In another testimony, another Syrian journalist confirms that no one working in the Syrian media in Turkey feels safe, as fatigue has become a condition for keeping a job. While a Syrian radio announcer asserts in his testimony that he has absolutely no guarantee that he will not lose his job at any time, and how an employee may lose his only source of income with a word from the manager.

In the context of job security, the erratic flow of money from donors, on which most Syrian media organizations in Turkey depend, leads to persistent concerns; Syrian media institutions are always concerned about the sudden reduction in funds, and this situation causes other problems such as manipulation or corruption in these institutions, which negatively affects the journalists working with them sense of job security.

#### **1.2.5. Threats and Security Constraints**

There is no doubt that safety is the most important thing that refugees look for in the host country, as it is assumed that they originally left their homeland to escape persecution and the threat to which they were subjected or had fears of exposure. In the case of journalists, the security factor becomes more important, because they have an opinion, and their opinion is often the reason for their

persecution. Sometimes they are haunted by the source of threats and persecution from which they fled to the host country, especially if they continue to express their critical opinion. Therefore, a sense of security plays a crucial role in the ability of refugee journalists to continue in their profession.

In the Syrian case, the Syrian regime has shown ferocity in targeting its opponents and enemies outside the borders, especially if they are influential, continue their activity that annoys it, or represent a symbol of the revolution against it. This was the case with Lieutenant-Colonel Hussein Harmoush, the first Syrian officer to defect from the Syrian regime army at the beginning of the Syrian revolution in 2011. After his defection, he founded the Free Officers Movement, and tried to return to Syria to lead an armed struggle against the Syrian regime forces. But he suddenly disappeared from his place of residence in the camp of dissident Syrian officers in the Turkish state of Hatay, to appear two weeks later on the official Syrian television screen, and the effects of torture are clear on him, and he makes confessions about his role in the "cosmic conspiracy" that the Syrian regime claims to be exposed to, to become clear later. That the Syrian regime kidnapped him from Turkish territory. Later, the Turkish courts tried the people involved in his kidnapping. In the end, media and human rights reports (which have not been confirmed) spread the news of his execution or killing under torture in detention (BBC, 2011).

It is true that Lieutenant-Colonel Hussein Harmoush was a military and not a journalist, but at the moment of his kidnapping he was outside Syrian territory as a refugee in another country. Of course, at the time of his kidnapping he was not carrying weapons and fighting the regime forces, but rather he was in a civilian camp allocated by the Turkish government at the time for those arriving with their families to its lands of the officers who defected from the Syrian regime, of course, in addition to dozens of camps that were designated for civilian refugees. The Turkish government's allocation of this camp to the officers' residence was to protect them from the expected retaliation by the Syrian regime, but the regime's agents lured the colonel out of the safe camp, kidnapped him and transferred him to Syrian territory (Zaman Alwsl, 2016).

It is no secret that journalists and opinion-makers in general are among the most important targets of repressive and authoritarian regimes, especially in times of wars and conflicts. Media and human rights reports have reported several attempts by

the Syrian intelligence to kidnap or kill activists outside the Syrian borders. Not to mention the constant threats to Syrian refugee journalists in various countries of the world.

The Syrian regime did not remain the only target group for journalists and refugee activists outside the borders. After the protracted war in Syria, the conflict parties and the places of control were many. The resulting chaos led to the emergence of many organizations and militias, or their arrival from abroad. This constituted an additional security burden on Syrian refugee journalists in general, and those in Turkey in particular, due to their geographical proximity to conflict areas and the extension of the Syrian-Turkish border for nearly a thousand kilometers, which makes it difficult to control.

Given that most of the Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey are involved in covering the Syrian issue, highlighting the events in it, and perhaps the violations committed against civilians by some parties. The coverage they are doing may disturb any party in Syria, prompting it to try to take revenge on them or target them to silence their voice. Constantly, Syrian journalists report the stories of threats by the Syrian regime or various other parties, especially ISIS and the SDF linked to the PKK.

In this regard, (RSF, Syrian Journalists Leaving to Tell The Tale, 2016) talked about how self-censorship is creating a loophole that restricts Syrian journalists in Turkey, due to the cross-border fear of ISIS, and quotes a Syrian journalist as saying that he edited an article four times and deleted some information until the final text became different from what he wanted to say, because He does not want to be shot in the head by an unknown person.

The killing of Syrian journalist Naji Jurf has caused tremendous fear among Syrian journalists in Turkey, where some journalists stated that this moment marked a turning point in their lives, explaining that they take ISIS threats seriously, even when they are not directed at them. One of the journalists described in his testimony How he changed his home more than once after hearing how ISIS had killed members of the "Raqqa is Being Slaughtered Silently" group in Urfa, and when he heard that Naji Jurf had been killed. In another testimony, another journalist in Gaziantep said that no one knows yet who killed Jurf or why, explaining that news spread that ISIS had claimed responsibility for the assassination, but ISIS did not actually claim responsibility

directly, but rather showed a picture of Jurf in a videotape. He issued it later, without confirming that he was responsible for his assassination. In his opinion, Syrian journalists need to know more about what happened, so that they can take safety measures to protect their lives.

#### **1.2.6. Press Coverage of Crises**

The media is one of the main and effective factors, and a tool of crisis management equipment, as the media is one of the weapons of the modern era and the most dangerous, effective and decisive in international conflicts, and a tool for making events and influencing their course and trends as a means of conveying their news. This is due to the huge capabilities of the media that help in its transmission very quickly, crossing borders, and overcoming obstacles, through many audios, reading and visual means, and because of its ability to psychologically influence individuals and intellectual control over societies, directing behaviors, and then using the media intelligently in Crisis management and coverage (Husain, 2012).

The history of crises goes back to the history of human existence, and their appearance coincides with their activities. At the individual level, some crises may pose a grave danger to human life and property. As for the state, crises may lead to an increase in its burdens and responsibilities, and sometimes may lead to a radical change in the situation. economic, political and social, what threatens the entity of the state or exposes it to consequences beyond its tolerance and the limits of its capabilities. All countries, without exception, are liable to be the scene of any kind of crises. Crises have become an integral part of the fabric of contemporary life. Which prompts attention to the ladder of crisis management.

The media in crises has two possible aspects of influence. The first is a positive effect through the use of intensive media campaigns to convey increasing amounts of news and information to the crisis audience, to make them aware of its dimensions, and to draw a targeted impression. The second is a negative impact through the media blackout based on ignoring news and information, and not conveying it to the crisis audience, with the aim of depriving it of forming an impression of it.

This blackout is either complete and comprehensive, through which the public is completely isolated from the crisis, depriving it of forming any opinion or

perception about it, and thus preventing it from taking any positive behavior towards it. Ignoring and media blackout may be partial, by paying attention to one of the parties to the crisis and ignoring the other, focusing on this side and formulating news about it in a certain way. This type of news coverage of the crisis is called: media distortion, which is done by formulating events, rearranging facts and selecting Incidents whose news is formulated in the form and content that serves to confirm a particular point of view and deny other points of view, or raise doubts about its credibility and truth.

In order for the press coverage of the crisis to be effective, it must be based on facts, during which the journalist interacts with the environment surrounding the crisis, and is accurate in conveying information and events, in order to gain credibility for experiencing the crisis in its dimensions.

In times of crisis, especially wars, the media plays complex roles, going beyond the issue of news and providing the public with information. It plays other roles, some of which are propaganda, some of which are diplomatic, and some of them are known as the combat role or what is termed as media war. From a media perspective, there are press frameworks to adjust news coverage in times of crises and wars, allowing journalists to work with a large amount of information quickly, enabling them to locate each piece of information in its appropriate place in the news story.

The process of forming frames contains inclusion and exclusion. (Entman, 1991) explains the characteristics of inclusion and exclusion in frame formation by emphasizing that the frames themselves select and call attention to certain aspects of the truth being discussed, and logically this means that the frameworks themselves direct attention away from the aspects the other.

Thus, the context in which the news about an event is placed greatly affects the public's perception of that event. And both (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981) believe that people change their preferences if the problem is placed in different frameworks. According to (Krosnick & Alwin, 1988) the methods of formulating questions affect the responses of people in the behavior and public opinion questionnaires. (Rothman, Salovey, Antone, Keough, & Martin, 1993) stated that the effect of the formation of frameworks is not limited to public opinion only, but extends beyond it to include other aspects such as individual behavior.

In media coverage of conflicts, the focus is usually on official sources in reporting events, and the contradictory narrative is ignored. Describing conflicts and their parties is another feature of press coverage, and the media uses certain classifications in times of crises and wars to describe people and events that often lead to stereotypical and ready opinions that result from repetition in vocabulary, such as the use of the term terrorism and terrorist, which is the most prevalent in the ratings of American newspapers and magazines when referring to it. For certain conflicts or certain people, especially if they are Muslims. In the modern era, the media are used in a sophisticated way in making wars, by creating justifications, falsifying reality, media disinformation, withholding or absorbing information, and building a positive and dark image of the enemy (Husain, 2012).

The press coverage of crises passes through the following stages, according to (Husain, 2012):

- Random coverage stage: It is the stage in which the media has not yet reached the level of integrated coordination, and the reason is that the crisis is still in its early stages.
- Organized mobilization stage: This stage comes after the media knows the importance of the crisis, and directs a group of journalists to the site of the event to work on broadcasting news first-hand and commenting on it, and press coverage in it reaches the highest levels of organized coordination.
- The stage of adaptation to the post-crisis reality: in which the media sets a new strategy that is commensurate with the state of affairs in the crisis society, and works to participate in crystallizing new concepts of the variables, bringing them closer to public opinion and helping it to evaluate them.

According to (Sharif, 2009), it is necessary for the media to be a means to confront rumors when covering conflicts, and in press coverage of crises, it is necessary to know the nature of the political system in which the crisis occurred, and the nature of the target audiences. The media must pay attention to the importance of dealing properly with the pros and cons of the crisis, and pay attention to the high efficiency of editors and correspondents during covering news of crises, wars and

conflicts, as they are a link and communication between the masses and political decision makers, especially in times of crisis. As well as the importance of the speed factor in press coverage when dealing with and confronting a crisis, and gaining the confidence of the public internally and externally to resolve crises and conflicts, as part of the social responsibility placed on the journalist in managing conflict and succeeding in eliminating problems. The media was not there to start the fire, but to put it out.

The methods of journalistic writing when covering conflicts and crises are summarized in the importance of constantly following up on the event, and relying on three people in the press, they are the delegate and the resident foreign correspondent or the circulating foreign correspondent. Through which he can seize the news. The most successful newspapers in covering crises are the ones that have a large number of correspondents in foreign and Arab countries, which you can employ to cover various types of events while covering wars or conflicts. To the journalist from government sources or by one of the parties to the crisis or conflict or from his private confidential sources.

A clear example of this is what mentioned by (Hallin, 1986) regarding the investigations that were conducted about the American press coverage of the Vietnam War. The case of the Vietnam War shows that the media's support for or criticism of government policies depends on the extent to which these policies gain consensus, especially within the framework of the political establishment.

Although journalistic content may not reflect the truth, media organizations do reflect the prevailing pattern of political debate. When the consensus is strong, it often remains within the confines of the political debate defined by that consensus, and when the consensus collapses, media coverage becomes more inclined to criticize, the viewpoints it presents becomes more diverse and different, and officials find it more difficult to control them.

The media's way of dividing the public's awareness, consolidating its sense of collective self, against the negative mental image of others, and forming different impressions towards each component, can have a dangerous impact, especially in times of crisis. Usually, the media tend to enhance the feeling of patriotism by

portraying the other using a language that evokes his belonging, by using racist language that reinforces the negative mental image of others.

According to (Hallin, 1986), many studies that dealt with the Vietnam War showed how the media often abandoned the principle of objectivity in favor of taking a patriotic position in the press coverage of the war. For example, there is a contrast between the way the press describes the behavior of the national army and the behavior of the enemy's army. The attack carried out by our army is a peaceful attack or in order to achieve peace. As for the primitive and savage enemy, it is launching a barbaric attack, and we must work to stop this attack and eliminate its effects.

#### **1.2.7. Media Ethics in Time of Crises: Bias and Objectivity in Reporting Crises**

Journalists face thorny ethical questions during their coverage of crises, especially if the crisis develops, and results in armed conflict or open war, as is the case in Syria. When violence prevails in wars, it becomes difficult for the journalist in the field to apply the ethical standards that he is accustomed to during the exercise of his profession in times of peace, especially in light of his presence under the potential pressure of the armed forces that he covers in their area, whether they are regular forces affiliated with one of the parties The conflict, or were irregular groups or militias, arose in the chaos resulting from the war. It gets worse when the journalist witnesses violations committed by these parties. Of course, this does not justify emancipating the journalist from all ethical standards in order to ensure his ability to continue his coverage.

This puts the media in front of complex ethical problems. On the one hand, the media is keen to be present in the field through its correspondent to convey the developments of what is happening first-hand, and on the other hand, its correspondent in the field faces difficult questions, which puts them in front of choices that may lead to the end of their ability to Continuing to cover the event from the field, and some media outlets may abandon some ethical standards in order to continue their coverage.

Often these ethical questions raised by ethical problems during press coverage in times of crises and wars are similar, even if the place, time and parties differ. The most prominent of these questions, for example:

1. Is the journalist silent about the violations practiced by the side covering in his area?

2. Is it correct for newspapers to publish pictures of the dead, or must they preserve the sanctity and dignity of the dead?
3. Should newspapers take into account the feelings and sorrows of those who lost loved ones in the war?
4. Is it correct for a journalist to work on the side controlled by the enemy, and what is the relativity that he sees in his view of the enemy or friend?
5. Does the journalist bypass the restrictions imposed by the military forces in the area in which he covers?

On the other hand, the debate is expanding in professional and academic circles and at the public level about the credibility of the media in dealing with the successive crises the world is witnessing. And whenever a crisis occurs around the world, there is renewed talk about standards of truth in wars and crises. This brings to mind the words of the pioneer of Greek tragedy Aeschylus in the fifth century BC: The first victim in war is the truth (Sadekni, 2016).

According to (Williams, 2003), the media turns to making the imagined or spiritual truth about war, while its work is mostly related to truth of reality in ordinary times and events. This difference between the two types of facts reflects the level of involvement in which the media is located in Periods of wars and crises. Where they are monitored and controlled in order to manufacture the truth and not transfer it. Among the most important restrictions that prevent the media from conveying the truth about crises and wars to the public: self and institutional censorship, political commitment, national duty, and routine work conditions in the media.

As a result of these restrictions on conveying facts about the war, lies about the numbers of casualties and the extent of civilian and military losses, as well as contradictory accounts of massacres and violations against civilians, emerge as an old and continuous strategy since World War I and World War II, through the Vietnam War, and the first and second Gulf Wars and the subsequent occupation of Iraq, as well as the great discrepancy between the statements of the warring parties in Syria on the numbers of civilian casualties, military losses and accounts of massacres and violations against civilians.

All of these conditions that the media experience in times of wars and crises raise important questions about their moral choices, and show the need for professional

codes of honor for media work, especially in military conflicts and wars, which media must organizations and journalists are bound. It is useful here to point out some moral controls, which cannot be accepted by the media during wartime, such as not encouraging violence by any side or justifying violations against any side, respecting the human dignity of all parties, and sympathizing with civilian victims from any side.

Here, it must be recalled that the public's right to obtain information is one of the most important duties of the media towards society, and the media is supposed to be committed to preserving this right by conveying information in an objective and balanced manner that includes the opinions of various sides. In times of crisis and war, the public's need for real information about what is happening increases, and thus the responsibility of the media to ensure that it is properly delivered.

This brings us back to discussing the issue of bias and objectivity by journalists and the media during coverage of crises and wars, and an attempt to determine the extent of the ability or desire of journalists and the media to maintain objectivity and avoid bias in covering crises and wars.

Several studies such as (Clutterbuck, 1983), (Picard, 1993), (Schmid & De Graaf, 1982) confirmed that objectivity is a difficult value to apply to journalistic coverage of political violence events in times of crisis, due to the nature of the communication structure of these events, which produce bias and omission of too much information about the reader.

According to (Hossam El Din, 2003), Events of political violence do not occur in a vacuum and are not separated from their social and institutional contexts that regulate the frameworks in which communication messages are formed that are transmitted during and after times of crisis. Therefore, studying these messages and their types and their impact on weakening or strengthening the institutional structures in which they occur, as well as the relationship of the media to these institutions, and the messages they exchange with them is important in understanding the dynamics of political violence events and the role of the media in them.

The institutional social context in which it occurs takes more than one form. Sometimes, groups of political violence reject some institutions and social relations, and try to restore social balance by changing the pattern of control over some institutions, such as the violence pursued by the Puerto Rican minority in USA.

Existing conditions and the distribution of power within it, for example what the French government did to reduce opposition to nuclear tests in the South Pacific by blowing up the ship of the Green Peace group, and this applies to countries that get rid of their opponents abroad.

The media, as a social institution, is exposed to the same forces that affect other institutions, and therefore it works to keep its values and standards in line with the values and standards of the society in which it operates. Herbert Altschul argues that the media act as a support for the economic and social forces that exist in the environment in which they broadcast their messages, so they regularly exclude values that struggle with those prevailing in society and that are abnormal or alien to it (Picard, 1993).

In turn, (Livingstone, 1982) provides a media explanation for the relationship between news coverage and violence, its content is that excluding some non-dominant values in society, adopted by some forces or groups, from the interests and priorities of the media is consistent with the political and institutional exclusion of them. Which drives them to violence, in light of the inability of these groups related to violence and the crisis to deliver their messages that carry their ideological theses in politics, culture, economics, social relations...etc., through traditional media. That is, they carry out political and military violence, and through the media's coverage of them, they can communicate their presence and ideas to public opinion.

It must be noted here that the institutional social context in which violence occurs is different in liberal democratic societies such as USA and EU, than in societies subject to repressive authoritarian regimes, as is the case in Syria. In democratic societies, intellectual and media institutions operate independently of state control and restrictions, and benefit independence in decision-making and funding, unlike societies in authoritarian states, in which the state strongly controls intellectual and media institutions.

According to (Rashti, 1978), media coverage in crises and wars is by nature a type of communication that occurs as these events occur. Communication in general is the process of collecting, transmitting, and making meaning of information. Just as this communication occurs between the media and its audience, it also occurs between various parties, such as the government, its officials and supporters, as well as the

perpetrators of violence and their supporters, and between the victims and their families. Communication is useful in explaining its role in society, and in defining the location and function of the media in the communicative building.

In communication systems, each individual works automatically, but in connection with the social system as a whole, and is affected by the rest of the individuals and institutions in this system, and at the same time he exercises an influence on the rest of the individuals and institutions, so the change in one part of the social system affects the rest of the parts, Communication is what prompts this process. And the communication process is continuous as well as being dynamic, because its participants exchange jobs. (Berlo, 1960) describes the flow of the communication model by saying: "If we understand communication as a process, we will see events and relationships in a dynamic, changing and continuous, that has no beginning, ending or a specific course of events, the parts of communication interact. Each affects the other.

When press or media coverage of violent events occurs, communication here establishes a complex stream of communication that includes unidirectional and bidirectional flow, as the information transmitted by the media is transmitted to all its target audience from the general public, the group that was a party to the violence and crisis events, and groups Others supporting it or the opposition, and to the target government and other governments. The media also receives information from all of these parties, and transmits it to all parties again. This means that the media acts as a pump that occupies the position of the heart in the communication model, distributes information to its parts, and controls the amount and type of communication that takes place within each part of the model, On the basis of which the information is transmitted back to the media to continue the process in a dynamic flowing manner (Hossam El Din, 2003).

In the case of governments that control the media and control the media message, communication occurs between the government and its media tools before these tools in turn transmit the message to the general public, groups and other parties involved in the crisis or conflict, as well as other governments. And this is the step in which the impact on the message occurs in terms of content and the way it is presented. The ideas of the targeted government, which underestimate or exaggerate the incident, are formulated to preserve its prestige or to win the sympathy of the general public in

its battle with the other side of the crisis or conflict, as sympathetic media broadcasts. Or those in favor of this party information that is withheld by the official media, as well as providing news of official government violence that government or state-controlled media are reluctant to broadcast.

According to (Picard, 1993), there are four basic type processing used by media professionals and affect the meaning that the public derives from the events of the crisis, especially the events of political violence:

1. The processing of information that confirms the facts of reality transmitted through the sources and documents. When this approach is used, a calm and honest transmission conveys the information to the public, and this processing is found in the initial coverage of news of political violence.
2. The processing of excitement, and the media material is used in a way that emphasizes warning, threat, anger, fear, incitement and excitement thrilling.
3. The processing of the human feature story, which involves great symbolism, as it often focuses on individuals as heroes or villains, victims or criminals. That they are hostages in the hands of terrorism, or that they are presented as a repressed nation that a certain group restores their stolen rights from the brutal regime
4. Adopts an explanatory approach that focuses on answering questions such as how and why the events of political violence take place in this way, and press coverage focuses on violent groups and their tactics, the reasons for adopting violence, the excitement that results from that, and the position of the authority towards them.

When using any of these types of processing, it helps to determine the meaning conveyed about the events. Quiet and honest news coverage will result in less emotional response, less fear, and the reader or viewer puts violent events and crises in their natural size, and the entrance to excitement will increase. Distributing newspapers, raising television viewership, and increasing fear and panic among people. The format plays a key role in influencing readers or viewers. In the print media, newspapers and magazines, the space occupied by the subject, the number and

even the content of the subject matter, as well as the sheer volume of headlines increase the perceptual effects, especially if they come with sensationalistic wording or manipulation of human news stories. For audio-visual media, broadcast time plays an important role in increasing the impact on viewers and listeners, as well as ways of weaving news materials between radio and television materials (Hossam El Din, 2003).

Returning to the Syrian case, we find that objectivity was often lost when covering news of violence. Most journalists on the ground were divided into two groups. The first is an opponent of the Syrian regime, working hard to shed light on the massacres and violations against civilians, committed by its forces and allied militias. And the other section, sided with the Syrian regime, justifying all its crimes, attacking its victims, demonizing them, and describing them in the worst descriptions.

As for the Arab and international media, in turn, they were divided into two parts. The first insisted on continuing to cover the violations of the Syrian regime forces and allied militias, which prompted the Syrian regime to close its offices and pursue its correspondents, or arrest and kill them in some cases documented by human rights organizations (we mentioned some of them in this research). The other part modified its editorial policy to become more flexible towards the Syrian regime by adopting its version of events, in addition to adopting correspondents loyal to it, and gaining the confidence of its intelligence.

Consequently, the press coverage of what is happening in Syria has varied greatly, as the media operating from abroad or in areas outside the control of the Syrian regime adopt the opposing viewpoint, and relentlessly shed light on its massacres, violations and targeting of civilians. While the media affiliated with the Syrian regime or operating in its areas of control adopt its version of events and the justifications it provides to justify its violations, and its correspondents accompany its forces in their military operations in Syrian cities and villages.

After the expansion of the scene and the multiplicity of areas of control in Syria, and the entry of the International Coalition on the line and its support for the SDF militia, which is linked to PKK, and its control over large areas in eastern and northeastern Syria. it also became has journalists and media outlets operating in its areas of control, and in turn justifies its violations against civilians. For example, these

media outlets justified the displacement of Arab and Turkmen populations from hundreds of cities and villages in the areas controlled by these militias with the support of the International Coalition, claiming that the people are loyal to the ISIS and constitute an incubator for it.



## **SECOND CHAPTER**

### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **2.1. The Results**

In this chapter, the study tried to answer the questions raised in light of the answers obtained from the questionnaire specially designed for this purpose. This is after conducting a simple statistical analysis based on ratios and differential values, with the use of statistical illustration methods such as graphs in order to facilitate reading of the results.

The number of responses to the study questionnaire amounted to 64 responses out of 100 Syrian journalists representing the sample of the study who were asked to participate by answering the questions raised in the questionnaire. The rest apologized for participating for reasons most of which were related to their security or employment concerns, and some of them expressed their sense of the futility of participating to change their reality. Despite the efforts that were made to convince them, they did not accept participation, and the participation rate was limited to only 64% of the targeted sample.

The following is a presentation of the results that the study claims to have answered the questions previously asked about the study problem within the methodological framework. It must be pointed out here to the methodological limitations imposed by the method used by the research, as the answers to the questions

do not represent the entire research community, but only the opinion of those who participated in answering the questionnaire.

### 2.1.1. Social and Personal Conditions of Syrian Journalists in Turkey

In this section, the sub-question about who are the Syrian journalists in Turkey has been answered, which aims to know the social and personal conditions of these journalists, as well as the length of their stay in Turkey. This was done by analyzing the answers that were received to the questions related to it in the study questionnaire, and according to the results that were revealed after collecting and analyzing the data.

#### 2.1.1.1. Sex of respondents

The number of respondents to the question of determining the sex of the respondents of the questionnaire was 64, out of 64 journalists who generally responded to the questionnaire. According to the answers to this question:

57 of them were male out of the 64 journalists who answered the question.

7 only they answered that they are females.

Consequently, the percentage of males among the respondents was 89.1%, and the percentage of females was 10.9%. (As in Figure 1.)

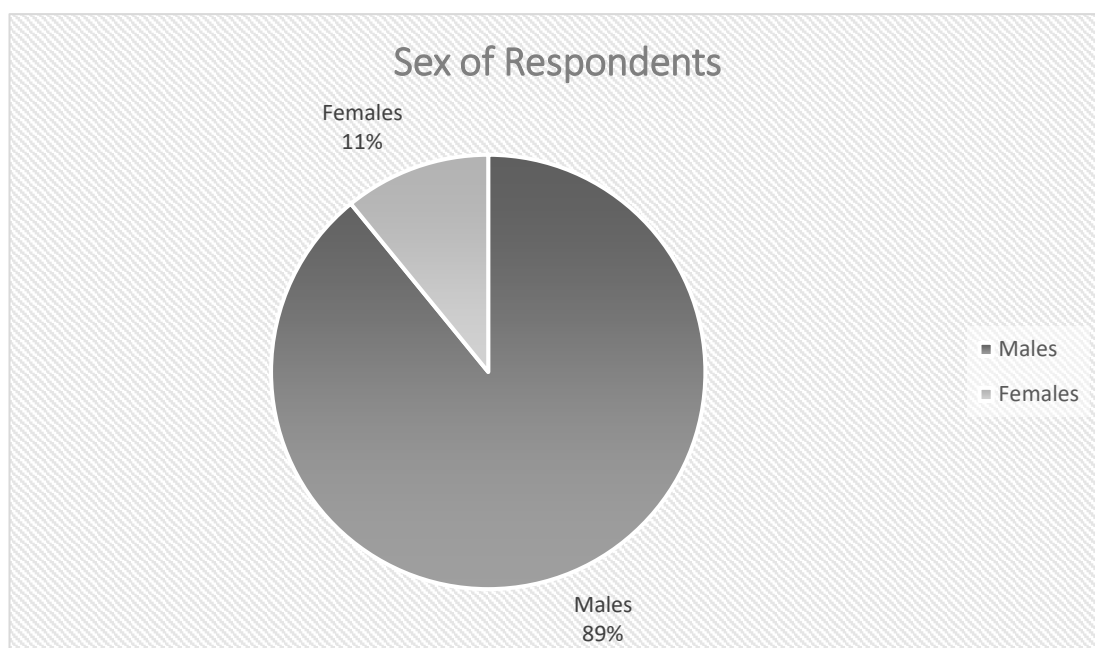


Figure 2. Sex of the participants in the answer to the questionnaire

### 2.1.1.2. Social status of Respondents

The number of respondents to the question regarding the marital status of the participants in the questionnaire was 62 journalists out of 64 journalists who participated in the questionnaire. According to the answers to this question:

44 journalists answered that they are married.

17 journalists answered that they are single.

1 person replied that it was separate.

As a result, the percentage of married was 71% of those who answered this question. And the proportion of singles were 27.4% of those who participated in answering the question. As for the divorced, their rate was 1.6% out of the number of those who answered the question. (As in Figure 2.)

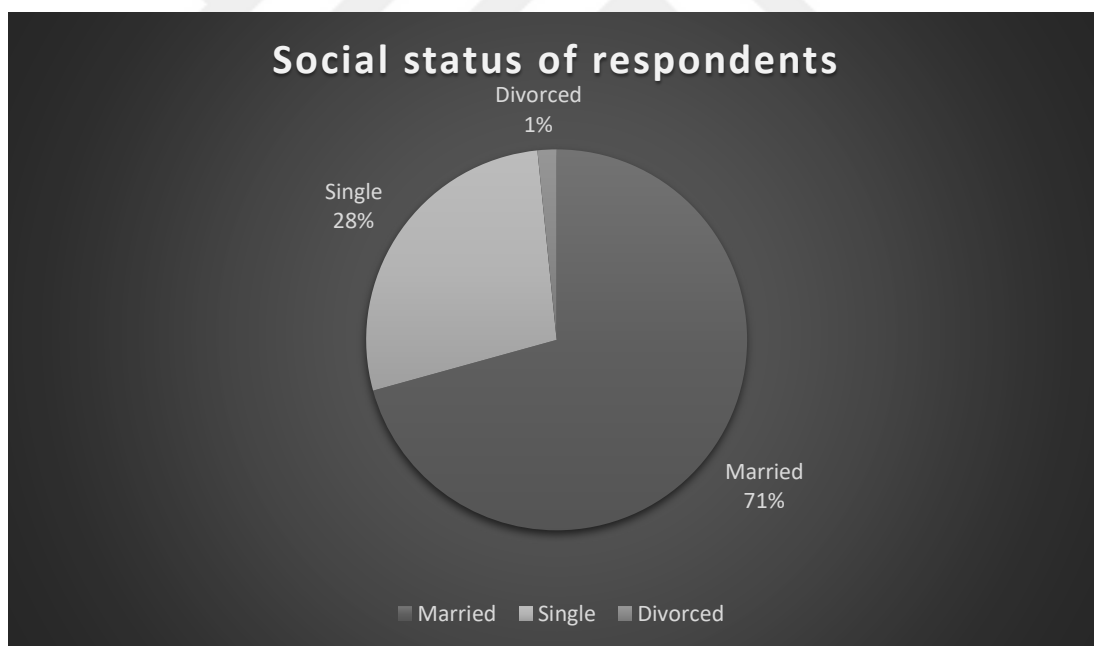


Figure 3. *The social status of the participants in the questionnaire*

### 2.1.1.3. Ages of respondents

All 64 respondents answered the question about age. The answers were as follows:

8 persons said they are 25 years old or younger.

45 persons said their ages are between 26 and 35.

11 persons said they are between the ages of 36 and 45.

Consequently, the largest percentage of the Syrian journalists participating in the questionnaire were those between the ages of 26 and 35, as they accounted for 70.3% of the number of participants in the answer to the question. As for those aged 36 to 45 years, they accounted for 17.2% of the number of participants answering the question. And those of the age of 25 or less accounted for 12.5% of the number of participants answering this question. Whereas, there were no more than 45-year-olds among the participants answering the question. (As in Figure 3.)

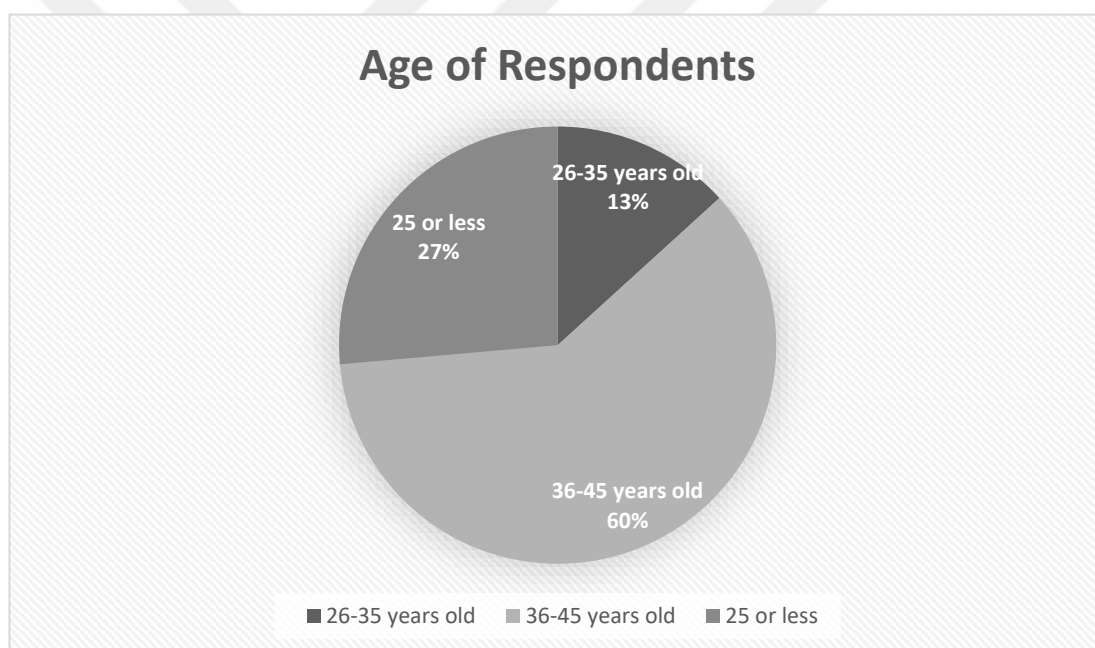


Figure 4. *Ages of the respondents to the questionnaire*

#### **2.1.1.4. With whom do the respondents live in Turkey**

All 64 respondents to the survey answered the question about who they live with in Turkey, and their answers were as follows:

45 respondents answered that they live with a wife and children.

9 respondents live with their parents.

6 respondents living alone.

3 respondents living with their friends.

1 of them said they live with a roommate.

Thus, the percentage of those who live with the wife and children was 70.3% of the number of those who participated in the answer to this question. The percentage of those living with parents was 14.1% of the number of participants. As for the percentage of those living alone, 9.4% of the number of participants answering the question. The remainder 6.3%, answered that they live with their friends or roommates. (As in Figure 4.).

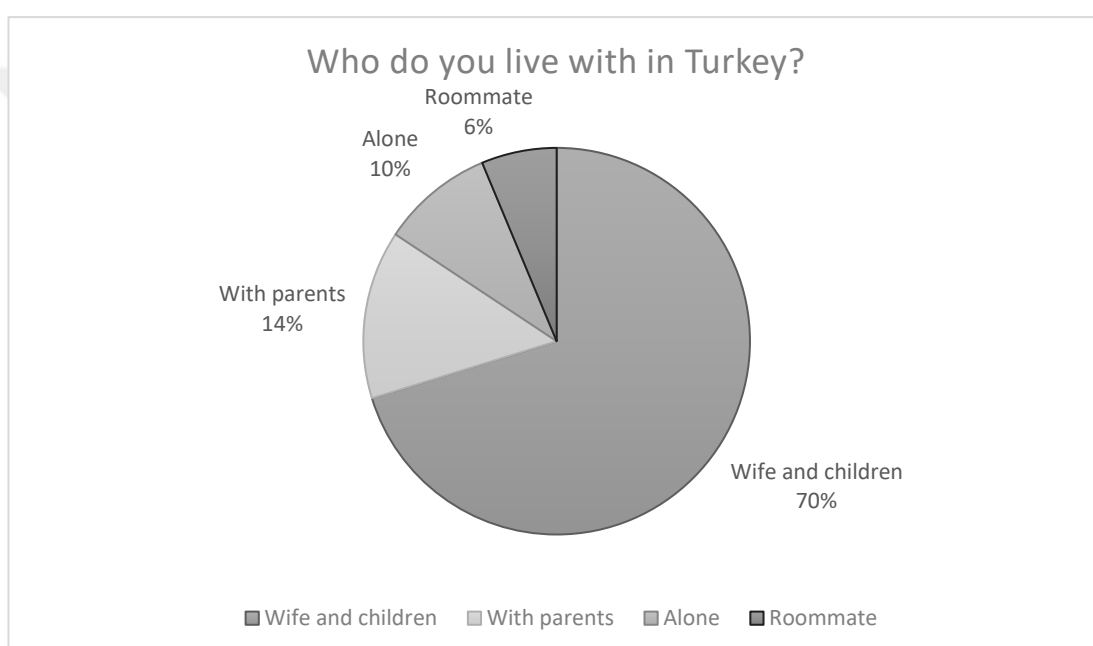


Figure 5. *With whom do the respondents live*

#### 2.1.1.5. The period of time the respondents lived in Turkey

All 64 respondents answered the question about how long have they been in Turkey, and their answers were as follows:

26 respondents said that they have lived in Turkey for 5 or 6 years.

14 respondents have lived in Turkey for 7 or 8 years.

11 respondents have lived in Turkey for 3 or 4 years.

8 respondents have lived in Turkey for 2 years or less.

5 respondents have lived in Turkey for 9 years or more.

Consequently, the percentage of those who have lived in Turkey for 5 or 6 years is 40.6% of the number of participants answering the question. The percentage of those who have lived in Turkey for 7 or 8 years is 21.9% of the number of those who answered this question. The percentage of those who have lived in Turkey for 3 or 4 years is 17.2% of those who answered the question. The percentage of those who have lived in Turkey for two years or less is 12.5% of those who answered the question. As for those who have lived in Turkey for 9 years or more, their percentage is 7.8% of the number of those who answered the question. (As in Figure 5.)

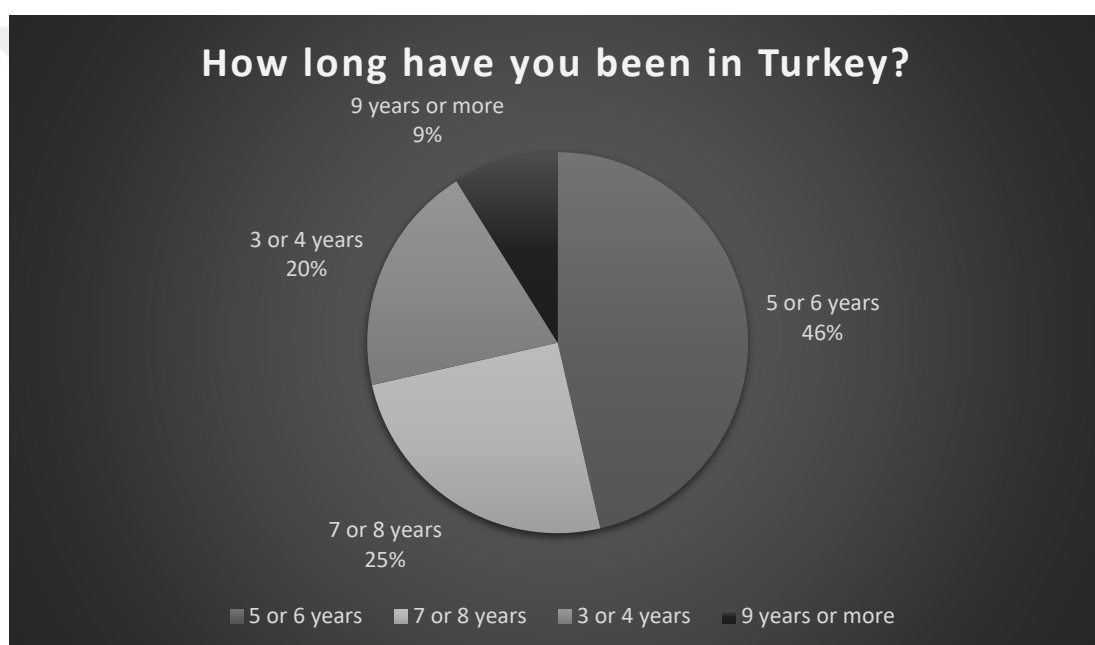


Figure 6. *Duration of stay of respondents in Turkey*

### 2.1.2. Legal Status of the Syrian Journalists in Turkey

In this section, the sub-question related to the legal status of Syrian journalists in Turkey has been answered. To do this, it was necessary to analyze the answers to the questions related to it in the study questionnaire, which focused on their legal status since their entry into Turkey, including the extent to which they had to cross the border into Turkey illegally, as well as the type of document on which they base their presence on the territory Turkish, which, as will be seen in their answers, affects many of their needs and rights.

### **2.1.2.1. Having to cross the Turkish border illegally**

61 journalists answered a question about whether they had already found themselves having to cross the Turkish border illegally out of 64 journalists participated in the answer to the questionnaire, and three persons left the question without an answer. The answers were as follows:

19 respondents said that they sometimes found themselves having to cross the Turkish border illegally.

18 journalists confirmed that they never had to cross the Turkish border illegally.

11 journalists reported that they rarely found themselves having to cross the Turkish border illegally.

7 journalists answered that they always find themselves having to cross the Turkish border illegally.

6 journalists said they usually find themselves having to cross the Turkish border illegally.

Consequently, 31.1% of the number of participants answering this question said that they sometimes found themselves having to cross the border illegally. 29.5% of the number of participants answering this question answered that they never found themselves forced to cross the border illegally. 18% of respondents to this question said that they rarely found themselves having to cross the Turkish border illegally. 11.5% said that they always find themselves having to cross the Turkish border illegally. 9.8% answered that they usually find themselves having to cross the Turkish border illegally.

As a result, the percentage of those who found themselves having, even if rarely, to cross the Turkish border illegally is 70.4%, which is a large percentage that exceeds two-thirds of the number of those who participated in the answer to the question. (As in Figure 6.)

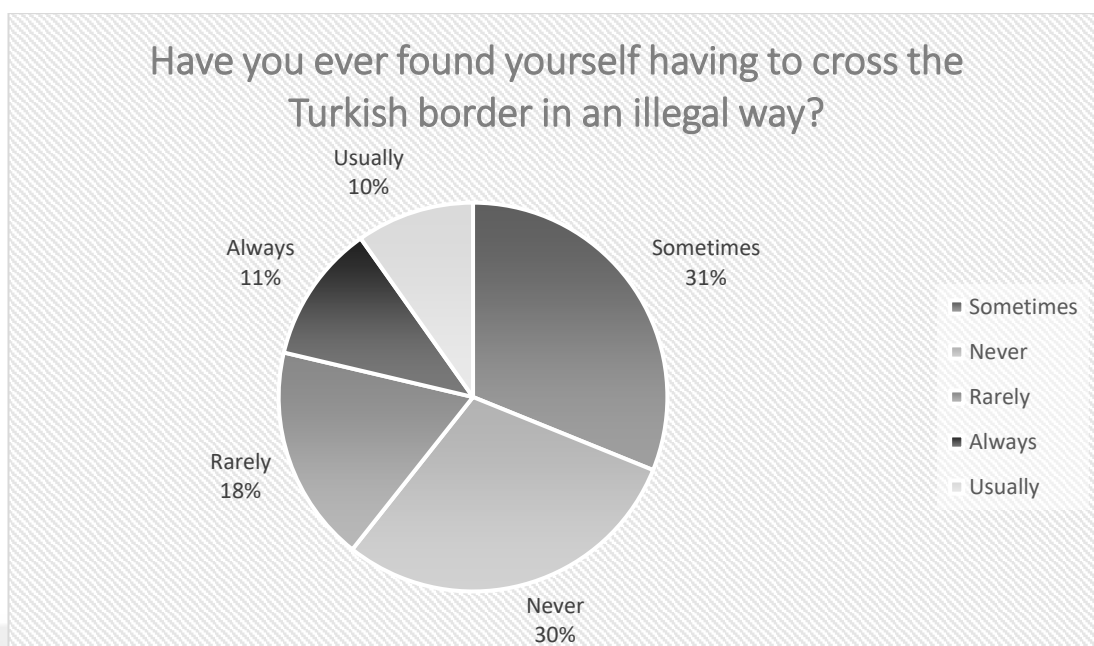


Figure 7. The percentages of respondents in the questionnaire to illegally cross the Turkish border

#### 2.1.2.2. The document on which the respondents based their presence on Turkish soil

62 of the 64 journalists participating in the questionnaire answered the question of the document that Syrian journalists rely on in their presence on Turkish soil, and 2 persons left the question without an answer. The answers were as follows:

36 journalists said they held the temporary protection ID for Syrian refugees.

9 journalists said they have an official work permit in Turkey.

9 journalists stated that they have temporary residence permits, what is known as tourist residency.

7 journalists reported that they obtained Turkish citizenship.

1 journalist confirmed that he does not have any document on which to base his presence on Turkish soil.

Consequently, 58.1% of the number of participants in answering this question hold the temporary protection ID for Syrian refugees. Which is a document that gives them the right to work within Turkish territory, but does not entitle them to move within Turkish territory except after obtaining prior permission from the Department Immigration, this often takes a long time, and sometimes it is not fully available (as

will be seen in the answers to the subsequent questions). This document also does not entitle them to return to Turkish territory if they leave it to any other country, except for their mother country Syria, as part of exceptional procedures related to family visits during the holidays.

On the other hand, 14.5% of the number of participants answering this question said that they hold an official work permit in Turkey. which is a document that enables them to work and move freely within Turkish territory, and also enables them to return to it in the event of their departure to any other country.

And 14.5% of the participants in the answer to the question stated that they have a temporary residence permit. Which is also a document that gives them freedom of movement within Turkish territory and the right to return to it if they leave. But it does not give them the right to work legally on Turkish territory.

And 11,3% of the number of participants in answering the question indicated that they now hold Turkish citizenship. Which gives them complete freedom to work and move within Turkish territory, as well as return to it if they leave.

In addition to 1.6% of the number of participants in the answer to the question, i.e., one person, he confirmed that he does not have any document on which to base his presence in Turkish territory. Which completely deprives him of the right to work as well as movement, and may also expose him to accountability and legal procedures, which may reach deportation.

As a result, 83.9% of the Syrian journalists participating in the answer to this question said that they have documents that entitle them to work on Turkish territory.

On other hand, 59.7% of them said that they do not possess documents that entitle them to move freely within Turkish territory without prior authorization or the right of return to it if they leave. (As in Figure 7.)



Figure 8. Documents which respondents are based on their presence in Turkey

### 2.1.3. Freedom of Movement for Syrian Journalists in Turkey

In this section, the sub-question related to the extent to which Syrian journalists benefit from their right to freedom of movement has been answered. For this purpose, it was necessary to analyze the answers received from the questions related to its subject from the questions of the questionnaire. These questions focused on the ability of Syrian journalists to move freely within Turkish territory, as well as their ability to move to and from Turkey in a safe and legal manner, commensurate with their need to move during their journalistic work.

#### 2.1.3.1. Possibility of obstructing movement within Turkish territory due to the documents

64 journalists answered the question regarding the possibility of a journalist being obstructed from moving within Turkish territory because of the document he is carrying, which constitutes the entire number of journalists participating in the survey, and the answers were as follows:

23 journalists said that the document they carry always hinders their movement within Turkey.

20 journalists confirmed that the document they hold has never hindered them to moving freely within Turkish territory.

13 journalists reported that the document they carried sometimes hindered them in their movement within Turkish territory.

4 journalists clarified that the document they hold usually hindered their movement within the Turkish territory.

4 Journalists said that the document they carry rarely hinders their movement within Turkey.

As a result, 35.9% of the number of Syrian journalists who answered this question said that the document they carry always hinders their movement within Turkish territory. While 31.3% of the participants in the answer to this question confirmed that the document they hold has never hindered them to moving freely within Turkish territory. And 20.3% of the respondents said that the document they carried sometimes hindered them in their movement within Turkey. 6.3% of the respondents said that the document they hold usually hinders their movement within Turkey. And 6.3% of the participants answered this question, that the document they hold rarely hinders their movement within Turkey. (As in Figure 8.)

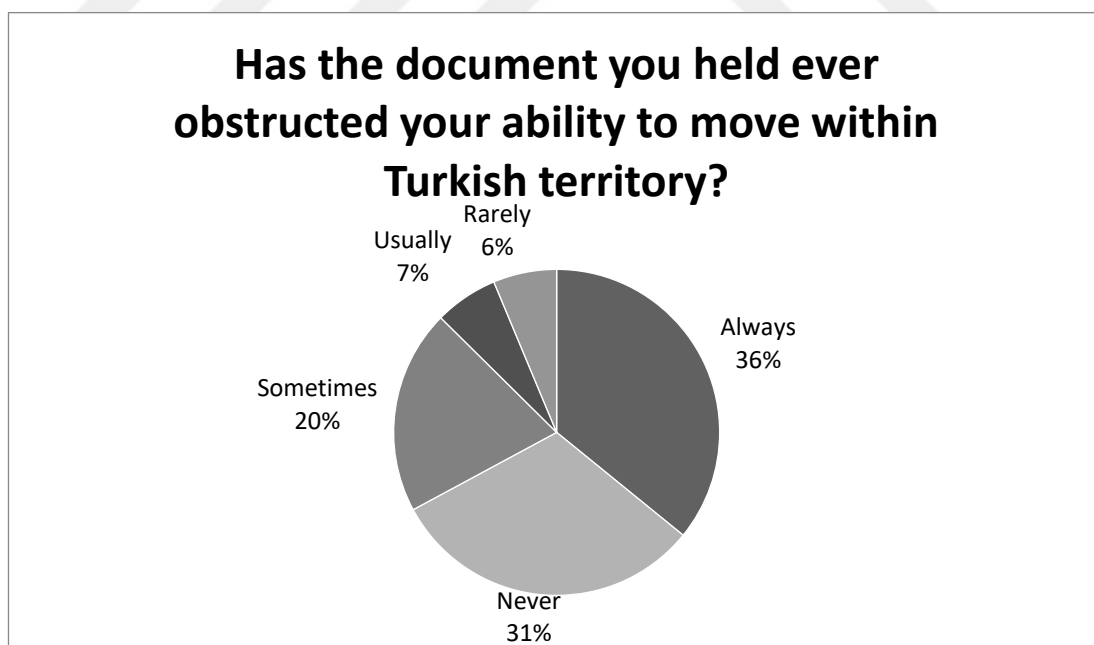


Figure 9. *The possibility of hindering the movement of respondents because of the document they hold*

### **2.1.3.2. The ability of respondents to cross the border into Syria and return in a safe and legal way**

64 journalists answered the question regarding the possibility of crossing the Turkish border into Syria when needed and returning to their place of residence in Turkey, which is the full number of respondents, and their answers were as follows:

24 journalists said they find it difficult to cross the Turkish border into Syria when needed, and then return to their places of residence in Turkey, in a safe and legal way.

16 journalists confirmed that it is impossible for them to cross the Turkish border towards Syria and then return to their places of residence in Turkey, in a safe and legal way.

12 journalists explained that they did not try to cross the Turkish border into Syria or return to Turkey, in a safe and legal way.

8 journalists reported that they can cross to Syria when needed and then return to their places of residence in Turkey, in a safe and legal way.

4 journalists said it is easy for them to cross the Turkish border into Syria when needed and then return to their places of residence in Turkey, in a safe and legal way.

As a result, 37.5% of those who answered this question said that they find it difficult to cross the Turkish border into Syria when needed then return to their places of residence in Turkey, in a safe and legal way. 25% confirmed that it is impossible for them to cross the Turkish border towards Syria and return to their place of residence in Turkey, in a safe and legal way. 18.8% of the participants answered this question, that they have not tried to cross the Turkish border towards Syria or return from it to Turkey, in a safe and legal way. While 12.25% said that they can cross to Syria when needed and return to their place of residence in Turkey, in a safe and legal way. And 6.3% of the respondents said that it is easy for them when needed to cross the Turkish border into Syria and then return to their places of residence in Turkey, in a safe and legal way. (As in Figure 9.)



Figure 10. *The ability of respondents to cross the border into Syria and return in a safe and legal way*

#### **2.1.3.3. Missing the opportunity to complete tasks because of the length of time to obtain movement permission**

62 journalists answered the question about the possibility of missing the opportunity to complete the task expected by the Syrian journalist due to the length of time that a movement permit may require within Turkish territory or across the border. The answers were as follows:

23 journalists said that the opportunity to carry out their duties always missed them because of the long time required to obtain a prior permit to move within Turkish territory or across the border.

14 people have confirmed that they usually lose their opportunities to accomplish their tasks because of the long time required to obtain a prior permit to move within Turkish territory or across the border.

12 people reported that they sometimes lose their opportunity to accomplish their tasks because of the length of time it takes to obtain a movement permit.

10 persons who confirmed that they never lost any opportunity to complete the tasks assigned to them because of the delay in obtaining the movement permit.

3 people explained that they rarely lose opportunities because of the length of time it takes to obtain a travel permit.

Consequently, 37.1% of the respondents in answering this question said that the opportunity to carry out their tasks always missed them because of the long period of time they obtained the prior permit of movement. 22.6% of those who answered this question confirmed that they usually lose their chances to accomplish their tasks that require movement within Turkish territory or across borders because of the long period of time required to obtain a prior movement permit. 19.4% of those who answered the question indicated that they sometimes lose their opportunity to accomplish their tasks because of the length of time it takes to obtain a movement permit. 16.1% of the number of participants in answering this question confirmed that they never lost any opportunity to accomplish the tasks assigned to them because of the delay in obtaining the movement permit. And 4.8% said that they rarely lose opportunities because of the length of time it takes to obtain a movement permit. (As in Figure 10.)



Figure 11. *The possibility of missing the opportunity to complete tasks because of the length of time required to obtain permission to movement*

#### **2.1.3.4.Syrian journalists' feelings about protection of their right to freedom of movement**

The journalists participating in the survey were asked a direct question about how they feel as journalists about the protection of their right to movement. The aim is to find out their feelings about the extent to which they actually benefit freedom of movement. The number of those who answered the question was 64 journalists, which is the full number of respondents to the questionnaire. Their answers were as follows:

16 journalists said they did not know if their right to movement is protected.

15 journalists strongly rejected the idea that they feel their right to movement is protected.

15 journalists agreed with the idea, and said that as journalists they feel their right to movement is protected.

14 journalists said they disagreed that they felt their right to movement is protected.

4 journalists strongly agreed with the idea in question, and said they strongly feel that their right to movement is protected.

Consequently, 25% of those who answered the question said that they did not know if their right to movement is protected. 23.4% of those who answered the question said that they strongly reject considering that their right to movement is protected. 23.4% agreed with the question raised, and said that as journalists they feel that their right to movement is protected. 21.9% of those who answered the question said they do not agree that they feel their right to movement is protected. Also, 6.3% of those who answered this question confirmed that they strongly agree with the idea in question, and said that they strongly feel that their right to movement is protected. (As in Figure 11.)

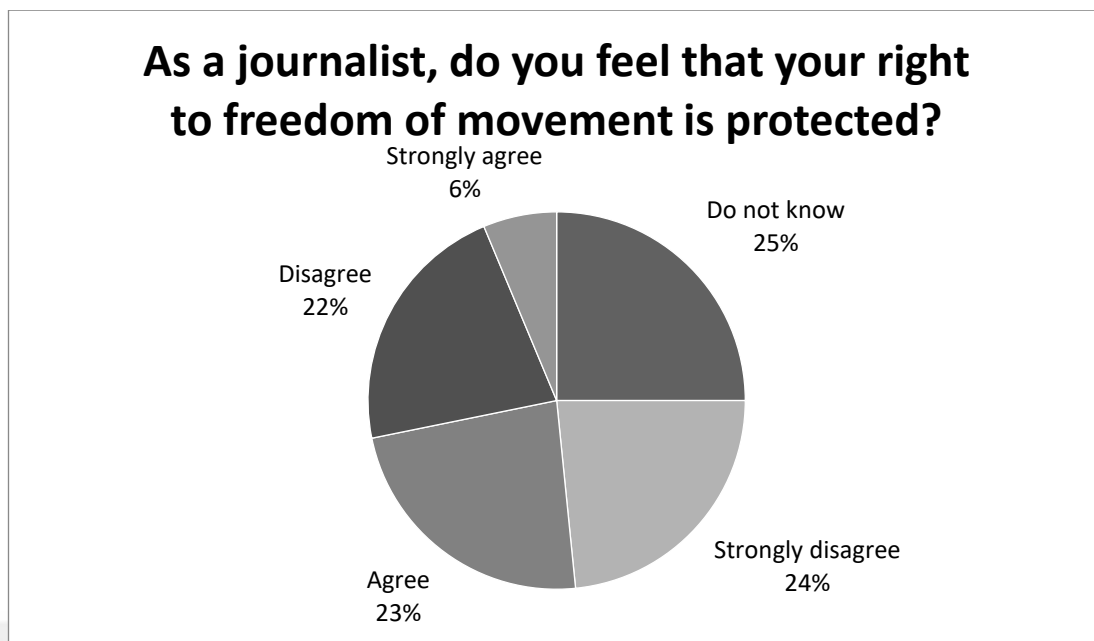


Figure 12. *The respondents feeling about protecting their right of movement*

#### **2.1.4. The Security Challenges that Facing Syrian Journalists in Turkey**

In this section, the study answered the sub-question of the security challenges facing Syrian journalists in Turkey. This was done by analyzing the answers of the participants in the questionnaire to questions related to security challenges, which focused on the objective and legal circumstances affecting the security situation of the Syrian journalist in Turkey.

##### **2.1.4.1. The impact of the document carried by respondents on their security and rights**

All 64 journalists who participated in the questionnaire answered the question regarding the impact of the document carried by the Syrian journalist on his feeling of safety and the possibility of him feeling compelled to give up his rights as a result of his conviction that it does not provide him with adequate legal protection. The answers were as follows:

22 journalists said they sometimes feel insecure because of the type of document they hold, and sometimes they find themselves forced to give up their rights because of it.

15 journalists said they usually feel insecure and forced to give up their rights because of the type of document they hold.

14 journalists confirmed that they never felt insecure and did not find themselves forced to give up their rights because of the document they held.

10 journalists said they always feel insecure and forced to give up their rights because of the type of document they hold.

3 journalists explained that they rarely feel insecure and are forced to give up their rights because of the type of document they hold.

Consequently, 34.4% of those who answered this question said that they sometimes feel insecure because of the type of document they hold, and sometimes they find themselves forced to give up their rights because of it. Moreover, 23.4% said that they usually feel insecure and are forced to give up their rights because of the type of document they hold. 21.9% of the participants in answering this question asserted that they never felt insecure, nor did they find themselves forced to give up their rights because of the document they held. 15.6% of respondents said that they always feel insecure and are forced to give up their rights because of the type of document they hold. And 4.7% said that they rarely feel insecure and are forced to give up their rights because of the type of document they hold. (As in Figure 12.)



Figure 13. *Respondents feel insecure or compelled to give up their rights because of their documents*

#### 2.1.4.2.Exposure to Serious Threats

63 journalists answered the question about if they exposed to serious threats during their stay in Turkey, and their answers were as follows:

30 journalists confirmed that they were never exposed to any serious threats while in Turkey.

21 journalists reported that they sometimes receive such threats.

6 journalists explained that they rarely receive such threats.

3 journalists said they usually receive this type of threat.

3 journalists confirmed that they always receive such threats.

Consequently, 47.6% of those who answered this question assured that they had never been exposed to any serious threats while in Turkey. 33.3% of those who answered the question, that they sometimes receive such threats. 9.5% of those who answered the question said that they rarely receive such threats. While 4.8% of respondents said that they usually receive this type of threat. And 4.8% of those who answered the question confirmed that they always receive such serious threats. (As in Figure 13.)

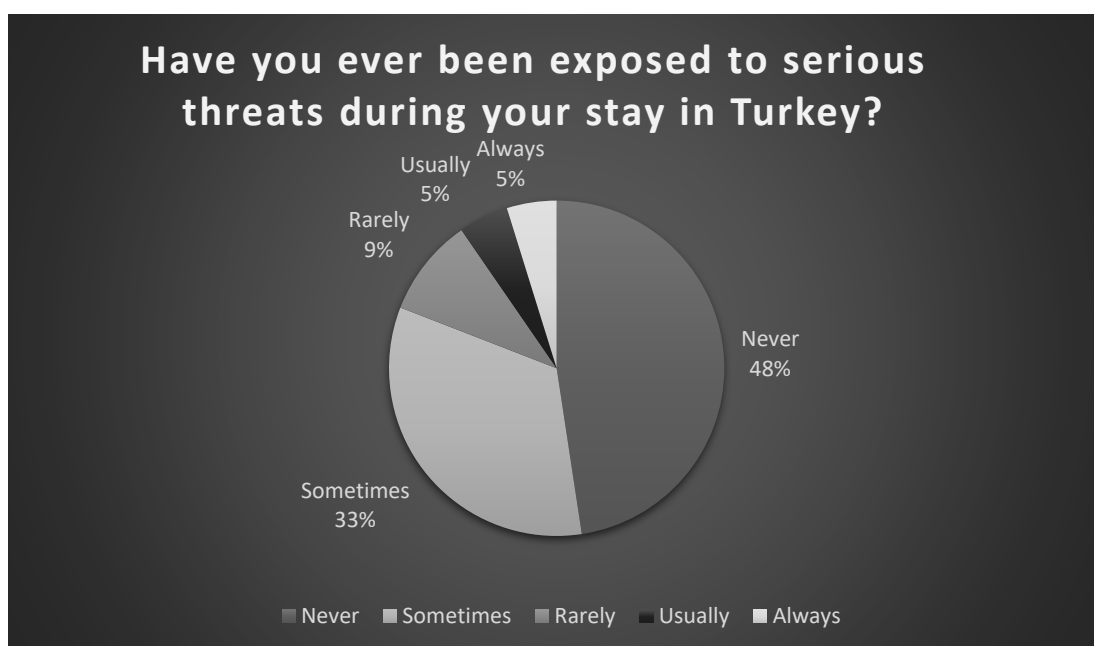


Figure 14. *Exposure Respondents to Serious Threats*

#### **2.1.4.3. The extent to which threats are related to political opinion or journalistic work**

The respondents were asked about the extent to which the threats they received relate to their political opinion or the nature of their journalistic work. The number of respondents who answered this question was 62 journalists out of those who participated in answering the questionnaire. The answers were as follows:

17 journalists said they did not know if these threats were related to their political opinion or their journalistic work.

17 journalists said there was likely a link between these threats and their political opinion or journalism.

14 journalists confirmed that there is a strong link between the threats they received and their political opinion or journalistic work.

9 journalists explained that there is no link between these threats and their political opinion or journalistic work.

5 journalists ruled out a link between the threats they were exposed to and their political opinion or journalistic work.

Consequently, 27.4% of those who answered this question said that they do not know whether the threats they were exposed to were related to their political opinion or their journalistic work. 27.4% of those who answered this question said that there is likely to be a link between these threats and their political opinion or journalistic work. 22.6% of those who answered this question confirmed that there is a strong link between the threats they received and their political opinion or journalistic work. 14.5% of those who answered this question indicated that there is no link between the threats they were exposed to and their political opinion or journalistic work. And 8.1% of those who answered the question ruled out a relationship between these threats and their political opinion or journalistic work. (As in Figure 14.)

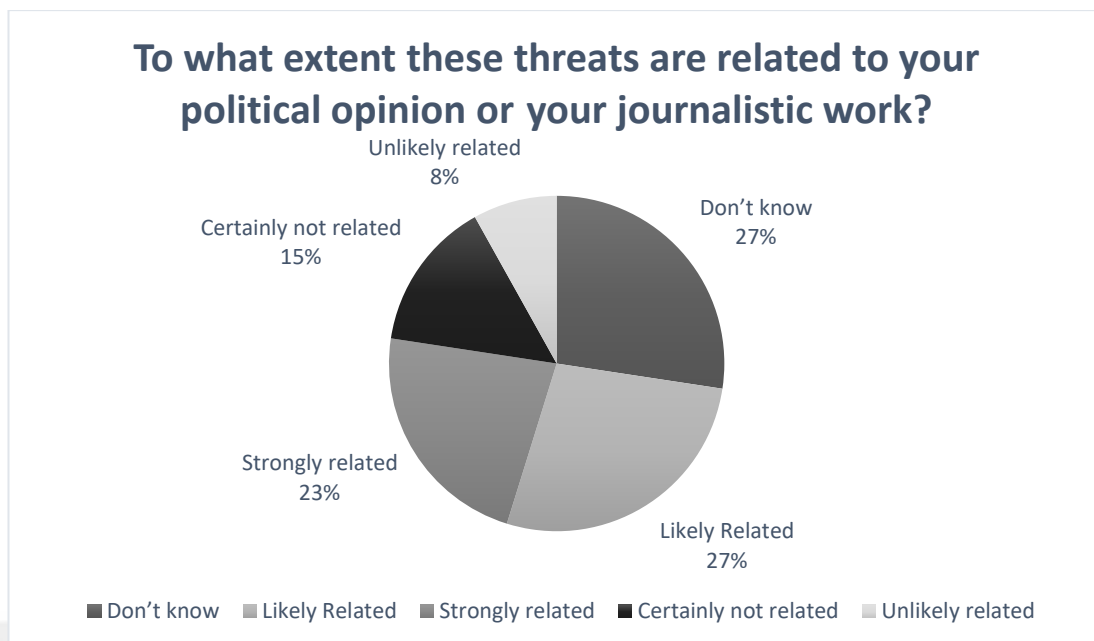


Figure 15. *Relationship of threats to journalistic work or political opinion*

#### **2.1.4.4. The sides that respondents think are behind the threats they have received**

Respondents were asked about the sides they believed to be the source of the threats they received. 51 journalists answered the question out of 64, which is the number of participating journalists. The answers were as follows:

34 journalists said they believed the source of the threats they received was the Syrian regime or its supporters.

26 journalists have confirmed that they believe that the armed sides inside Syria are the source of the threats they have received.

7 journalists reported that they think that the official authorities are the source of these threats.

3 journalists clarified that they think opponents of the Syrian regime are the source of the threats they have received.

5 journalists said they did not receive any threats they.

1 journalist said he don't know who is the source of threats he has received.

1 journalist said he can't say who is the source of threats he has received.

1 journalist said it was gangs are behind the threats he has received.

1 journalist said he receive only psychological threats of deportation.

1journalist said it was local political side.

Consequently, 66.7% of those who answered this question said that they believed that the source of the threats they received was the Syrian regime or its supporters. 51% of those who answered this question confirmed that they believe that the armed sides inside Syria are the source of the threats they have received. 13.7% of those who answered the question stated that they think that the official authorities are the source of the threats they received. And 5.9% of the respondents said that they think opponents of the Syrian regime are the source of the threats they have received. (As in Figure 15.)

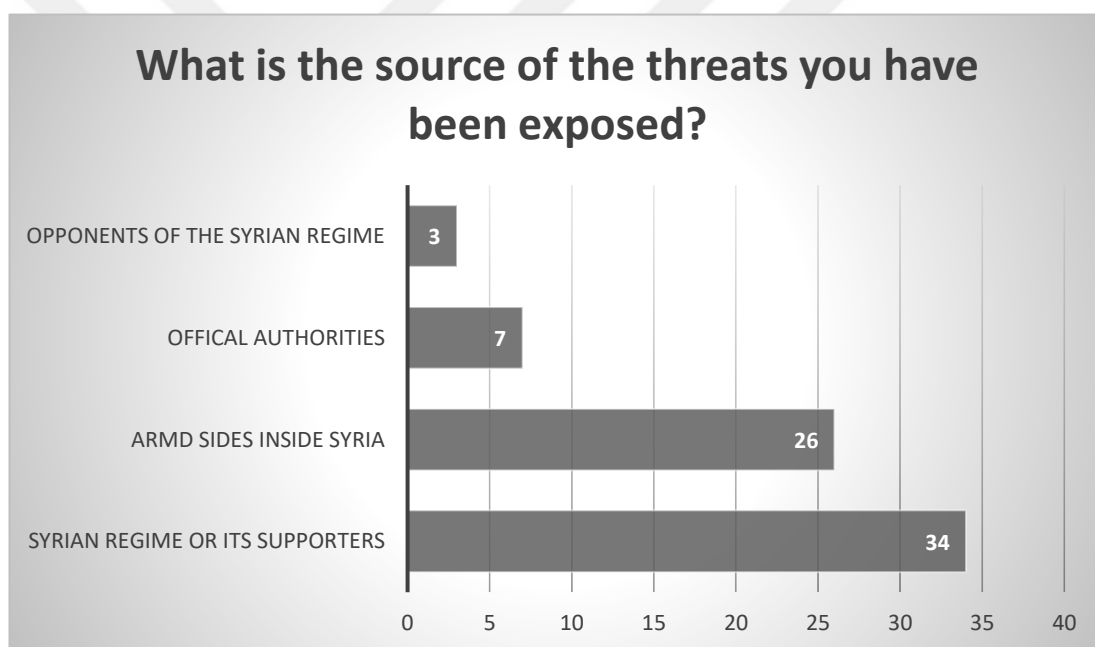


Figure 16. *The most important sides that respondents think is behind the threats they have received*

#### **2.1.4.5.The extent respondents feel safe**

Respondents were asked a direct question about the extent to which they feel that they and those they are supposed to protect are safe. 64 journalists answered this question, the full number of respondents who answered the questionnaire. The answers were as follows:

29 journalists said they feel they and who they are supposed to protect are safe.

19 journalists reported that they did not feel that they and who they are supposed to protect were safe.

12 journalists answered that they could not determine whether they feel they and who they are supposed to protect are safe.

2 journalists confirmed that they absolutely feel that they and those they are supposed to protect are safe.

2 journalists said they do not feel at all that they and the people they are supposed to protect are safe.

Consequently, 45.3% of those who answered this question said that they feel that they and the people they should protect are safe. 29.7% said that they do not feel that they and the people they are supposed to protect are safe. 18.8% of those who answered the question answered that they cannot determine whether they feel and who they are supposed to protect are safe. 3.1% of those who answered the question asserted that they Absolutely feel that they and those they are supposed to protect are safe. And 3.1% of those who answered the question said that they do not feel at all that they and who they are supposed to protect are safe. (As in Figure 16.)

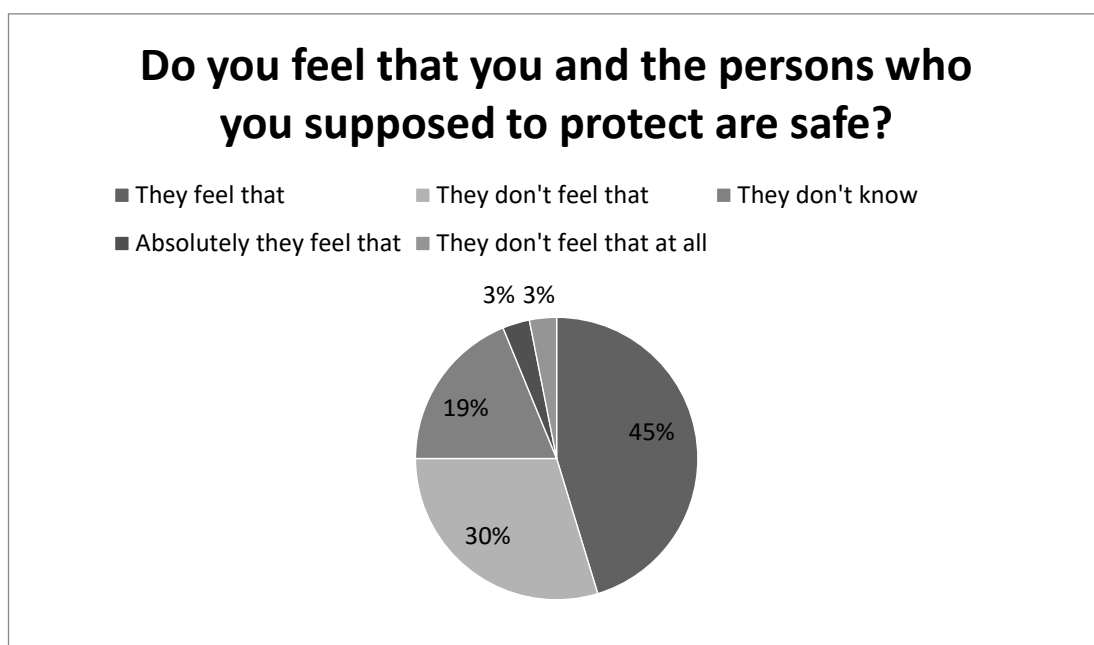


Figure 17. *The extent respondents feel safe*

#### **2.1.4.6. The relationship of respondents' legal position to their feeling that they and their journalistic work are safe**

Respondents were asked about their feeling that they have a legal position that protects them and their journalistic work. This question aims to find out the extent of the relationship between the legal status of the respondents and their feeling that they and their journalistic work are safe. The number of respondents who answered the question 64 journalists are the full number of respondents who answered the questionnaire. The answers were as follows:

26 journalists answered that they do not feel they have a legal status that protects them and their work.

23 journalists said they did not feel at all that they had a legal status that protected them and their work.

7 journalists explained that they feel they have a legal status that protects them and their work.

4 journalists confirmed that they strongly feel that their legal status protects them and their work.

4 journalists said they do not know if they really have a legal status that guarantees their protection and the protection of their work.

Consequently, 40.6% of those who answered this question, said that they do not feel that they have a legal status that protects them and their work. 35.9% of those who answered the question said that they do not feel at all that they have a legal status that protects them and their work. 10.9% of those who answered the question said that they feel they have a legal status that protects them and their work. 6.3% of those who answered the question confirmed that they feel strongly that their legal status protects them and their work. And 6.3% of those who participated in the answer to the question stated that they do not know if they really have a legal status that guarantees their protection and the protection of their work. (As in Figure 17.)

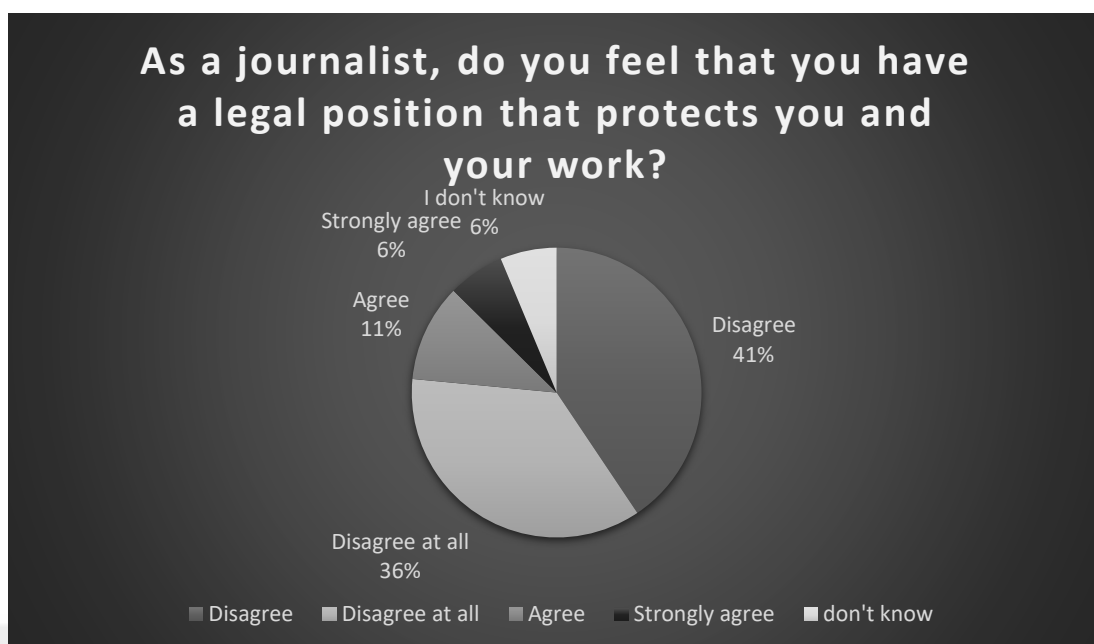


Figure 18. *The relationship of respondents' legal status to their feeling that they and their journalistic work are safe*

#### 2.1.5. The Kind and Nature of The Work of Syrian Journalists in Turkey

In this section, the sub-question related to the kind and nature of the work of Syrian journalists in Turkey has been answered. This was done by analyzing the answers received to the questions related to the professional identification of the interviewed journalists and the kind and nature of the journalistic work they do.

##### 2.1.5.1. Define respondents themselves professionally

Respondents were asked how they defined themselves professionally as academically qualified professional journalists, academically unqualified professional journalists, or citizen journalists. 64 journalists answered the question, representing all participants in the questionnaire. The answers were as follows:

24 journalists said they are academically qualified professional journalists.

20 journalists stated that they are professional journalists but not academically qualified.

20 journalists identified themselves as citizen journalists.

Consequently, 37.5% of those who answered this question said that they are academically qualified professional journalists. And 31.3% of those who answered the question stated that they are professional journalists who are not academically

qualified. While 31.3% of the participants in answering the question identified themselves as citizen journalists. (As in Figure 18.)



Figure 19. *Define respondents themselves professionally*

#### 2.1.5.2. The kind of journalistic work practiced by the respondents

64 journalists answered the question about the kind of journalistic work they practice in terms of whether it is an editorial, technical or administrative work. The answers to the question were as follows:

47 journalists answered this question that they are doing editorial work.

19 journalists said they do technical work.

13 journalists explained that they are practicing administrative work.

Consequently, 73.4 of those who answered this question said that they practice editorial work. And 29.7% of those who answered the question said that they practice technical journalism. While 20.3% of those who answered this question stated that they practice administrative journalism. (As in Figure 19.)

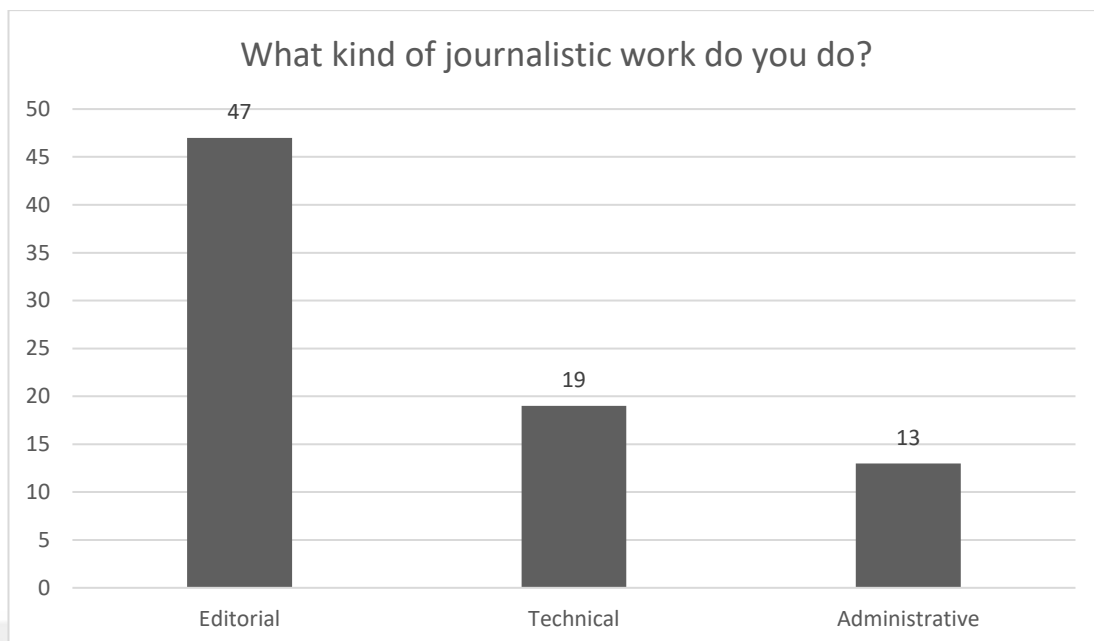


Figure 20. *The kind of journalistic work practiced by the respondents*

#### **2.1.5.3. The nature of jobs that respondents work**

64 journalists, all of the respondents, answered the question about the nature of job they work in, whether it is a permanent or temporary job, or they work independently (Freelance). The answers given were as follows:

27 journalists answered that they work as freelancer, meaning that they are not bound by a permanent employment contract with a particular institution.

24 journalists reported that the nature of their work is permanent, meaning that they are bound by a permanent contract with at least one institution.

13 journalists explained that the nature of their work is temporary, meaning that they are linked to temporary work contracts with their institutions.

Consequently, 42.2% of those who answered this question are freelance workers, meaning that they are not bound by a permanent employment contract with a specific institution. Likewise, 37.5% of those who answered the question said that the nature of their work is permanent, meaning that they are linked to a permanent work contract with at least one institution. And 20.3% of those who answered this question indicated that the nature of their work is temporary, meaning that they are linked to work contracts with certain institutions, but they are temporary. (As in Figure 20.)

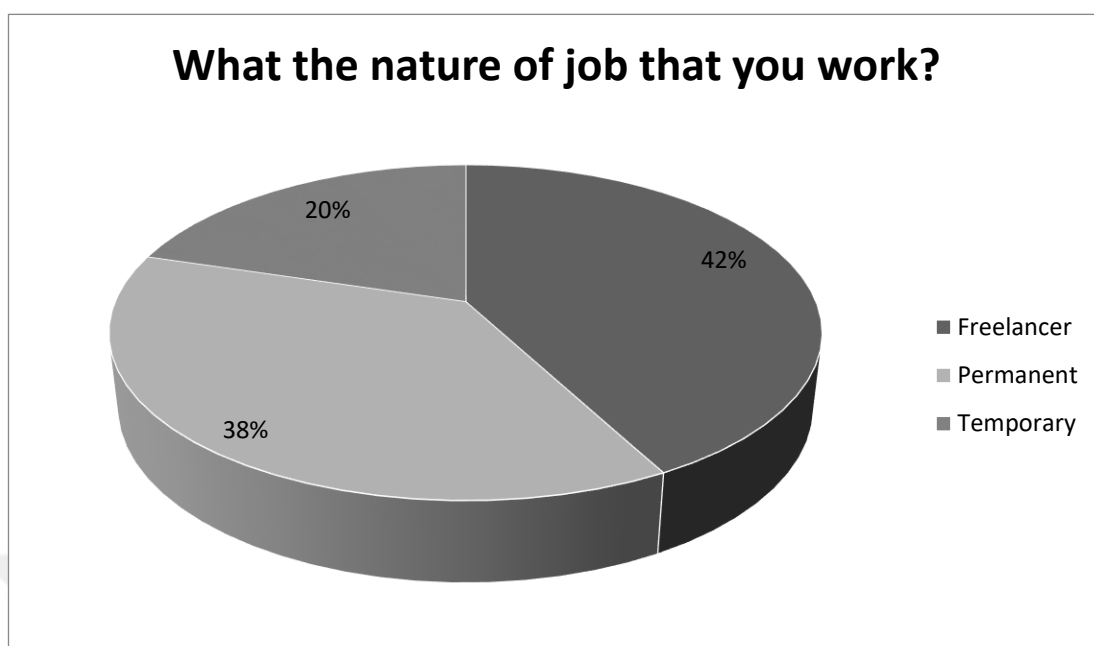


Figure 21. *The nature of jobs that respondents work*

#### **2.1.6. The Type and Legal Status of Institutions that Syrian Journalists in Turkey Work With**

The sub-question related to the type of institutions that Syrian journalists work with in Turkey, and the legal status of these institutions, was answered by analyzing the answers received to the questions related to this sub-question.

##### **2.1.6.1. The type of institutions that Syrian journalists in Turkey work with**

64 journalists, the total number of respondents to the questionnaire, answered the question about the type of institutions they work with. This is in terms of being international, Turkish, Arab or Syrian media organizations that oppose or support the regime. The answers were as follows:

42 journalists said they were working with the opposition to the regime of Syrian media institutions.

34 journalists reported that they are working with Arab media institutions.

20 journalists who explained that they work with international media institutions.

2 journalists said they work for Turkish media institutions.

Consequently, 65.6% of those who answered this question work with media institutions opposed to the Syrian regime. Likewise, 53.1% of those who answered the question work with Arab media institutions. 31.3% of those who answered the question stated that they work with international media institutions. While 3.1% of those who answered the question said that they work with Turkish media institutions. (As in Figure 21.)

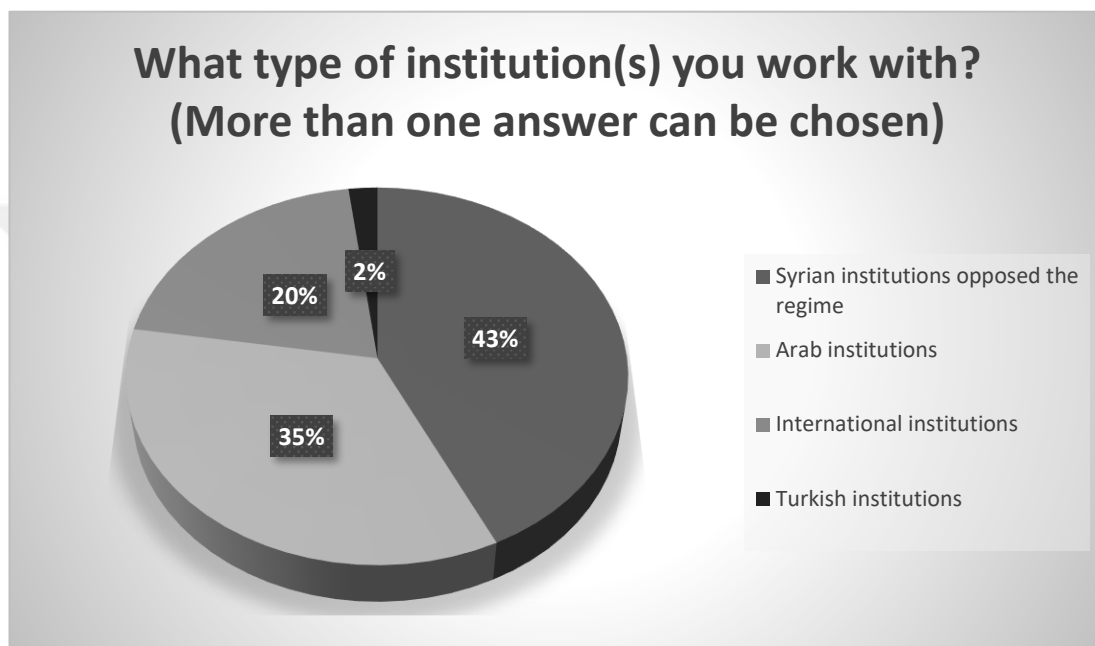


Figure 22. *The type of institutions that respondents work with*

#### **2.1.6.2. The legal status of the institutions that respondents work with**

Respondents were asked if the institutions they work with face problems in obtaining the necessary permission to operate on Turkish soil. The question aims to know the legal status of these institutions which Syrian journalists work with.

The number of those who answered this question was 63 journalists out of 64, which is the number of respondents to the questionnaire. The answers received to the question were as follows:

17 journalists answered that their institutions sometimes face problems in obtaining the legally necessary licenses to work on Turkish territory.

14 journalists confirmed that the institutions they work with have never had problems obtaining the legally necessary permits to work in Turkey.

12 journalists said their institutions rarely had problems obtaining these permits.

12 journalists reported that the institutions they work with always face problems obtaining these necessary permits to work in Turkey.

8 journalists explained that the institutions they work with usually face problems obtaining the necessary permits to work in Turkey.

Consequently, 27% of those who answered this question said that their institutions sometimes face problems in obtaining the legally necessary permits to work in Turkey. In addition, 22.2% of those who answered the question confirmed that the institutions they work with have never faced any problems with obtaining the legally necessary permits in order to operate on Turkish territory. Likewise, 19% of those who answered the question said that the institutions they work with rarely encounter problems with obtaining these permits. 19% of those who answered the question said that their institutions always face problems with obtaining permits. Of those who answered the question, 12.7% indicated that the institutions they work with usually face problems obtaining these permits. (As in Figure 22.)

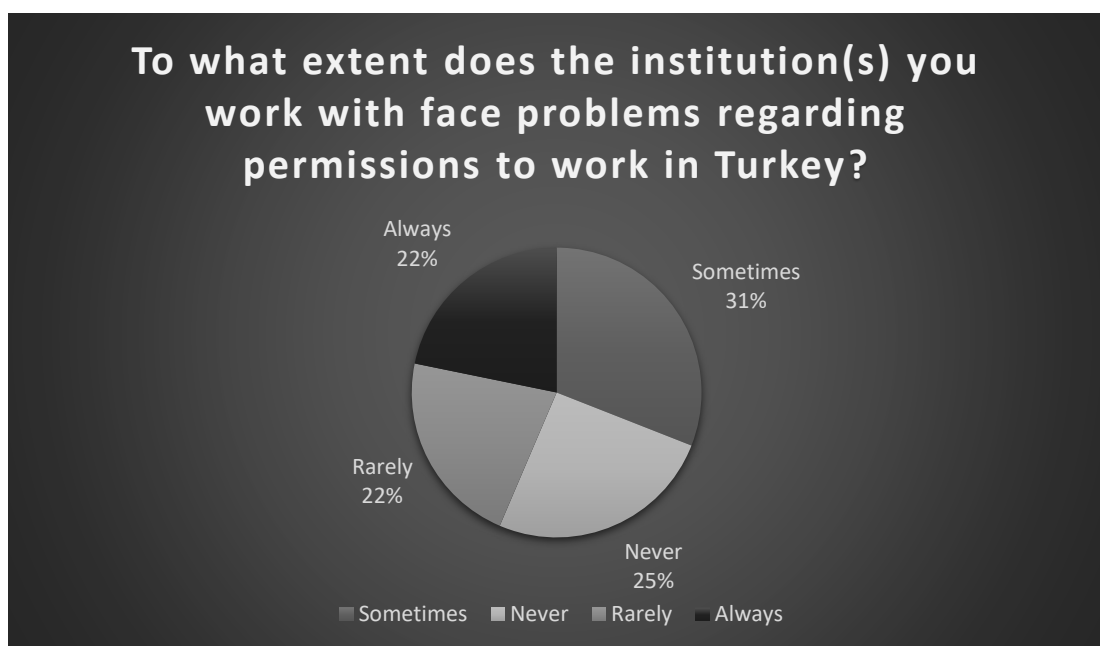


Figure 23. *The legal status of the institutions that respondents work with*

### **2.1.7. The Relationship of Syrian Journalists with Their Institutions and the Extent to Which They Feel Job security**

In this section, the sub-question of the nature of the relationship between Syrian journalists in Turkey and the institutions they work with has been answered, and to what extent do they feel job security in light of the legal nature of this relationship. To answer this question, the answers to the questions related to it were analyzed.

#### **2.1.7.1. The nature of the relationship of Syrian journalists in Turkey with their institutions**

The respondents were asked to what extent they consider that their relationship with the institution(s) they work with has a legal nature and is covered by contracts that guarantee their professional and financial rights. This question aims to understand the legal nature of this relationship. This question was answered by 62 journalists out of the 64 who participated in the questionnaire. The answers given were as follows:

20 journalists reported that they do not know if their relationship with the institutions they work with has a valid legal nature, and is covered by contracts that guarantee their professional and financial rights.

14 journalists agreed that they consider their relationship with their institutions to be legal in nature and covered by contracts that guarantee their financial and professional rights

11 journalists said that they strongly refuse to consider their relationship with their institutions of a valid legal nature and covered by contracts that guarantee their financial and professional rights.

9 journalists have expressed their refusal to consider that this relationship is covered by a valid legal nature that guarantees their rights.

8 journalists confirmed that they strongly agree that this relationship has a correct legal formula that guarantees all their rights.

Consequently, 32.3% of the participants in the answer to this question stated that they do not know whether their relationship with their institutions has a valid legal nature and is covered by contracts that guarantee their professional and financial rights.

22.6% of those who answered this question agreed that their relationship with their institutions has a legal nature and is covered by contracts that guarantee their financial and professional rights. And 17.7% of those who answered the question asserted that they strongly reject considering that their relationship with their institutions has a valid legal nature and is covered by contracts that guarantee their financial and professional rights.

While 14.5% of those who answered the question expressed their rejection of the idea that this relationship is covered by a valid legal nature and contracts that guarantee their professional and financial rights. And 12.9% of those who answered the question confirmed that they strongly agree that this relationship has a valid legal formula and is covered by contracts that guarantee all their rights. (As in Figure 23.)

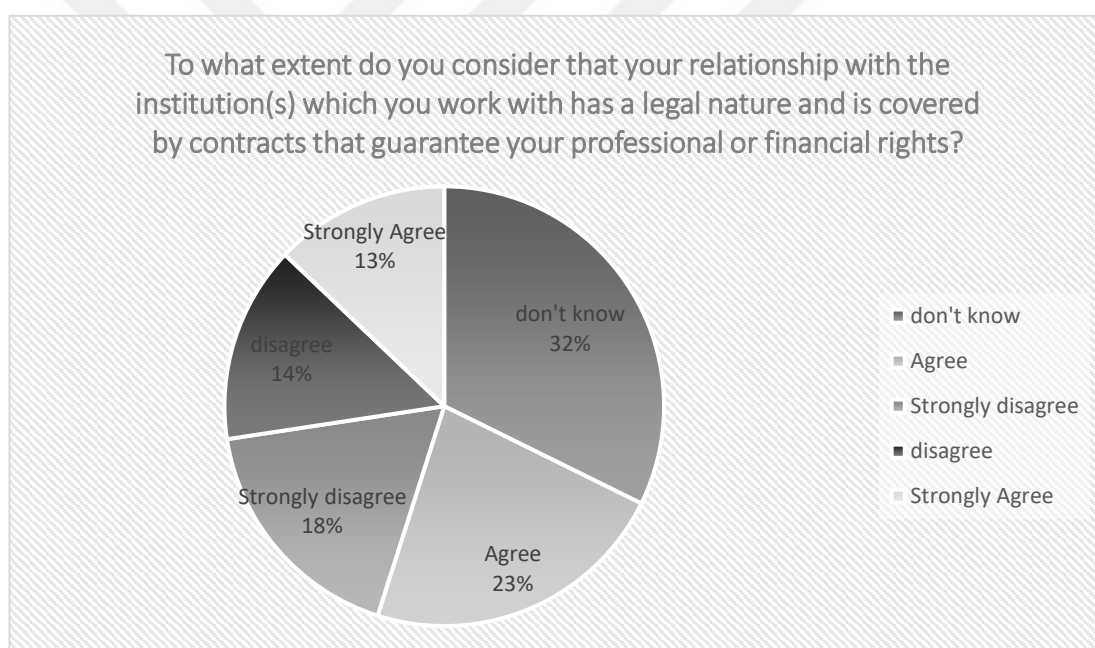


Figure 24. *The nature of the relationship of Syrian journalists in Turkey with their institutions*

#### 2.1.7.2. The respondents feeling of job security

Respondents were asked to what extent they feel job security while practicing their profession. With the aim of knowing the extent of their sense of job security in light of the legal nature of their relationship with their institutions. The number of those

who answered the question was 64 journalists, they are the entire number who participated in answering the questionnaire. Their answers were as follows:

24 journalists said they did not feel job security while pursuing their profession in their institutions.

19 journalists confirmed that they do not feel at all job security while practicing their profession in their institutions.

10 journalists reported feeling safe job in the institutions they work with.

6 Journalists say they strongly feel job security in the institutions they work with.

5 journalists explained that they do not know precisely whether they actually feel job security in the institutions they work with.

Consequently, 37.5% of the journalists who answered this question, said that they do not feel job security in the institutions in which they work. Moreover, 29.7% of those who answered the question asserted that they do not feel at all secure job in their institutions. And 15.6% of those who answered the question stated that they feel job security in their institutions. Meanwhile, 9.4% of those who answered the question confirmed that they feel strongly about job security in the institutions in which they work. While 7.8% of the respondents in answering the question stated that they do not know precisely whether they actually feel job security in the institutions they work with. (As in Figure 24.)

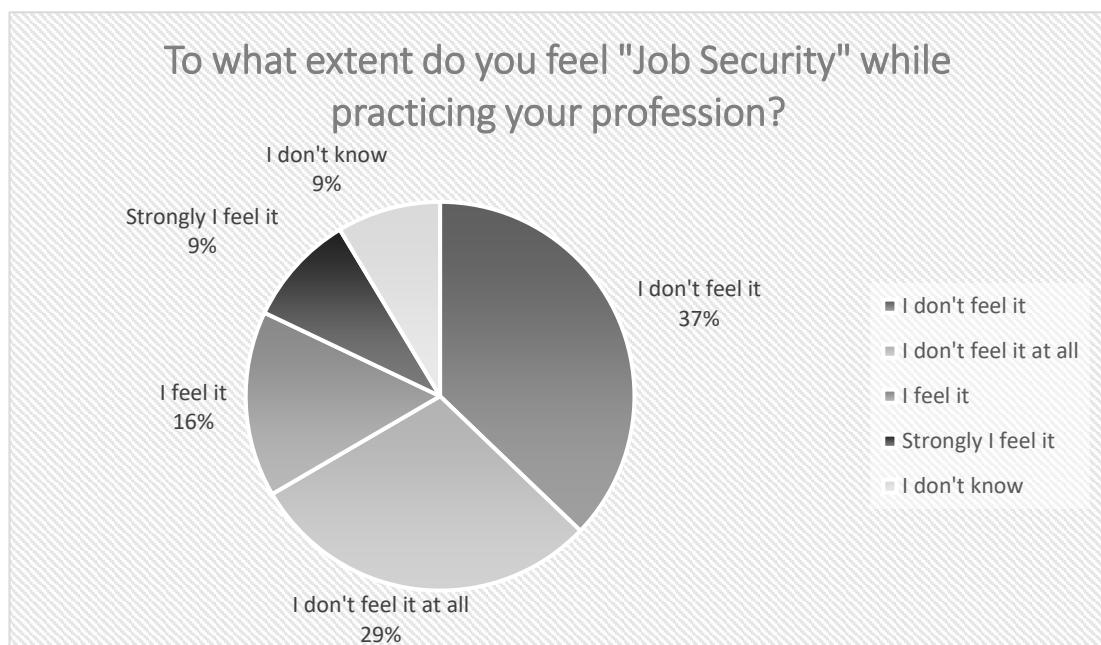


Figure 25. *The respondents feeling of job security*

### **2.1.8. The Pressures That Syrian Journalists are Exposed to During the Practicing Their Journalistic Work**

In this section, the sub-question related to the extent to which Syrian journalists in Turkey are subjected to pressure during the exercise of their journalistic profession, and the possible source of these pressures, has been answered. In order to answer this sub-question, it was necessary to analyze the answers to the questions related to it in the questionnaire.

#### **2.1.8.1.Respondents experienced pressures related to their ability to continue their journalistic profession**

All 64 journalists who participated in the questionnaire answered the question about the extent to which they were subjected to pressures related to their ability to continue in their profession during their journalistic work. The answers were as follows:

24 journalists said that they were sometimes subjected to pressures while practicing their journalistic work related to their ability to continue practicing their profession.

15 journalists answered that they are rarely subjected to this kind of pressure.

10 journalists reported that they are usually subjected to this type of pressure.

8 journalists confirmed that they were never exposed to this kind of pressure.

7 journalists explained that they are always under pressure of this kind.

Consequently, 37.5% of the respondents who answered this question, said that they were sometimes subjected to pressures while practicing their journalistic work related to their ability to continue practicing their profession. On the other hand, 23.4% of those who answered the question indicated that they are rarely exposed to this kind of pressure. In addition, 15.6% of those who answered the question said that they are usually exposed to this type of pressure. Likewise, 12.5% of the number of those who answered this question assert that they have never been exposed to this kind of pressure. While 10.9% of those who participated in answering this question confirmed that they are always exposed to pressure of this kind. (As in Figure 25.)



Figure 26. Respondents experienced pressures related to their ability to continue their journalistic profession

#### **2.1.8.2. The sources of the pressures that respondents were exposed to while practicing their journalistic profession**

Respondents were asked about the sides that they think are the source of the pressures they experienced while practicing their journalistic work. Only 53 journalists answered this question, out of 64 who participated in the questionnaire. The answers were as follows:

31 journalists have confirmed that they think that the institution in which they work was the source of the pressures they were exposed to while carrying out their journalistic work.

17 journalists said they think that the Syrians who support the Syrian regime were the source of the pressure they were exposed to while practicing their journalistic work.

17 journalists explained that they think that colleagues were the source of the pressures they were exposed to during their journalistic work.

14 journalists reported that they think the official authorities were the source of the pressure they were exposed to while practicing their journalistic work.

5 journalists explained that the source of the pressure they were exposed to while practicing their journalistic work was the Syrians who against the Syrian regime.

Consequently, 58.5% of those who answered this question confirmed that their institution was the source of the pressures they were exposed to while practicing their journalistic work. While 32.1% of those who answered this question said that the Syrians supporting the Syrian regime are the source of the pressure they have been exposed to. In addition, 32.1% of the number of journalists who participated in answering this question stated that colleagues at work were the source of the pressures they were exposed to during their journalistic work. And 26.4% of those who answered the question stated that they think the official authorities were the source of the pressure they were exposed to while practicing their journalistic work. While 9.8% of those who answered the question think that the source of pressure was the Syrians who against the Syrian regime. (As in Figure 26.)

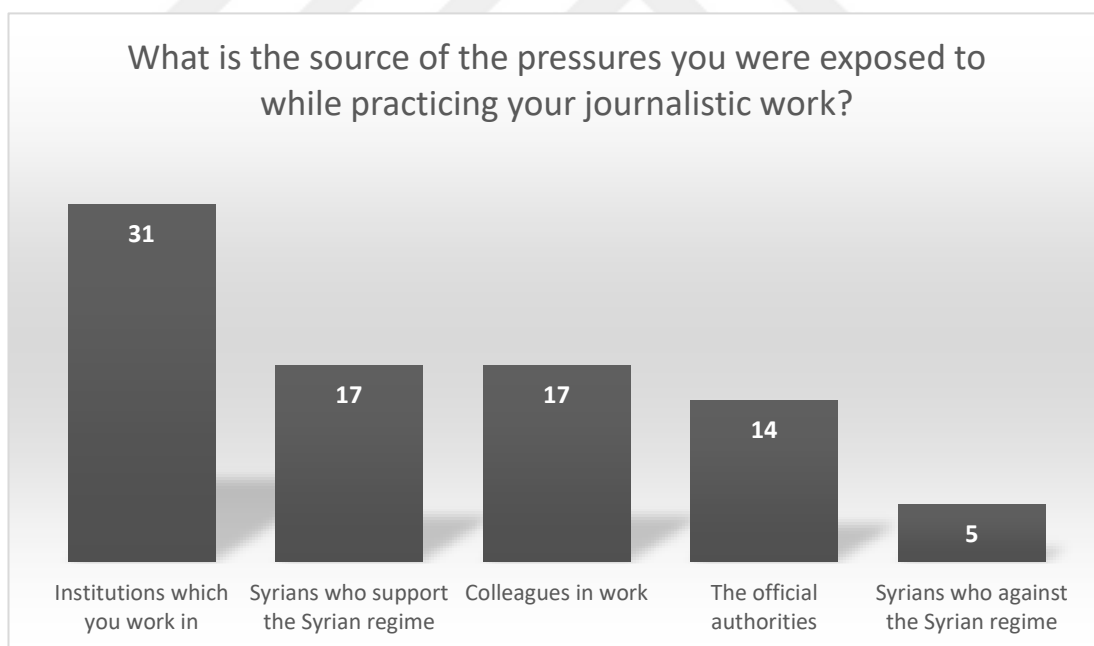


Figure 27. Sources of pressures that respondents were exposed to while practicing their journalistic profession

### **2.1.9. The Feelings of Syrian Journalists Towards Protecting Their Right to Freedom of Expression**

In this section, the sub-question related to the feelings of Syrian journalists in Turkey regarding the protection of their right to freedom of expression has been answered. This was done by analyzing the answers to the related question in the questionnaire, where respondents were directly asked about the extent to which they feel as journalists that their right to freedom of expression is protected. The number of responses received was 64 answers, that is, all the journalists participating in the questionnaire answered it. The answers were as follows:

29 journalists said they did not feel that their right to expression was guaranteed.

19 journalists reported that they feel their right to expression is protected.

11 journalists said that they do not know if their right to expression is protected or not.

5 journalists have confirmed that they do not feel at all that their right to expression is protected.

Consequently, 45.3% of those who answered this question said that they do not feel that their right to expression is protected. In addition, 29.7% of those who participated in answering the question said that they feel that their right to expression is protected. And 17.2% of those who answered this question indicated that they do not know if their right to expression is protected. Also, 7.8% of the respondents asserted in answering this question that they do not feel at all that their right to expression is protected. (As in Figure 27.)

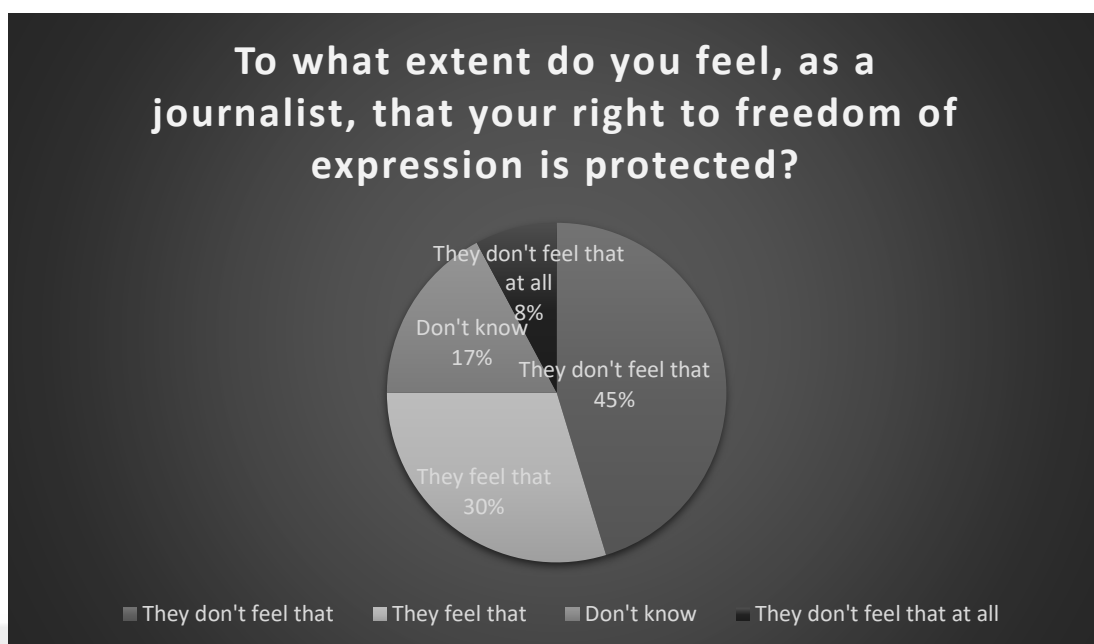


Figure 28. *The feelings of Syrian journalists towards protecting their right to freedom of expression*

#### **2.1.10. The Most Important Challenges That Syrian Journalists are Believed They Face During Their Stay and Work in Turkey**

In this section, the sub-question of the most important challenges facing Syrian journalists during their stay and work in Turkey has been answered. This was done by analyzing the answers received to the related question in the questionnaire. This question was answered by 62 journalists out of 64, the number of respondents who answered the questionnaire. The answers given were as follows:

45 journalists confirmed that the most important challenge they faced in Turkey was the legal recognition of them as journalists.

34 journalists said that the main challenge was obtaining a legal work permit in Turkey.

34 journalists reported that the main challenges are the economic conditions in which they live.

27 journalists explained that the main challenge they faced was dealing with a new culture and language for them.

23 journalists answered that ensuring safety is the most important challenge they faced during their stay and work in Turkey.

Consequently, 72.6% of those who answered this question emphasized that the most important challenge they faced was the legal recognition of them as journalists. In addition, 54.8% of the number of respondents in answering this question said that the main challenge is obtaining a legal work permit in Turkey. 54.8% of those who participated in answering the question said that the most prominent challenge is the economic conditions in which they live. While 43.5% of those who answered this question said that the most important challenge they faced was dealing with a new culture and language on them. And 37.1% of those who answered this question stated that ensuring safety is the most important challenge that they face during their time and work in Turkey. (As in Figure 28.)

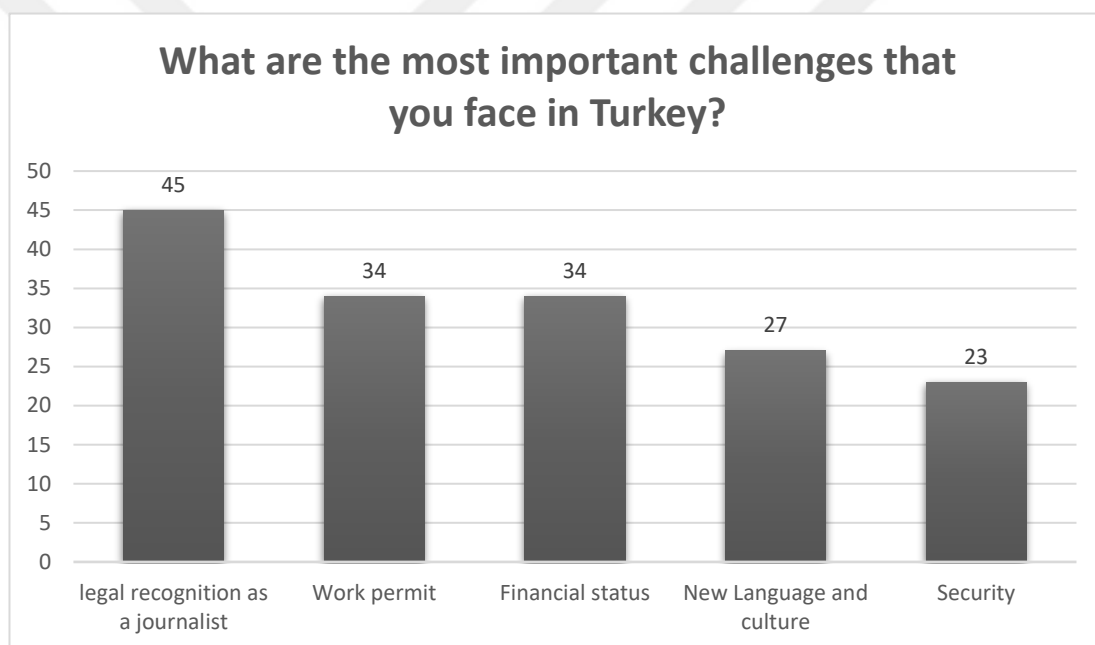


Figure 29. *The most prominent challenges that the respondents think they face in Turkey*

#### **2.1.11. The Possibility of Obtaining a Job in the Media Field for Syrian Journalists in Turkey**

In this section, the sub-question related to the possibility of obtaining a job in the media field for Syrian journalists in Turkey has been answered. For that, it was necessary to analyze the answers to the relevant question in the questionnaire form. Respondents were asked to what extent available to Syrian journalists in Turkey to

obtain a job in the media field. 64 journalists answered the question, that is, all the journalists participating in the questionnaire. The answers were as follows:

48 journalists indicated that getting a job in the media field is available, but with difficulty.

7 journalists confirmed that getting a job in the media field is not available at all.

6 journalists reported that they do not know to what extent it is possible to get a job in the media field for Syrian journalists in Turkey.

3 journalists said it was possible to get a job in the media field.

Consequently, 75% of those who participated in the answer to this question, made it clear that getting a job in the media field is available but with difficulty. In addition, 10.9% of those who participated in answering this question confirmed that getting a job in the media field is not available at all. Also, 9.4% said that they do not know to what extent it is possible to get a job in the media field. While 4.7% of the number of participants answering this question said that getting a job in the media field is available. (As in Figure 29.)

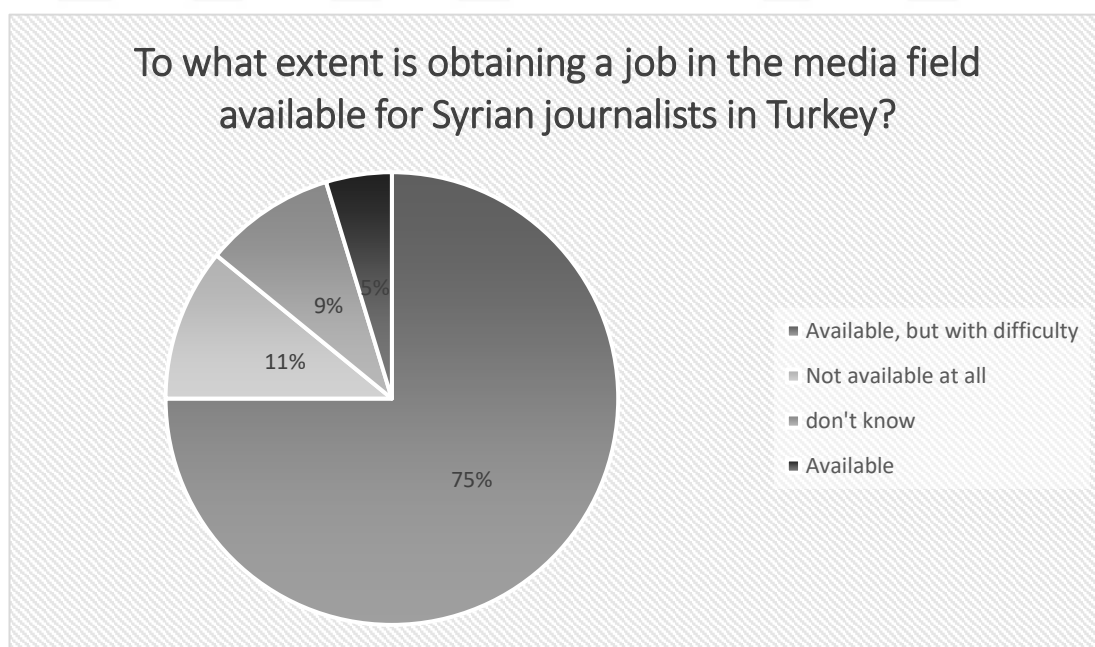


**Figure 30. The Possibility of Obtaining a Job in the Media Field for Syrian Journalists in Turkey**

### **2.1.12. The Possibility of Syrian Journalists in Turkey to Joining Unions That Defend Rights of Journalists**

In this section, the sub-question related to the possibility of Syrian journalists joining unions that defends the rights of journalists has been answered. This was done by analyzing the answers received to the question asked to the respondents about the extent to which they could join a recognized federation or union that works to protect the rights of journalists or media workers. The number of respondents answered by 64 journalists, that is, all the journalists participating in the questionnaire. The answers were as follows:

22 journalists said that joining a recognized union or union that works to preserve their rights is available for them, but with difficulty.

Fifteen journalists said they did not know if joining such a union or union was possible or not.

15 journalists confirmed that it is not possible for them at all to join a union or a union working to protect the rights of journalists or media workers.

13 journalists reported that joining such a federation or union is available to them.

Only one journalist reported that joining such a federation or union is easily available to them.

Consequently, 34.4% of the participants in the answer to this question believe that joining a recognized union or union working to preserve their rights is available, but with difficulty for them. While 23.4% of those who answered this question said that they do not know whether joining such a union or union is possible or not. 20.3% of those who answered this question asserted that it is absolutely impossible for them to join a union or a union that works to protect the rights of journalists or media workers. 20.3% of those who answered the question indicated that it is available for them to join a union or union that protects their rights. And 1.6% of those who participated in answering this question stated that joining a union or a union that works to protect their rights is easily available to them. (As in Figure 30.)

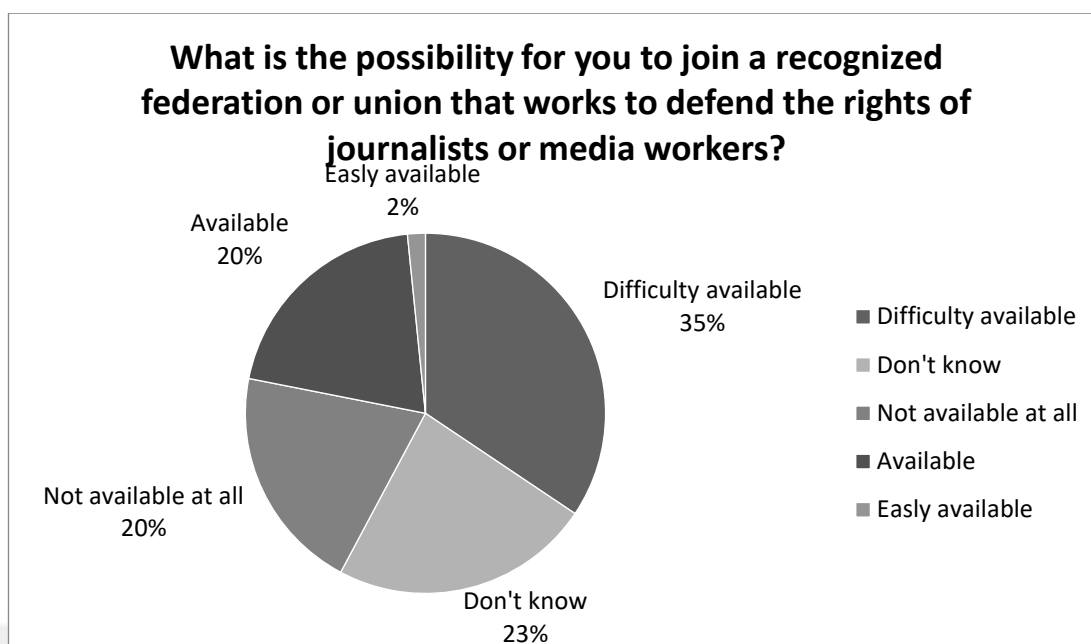


Figure 31. *The possibility of Syrian journalists in Turkey to joining unions that defend rights of journalists*

## 2.2. The Discussions

The results of this research generally indicate that the reality of Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey is not promising. The conditions in which they live and work are not commensurate with their responsibilities as journalists and owners of a cause. Moreover, the challenges they face are many, distributed in important and influential areas, and pose a serious threat to their ability to continue practicing their profession.

The main objective of this research was to reach a clear understanding about the reality and conditions of these journalists and the challenges facing them, and the research claims that it was able to achieve its main goal, and its sub-objectives as well. And that is through access to logical answers to the sub-questions of the research, which were developed to cover all the constituent aspects of the research problem. In order to form a comprehensive answer to the main question of the research.

It is necessary to emphasize here what the nature of the restrictions imposed on social studies in general, and the approach that the research resorted to to achieve its goals in particular. The most important of which is that the answers of the research sample represent only the participants. The research does not claim that the results it reached represent all members of the phenomenon in question, but only those who participated in providing their answers to the study questionnaire. Nevertheless, these results represent important indicators that can be relied upon in understanding this phenomenon, and making recommendations that could contribute to a broader understanding of it, improve the conditions of these journalists and reduce the challenges they face.

The main question of the research was answered by discussing the results that were reached, which in their entirety represent answers to the sub-questions of the research, as follows:

1. More than two-thirds of Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey are young males in their late twenties and early thirties, who are socially stable and reside with their wives and children. These results were based on analyzing the answers received from the respondents about their personal information. The percentage of males among the respondents was 89.1%, the percentage of married people was 71%, the percentage of those aged between 26 and 35 was 70.3%, and the percentage of those who lived with their wives and children was 70.3% of the respondents. These results indicate the predominant social nature of Syrian journalists in Turkey. It indicates that in the vast majority of them they are socially stable, and in a lower-middle age group, which allows them the ability to work and produce. These results contribute to answering the first sub-question of the research, about the social nature of Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey and the extent of their social stability during their stay in Turkey. It can be noted here that the percentage of females among the participants in the research was small, amounting to only (10.9%) of the number of respondents, despite the great efforts that were made to reach them in order to push them to participate in the research, with the aim of achieving the largest possible diversity in the research sample. Of course, the theoretical framework of this research and its methodological limitations do not allow searching for this indicator, let alone judging it.
2. More than two-thirds of the Syrian refugee journalists included in the research have lived in Turkey for five years or more. This gives an indication that most of them have the intention to stay and settle there, at least as long as the situation in Syria continues as it is, or as long as they continue their coverage of the events in Syria. The research reached this conclusion based on the answers received from the respondents to the questions related to the first sub-question of the research. Where 70.3% of the respondents answered that they have resided in Turkey for five

years or more, of whom 21.9% have lived in Turkey for seven years or more.

3. The vast majority of Syrian journalists who are refugees in Turkey are in dire need of a legal and safe way to cross the Turkish border with Syria. This claim is based on the finding of the research that 70.1% of the respondents said that they had to cross the Turkish border illegally, even if rarely. This percentage is very large in view of the security and legal risks posed by crossing the land borders illegally in war conditions, as is the case in Syria. This result contributes to answering the second sub-question of the research, which aims to understand the legal situation of Syrian journalists in Turkey, because of its significant impact on ensuring their rights and freedoms and their personal and job security. It also aims to know the risks and challenges they faced in order to reach or stay there. This conclusion is consistent with what (RSF, Syrian Journalists Leaving to Tell The Tale, 2016) mentioned about the way in which the majority of Syrian journalists arrived in Turkey, as most of their testimonies indicate that they arrived illegally due to the lack of a legal way to allow their entry. The Turkish government has maintained an open-door policy for the Syrians since 2011 and for nearly three years. But in 2014 it gradually began applying restrictions at the border gates until the border was completely closed to Syrians since early 2015, with very few exceptional humanitarian cases allowed to cross.
4. More than half of the Syrian journalists who are refugees in Turkey are subject to the temporary protection system in Turkey. The research built this conclusion on the basis of the findings of the research by analyzing the answers received from the questions also related to the second sub-question about the legal status of these journalists. Where (58.1%) of the respondents answered that they hold a temporary protection card for Syrian refugees. It is a document that gives them the right to work within the Turkish territory, under certain conditions, but it does not entitle them to move within the Turkish territory except after obtaining prior permission from the Immigration Department, and this often takes time, and sometimes it is not completely available. Also, this document does

not entitle them to return to Turkish territory in the event they leave it to any other country, with the exception of their home country, Syria, within exceptional procedures related to family visits during official holidays. This conclusion is consistent with the context of what (ERDOĞAN, 2020) mentioned that the number of Syrians covered by the temporary protection system in Turkey exceeded 3.5 million, although their average stay in Turkey exceeds 4.5 years. In his opinion, this creates many social and economic problems.

5. Three quarters of Syrian journalists work in Turkey without an official work permit that allows them to work in their profession in a legal manner that preserves their rights. This conclusion is based on the findings of the research in the light of the second sub-question of the research on the legal status of these journalists. The percentage of respondents who do not have an official work permit was (74.2%), and they are therefore exposed to all the challenges posed by this situation, such as the unsafe work environment, the possibility of exploitation by the institutions in which they work, and the loss of their professional and financial rights. This calls for seeking legal solutions that facilitate their obtaining of work permits so that they can practice their profession without facing these challenges. This is consistent with the findings of (ERDOĞAN, 2020) that although Syrians have been granted the right to apply for work permits since 2016, most of them still work in the informal economy, that is, without a work permit or in unlicensed enterprises. Although this problem is not limited to Syrians in Turkey, it is a structural problem that the Turkish economy suffers from in general, but it has made them work in a difficult and unsafe working environment for very low wages.
6. Most of the Syrian journalists who are refugees in Turkey have problems related to their ability to move within the Turkish territory. This is not commensurate with the nature of their work in the profession of journalism, which requires greater freedom of movement without obstacles or prior licenses that may miss their opportunity to complete their journalistic assignments. Thus, they urgently need to find solutions and procedures that allow their mobility to suit their profession.

According to the findings of the research, 79.1% of the respondents said that their mobility is restricted by obtaining a prior license, which takes a long time to obtain, causing them to miss their opportunity to complete their tasks related to their profession in journalism. And 45.3% said they do not feel that their right to movement is protected. This conclusion contributes to answering the third sub-question of the research regarding the benefit of the right of movement for Syrian journalists in Turkey. It is consistent with what (ERDOĞAN, 2020) found that there is a procedure that requires Syrians not to leave the city in which they are registered, and in his opinion that the policy of restrictions imposed on Syrians' travel is not feasible or necessary, and needs to be reviewed.

7. The majority of Syrian journalists do not have the ability to move across the Turkish border with Syria in a legal and safe manner that would allow them to return to their place of residence in Turkey. This conclusion is based on the findings of the research by analyzing the answers received from the respondents in the light of the third sub-question about the Syrian journalists' benefit of the right of movement. As 62.5% of them indicated that it is impossible or difficult for them to cross the Turkish border with Syria in a legal and safe way to perform their journalistic duties there, and then return to their place of residence in Turkey. This shows the urgent need to find solutions and procedures to ensure their ability to have this legal and safe movement across borders, since most of them, as Syrian journalists, focus primarily on covering events, covering the events in Syria. This coverage often requires going to Syria and back to Turkey. And the risks that they could be exposed to are great if they decided to resort to illegal methods. This may prompt them to abandon the idea of field coverage of events from Syria, and be satisfied with covering them through communication. This is consistent with what was reported (RSF, Syrian Journalists Leaving to Tell The Tale, 2016) that many Syrian journalists decided to stop going to Syria to cover events on the ground, and decided to work on covering them in offices from their location in Turkey.

8. The document, which is hold by more than half of the Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey, is one of the main reasons why they feel insecure or force them to give up their rights. This conclusion is based on the findings of the research based on the answers received from the respondents, in the light of the fourth sub-question that aims to understand the security challenges facing Syrian journalists and their causes. The results indicated that (57.8%) of the respondents said that they feel insecure because of the document they hold or that they have had to give up their rights because of it. This is a large percentage for something that is supposed to be the first motive for them to leave their country and seek refuge in the host country, which is to preserve their security and rights. This finding once again demonstrates the urgent need to find solutions regarding the legal status of Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey. Considering that 58.1% of the respondents said that the document they hold is the temporary protection card, it seems that the problem lies in this system and the restrictions imposed on those covered by its provisions in general.
9. Nearly half of the Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey do not feel safe and face security challenges represented by relatively serious threats related to their practice of their profession or their political opinion. The Syrian regime represents the most prominent source of these threats. This conclusion is based on the findings of the research in the light of the fourth sub-question of the research related to the security challenges facing Syrian journalists in Turkey. These results indicated that 48.4% of the respondents said that they did not feel that they or those who were supposed to protect them were safe, and 42.9% indicated that they had been exposed to serious threats, 66.7% believed that it came from the Syrian regime, and 50% of them believed that it was definitely or possibly related to their profession journalistic opinion or their political opinion. This confirms the findings of the research previously that the regime constitutes the largest source of threat to Syrian journalists in Turkey because of their political opinion or their work to cover its violations against civilians through the exercise of their profession. This result

indicates the need for more measures to protect them and ensure their security.

10. The vast majority of Syrian journalists do not have a legal status that protects their journalistic job and professional rights. This conclusion is based on the findings of the research by analyzing the answers to the question related to the relationship of the legal status of the respondents to the protection of their journalistic job and their professional rights. The results indicate that 76.5% of them feel that their legal status does not protect their job and professional rights. This relationship calls for discussing the legal status of Syrian refugee journalists' work in Turkey to find solutions that guarantee their professional and professional rights.
11. Most of the Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey do not have a stable job situation although most of them are professional journalists, meaning that journalism is their main profession. Although the results of the research indicated that 68.8% of the respondents said that they are professional journalists, only 37.5 of them said that they have a permanent job, and the rest either work temporarily or independently. Also, the percentage of those who do editorial work is 73.4% of the respondents. This conclusion was made in light of the fifth sub-question, which aims to understand the type and nature of the work of Syrian journalists in Turkey. These results may have been normal years ago at the beginning of their exit from Syria and their move to the host country, but they are not so after the years that most of them spent in journalistic work. The reason for these results may be due to the unstable conditions of the Syrian immigrant media institutions in Turkey in general.
12. Syrian journalists in general work in non-Turkish press organizations - with the exception of a small percentage, which is only 3.1% of respondents who found a place in Turkish institutions. These results are reached by the research in the light of the sixth sub-question, which aims to understand the type and nature of institutions in which Syrian refugee journalists work in Turkey. These results show that the media institutions in which the interviewed journalists found job opportunities are first Syrian media institutions in Turkey with a percentage of 65.6%, and Arab

media institutions come in second place with a rate of 53.1%, and in the third rank are international media institutions with 31.3% of the respondents. It must be noted here that many of these journalists work temporarily or independently with more than one entity at the same time.

13. Most of the institutions in which Syrian journalists work are Syrian media institutions that have a political position opposing the Syrian regime. The research reached this conclusion based on the results based on the answers received to the questions related to the sixth sub-question, which aims to know the type and nature of the institutions in which Syrian journalists work in Turkey. This also indicates the burden and threats that this situation poses. The Syrian regime, as mentioned above, is the first source of serious threats to Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey.
14. Most of the institutions where Syrian refugee journalists work in Turkey face legal problems in obtaining official licenses to work in Turkey. This, of course, reflects negatively on the work environment in it and its relationship with its employees, and exposes it to significant legal and financial challenges, which may threaten its ability to continue. There is no doubt that this directly affects the ability of the Syrian press immigrating to Turkey to achieve its goals. It also negatively affects the conditions of Syrian journalists working in them. This conclusion was built in light of the sixth sub-question of the research, which aims to understand the type and nature of media institutions in which Syrian journalists work in Turkey, and the legal problems they face. This conclusion is again consistent with the findings (ERDOĞAN, 2020) that most Syrians work in the informal economy. This means that they work in unlicensed organizations or without work permits.
15. The relationship between a large segment of Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey and the institutions in which they work does not have a sound legal formula and is not covered by contracts that guarantee their financial and professional rights. The results indicate that about a third of the respondents, or 35.5% of them, said that their relationship with their institutions has a legal nature that guarantees their financial and professional rights, compared to 32.2% of them who said that their

relationship with their institutions does not have this sound legal nature, and 32.3% of them said that they do not really know about If their relationship with their institutions has this legally valid form. This conclusion was built based on the findings of the research in the light of the seventh sub-question, which aims to understand the legal nature of the relationship of Syrian journalists and the institutions in which they work. In light of this conclusion, it can be said that one third of these journalists are exposed to losing their rights due to the absence of a legal formula for their relationship with their institutions. Therefore, there is a real need to find legal solutions to ensure that these journalists obtain a correct formula for their relationship with their institutions, in order to guarantee their financial and professional rights.

16. Most Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey do not feel job security. The results of the research indicated that the percentage of respondents who said that they did not feel job security reached 67.2%, which is a large percentage that once again confirms the job instability under which Syrian refugee journalists work in Turkey. These results are consistent with other findings of the research related to the legal nature of the work of Syrian journalists in Turkey and the working conditions of most of them without a sound legal formula in the Syrian media institutions immigrating to Turkey, most of which face problems in obtaining the necessary licenses. These results were reached in the light of the seventh sub-question of the research, which aims to understand the legal nature of the relationship of Syrian journalists with their institutions and the extent to which they feel job security.
17. Most of the Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey are subjected to pressures while practicing their journalistic profession, related to their ability to continue to perform it. As 63.7% of the respondents confirmed that they were subjected to this kind of pressure during their journalistic work. This result indicates the additional burdens borne by Syrian journalists due to their work in the profession of journalism, the conditions surrounding their performance of their profession, and the unsafe environment in which they work. These results are built in light of the seventh sub-

question, which aims to understand the conditions in which Syrian refugee journalists work in Turkey.

- 18.** The most important source of pressures Syrian refugee journalists face in Turkey while practicing their profession is the institutions in which they work. The second source of this pressures is colleagues at work. This means that the most important sources of pressures to which these journalists are exposed are within the work environment, not outside it. These results are somewhat remarkable, and the research did not expect them, especially in terms of the large percentages represented by the answers received to the questions related to this. The percentage of those who said that its source of the pressures they are exposed to is the institutions in which they work is 63.7% of the respondents. And the percentage of those who said that the source was their co-workers was 32.1% of the respondents. These results were reached within the framework of the eighth sub-question of the research, which aims to know the extent to which Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey are subjected to pressures during the exercise of their profession, and the source of these pressures. The results related to this sub-question also indicate that the most important external source of pressures that Syrian journalists are exposed to during their journalistic work are the Syrians who support the Syrian regime in Turkey, where the percentage of those who said that they are the source of the pressures that they were subjected to amounted to 32.1% of the respondents. This also indicates the magnitude of the challenges facing these journalists, and their connection in many aspects to the Syrian regime or at least its supporters.
- 19.** More than half of the Syrian journalists who are refugees in Turkey do not feel that their right to expression is protected. The research based this conclusion on the results of analyzing the answers received from the respondents in the light of the ninth sub-question, which aims to know the extent to which the respondents feel that their right to expression is preserved. Because of this right of crucial importance in the ability to practice the profession of journalist. The percentage of those who said that they do not feel that their right to expression is protected reached 53.1%

of the respondents. This percentage is large given that these journalists originally fled their country due to persecution based on opinion and expression, and they hope to find a space outside the borders of their country that will enable them to practice their profession and express their opinion freely.

**20.** Nearly three quarters of Syrian journalists in Turkey believe that the most important challenge they face is obtaining legal recognition as journalists, which would allow them to obtain the rights and privileges that journalists are supposed to obtain. There is no doubt that this recognition has a significant positive impact on their ability to obtain their rights and practice their work in the profession of journalism. Obtaining a work permit is the second most important challenge that these Syrian journalists face in Turkey. This is consistent with the finding that three to four Syrian journalists in Turkey work without a work permit. It is noteworthy here that the first and second challenges are of an administrative and legal nature, which brings us back again to the need to find solutions to improve the legal status of these journalists. This conclusion was reached based on the results of the research it reached in the light of the tenth sub-question, which aims to identify the most important challenges facing Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey.

**21.** More than half of the Syrian journalists in Turkey consider their economic situation as one of the main challenges they face. This indicates the extent of the economic problems that these journalists suffer in order to secure their livelihood, as well as the importance of the economic factor for them in light of the general conditions in which they work and live. The results indicate that the percentage of those who said that the economic factor is one of the most important challenges that they face is 54.8% of the respondents. The research reached this conclusion based on the results it reached from analyzing the answers to the questionnaire questions in the light of the tenth sub-question, which aims to know the most important challenges facing Syrian journalists while living and working in Turkey.

**22.** The cultural challenge represents a significant aspect of the challenges facing Syrian journalists in Turkey, as 43.5% of the respondents said that

learning a new language that allows Syrian journalists in Turkey to integrate into their new social environment and conduct their daily affairs is one of the most significant challenges for them. Perhaps this challenge is largely due to their working conditions in the profession of journalism, which takes a large amount of time in the life of those who practice it and causes them to be busy most of the time. This may also be due to their work in non-Turkish media organizations. Which makes their professional environment mostly non-Turkish, and this does not give them an opportunity to practice the Turkish language. Of course, personal factors play an important role in the reasons that may make language a significant challenge for these journalists, especially after such a long period in Turkey. This conclusion was also reached, in the light of the tenth sub-question of the research.

23. More than a third of Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey consider the security challenge to be the most prominent among the challenges they encounter while working and living in Turkey. The research built this conclusion based on the answers to the tenth sub-question, which aims to know the type and size of the challenges that the respondents believe they face during their stay in Turkey. The percentage of those who considered the security challenge among the challenges they encounter is 47.1% of the respondents. This supports the conclusion that nearly half of Syrian journalists do not feel that they and they are supposed to be safe.
24. The number of job opportunities available in the media field for Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey is very few. This conclusion was reached based on the answers received from the respondents, in the light of the eleventh sub-question of the research, which aims to know the size of the opportunities available to employ these journalists. In the respondents' answers, the percentage of those who said that finding a job in the media field is difficult or impossible was 85.9% for Syrian journalists in Turkey. It goes without saying here that for journalists in general, the opportunity to work is not just a means of earning a living, but rather the necessary factor for their ability to pursue their chosen profession, without which they simply lose this ability. As for most Syrian journalists, the matter is

also more than that. They have a cause they want to convey to the world, and without a job opportunity in the media field, they lose their ability to perform their duty towards their country and their citizens.

25. More than half of the Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey believe that joining a recognized union or union that works to protect the rights of journalists or media workers is either impossible or difficult. The research reached this conclusion based on the results of analyzing the answers received from the respondents in the light of the twelfth sub-question. Which aims to find out to what extent these journalists are able to enjoy union rights. These results indicate that 54.7% of the respondents believe that joining a union or union that protects their rights is difficult or impossible. These results indicate that Syrian journalists are deprived of an important right for journalists and professionals in general. It is no secret to anyone what unions do in preserving the rights of their members and taking care of them, and the privileges and assistance they provide to them in developing their profession and solving the problems and difficulties they face.

## CONCLUSION

This research chose to study the reality of Syrian journalists in Turkey and the challenges they face, in order to reach a clear understanding of all aspects related to and affecting the conditions in which they live and work. These journalists represent an example for immigrant journalists, and the conditions in which they live and work give a model for understanding what the situation of immigrant journalists can be, noting here that each case of journalistic immigration has its own specificity resulting from its causes and the nature of the surrounding circumstances.

Given that Syrian journalists in Turkey are refugees in origin, they certainly need all the privileges, rights and services that refugees need in the first place. In general, Syrian refugees in Turkey face great challenges, but these challenges are increasing for journalists. This is in view of their nature as opinion-holders that usually have consequences, and also given the nature of their journalistic profession and their specialization in covering the thorny Syrian issue, in addition to the specificity of the Syrian situation and the spillover of its consequences beyond the Syrian borders. Therefore, the topic of this research imposed itself on the researcher and gained its importance.

The research identified a main question about what it means to be a Syrian journalist and refugee in Turkey, and to answer it, twelve questions were put that cover all aspects related to or affecting the research problem, covering all social, security, legal, economic and professional aspects under which Syrian journalists live and work

in Turkey. The answer to it, in its entirety, represents an answer to the main question and to reach the research objectives.

The sub-questions developed by the research were as follows:

1. Who are the Syrian journalists in Turkey?
2. What is the legal status of Syrian journalists in Turkey?
3. Do Syrian journalists have freedom of movement in Turkey?
4. What are the security challenges facing Syrian journalists in Turkey?
5. What is the type and nature of the work of Syrian journalists in Turkey?
6. What kind of institutions do Syrian journalists work with in Turkey and what is the legal status of these institutions?
7. What is the nature of the relationship of Syrian journalists with the institutions which they work with, and do they feel job security there?
8. Are Syrian journalists subjected to pressures during the practicing of their journalistic work, and what is the source of this pressures?
9. Do Syrian journalists feel that their right to freedom of expression is protected?
10. What are the main challenges that Syrian journalists believe they face while they stay and work in Turkey?
11. To what extent is it possible to get a job in the media field for Syrian journalists in Turkey?
12. To what extent can Syrian journalists in Turkey join a recognized union or federation that works to protect the rights of journalists or media workers?

The research adopted the exploratory survey method, because knowledge of the subject does not allow for a descriptive and analytical study. Thus, its purpose is to explore and describe the research problem clearly and to modify concepts and assumptions in light of the findings. Therefore, it was necessary to adopt the social survey methodology by conducting a survey using the questionnaire form that was designed to answer the questions raised in the study. The questionnaire model was based on the logical sequence of moving from one question to another. The data was

collected by taking the answers to the questionnaire questions from the people who formed the research sample, and in the end the data was classified, analyzed, discussed, and the results were discussed and discussed, leading to conclusions. The research claims that it achieved its goal by being able to answer the main question clearly in the light of the sub-questions that it set, and the research used the data analysis tool received from the respondents' answers to the questionnaire questions specifically designed to cover all the aspects mentioned in the light of the sub-questions, to finally reach a situation Visualization required to answer the main question.

On the theoretical side, the research was not able to access any previous academic social studies that dealt with the phenomenon of Syrian journalists. The theoretical framework of the research was developed in the light of previous academic studies that intersected with its subject in two aspects: the first is in the studies that dealt with the immigrant press or the emigration of journalists in general, which focused on the aspects related to this phenomenon in terms of its history, causes and effects, and also dealt with the content of the production of immigrant media Its implications and implications. However, unlike this research, it did not address the social, security, economic, security and occupational reality of immigrant journalists. The second aspect was in academic studies that dealt with the issue of Syrian refugees in Turkey from the social, security, economic and legal aspect, without addressing the journalists among them. This is one of the reasons that increased the importance of this research. Accordingly, the theoretical framework has been developed based on previous studies and what was made available from other academic studies, and published social literature. Various sources were also used to gather preliminary information that allows for a background for a preliminary understanding of the phenomenon, from which one can start to examine the reality of Syrian journalists in Turkey, including reports issued by international organizations concerned with the rights of journalists, which dealt with their situation in some comprehensive detail for many of their situations.

After analyzing the data received from the questionnaire under the theoretical and methodological framework, and the sub-questions, the research reached the results. The research claims that its results constitute a clear picture of the reality of Syrian journalists and their view of the most prominent challenges and problems facing them, which in turn affect the various aspects of their living as well as the conditions

in which they perform their work, and consequently their ability to continue performing their tasks.

The most important conclusions that the research reached after discussing the results were as follows:

1. More than two thirds of Syrian journalists in Turkey are young males in their late twenties and early thirties, who are socially stable and live with their wives and children.
2. More than two thirds of the Syrian journalists included in the research have lived in Turkey for five years or more.
3. The vast majority of Syrian journalists who are refugees in Turkey are in dire need of a legal and safe way to cross the Turkish border with Syria.
4. More than half of the Syrian journalists who are refugees in Turkey are subject to the temporary protection system in Turkey.
5. Three quarters of Syrian journalists work in Turkey without an official work permit that allows them to work in their profession in a legal manner that preserves their rights.
6. Most of the Syrian journalists who are refugees in Turkey have problems related to their ability to move within the Turkish territory.
7. The majority of Syrian journalists do not have the ability to move across the Turkish border with Syria in a legal and safe manner that would allow them to return to their place of residence in Turkey.
8. The document carried by more than half of the Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey is one of the most important reasons that make them feel insecure or force them to give up their rights.
9. Nearly half of the Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey do not feel safe and face security challenges represented by relatively serious threats related to their practice of their profession or their political opinion. The Syrian regime represents the most prominent source of these threats.
10. The vast majority of Syrian journalists do not have a legal status that protects their journalistic job and professional rights. This conclusion is

based on the findings of the research by analyzing the answers to the question related to the relationship of the legal status of the respondents to the protection of their journalistic job and their professional rights.

11. Most of the Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey do not benefit a stable job situation, although most of them are professional journalists, meaning that journalism is their main profession.
12. Syrian journalists in general work in non-Turkish press institutions, except for a small percentage who found a place for themselves in Turkish institutions. Most of them work in Arab institutions
13. Most of the institutions in which Syrian journalists work are Syrian media institutions that have a political position opposing the Syrian regime.
14. Most of the institutions where Syrian refugee journalists work in Turkey face legal problems regarding obtaining official licenses to work in Turkey.
15. The relationship between a large segment of Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey and the institutions in which they work does not have a sound legal formula and is not covered by contracts that guarantee their financial and professional rights.
16. Most Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey do not feel job security.
17. Most of the Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey are subjected to pressures during the exercise of their journalistic profession, related to their ability to continue to perform it.
18. The most important source of pressure that Syrian refugee journalists are exposed to in Turkey while practicing their profession is the institutions in which they work. The second source of this pressure is colleagues at work.
19. More than half of the Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey do not feel that their right to expression is protected.
20. Nearly three quarters of Syrian journalists in Turkey believe that the most important challenge they face is obtaining legal recognition as journalists,

which would allow them to obtain the rights and privileges that journalists are supposed to obtain.

21. More than half of the Syrian journalists in Turkey consider their economic situation as one of the most important challenges they face.
22. The cultural challenge and learning a new language represent a significant aspect of the challenges facing Syrian journalists in Turkey.
23. More than a third of Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey consider the security challenge to be the most prominent among the challenges they encounter while working and living in Turkey.
24. The number of job opportunities available in the media field for Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey is very few.
25. More than half of the Syrian refugee journalists in Turkey believe that joining a recognized union or union that works to protect the rights of journalists or media workers is either impossible or difficult.

And because the opposite is known, the most important needs of Syrian journalists in Turkey can be determined based on the results and conclusions of the research on their reality and the most prominent challenges they face. It must be noted here that the results revealed a great overlap between these needs and a reciprocal effect. Often the availability of one of these needs automatically contributes to the availability of other needs, even if partially.

1. Accordingly, it can be said that the most important needs of Syrian journalists in Turkey are as follows:
2. Legal and official recognition of them as journalists, which allows them to benefit the rights and facilities granted to journalists, and thus saves them the restrictions and obstacles resulting from not being legally recognized as journalists.
3. Legal facilities that allow them to obtain the necessary documents for residence, movement and work in Turkey, most notably the work permit, and this increases their chances of obtaining a job and allows them to formulate a sound legal relationship with their institutions in a manner that preserves their professional and material rights, and thus gives them

job security, in addition to a large number of Positive results that are reflected in their circumstances.

4. Freedom of movement and related circumstances or documents, as it is clear from the conclusions that most of them lost opportunities to complete their tasks due to their inability to move in a safe and legal manner, and about half of them answered frankly that they do not feel that there is sufficient protection for their right to movement.
5. The difficult economic conditions that most of them live under also affect their ability to accomplish their tasks, as well as in all aspects of their lives, and of course it is mainly due to the difficulty of obtaining work within their media field, and the lack of a legal cover covering their relationship with the institutions they work with, and protecting their rights, not to mention about the general economic conditions in their surroundings.
6. Sufficient knowledge of the Turkish language and culture and other matters that help them integrate into Turkish society, and here it is no secret to anyone the importance of knowing the language and culture of the host country to achieve integration into its social and economic system. Also, mastering the language opens wide horizons and new opportunities that help them improve their conditions and help them preserve their rights. It must be noted that the greatest burden here falls on the shoulders of the journalists themselves, as mastering a new language requires personal effort in the first place, regardless of the difficulties that a person may face in order to learn it, such as not having enough time as a result of being busy with work. Taking into consideration the important role that the relevant authorities may play in encouraging them to learn the language by providing courses that suit their circumstances. Also, understanding the culture of the new society requires Syrian journalists to mix in this society and try to follow its cultural and artistic production and participate in the activities and events of the members of this society.
7. Security and protection from threats and pressures of all kinds.

8. The opportunity to join unions and federations that protect them, defend their rights, look after their interests, provide them with professional support, and develop their profession.

Based on the results of the research and the conclusions it reached, and the needs generated by the reality of Syrian journalists in Turkey and the challenges they face, it can be said that the most important recommendations that came out of the research are as follows:

1. The study recommends the concerned authorities to find legal and legislative solutions that contribute to facilitating the access of Syrian journalists to legal recognition as journalists, and then their benefit of the legal status due to them in accordance with the norms and laws, and then providing them with the necessary legal facilities to be able to practice their journalistic work freely and safely.
2. The study recommends that the proposed solutions provide the necessary legal protection for them and their professional and material rights by developing the legislative structure of laws that affect all aspects of their lives, especially the professional ones. Thus, forcing the institutions they work with not to exploit them, so that their relationship with them is based on sound legal foundations and covered by contracts that guarantee their professional and material rights.
3. The study recommends that these solutions should meet the need of these journalists to protect their right to move freely, in a manner that serves the special nature of their profession, since moving freely, quickly and safely is an important and decisive factor in practicing the profession of journalism.
4. The study recommends that all relevant authorities make greater efforts to provide the necessary protection for journalists and their families, given that most of them came to Turkey as refugees or fleeing the threats and persecution they were subjected to in their country because of their opposition to the regime in Syria. Most of them have been exposed or are under serious threat or do not feel that they and their families or those they are supposed to protect are safe.

5. The study recommends that organizations concerned with protecting journalists and defending their rights, such as unions and federations, provide the necessary facilities that enable Syrian journalists in Turkey to join them, and thus benefit the protection, legal assistance and benefits these journalists provide to improve their professional, social and economic conditions.
6. The study also recommends the organizations and stakeholders to try to improve the chances of Syrian journalists in Turkey to obtain suitable job opportunities, by providing them with professional, advisory and training assistance, so that they can develop their abilities and skills and thus increase their chances of obtaining suitable job opportunities, and therefore they do not find themselves forced to accept With job opportunities within institutions that exploit them, or do not grant them the minimum necessary rights. This will, of course, reflect positively on their economic conditions and their ability to meet all their living needs.
7. The study recommends that Syrian journalists in Turkey make more efforts to learn the Turkish language and learn more about Turkish culture so that they can understand Turkish society and thus make their integration into Turkish society easier, and this of course will increase their opportunities, improve their ability to communicate and understand with their surroundings and thus improve the quality of their lives and working conditions.
8. The study also recommends that Syrian journalists focus more on developing their skills by various means so that they can get a suitable job, and increase their ability to improve their economic conditions, which increases their ability to meet their living requirements.
9. The study also recommends that Syrian journalists try to obtain legal advice from relevant organizations and authorities about their security and legal and professional conditions, as a significant proportion of them showed during the study their indifference or lack of knowledge of their rights and the laws regulating their presence and work in Turkey, and

therefore they were unable to determine whether They really had adequate protection of their basic rights that were addressed in the study questions.

10. Research recommends academics and researchers to conduct more studies on the phenomenon of the Syrian immigrant press in Turkey and the countries surrounding Syria and all over the world. Syrian journalists have spread in many countries, and most of them are still involved in covering the Syrian issue, and they use means that constitute research topics in themselves, such as the citizen journalist networks, they formed with hundreds of activists inside Syria in dangerous areas. As well as their reliance on social media platforms and encrypted programs to receive and transmit news extensively. Finally, they formed transcontinental networks in which they voluntarily contribute to spreading news and covering the violations of the Syrian regime against civilians in their homeland.

These were the most prominent recommendations that the research claims to meet an important part of the needs of Syrian journalists in Turkey, and greatly reduce the challenges they face.

This research was divided into an introduction, two chapters and a conclusion. The introduction included an explanation of the research problem, its objectives, its importance, the methodology it followed to reach its objectives, the assumptions that were based on it, and the hypotheses it set, represented in the research questions whose answers covered the aspects of the problem, the limitations that faced its implementation, definitions of the most prominent terms contained therein, and previous studies related to the research topic.

The first chapter was divided into two parts, the first of which dealt with the media ecosystem in Syria, and discussed the institutional organization of the media in Syria, and the political and legal background of the media system in Syria. The second section dealt with understanding the phenomenon of press migration in theory and practice. It discussed the definition of the concept of immigrant or refugee journalism, the difficulties facing the immigrant press and their application to the Syrian case, restrictions on freedom of movement, threats and security restrictions, and press coverage of crises. Media ethics for coverage in times of crisis. The second chapter includes the research results and their discussion, and finally the conclusion.

In the end, this study tried as much as possible to shed light on the reality of Syrian journalists in Turkey, the legal, professional and living conditions that surround them, and the type and size of the challenges they face in various fields, especially in the private aspect of their profession.

The study based its results, conclusions and recommendations on the answers of the Syrian journalists who participated in answering the questions of the study questionnaire and their perceptions about their rights and their needs, as well as the various aspects affecting their lives and their practice of their journalistic work.

This study is a modest step aimed at contributing to building a clear understanding of the phenomenon of the presence of Syrian journalists in Turkey, and thus participating in a broader understanding of the issue of the presence of journalists in general in refugee societies and the reality and challenges imposed on them by similar circumstances.

In the end, it must be noted that the phenomenon under study still needs more detailed studies in order to achieve a closer view of all its circumstances that contribute to understanding its various aspects, and thus achieve a clearer understanding of similar phenomena at the global level.

## REFERENCES

- AbuRashid, N. (2020). *Electronic press and electronic publishing*. Damascus: Syrian Virtual University Publications.
- Abbas, H. (2021, 03 03). *The reality of the Syrian press*. Retrieved from The Freedom First:  
<https://thefreedomfirst.com/2021/04/03/%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%82%D9%80%D8%B9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%81%D9%80%D9%80%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D9%80%D9%80%D8%A9/>
- Abbas, M. Y. (2015). Cultural life in Syria: 1920-1946. *Anbar University Journal for Human Sciences*, 377- 405.
- Abuzeid, F. (1985). *The Arab Immigrant Press*. Cairo: Madbouly library.
- Ahmed, M. (2011). Cultural life in Damascus in the Ottoman era. *Damascus University Journal*, 317-322.
- Alali, s. (2020, 11 22). *On World Television Day: a conflict between the Syrian screen and the Internet*. Retrieved from Enab Baladi:  
<https://www.enabbaladi.net/archives/433483>
- Albaba, H. (2012). *A Book in Fear: An Eyewitness to the Syrian Journalism*. Beirut: Alghawun for distribution and publishing.

- Aldalati, Y. (2020, 06 16). *Features of the press in Syria in the post-independence period from France*. Retrieved from Noon Post: <https://www.noonpost.com/content/37248>
- Aldamen, J. H. (2012). *International responsibility for violating the protection of journalists and the media during armed conflicts*. Cairo: House of Legal Books.
- Aldughaim, T. (2018). *The Syrian press renaissance between the emergence of the national entity and unity with Egypt*. Aleppo: Idrak for Studies and Consultations.
- Alghobashi, S. (2004). *The Arab immigrant press between spreading awareness and marketing dependency*. Cairo: Islamic Forum.
- Alhalak, A. (2014). *The Syrian press between two caliphs*. Beirut: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.
- Alnuaimi, H. A. (2011). *The first or ancient migration of Arab newspapers towards Europe*. Baghdad: Almustansiriya University.
- Alolabi, M. (2016, 03 16). *The press and the media under the Ba'athist rule in Syria*. Retrieved from Accuracy press institute: <https://accuracypress.org/ar/archives/267>
- Alqaoud, H. M. (1992). *The immigrant press: a study and analysis*. Cairo: Dar Alitisam for printing and publishing.
- Alrifaey, S. (1969). *History of the Syrian press*. Cairo: House of Knowledge in Egypt.
- Amer, F. H. (2014). *History of the Arab press*. Beirut: Al Arabi for Publishing and Distribution.
- Arslan, S. (2008). *The Arab Renaissance in the present era*. Beirut: Progressive House.
- Bani Ayesh, M. (2017). *Military coups in Syria*. Irbid: Cultural Book House.
- BBC. (2011, September 16). Retrieved from Syria: The "dissident" Lieutenant-Colonel Hussein Harmoush retracts his statements: [https://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast/2011/09/110910\\_syria\\_harmoush](https://www.bbc.com/arabic/middleeast/2011/09/110910_syria_harmoush)
- Berlo, D. K. (1960). *The Process of Communication: an introduction to theory and practice*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

- Bouchet-Saulnier, F. (2007). *The Practical Guide to Humanitarian Law*. Maryland: Rowman Littlefield Publishres.
- Clutterbuck, R. (1983). *The Media and Political Violence*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Constitution of the Republic of Turkey. (1982).
- CPJ. (2020). *Getting Away with Murder*. New York: The Committee to Protect Journalists.
- De Tarrazi, P. (1945). *History of the Arab press*. Beirut: Beirut Literary Press.
- Eisa, S. (2009, 06 01). *Syrian press under the microscope*. Retrieved from Alquds Alarabi:  
<https://www.alquds.co.uk/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B5%D8%AD%D8%A7%D9%81%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D8%AC%D9%87%D8%B1-%D8%AD%D8%B6%D9%88%D8%B1-%D9%85%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B6/>
- Elhawary, S. (2017). *Rules for protecting journalists in light of the provisions of international law*. Cairo: Arab Democratic Center.
- Elias, J. (1983). *The development of the Syrian press in a hundred years*. Beirut: Dar Al-Nidhal for printing, publishing and distribution.
- Entman, R. M. (1991). *Framing U.S. Coverage of International News: Contrasts in Narratives of the KAL and Iran Air Incidents*. Washington D.C.: Journal of Communication.
- ERDOĞAN, M. (2017). *Urban refugees from detachment to harmonization*. Istanbul, Turkey: Marmara Municipalities Union's Center for Urban Policies, Gafa Media.
- ERDOĞAN, M. (2020). *Syrians Barometer19: A framework for achieving social cohesion with Syrians in Turkey*. Istanbul: Research Center for Migration and Integration, TAGU.

- FreedomHouse. (2021). *Democracy under Siege*. Washington D.C.: Freedom House Organization.
- (2012). *Freedom on the Net 2012 - Syria*. Washington DC: Freedom House Organization.
- Geneva Convention. (1949). *Annex I Additional to the Geneva Convention for the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War*.
- Hallin, D. (1986). *The Uncensored War: The Media and Vietnam*. California: Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- Helberg, K. (2009, 05 22). *Censorship in Syria's network*. Retrieved from Deutsche Welle: <https://p.dw.com/p/Hv2M>
- Hossam El Din, M. (2003). *Social responsibility of the press*. Cairo: The Egyptian Lebanese House.
- HRW. (2002). *Memorandum to the Syrian Government: Human Rights Concerns*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- HRW. (2002). *Syria: Stifling Freedom of Expression*. Human Rights Watch.
- HRW. (2010). *Syria: The Lost decade*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Husain, D. (2012). *Press coverage of crises. Baghdad University*. Baghdad: Baghdad University, Journal of Media Researcher.
- IMO. (n.d.). *International Organization for Migration*. Retrieved from Who is the immigrant: <https://egypt.iom.int/ar/%D9%85%D9%86-%D9%87%D9%88-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%AC%D8%B1%D8%9F>
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. (1966).
- Khadur, A. (1972). *Syrian Press: Its inception, Development and Current Reality*. Damascus: Dar Al-Baath for Press, Printing, Publishing and Distribution.
- Krosnick, J. A., & Alwin, D. F. (1988). *A Test of the Form-Resistant Correlation Hypothesis: Ratings, Rankings, and the Measurement of Values*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Law of the Syrian Journalists Union. (1990). *Legislative Decree No. 1 of 1990*. Damascus, Syria: Official Newspaper.

- Legislative Decree No. 10. (2002, February 04). Damascus, Syria: Official Newspaper.
- Livingstone, N. (1982). *The War Against Terrorism*. Washington DC: Lexington Books.
- Luka, I. (2008). *The literary movement in Damascus*. Damascus: Publications of the Arab Writers Union.
- Media in Syria*. (2017, 04 13). Retrieved from Fanack Foundation: <https://fanack.com/ar/syria/media-in-syria/>
- Meki, M. M. (2016). *The return of the Arab immigrant media*. Amman: Amwaj for printing, publishing and distribution.
- Memişoğlu, F. (2018). *The Syrian community in Turkey: perspectives, prospects, and policies*. Istanbul: Public Policy and Democracy Studies - PODEM, Raoul Wallenberg Institute.
- Picard, R. (1993). *Media Portrayals of Terrorism and Meaning of News Coverage*. Iowa: Iowa State University Press.
- Rashti, J. A. (1978). *Scientific Foundations of Media Theories*. Arab Thought House for Printing and Publishing.
- Rothman, A. J., Salovey, P., Antone, C., Keough, K., & Martin, C. D. (1993). *The Influence of Message Framing on Intentions to Perform Health Behaviors*. New Haven: Journal of Experimental Social Psychology.
- RSF. (2016). *Syrian Journalists Leaving to Tell The Tale*. Paris: Reporters Without Borders. Retrieved from Reporters Without Borders.: <https://rsf.org/en/reports/world-refugee-day-syrian-journalists-leaving-tell-tale>
- RSF. (2019, August 20). Retrieved from Reporters without borders: <https://rsf.org/en/news/rsf-urges-turkey-not-send-syrian-refugee-journalists-back-syria>
- RSF. (2020). *World Press Freedom Ranking*. Paris: Reporters Without Borders.
- Sadekni, K. S. (2016). *Factors affecting the credibility of Syrian newspapers*. Damascus: University of Damascus.

- Schmid, A. P., & De Graaf, J. (1982). *Violence as Communication*. New York: SAGE Publications.
- SCM. (2011). *Media map in Syria*. Paris: Syrian Center for Media and Freedom of Expression.
- SCM. (2011). *Online Media in Syria*. Paris: Syrian Center for Media and Freedom of Expression.
- SCM. (2020). *The legal environment for the media in Syria. Paris*. Paris: Syrian Center for Media and Freedom of Expression.
- SCM, S. (2007). *The State of Media and Freedom of Expression in Syria: A Year of Iron Censorship*. Damascus: Syrian Center for Media and Freedom of Expression.
- SCM, S., & RSF, R. (2008). *The state of media and freedom of expression in Syria*. Syrian Center for Media and Freedom of Expression.
- Sharif, M. (2009). *Covering wars and conflicts. the Gulf Press Union*. Kuwait: Kuwait Journalists Association.
- Shumow, M. (2012). *Migrant Journalism: Ideology and Production of Transnational Spaces*. Florida: Florida International University, Journal of media, culture and society.
- Skjerdal, T. (2011). *Journalists or Activists? Self-identity in the online Ethiopian diaspora community*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania, Annenberg School of Communication, Journalism Journal.
- SNHR. (2021). *The annual report on the most prominent violations against media professionals in Syria*. Syrian Network for Human Rights.
- Syrian Publications Law. (2001, February 19). *Legislative Decree No. 50 dated*. Damascus, Syria: Official Newspaper.
- The United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its Protocol. (1951).
- Tkacheva, O., Schwartz, L. H., Libicki, M. C., Taylor, J. E., Martini, J., & Baxter, C. (2013). *Internet Freedom and Political Space*. California: RAND Corporation.

Tversky, & Kahneman, d. (1981). *The Framing of Decisions and The Psychology of Choices*. Washington, D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science.

UNESCO Declaration. (1978). *UNESCO Declaration on the Contribution of the Media to Supporting World Peace, International Understanding and the Promotion of Human Rights*.

UNHCR. (2014, August 29). *The number of Syrian refugees reaches three million*. Retrieved from United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: <https://www.unhcr.org/ar/news/latest/2014/8/54000534a.html>

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. (1948).

Williams, K. (2003). *Understanding Media Theory*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Zaman Alwsl. (2016, February 03). *An official statement from the kidnapper of Harmoush*. Retrieved from Zaman alwasl: <https://www.zamanalwsl.net/news/article/68434/>

## ANNEXES

### Questionnaire Form

#### **A questionnaire for Syrian journalists in Turkey to know their reality and the difficulties they face**

my dear,

After Greetings.

This is a questionnaire for the opinions of the Syrian journalists in Turkey, whose aim is to know the reality in which they live and work, as well as the challenges and difficulties that meet them of various kinds.

This questionnaire is used as part of a study that a student at Gaziantep University is working on to obtain a master's degree.

The information that you provide during your answers to the questions contained therein will be used for scientific research purposes only, and will take into account the utmost degree of privacy while dealing with it, and you can ignore the questions related to personal data.

With many thanks and appreciation for your cooperation...

#### **Personal information:**

1- Sex:

A) Male.

B) Female.

2- Social Status:

A) Married.

B) Single.

C) Other...

3- Age:

A) Less than 25 years old.

B) 26 to 35 years old.

C) 36 to 45 years old.

D) 46 to 55 years old.

E) Over 56 years old.

4- Who do you live with in Turkey?

A) Living alone.

B) Parents.

C) Family (wife and children).

D) Friends.

E) Roommate.

**Questions related to the nature of the presence in Turkey and freedom of movement:**

5- How long have you been in Turkey?

A) Less than 2 years.

B) 3-4 years.

C) 5-6 years.

D) 7-8 years.

E) 9 years and more.

6- Have you ever found yourself having to cross the Turkish border illegally?

A) Never.

B) Rarely.

C) Sometimes.

D) Usually.

E) Always.

7- What is the document which you are now based on your presence on Turkish soil?

A) Work permit.

B) Temporary or tourist residence permit.

C) Temporary protection ID for refugees.

D) Turkish nationality ID.

E) Nothing.

8- Has the document you held ever obstructed your ability to move within Turkish territory?

A) Never.

B) Rarely.

C) Sometimes.

D) Usually.

E) Always.

9- When you need, can you cross the border into Syria and return again to your place of residence in Turkey in a safe and legal way?

A) No way.

B) Difficult.

C) I have not tried.

D) possible.

E) Easy.

10- When you need to move within Turkish territory or across the borders, do you must obtain prior licenses that require a long period of time, which may miss your opportunity to implement your mission?

A) Never.

B) Rarely.

C) Sometimes.

D) Usually.

E) Always.

11- As a journalist, do you feel that your right to freedom of movement is protected?

- A) Strongly disagree.
- B) Disagree.
- C) I do not know.
- D) Agree.
- E) Strongly agree.

**Security challenges questions:**

12- Has your document ever made you feel insecure or forced you to give up any of your rights?

- A) Never.
- B) Rarely.
- C) Sometimes.
- D) Usually.
- E) Always.

13- Have you ever been exposed to serious threats during your stay in Turkey?

- A) Never.
- B) Rarely.
- C) Sometimes.
- D) Usually.
- E) Always.

14- To what extent these threats are related to your political opinion or the nature of your journalistic work?

- A) Certainly not related.
- B) Unlikely related.
- C) I do not know.
- D) Likely related.
- E) Strongly related.

15- What is the source of the threats you have been exposed? (You can choose more than one)

- A) Official authorities.
- B) The Syrian regime or its supporters.
- C) Opponents of the Syrian regime.
- D) Armed groups inside Syria.
- E) Others.

16- In general, do you feel that you or the persons who you supposed to protect are safe?

- A) I don't feel it at all.
- B) I don't feel it.
- C) I do not know.
- D) I feel it.
- E) Absolutely I feel it.

17- As a journalist, do you feel that you have a legal position that protects you and your work?

- A) I don't feel that at all.
- B) I don't feel that.
- C) I do not know.
- D) I feel that.
- E) Strongly I feel that.

**Profession-related questions:**

18- How do you define yourself professionally?

- A) A professional journalist with academic qualification.
- B) A professional journalist without academic qualification.
- C) Citizen Journalist.

19- What kind of journalistic work do you do?

- A) Editorial.
- B) Technical.
- C) Administrative.

20- What is the nature of the job that you work?

- A) Freelancer.
- B) Temporary.
- C) Permanent.

21- What type of institution (s) do you work with? (More than one answer can be chosen):

- A) International.
- B) Turkish.
- C) Arab.
- D) Syrian against the regime.
- E) Syrian support the regime.

22- To what extent does the institution(s) you work with face problems regarding permissions to work in Turkey?

- A) Never.
- B) Rarely.
- C) Sometimes.
- D) Usually.
- E) Always.

23- To what extent do you consider that your relationship with the institution(s) which you work with has a legal nature and is covered by contracts that guarantee your professional or financial rights?

- A) Strongly disagree.
- B) Disagree.
- C) I do not know.
- D) Agree.
- E) Strongly agree.

24- To what extent do you feel "Job Security" while practicing your profession?

- A) Strongly disagree.
- B) Disagree.
- C) I do not know.

- D) Agree.
- E) Strongly agree.

25- Have you ever been exposed during your journalistic work to pressures related to your ability to continue practicing your profession?

- A) Never.
- B) Rarely.
- C) Sometimes.
- D) Usually.
- E) Always.

26- What is the source of the pressures you were exposed to while practicing your journalistic work? (You can choose more one)

- A) Official authorities.
- B) Institution which you work in.
- C) Your colleagues.
- D) Syrians in Turkey who against the Syrian regime.
- E) Syrians in Turkey who support the Syrian regime.

27- To what extent do you feel, as a journalist, that your right to freedom of expression is protected?

- A) I don't feel that at all.
- B) I don't feel that.
- C) I do not know.
- D) I feel that.
- E) I feel that strongly.

28- What are the most important challenges that you face in Turkey (More than one answer can be chosen)?

- A) New Language and culture.
- B) Work permission.
- C) Financial status.
- D) legal recognition as a journalist.
- E) Security.

29- To what extent is obtaining a job in the media field available for Syrian journalists in Turkey?

- A) Not available at all.
- B) Available, but with difficulty.
- C) I don't know.
- D) Available.
- E) Readily available.

30- What is the possibility for you to join a recognized federation or union that works to defend the rights of journalists or media workers?

- A) Not available at all.
- B) Available, but with difficulty.
- C) I don't know.
- D) Available.
- E) Readily available.