

Freedom of the Press in Iraqi Kurdistan Region

Hozan Fareed Rashid

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Approval of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research

Prof. Dr. Elvan Yılmaz
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Communication and Media Studies.

Prof. Dr. Süleyman İrvan
Chair, Department of Communication and Media Studies

We certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate in scope and quality as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Communication and Media Studies.

Prof. Dr. Süleyman İrvan
Supervisor

Examining Committee

1. Prof. Dr. Süleyman İrvan

2. Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bahire Efe Özad

3. Asst. Prof. Dr. Metin Ersoy

ABSTRACT

Basic aim of this study is to evaluate the freedom of press in Iraqi Kurdistan region and how journalists think about freedom of press in this region, also the concept of 'freedom of the press' by conducting a survey and also by examining international and regional human rights documents ranging from the United Nations documents, the most democratic countries to less or undemocratic countries constitutions.

The study starts reviewing normative press theories related to the concept of press freedom. It basically focuses on social responsibility theory of the press, which sees press freedom as a vital element of democracy. The theory argues that only free and responsible press can help citizens to make enlightened decisions.

For the data gathering process, quantitative methodology is employed. A survey questionnaire was developed by the researcher to find out how journalists evaluated journalism in the Kurdistan region of Iraq. There were 34 questions in the survey' and 99 journalists who were working in the media outlets filled the questionnaire. They were chosen from different media outlets including government controlled media, political party controlled media, and independent media.

The results show that the majority of journalists do not think that journalism in Kurdistan is free according to international standards. They also do not believe the constitutional guarantee for the press freedom. However, they think that journalism is an improving profession in this region. The study found out that there are gender and age differences on evaluating different aspects of journalism in Kurdistan region of Iraq.

Keywords: Freedom of press, social responsibility theory, Iraqi Kurdistan Region.

ÖZ

Bu tezin temel amacı, Irak Kürdistan Bölgesi'nde basın özgürlüğünü değerlendirmek ve bu bölgede çalışan gazetecilerin basın özgürlüğüne ve kendi ülkelerinde basının ne kadar özgür olduğuna ilişkin değerlendirmelerini öğrenmektir. Bu amaca yönelik olarak bir anket formu geliştirilmiş ve ayrıca uluslararası belgelerle farklı ülkelerin Anayasaları incelenmiştir.

Tezin teorik çerçevesini normatif medya kuramları oluşturmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, normatif medya kuramları ve özellikle de toplumsal sorumluluk kuramı irdelenmiştir. Toplumsal sorumluluk kuramı, özgür ve sorumlu medyayı, demokrasinin vazgeçilmezi olarak görmektedir. Kurama göre, sadece özgür ve sorumlu bir medya yurttaşların aydınlanmış kararlar verebilmelerine yardımcı olur.

Araştırmada, nicel araştırma metodolojisi kullanılmış, veri toplamada ankete başvurulmuştur. Araştırmacı tarafından, benzer örneklerden yararlanarak geliştirilen ankette 34 soruya yer verilmiş ve bu anket farklı medya kuruluşlarında çalışan 99 gazeteci tarafından doldurulmuştur. Örnekleme dahil edilen gazetecilerden bir kısmı hükümet kontrolündeki medyada, bir kısmı siyasi partilerin kontrolündeki medyada ve bir kısmı da bağımsız medyada çalışmaktadırlar. Böylece, örneklemin evreni temsil yeteneği artırılmıştır.

SPSS analizi yapılarak elde edilen sonuçlara göre, gazetecilerin çoğunluğunun Kürdistan bölgesindeki basının özgür olmadığını düşündüklerini ve uluslararası standartlara göre daha geri bir noktada olduklarını görüyoruz. Gazeteciler, basın özgürlüğüne sağlanan Anayasal güvenceye de inanmamaktadırlar. Öte yandan,

gazeteciliğin giderek gelişen bir meslek olduğuna ilişkin yaygın bir kanaat oluştuğunu görüyoruz. Bağımsız değişkenler bağlamında cevaplara bakıldığında, cinsiyet ve yaş değişkenlerinin verilen cevapları etkilediği ortaya çıkıyor.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Basın özgürlüğünü, toplumsal sorumluluk Kuramı, Irak Kürdistan Bölgesi.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Newspapers, the oldest news medium has ever been available in our hands since the ancient civilizations, and a very effective influence on public's mind. Newspapers with different agendas could provoke or control the public's way of thoughts at the time of economic, social, cultural and religious unrests. Press provides one of the most promoted ways to guarantee human freedom, somehow it should be mentioned that freedom of the press is a scale of the freedom members of societies, freedom of thought and expressions, which lies in newspapers, magazines, books, photographs or in a speech or a broadcast on a TV channels. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference, and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers" (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, p. 3).

If journalists are not able to express their ideas with violence and epistemic violence in respect with issues like violence against women, children and the nature, how peace could be settled within this chaotic world? If we-as-journalists- not allowed to talking, write or defend children, soldiers, women's rights, or protecting our environment, how could we proclaim democracy? How could we resist against torturing, banning presses, political and economical corruptions and so on and so forth. Still somewhere else, catastrophic events in regard with humankind are

prevented, when the international media concentrates its attention and cameras on those current events.

1.1 Problem Statement

Kurdistan region of Iraq abide by this constitution and there is also Kurdistan journalist's law accepted by Kurdistan regional parliament. Article 2 of the define press freedom:

“A press is free with no censorship and freedom of speech for publication guaranteed to every citizen in respecting the right and freedoms of individuals and the specificity of their lives in accordance with law and commitment to the principles of journalism ethics in accordance with the Honour charter of the international Federation of journalists of 1954 and amended to this law” (Kurdistan Journalists Syndicate, 2009, p. 5)

With the all these article that mention freedom of press and the journalists can practices their work freely, according to last ranking of reporter without border for the countries Iraq is number 150 within the countries in the world. (Also 11-12th report of Committee for the Defiance of the Press Freedom and Journalists Right in Kurdistan (CDPFJRK) 75 journalists have been violated in Iraqi Kurdistan by different type of violations), one assassination case was killing Kawa Garmyani the editor in chief Rayal magazine, 1 assassination attempt, 14 beating, 14 prohibitions, 12 threat, 2 insult, and 5 arrest. (Committee for the Defence of the Freedom and Journalists Right in Kurdistan, 2013, p. 24). Therefore this research seeks to explore the reason behind the problems journalists pace in Kurdistan region of Iraq.

1.2 Background of The Study

April 22nd of each year is well-known as the anniversary of Kurdish Journalism. On this date, 1898, April 22, the first ever Kurdish Newspaper, which was called Kurdistan newspaper, printed in Cairo (at that time Egypt was a part of the greater Ottoman Empire,) by Prince Medhat Beg, the representative of the renowned

Rozhaki-Badir Khanid Kurdish princely house of Botan. The new era of Kurdish struggle was started by Kurdistan paper for political and cultural rights. M. Bedir Xan wrote himself in the editorial section that the Kurds are not informed of what is happening in their neighborhood and the world, he wanted to show the Kurds what is really happening everyday around the world and in their local area. Also, in this newspaper, he wanted to indicate the importance of science and education. Wherever there are great institutions and schools, he would report to the Kurds. He would also make the Kurds aware about any war, which is taking place, about the goods of the great countries, on how they trade and how they fight. This newspaper was a pathfinder. The North Kurdish dialect was the first major Kurdish dialect of the paper, sub-dialect of Botaní. The Scholar Emin Bozarslan in 1991 translated and republished in modern Turkish a collection of its issues. From that point forward, tens of different Kurdish journals and newspapers and magazines have been distributed in Ottoman Empire, Iraq, Syria, Iran and Lebanon, in recent years in Germany, Sweden, Turkey and France. (Pukmedia, 2013).

1.3 The Aims of the Study

The area of Kurdistan of Iraq gained its autonomy; even in the period that Saddam Hussein was still ruling Iraq. Having a de facto autonomy from October 1991 and a regional government from July 4, 1992 created a very different circumference for the press than the rest of the country. Since then, the press has had the chance of expressing idea in a very relatively free atmosphere of democracy. Due to what was mentioned above, this thesis is going to depict the authentic identity of this circumference, applying different methods, approaching a very close image of what it is, in the sense of the situation of 'freedom of the press of Kurdistan area of Iraq'. My aim of writing this study is to let people understand the freedom of press in

Kurdistan region of Iraq, and actual reality. When we go back to the Iraqi constitution and Kurdistan journalist's law, there are a lot of articles that talk about freedom of press and the right of journalism in Kurdistan region of Iraq. I want to examine this issue in Kurdistan region, to know about the level of freedom, if it exists or not.

1.4 Research Questions

This thesis based on a quantitative study, and tries to answer the following research questions:

1. Do the journalists rate journalism in Iraqi Kurdistan region as free?
2. Is the freedom of press developing in Kurdistan region of Iraq?
3. Does independent media exist in Kurdistan region of Iraq?
4. Are journalists who are working for independent media outlets face challenges?
5. Dose the constitution guarantee freedom of the press in Kurdistan region?
6. Do the journalists' rights have been violated in Kurdistan Region of Iraq?

1.5 The Significance of The Study

Firstly, Kurdistan region of Iraq is a new area, because it was a part of Iraq until 1991, and it became free region after revolution which started on 5th of march and ended on 2nd of same month which mad it free part, they freed themselves from the tyrants who were ruling Iraq at that time. After the great revolution in 2003, Kurdistan becomes a new, geographical and economical area. Development of democracy in Kurdistan created a safe area for all of the composition of Kurdistan to develop and on of them was freedom of press, because before 2003 there was nothing that was called an independent press. This study has focused on explanation of the freedom of press status in Kurdistan region of Iraq. What the journalists think

about freedom of press in this region? More importantly, this research seeks to know if really there is freedom of the press, if the journalists in Iraqi Kurdistan are allowed and free to disseminate news to the public without any censorship or restrictions. The Iraq constitution and Kurdistan Journalism law show and mention the importance of freedom of the press in the country, so this research seeks to show if really there is freedom of the press, and to do so, the researcher conducted a survey with 99 journalists as participants in this research.

1.6 Limitations of the study

This study has two main limitations. The first one is the sample; we have reached to only 99 journalists to conduct the survey, 33 of them are from state-owned newspapers, 33 from the media owned or controlled by political parties, and 33 from independent media outlet. The second limitation is the methodology of data collection. To be more specific, in the present study, only quantitative method of data collection is employed.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL CONTEXT

In this chapter, we will attempt to illustrate what the concept of ‘freedom of the press’ is by examining it in different international and regional human rights documents ranging from the United Nations documents, the most democratic countries to less or undemocratic countries constitutions (e.g., the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and the Interamerican Convention on Human Rights), and national constitutions and journalism laws (e.g., the Canadian Constitution, the United States Constitution, the Islamic Republic of Iran Constitution, Iraq’s Constitution, and the Law of Journalism in Iraqi Kurdistan Region in particular). The idea behind examining ‘freedom of the press’ in all these documents lies in conceptualizing it within the bigger picture in the globe: internationally, regionally, nationally and within the Federal Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan Region which is considered the major focus of this thesis. The examination of ‘freedom of the press’ at conceptualization level goes hand in hand with its implementation in reality which shows that this freedom/right is largely violated all around the world. And finally, this chapter will examine some of the most important theories, which deal with the concept of ‘freedom of the press’ as theoretical context/background of this thesis.

2.1 The Concept of ‘Freedom of the Press’

The concept of ‘freedom of the press’ has no clear-cut definition. It overlaps and intertwines with an entire range of similar and relative concepts and ideas. Without untangling of these ideas and restructuring them as related concepts it will be problematic to reach at a clear notion of what freedom of the press is or even make a sense of it.

Freedom of the press is part of a whole scheme of human rights. It is stated, directly or indirectly, in human rights sections of universal, regional, and national declarations, covenants, conventions and constitutions of so called democratic and even some of the non-democratic states or countries. As such, it is interwoven with other kinds of freedoms of human rights, particularly with the freedom of expression. Moreover, these kinds of freedoms and freedom of the press are stated in different ways in different sections of human rights in different declarations, covenants, conventions, and constitutions of different states and organizations. The different statements of freedom of expression and freedom of the press are understood differently or relatively depending on the political and cultural ideologies or values of who specified them. Therefore, in order to reach at an explicit notion of freedom of the press, one needs to examine and sort out these tangled perceptions of freedoms and freedom of the press.

In the preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), a statement relates the foundation of human beings’ freedom to the dignity of all human beings, which is considered as an inherent right. The statement reads: “Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the

human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world” (The Universal Declaration, para. 1). According to this statement, without dignity, which is a fundamental human right, human beings cannot have their freedom. Freedom in this statement is a general idea since it is not specified. Therefore, it can be interpreted as different kinds of freedoms including freedom of expression and freedom of the press. It appears that freedom of expression and freedom of the press, as examples of human freedoms/rights, are greatly related to the safeguarding of another important human right, in this case human beings’ dignity right. It is, therefore, difficult to imagine, for example, governments, when violating journalists’ dignity, to claim that they (the governments) respect the right of freedom of the press on the other hand. Human rights, as a whole, are indivisible; they cannot be separated from one another. Here, the idea of freedom of the press intertwined with other fundamental human rights can be seen very clearly. In other words, it cannot be separated from other fundamental human rights; they are all indivisible rights.

The transparency or the clarity of relationship of freedom of the press with other human rights and its inseparability from them is more obvious in other parts of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The second statement of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights’ preamble emphasizes the strong desire of human beings to have the freedom of speech and belief. Freedom of speech and belief is strongly correlated with freedom of the press. Individuals and groups of people, according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, should be free in expressing their ideas or beliefs by any means (particularly by the ways of press/media). Here again, freedom of the press is related to another fundamental human right, namely, freedom of speech and belief. Press can be a tool of conveying speeches and ideas/opinions of human beings.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh paragraphs of preamble in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights assert freedom rights in a general way. Of course, freedom of speech, expression, and freedom of the press are included in these general freedoms. The preamble asserts the promoting of “better standards of life in larger freedom” (para. 5), encourages members of the United Nations to achieve the “fundamental freedoms” (para. 6), and highlights the importance of understanding of these freedoms (para. 7). According to Reichert (2011), these general terms of freedoms are not specified or defined clearly and they could mean different things to different cultures (pp. 51-52).

Likewise, freedom of the press could mean and encompass different things as different traditions or cultures or governments or organizations/institutions interpret it differently according to their interests. And thus the freedom of the press can overlap with other thoughts.

The most obvious overlapping of freedom of the press with other terms/rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the clearest illustration of what freedom of the press is are explicit in Article 19. Article 19 states that “every one has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers” (The Universal Declaration, Article 19). Such a statement clearly elucidates, to a great extent, what freedom of the press is though it does not explicitly use the term ‘freedom of the press’. ‘The press’, according to Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2003) is the “people who write reports for newspapers, radio, or television” (p. 1293). On the other hand, Webster’s New Explorer Dictionary and Thesaurus (2005) indicates that ‘press’ is

“the media (as newspapers and magazines) of public news and comment” and the “persons (as reporters) employed in these media” (p. 391). Generally, the mass communication process consists of sending and receiving messages and information via mediums (e.g., media tools such as television, radio, newspapers, magazines, and Internet) (Hanson, 2005, pp. 10-12; Williams, 2003, pp. 4-5). Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights includes almost all the elements of the press, as defined and clarified by *Longman* and *Webster’s* dictionaries, and the process of communication explained by Hanson and Williams. The article says that everyone (whether individuals, groups of people, institutions etc.) are free of having their opinions and conveying or receiving such ideas through any media tool or device within their communities or even across the borders.

Similar or same ideas of freedom of expression and freedom of the press of Universal Declaration of Human Rights seem to be restated in other international and regional covenants and national constitutions and thus became the cornerstone of the right to freedom expression and freedom of the press. For example, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (adopted in 1966, came into force 1976) states in Article 19 that:

1. Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference.
2. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice.
3. The exercise of the rights provided for in paragraph 2 of this article carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to

certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary:

- a. For respect of the rights or reputations of others;
- b. For the protection of national security or of public order (*ordre public*), or of public health or morals (Civil and Political Rights, 2005, p. 40).

Paragraphs 1 and 2 in of this Article in International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights are similar to Article 19 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The two paragraphs state that everyone is free in having their opinions and expressing these opinions, and that the freedom of the expression includes the right to convey and receive opinions freely by any means of media regardless of the borders. Yet there are contradictions in this article. The Article's third paragraph contradicts the freedom of expression and freedom of the press, which are stated in its first and second paragraphs. Such contradictions do not exist in Article 19 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These contradictions in fact limit, restrict, and control the freedoms of expression and the press. The third paragraph's restrictions can be manipulated, interpreted in different ways, and used against the freedom of expression and the press by anyone or by any institution of the state or by any powerful group. Paragraph three of Article 19 in International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights clearly states that the rights of free expression and press carry with them 'special duties and responsibilities' and that these rights are 'subject to certain restrictions'. These restrictions must be 'provided by law'. All these ideas in this paragraph are critical for the practicing of freedom of the press and expression. First of all, who will determine the 'special duties and responsibilities'? It is unknown who will determine these duties and responsibilities of the press; it could

be any party (e.g., any side, committee, or establishment) assigned by the government. Thus the party can adjust these duties and responsibilities according to the interests/values of the controlling group(s) (e.g., governments). And this is understood from the third paragraph of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as it asserts that freedom of the expression and the press rights are ‘subject to certain restrictions’. The paragraph clearly states that these restrictions must be ‘provided by law’ and this implies that the party (e.g., the government) can manipulate the existing laws or even pass new ones just to limit and control such freedoms. Moreover, the third paragraph also stresses that the restrictions on the freedom of expression and the press, which are provided by law, should be necessary for the respect of the rights or reputations of others. This statement seems justifiable at the surface level as, for example, the press should respect the privacy rights of others and not degrade other people’s reputation (part of press’s responsibilities). But again, this statement can be interpreted and manipulated in different ways and used against the freedom of the press. A simple example of this can be seen in criticizing the major authorities of the government by the press, say for their corruption for example, and as a result, the authorities sue the press by claiming that the press, by doing so, had damaged their personal reputation. Yet the most critical statement in this Article is when it affirms that restrictions on press are necessary if the press violates the ‘national security’ of the country (Para. 3, section b of Article 3). Most of the time, the government’s interests substitute the national security. For example, throughout the second half of twentieth century and the first decade of twenty-first century most of the United States’ consecutive administrations involved in wars outside the national border of the United States for the interests of different controlling groups rather than protecting the United States’ national security. The

American involvement in and leading aggressive wars against Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq are few examples, among others, about achieving and protecting controlling groups' interests which were substituted the United States' national security.

It appears that numerous countries have adopted or depended on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights' Article 19 in legislating of their own laws of freedom of the press, yet meanwhile they added some of their understandings and restrictions to such laws. The freedom of expression and the freedom of the press, as one can notice, are found in most democratic regional conventions and democratic countries' constitutions (e.g., the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Canada, and the United States). Ironically, these kinds of freedoms can also be found in several authoritarian countries (e.g., Iran, Iraq).¹

The European countries have their own convention about human rights and freedoms, which was adopted in 1950 and came into force in 1953. It is called the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Article 10 of this Convention is related to the freedom of the expression and the press. The Article is a mix of Articles 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Part one of Article 10 in this Convention includes the freedom of expression and the press similar to Articles 19 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, yet it adds that the Article "shall not prevent States from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or

¹ The freedom of expression and the freedom of the press in the Iraqi constitution of 2005 and the Iranian Constitution will be examined later in this chapter.

² Seymour Hersh's exposing of My Lai Massacre in 1969 is one of these influential disastrous pictures, which exposed the American administrations lies about Vietnam War globally.

³ See, for example, Webster's New Explorer Dictionary and Thesaurus (2005, pp. 198, 507).

⁴ The examples of controlling the press and imposing limits on it are countless in the Iranian

cinema enterprises” (European Convention, n. d., p. 11). Part two of the article is about the restrictions, which put on the practicing of freedom of expression and the press, it reads:

The exercise of these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary (European Convention, n. d., p. 11).

Similar ideas, like the ones found in Articles 19 of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, are stated in this part of the Article. These similarities consist of duties and responsibilities of the press, the restrictions which should be put on them by law. On the other hand, one important issue is included in this part of Article 10 in the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms regarding the freedom of the press, which does not exist, neither in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights nor in International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. This important issue is related to the unrevealing of “information received in confidence” (p. 11).

The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which comprises the first part of the Canadian Constitution Act (1982), includes the freedom of the press in its section (b) of Article 2. Article 2(b) reads “Everyone has the following fundamental freedoms:

(a) ... (b) freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication” (Constitution Act, 1982, n. d.). Unlike the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms clearly includes the phrase ‘freedom of the press’ and ‘media of communication’ among its citizens’ rights and freedoms. None of the previous declaration, covenant, and convention of human rights and freedoms, which examined earlier in this section of chapter two, clearly indicates the concept of ‘freedom of the press’. It becomes clearer now that the term or the concept of ‘freedom of the press’ is getting more widespread.

The First Amendment of the American Bill of Rights also guarantees the freedom of the expression and the press. “The First Amendment ... protects freedom of speech, [and] the press” (The United States Constitution, The Bill of Rights, n. d, para. 3). As it appears from this Amendment, the American Constitution/Bill of Rights protects freedom of speech, and in particular, the freedom of the press.

The idea or the concept of the ‘freedom of the press’ mainly evolves around guaranteeing such a freedom and protecting it. This is at the conception or theoretical level. Yet in practice, almost all of the countries, whether democratic or undemocratic, or whether they included this freedom in their national constitutions or signed the regional or international covenants/conventions of human rights (including freedom of the press), violated such a right to different extents. It appears that the United States leads the democratic countries in violating the freedom of the press. The press (American and foreign press) was controlled and marginalized in

the countless wars waged by the United States administrations against different countries around the world. The most explicit example of this violation is the American invasion of Iraq in March 2003.

The American administration in its invasion of Iraq in 2003 seems to be learned its lessons from media coverage of Vietnam War. Media, back then, conveyed different disastrous pictures of American troops' involvement in Vietnam contrary to the Nixon administration's distorted stories.² This was one of the main reasons, which influenced the public opinions about the war and consequently contributed to increasing anger of the Americans toward their government. Not allowing this to occur again, the consecutive American administrations set different rules and regulations to control or at least minimize the damages, which media can cause to their involvements in the following wars in which they involved directly or indirectly. In their war against Iraq in 2003, the George W. Bush administration invented the 'embedded journalism' to control the information and convey the administration's view of the war. The freedom of press was controlled and limited as the journalists were attached to and traveled with the American troops to convey the war from one side, that is, the American administration's side. Though some journalists, such as David Ignatius, see the advantages of this kind of journalism, when he describes his experience as embedded journalist with the American Army in Afghanistan and Iraq in his article "The dangers of embedded journalism, in war and politics" as he "have seen more of Iraq and Afghanistan than he possibly could have otherwise" (Washington Post, 2010, p. B01), he admits that:

embedding comes at a price. We are observing these wars from just one perspective, not seeing them whole. When you see my byline from Kandahar

² Seymour Hersh's exposing of My Lai Massacre in 1969 is one of these influential disastrous pictures, which exposed the American administrations lies about Vietnam War globally.

or Kabul or Basra, you should not think that I am out among ordinary people, asking questions of all sides. I am usually inside an American military bubble. That vantage point has value, but it is hardly a full picture (p. B01).

Ignatius points out the importance of covering the story from different perspectives to have the whole picture of the news story though travelling alone or free to conflict zones is dangerous. He reveals that he also covered Iraq's war as an embedded reporter at beginning of the war as he entered:

Iraq two days after the invasion with colleagues in rented SUVs. That experience taught him two things: First, it is too dangerous, in most cases, to cover modern warfare without protection from an army. *Second, although his visits were brief, he was able to see things that the embedded journalists could not.* He remembers visiting villages in southern Iraq after the U.S. Army rolled through and finding local people who were intimidated by the beginnings of the insurgency (p. B01, emphasis added).

Ignatius's experience, as embedded/un embedded journalist in Iraq and Afghanistan invasions by the American armies, is a clear example of how freedom of the press can be easily violated by the powerful groups; it does not matter whether these powerful groups are democratic (i.e., claim that they guarantee or protect freedom of the press) or undemocratic (e.g., authoritarian forcing people to obey the rules and laws they set for people, or totalitarian where people have no power and controlled by the government). Such violations of freedom of expression, of course, are anti-democratic actions and turn the main characteristic of freedom of press, namely, the objectivity of the press, into propaganda. The concept of freedom of press as well as its practice can easily take another meaning contrary to what it was to be meant, that is, objectivity and impartiality. Here, the concept of freedom of the press enters into a meaningless controversy. Some coverage of the media can be considered as part of the freedom of the press; on the other hand, the same coverage can be considered for some other people as propaganda. Such disagreement on the term occurs from the vague phrases, which are attached to it in the covenants, conventions, or the

constitutions, which acknowledge the freedom of the press right. For example, as we noticed earlier in this chapter, most freedom of the press or expression rights are guaranteed with some ‘restrictions’ and ‘responsibilities’. Restrictions and responsibilities can mean different things for different people. For example, an American person, particularly a nationalist person, can see the one-sided coverage of the embedded journalist, where the journalist convey the ‘glorious victories’ of the American troops over the ‘enemy’, as part of the journalist’s responsibilities. Needless to say, others, mainly people from the other side (i.e., the enemy in the eyes of the nationalist American), will see such coverage as one-sided and biased.

When the freedom of the press is violated, such as forcing the journalists to embed with the American troops in Iraq invasion in 2003, the consequences of such violation could be damaging on the audiences and consequently on democracy. As such, a democratic human right (i.e., freedom of the press) will be stripped of its intended meaning which outlined in a democratic document (such as bills of rights or constitutions or conventions or covenants) and will take other meanings particularly in practice and among the public as time progresses. Let us illustrate this by giving some examples. Those who used to resist colonial forces throughout the world used to be called ‘freedom fighters’. The same people (the freedom fighters), nowadays, can be called ‘terrorists’ (regardless of their ideologies or beliefs) by different mainstream media outlets (especially in so called western democratic countries’ mainstream media which are controlled by powerful controlling groups). While a ‘freedom fighter’ can be defined as someone who resists and fights against tyrant, oppressor, or exploiter controlling groups (e.g., colonialists, governments), a terrorist

is a person who uses violent actions, kills innocent people to reach to his or her goal.³ As the ‘freedom fighters’ are not ‘terrorists’, ‘embedding journalism’ is not a ‘freedom of the press’ practicing, and can be greatly classified as ‘propaganda’. Just like the latter concepts or ideas and how they will differ in meaning from the origin one, the ‘freedom of the press’ can change. The mainstream, giant media corporations, which are controlled by certain powerful groups and whose interests line up with the ruling groups (e.g., governments) have a great role in such deformation of the terms and disseminating them among the audience. Wells (2003), in “Embedded reporters ‘sanitised’ Iraq war” reports that “television reports produced by ‘embedded’ correspondents in the Iraq conflict gave a sanitised picture of war, according to an academic study published by the BBC today [in November 6, 2003]” “The Guardian, 2003, para. 1). According to the results of this study, Mark Damazer, deputy director of BBC News at that time, cautions that “the current position is a ‘disservice to democracy’” (para. 3) and that the media “... ‘are running the risk of double standards, and it is not a service to democracy’” (para. 4). Wells goes on and reports that Damazer notes “viewers were not being presented with the full picture” (para. 6). In fact, this is an explicit violation of freedom of the press and the right of being able to receive adequate information about issues, which concern the citizens or the public. As we saw earlier, the right of receiving information is another fundamental right of human beings. Furthermore, distorting information or publishing false news, particularly propagating for war, is a crime, can be punished by law. This is asserted, for example, in the Interamerican Convention on Human Rights’ Article 13, section 5 (Handbook for journalists, 2010, pp. 87). Wells writes, “The BBC-commissioned research ... showed that the corporation, like most other

³ See, for example, Webster’s New Explorer Dictionary and Thesaurus (2005, pp. 198, 507).

British broadcasters, tended towards ‘pro-war assumptions during Iraq War in 2003’” (para. 7). And finally, the report shows how the western mainstream media, during the Iraq War, distorted the ‘truth’ and disseminated and promoted among the public ideas which served the United Kingdom’s Prime Minister Tony Blare and the United States’ President George W. Bush’s administrations by claiming that Saddam Hussein’s regime owned mass destruction weapons. Wells points out some of the conclusions of the BBC’s research about how the mainstream propagated lies:

Although British broadcasters were not guilty of the overt pro-war bias of their US counterparts, they tended to assume the truth of what they had been told. In nine out of 10 references to weapons of mass destruction during the war, there was an assumption that Iraq possessed them (para. 9).

Thus one can see how the concept of ‘freedom of the press’, as a fundamental human right, can be emptied of its intended meaning, distorted and replaced by the deformed meaning and consequently this deformed meaning is promoted among the public. Finally, as an example of an authoritarian/totalitarian regime, Iran’s constitution also includes the right of freedom of the press/expression, which is limited and controlled, to a great extent. Article 24 of the Islamic Republic of Iran Constitution states that “publications and the press have freedom of expression except when it is detrimental to the fundamental principles of Islam or the rights of the public. The details of this exception will be specified by law” (Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 1979). It is obvious from this statement that although the Islamic Republic of Iran’s constitution guarantees the freedom of the press for its citizens, it restricts it if such a freedom contradicts the ‘fundamental principles of Islam or the rights of the public’. In other words, it is not a pure freedom. In fact, Islamic Republic of Iran’s constitution is not the only constitution, which restricts freedom of the press or expression. As we saw in examining of freedom of the press/expression articles in some of the human rights covenants, conventions, or constitutions earlier in this

chapter, most of them, if not all, restrict and limit the freedom of the press by certain laws. The Islamic Republic of Iran is not an exception. Article 24 of its constitution clearly states, “The details of this exception [i.e., the restrictions] will be specified by law”. Yet there is a big difference between the declarations, covenants, conventions, and constitutions, which illustrated earlier and Iran’s constitution regarding the type or the essence of these restrictions. First of all, as the Article 24 in Iran’s constitution asserts that the freedom of the press must not contradict ‘fundamental principles of Islam’, it reduces it solely to one ideology, namely, Islam. In other words, the freedom of press/expression should not outstrip the Islamic principles. There is another limitation here. What does ‘the Islamic principles’ mean anyway? The phrase can be interpreted in different ways and it is controversial. Is it Sunni’s Islam or Shiite’s? Such limits and reductions of the freedom of the press/expression can hardly be seen, for example, in universal/international declarations of human rights (e.g., the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted in 1948, and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, adopted in 1966) or in democratic regional conventions (e.g., the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, adopted in 1950) or in democratic national constitutions (e.g., the Canadian Constitution Act, 1982). For instance, in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 19 guarantees the freedom of opinions and the freedom of expression/press in its sections 1 and 2. The restrictions on such rights are stated in section 3 of Article 19. These restrictions on freedom of expression/press are not based on certain ideology as the Iranian Constitution does in Article 24. The restrictions on freedom of expression/press in Article 19 of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights are not valid unless they “are necessary: (a) For respect of the rights or reputations of others; (b) For the

protection of national security or of public order, or of public health or morals” (Civil and Political Rights, p. 40). As it is noticeable, the restrictions on the freedom of expression/press in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights are related to public issues and other citizens’ rights unlike the restrictions on freedom of expression/press in the Iranian Constitution, which are related to a sole ideology (Islam).⁴ Human rights are natural rights and people born with them. They are universal and indivisible. They are not restricted to certain groups and should not be. Restricting them to certain ideologies is a clear violation of such rights. Thus the freedom of expression/press in the Iranian constitution, with restrictions attached to it, is no more than a limited authoritarian law which is reduced to one ideology, namely, Islam where the authorities (the ruling groups) force people to obey them (the rules).

2.2 Freedom of the Press: Theoretical Context

Some existing theories can be used to illustrate how the concept of ‘freedom of the press’ can be functional and effective in a democratic society and have a great role in promoting human rights. On the other hand, some other theories explain, contrary to the first group of the theories, how the freedom of the press can be controlled and limited. What follows is the examination of the both kinds of the theories.

2.2.1 Social Responsibility Theories

Social Responsibility Theory comes out from increasing concerns that a libertarian press model was not representing the advantages and merits it promised to society. Social Responsibility Theory provokes pluralism and diversity in the media, raising a promising message to inhabitant members of each community. In the mid twentieth

⁴ The examples of controlling the press and imposing limits on it are countless in the ‘Iranian Press Law’. Just for an example, ‘Chapter 2: Mission of the Press’ in this law outlines several objectives that press must attempt to achieve. The most controversial of these objectives may be objective (d). Objective (d) reads: “To campaign against manifestations of imperialistic culture ... and to propagate and promote genuine Islamic culture and sound ethical principles”.

century, most of the so-called modern and developing countries and even the countries, which are considered as third world nations, have used this Social Responsibility Theory of press. Social Responsibility Theory is associated with ‘the Commission of the Freedom of Press’ in United States in 1949, after the Second World War. In *Four Theories of Press* (Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, 1984) it’s been stated that; “pure libertarianism is antiquated, out dated and obsolete.” That paved way for replacement of Libertarian theory with the Social Responsibility Theory (Siebert, Peterson and wilburschramm, 1984).

In 1981, William Hachten proposed an adapted version of press apparatuses theories. On the highest ranking spot of the original ‘*Authoritarian and Soviet-communist Theories*’, he blended Libertarian and Social Responsibility theories and named them “Western” theory of the press. Moreover to these three existing contents, Hachten suggests two new models of the current press; the Revolutionary and the Developmental theories of the press. Two years later, Dennis Mc Quail also appeared with his suggestive system of normative theories of the press. He used to deal with the original labels for Authoritarian and Social Responsibilities theories. In other better words, Mc Quail rearticulated *Libertarian Theory* as *Free Press Theory* and Soviet-communist theory in a very simple phrase as *Soviet Theory*. In addition, he presented the *Democratic-Participant Theory* (Yet similar to Hachten’s “Development” theory). This theory calls for the freedom of the press but at the same time depicts lots of responsibility on media. As it was discussed earlier in this paper that the media is not just seen as an enterprise like others in the business sector of any society, but due to its unique nature, each community expects a particular role which media must play in getting rid of social dams and obstacles, training and teaching people, monitoring and criticizing political apparatuses and

states' policies and strategies, and more importantly, revealing and focusing on other problematic dilemmas in each society. The sense of responsibility has been emphasized more in this theory as compared to any other. The Social Responsibility Theory is not only for extracting the ideas of young journalism students or makes theorization of people's beliefs, who are still novice in this profession, but also to sort rationalize, modify and even justify their tendency and bias in respect with the issue of freedom of press(Firdaus, 2012, p. 8).

2.2.2 Social Responsibility Theory and Freedom of the Press

Social responsibility theory provides a free space for press without any hesitation and censorship, but, again, media have to accept any obligation, intervention and, more importantly, debate from public area or professional experts and in lots of other cases. This kind of discussions could be done in the forum of media in a mutual way, by the presence of the both media professionals and public. The theory settles itself between both authoritarian theory and libertarian theory, while it believes in the entire media freedom from one side, but simultaneously, to the external controls of media from other hand. Here, the press is considered as private and personal property. The Social Responsibility Theory goes upon a very simple "Objective" reporting (facts reporting) to 'Interpretative' reporting (investigative reporting). The whole general and total news is very obvious facts and original, but the commission of the freedom press stated that "No longer giving facts truthfully rather than give a necessary analyzed or interpretative report on facts with clear explanations". Social Responsibility Theory is not a problematic issue within itself. It is only a symptom of the hidden fraudulent of the breed that controls the media.

The first amendment of the American Bill of Rights guarantees the right of freedom speech, according to which, the press could experience absolute freedom atmosphere,

and the audience, the public, would be allowed to have access to gathering information from the whole databases, and then releasing such information. Hereby, the freedom of press, which necessitates the forth column of democracy, could come to the truth. The pressure of power sources might sometimes cover the issue of freedom, whether it is state owned or private sectors. It is so obvious that they have ever tried to control the media. In dictatorship and totalitarian countries, for the lack of democracy and the right of freedom speech, messages are monitored and even filtered through the power sources, allowing only what are considered acceptable information to be emerged to the exposure of the public. Confronting and facing with the powers, suppressing and threatening the right of freedom for media, and more exclusively for press, this theory was first introduced in 1947 and was recommended by the Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press. It mentioned that the media should be at the service of the public, and in order to achieve this goal, there is no way, unless they should remain free from government intervention. It depicts directions and guidelines, and accordingly, the media should follow these guidelines in order to satisfy its mandatory of serving inhabitants of a society. The theory attempts to establish a kind of professionalism in media by setting up a high surface of correctness, truthiness, and information. (William E. Berry, 1995).

2.2.3 Gatekeeping Theories

It was David Manning White who, in 1950, “introduced the concept of the ‘gatekeeper’ into theoretical lexicon of mass media communication research” (Williams, 2003, p. 100). Gatekeeping theories are associated with the procedures, which the products of media go through within media organizations before reaching or received by the audiences. Thus, it is related to the individuals who create media products and the media establishments for which these individuals work.

Accordingly, the individuals and the media establishments for which they work (media corporations) can play a big role in influencing the freedom of the press. They do so by allowing certain media items to reach the audiences/public or by blocking them from the audiences/public according to certain rules and regulations and interests of the corporations/governments. Gatekeeping theories can be classified, at least, into two categories:

1. **Reporters/Editors Level:** White's research focused only on editors' role as gatekeepers and "identified the news wire editor as one key decision maker and this person became the focus of his research" (Williams, 2003, p. 101). White concluded that editors' choices of what to publish and not to publish mainly based on their subjectivity in the first place (p. 10). Williams notes that the editors are not the only people who have the power as gatekeepers. Whole groups of people who involve in the procedure of production of media products have certain roles in this process. For example, in addition to the editors, the reporters also play a role as gatekeepers. The reporter has some power to "create ... news stories by selecting fragments of information from the mass of raw data he or she receives and organize ... them in conventional journalistic form" (p. 102). Then, of course, comes the editor who also filters the news which are created by the reporters by omitting and adding his own things to the reports and selecting the ones he or she believes can fit for publication.
2. **Media Corporations/Governments Level:** The concentration of ownership of giant media corporations in few hands and their worthy relations with the governments led the mainstream media to be propaganda machines of their (the corporations and the governments) interests, and

marginalizing/excluding many groups. Thus the exclusion of mass public's opinions/ideas about issues which concern them and their participation through free and democratic press in decision-making are violated and limited by these controlling groups. Herman and Chomsky examine this issue of solid relationship of the giant media corporations and governments (particularly in the United States) in their book *Manufacturing Consent* (2002) in detail and show how such a relation led the majority of American mainstream media to become propaganda machines of and sided with the consecutive American administrations as they involved in wars around the world. Herman and Chomsky deconstruct and then reconstruct the elements of this propaganda machine which mainstream media had a great role in creating it. The protection of the powerful groups' interests by giant media corporations goes through five filters as Herman and Chomsky illustrate (pp. 1-35). Most of the news should go through these filters before reaching the audiences. One of these filters is related to the concentration of the media in few hands, which are concerned about profits more than any other ethical issues or democratic rights such as reflecting the public's rights for example. Moreover, these media are dependent on government officials as sources for information and news (e.g., the dependence on American military officials in gathering news in American invasion of Iraq in 2003).

Contrary to Social Responsibility and Democratic Participatory theories, where the public's interests and participation in media are the main goals, the media, as it implied in the Gatekeeping Theory, protect their and those powerful groups' interests. The exclusion of the mass publics and marginalizing them through the two levels of Gatekeeping Theory are explicit examples of violation of freedom of the

press/expression. Such exclusion and marginalization are anti-universal rights of human beings and anti-creation of a democratic society. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights clearly indicates that ‘everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression’ which includes ‘seeking, receiving and imparting information and ideas through any media’. To this, Article 19 of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights adds that everyone has the right to ‘choose any media’ in order to ‘seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds’. The exclusion of the majority from expressing their opinions or ideas about the issues, which concern them by the controlling, powerful groups of media giants and the governments, therefore, is a clear violation of the freedom of expression.

To sum up, the examination of ‘freedom of the press’ concept from different phases (i.e., within a greater context in which the concept is related to and intertwined with other concept/ideas), in some international, regional, and national legal documents (human rights declarations and covenants, conventions, constitutions, and press/journalism laws), within theoretical paradigms, and in practice or reality, shows that the freedom of the press is a fundamental, natural, universal, indivisible right of all human beings around the world, and it should be guaranteed and protected by the artificial, so called sovereign states. ‘Freedom of the press’, as a fundamental right of human beings, should stand above these artificial states.

2.3 Freedom of the Press in Iraq

One of the most important documents, which guarantee freedom of the press, expression, and opinions, is the Iraqi Constitution of 2005. Chapter Two of this constitution, which is titled as ‘The Freedoms’, includes these freedoms. In addition, the chapter also includes the restrictions put on these freedoms. Article 38 (A, B)

clearly states the freedom of expression, press, printing, advertisement, media and publication with some restrictions provided that these freedoms do not ‘violate public order and morality’. It indicates that

The State shall guarantee in a way that does not violate public order and morality:

- A. Freedom of expression using all means.
- B. Freedom of press, printing, advertisement, media and publication (Iraqi Constitution, 2005).

The Iraqi Constitution also guarantees different kinds of freedoms related to the freedom of expression and the press. These freedoms include “freedom of communication and correspondence, postal, telegraphic, electronic, and telephonic” (Article 40, Chapter two). Again, these kinds of freedoms are restricted and can be violated. The Article guarantees these freedoms on condition that they “may not be monitored, wiretapped, or disclosed except for legal and security necessity and by a judicial decision”. This is a general statement as the ‘legal and security necessity’ is not specified and could be used or interpreted, as noticed earlier with some other articles in other constitutions, by the controlling powers in different ways and for different purposes which may violate such human rights (freedoms). Yet the Constitution, in chapter two, Article 46, contradicts the legal and security necessities, according to which such freedoms can be violated, as it states that the limitations and restrictions of such freedoms (including freedoms of press, expression, communication, and opinions) should not violate the ‘essence’ of these freedom rights (Article 46). Restricting, limiting, and violating these freedoms for ‘legal and security’ purposes, or for any other purposes, and ‘not violating these freedoms’

essence' are not consistent. When a state violates its citizens' freedoms that means it violates them. You either guarantee these freedoms, or, otherwise, you violate them.

It is important to mention here that the Iraqi Constitution is the only official constitution since 2005, and that until now none of Iraq's provinces or regions (i.e., Iraqi Kurdistan Region) have their own regional constitutions. Thus, this constitution is valid in all territories of Iraq including Iraqi Kurdistan Region.

2.4 Press in Iraqi Kurdistan region.

There are more than 800 registered media outlets in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region, including 153 satellite and local TV stations and radio stations whereas the remainder consists of daily and weekly newspapers and magazines. As there are different dialects in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and each dialect has its own media, there is such a huge number of media outlets.

In the year of 2000 after a daily newspaper called "Hawlati" was issued as the first free Kurdish media outlet, PDK and PUK started establishing some media outlets which are commonly referred to as "shadow media" to weaken the independent, free media. Even though these media outlets claim to be independent, they are indirectly controlled by the political parties as they are financially supported by them. Besides, there have been some violations against independent media outlets and journalists. For example, the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Nalia company named Shaswar Abdulwahid founded a free satellite TV called NRT; but only three days after its official launch, it was set on fire by some armed men.

2.5 Freedom of the Press in Iraqi Kurdistan Region

It is important and worthwhile to establish an idea of Iraqi Kurdistan Region before proceeding to the examination of freedom of the press in this region.

2.5.1 Kurds

Kurds are consisted over many regions; they are spread over, Northern Iraq, Eastern Turkey, and Western Iran, and a small area of Northern Syria. Kurdistan is mostly made up of a large amount of Kurds living in eastern Turkey, northern Iraq and western Iran. The term 'Kurdistan', meaning 'the land of the Kurds', in the twelfth century first appeared when the Turkish prince Saandjar created a province with that name. (Yildiz, 2007 , p. 7) According to Quil Lawrence "The Kurds are the largest ethnic group on earth that has no homeland" (Lawrence, 2008, p. 3). At the time today there is more than 25 millions Kurds living in Kurdistan. It's very difficult to know the exact number of Kurds living in Kurdistan as Kurds are split over four different countries, there's around four and a half millions Kurds living in Northern Iraq alone. (Lawrence, 2008, p. 3). Also Kurds call themselves the 'orphans of the centuries' and 'the people who have no friends' (Dawoody, 2006, p. 483).

There's a memory in Iraqi Kurdish history that will be never forgotten and will be always remembered, Halabja (Anfal). The Anfal campaign was 1 in many assaults against the Kurds in Iraq; in February 1988 over 3000 villages were evacuated, deporting 1.5 million civilians. Chemical Ali dropped a chemical bomb in Halabja killing more than 5000 innocent Kurdish people. After the Anfal project was over it was estimated that around 150,000 – 200,000 were killed, and about 4000 villages destroyed in Northern Iraq. By July 1988 1.5 million resettled back into Northern Iraq, however many people had lost their homes, for example out of

75 000km, 45000km had been cleared. The aim of the Anfal campaign was to kill all the strongholds of the peshmerga, by targeting the most rural areas in Northern Iraq. (Stansfield, 2003, p. 46).

After the Anfal campaign the Kurds wanted to speak up and overcome Saddam Hussein's military in Northern Iraq after what happened in Halabja and during the history of Kurds with Saddam Hussein. The Kurds have suffered a large separation in Northern Iraq were 1 million Kurds evacuated due to the Kurds speaking up in 1991 over Saddam Hussein army in Northern Iraq, the Americans were in favor of the Kurds and supported them till Saddam Hussein's army left Northern Iraq. Finally the area of Kurdistan of Iraq found its autonomy, even in the period that Saddam Hussein was still ruling Iraq. Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) was the government formed after Saddam Hussein left Northern Iraq. Several parties emerged in Kurdistan region after the Anfal campaign in 1989; it included (KDPD) Kurdistan People's Democratic Party, PUK, KDP and the Kurdistan Socialist Party (PASOK). (Yildiz, 2007 , p. 44).

2.5.2 Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG)

Iraqi Kurdistan Region has a semi-independent government known as Kurdistan Region Government (KRG). Kurdistan regional government has been based in Erbil since 1992, the KRG has a parliament, elected by popular vote, consists of 111 seats called the Iraqi Kurdistan national assembly, and a cabinet composed of the PDK, PUK, and their allies' Iraqi communist party, the socialist party of Kurdistan. And KRG uses the same constitution of Iraq. This year it will be the 8th cabinet in Kurdish Regional Government (KRG), running the country as Prime Minister at the moment is Nechirvan Barzany the nephew of Masoud Barzani the president of KGR. The cabinet is consisted of 19 ministers not just administers the internal affairs in the

Region, but also support foreign relations with various nations everywhere through out the world.

After 2003 the vision of Iraq Kurdish politicians were represented in the Iraqi government council. (KRG, 2014) This is due too two different reasons why Kurds had a great role for the US in the run-up to the war: “one was military, as the Kurds had a large force of Peshmergas available in a strategic position; and the second related to the US war against terrorism as they believed that an al-Qaida cell was located within Iraqi Kurdistan” (Yildiz, 2007 , p. 105) . The Kurds have their armed force made out of 100 000 Peshmerga and numerous thousand Special Forces, including hostile to dread units. There are two keen administrations situated in Erbil (Parastin) and Suleymania (Zanyar), which work very closely with each other in numbers for the most part on the collaboration of the conventional individuals to keep any sort of outside or inner danger. On January 30, 2005 their election were held in the regional. Jalal Talabani was the first Kurdish person after dictator Saddam Husain to be the president of Iraq; in the same time he was the PUK leader. He has the great roll in building new Iraq.

2.5.3 Language in Kurdistan Region of Iraq

Kurdish is an official language in Kurdistan Region, but the dialects are different, the most spoken dialects are Kurmanji and Sorany, and small number of people Hawrami and Zaza dialects. Sorani dialect uses Arabic alphabet for writing, it is use in Sulimani and Erbil governorates. Kurmanji uses Latin scrip, is spoken in Duhok and part of Erbil, but most of people can understand the both dialects Sorani and Kurmanji, also some people speak Arabic like Assyrian, and Turkmani language is very close to Turkish language use by Turkmanyian how are the small number of people in the Kurdish society. (KRG, 2013).

Before 1991 Arabic language was used in the universities and schools, Kurdish language was not allowed, but after political autonomy in 1991, the Arabic language changed to Kurdish after the fall of Saddam's regime in 2003. According to the Iraqi constitution "Kurdish shall be the official language of the Kurdistan Region" New Iraqi constitution is also conceded a second official language of Iraq, and all of the official documents should be written in both languages, Kurdish and Arabic

2.5.4 Religion

Many different kinds of religions exist in Kurdistan region, more than half of them are Muslim, so the dominant religion is Islam. Assyrian people and Armenian people adhere to Christianity. Also a few Kurds, Turkmen, and some other religions like Yezidism, Shabak, Kakay, and Mandian.

2.5.5 Economy

The Kurdistan region economy is dominated by oil industry, agriculture, and tourism. Due to the peace in Iraq after the removal of Saddam Hussein, Northern Iraq has benefited massively in its economy in contrast to the other parts of Iraq. Since the exit of Saddam Hussein the Kurdistan Region Government received around 13% of the revenues from Iraq's oil. Kurdistan holds around 43.7 million barrels of proven oil reserves, 25.5 more barrels of unproven reserves and roughly around 3 and 6 trillion cubic meters gas. "If Kurdistan was a country, the amount of oil and gas reserves would place it among the top 10 oil rich countries in the world." (PukMedia, 2013) Which now total about 225,000, barrels crude oil per one day. Kurdistan region is a new comer to the international oil industry; the real starting point came in 2007, when the Kurdistan region passed a law for the organizing activities of oil and gas industry. Also wealth in Iraqi Kurdistan has developed significantly, in 2003 it was estimated only around 12 millionaires living in

Silemani, now in 2012 there is more than 2000 millionaires living in Silemani, this fact just overwhelms how much the economy in Iraqi Kurdistan has changed Kurdistan's oil production.

2.5.6 Capital city: Erbil (Also known as Hawler)

The mountains of Kurdistan region have an average height of about 2,400 meters rising to 3,000-3,300 meters in place, the highest peak; Halgurd is near the border of Iran height about 3,600 meters, as the highest mountain ridges contain the only forest land in the region. In the last couple years, so many people have left the south and the middle parts of Iraq, placing themselves to the Kurdistan region, looking for a better economical and social security, existing in the cities of the region of Kurdistan of Iraq. Moreover, the cities of this area absorb lots of national and international tourists each year. As an illustration, Erbil has been nominated and then chosen, as the Arab tourism capital for the coming year of 2014. According to the government official statistics, at least 10 million tourists had visited the region last year. When it comes to geological history, there's Erbil citadel the cradle of one of the very civilization in history, which people were living in until recently, Shanadar park was home to the first Neanderthal, and there are dozens of history sites there. (KRG, 2014).

2.6 The Iraqi Kurdistan Region Journalism Law and its implementation

Kurdistan Region's National Assembly (the parliament) issued 'the Law of Journalism in Kurdistan 2007'. It includes five chapters which cover issues such as the definition of the press, regulations of print publishing (licensing), responding to and correcting false information, rights and privileges of journalists, and immunities of the press and others. These chapters include promising rights to promote a

democratic journalism and protect the journalists (the press) in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region. Chapter One (Definitions and Principles) of Iraqi Kurdistan Journalism Law (No. 35) defines the press and journalists in Article one (4, 5). According to the Law, while press is a “practice of journalism in different media channels” (The Law of Journalism, 2009, p. 4), a journalist “is a person who practice journalism in the media channels” (p. 5). Article two of this chapter clearly outlines the freedom of the press, expression, and publication with some restrictions. Article two (1) indicates that the “press is free with no censorship, and freedom of speech ... and publication is guaranteed to every citizen” (p. 5). Yet Article two (1) also adds that these freedoms are guaranteed in the realm of respecting other individuals’ rights and freedoms and their privacy “in accordance with the law and commitment to the principles of journalism ethics in accordance with the Honour Charter of International Federation of Journalists of 1954 ... which amended attached to this Law” (p. 5).

Important chapters in this Law, which are related to the rights and privileges of the journalists and their immunity, are chapters four and five. Chapter Four of this Law specifies the rights and privileges of the journalists. Article Eight (1, 2, 3, 4, and 5) of this chapter is directly related to the freedom of the press/journalists. Consecutively, the Article (pp. 12, 13) indicates that:

- The journalists are independent and there is no power, which can coerce them in conducting of their tasks except the law (paragraph 1).
- The journalists cannot be harmed and their rights cannot be violated for their opinions or for publishing information (paragraph 2).

- The journalist has the right not to disclose his/her sources of information (paragraph 3).
- The journalist is free in attending conferences and public events (paragraph 4).
- Anyone who insults or attacks a journalist because of his/her duty is punished according to the laws of ‘civil servants insults’ during his/her duty (paragraph 5).

Finally, in Chapter Five, Article Eight, the Law draws out some immunity, which protects the journalists furthermore. Article Eight (pp. 15, 16) specifies that:

- When a lawful action is taken against a journalist, his/her syndicate must be informed about it (paragraph 1).
- A journalist cannot be interrogated, or his/her workplace or home cannot be searched for the reason given in paragraph 1 of this Article only by a judicial decision and the presence of the Journalists Syndicate president or any person who represents the president (paragraph 2).
- The documents, information, and data, which a journalist has, cannot be used against him/her as indictment evidence in any criminal investigation unless they are related to the subject of criminal complaint, which is raised against the journalist (paragraph 3).
- There is no crime if the journalist published or wrote about the work/performance of a public servant, a person with a public characteristic, or a person who is assigned to do public work if the publication does not exceed (go beyond) these people’s duties with evidence presented (in journalist’s writing or publication) (paragraph 4).

- After 90 days of publication date, legal actions cannot be taken against the journalist (paragraph 5).

Although the press and journalists in Iraqi Kurdistan Region enjoy some freedom and have some rights to certain extent, it appears that violation of the press, journalists' rights, and even the Journalism Law continues. According to Kurdistan Journalists Syndicate Committee for the Defense of the Press Freedom and Journalists' Rights in Kurdistan's (CDPFJR) first report (January 01, 2013-June 30, 2013) and second report (July 01, 2013-December 31, 2013), several press and journalists' rights and freedoms, which are guaranteed in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region's Law of Journalism, were violated. It is recorded that 75 journalists' freedom and rights were violated in total of 49 cases or occasions (Continuation of the Violations 12, 2013, p. 24). The types of violation range between assassination, assassination attempt, beating, prohibition, threatening, insulting, and arresting of the journalists (p. 24). Ranking of these violations from the highest to lowest occurrence, beating of journalists on duty and prohibiting them from covering events rank at the top (14 cases for each), threatening of journalists for covering certain events or writing some reports ranks the second (12 cases), then arresting of journalists ranks third (5 cases), insulting them ranks the fourth (2 cases), and finally assassination of a journalist and attempting to assassinate a journalist rank the fifth (1 case for each) (p. 24).

According to the CDPFJR's second report, these violations include only the ones which were reported to and recorded by the Committee by its branches throughout the Iraqi Kurdistan Region, and that the "number of the violations might be more than the one included in the report" (Continuation of the Violations 12, 2013, p. 32).

The report also asserts Kurdistan Journalists Syndicate concerns and worries about not implementing of Iraqi Kurdistan Region's Law of Journalism. "The deep concerns of the Kurdistan Syndicate of Journalists," the report indicates, "has been and remains ... the implementation of the Press Law No. (35) issued in 2007 and never attempted to interfere any legal procedures taken by the judicial authority of the Kurdistan region" (p. 32). It appears, according to the report, that the Journalism Law articles never applied when the journalists' rights and freedoms were violated. Moreover, no legal actions were taken against those who violated journalists' rights and freedoms. The report states that the Committee.

Calls on magistrates not to apply other texts of laws on journalists and press for they are incompatible with the press act. Also we the Syndicate/Committee ask the Kurdistan Regional Government, especially the Ministry of Interior and the security authorities to follow-up the violations, which are committed against the journalists by their own staff. Unfortunately, despite the formation of several joint committees and coordination between the Ministry of Interior and the Kurdistan Syndicate of Journalists, yet, there is no legal procedures have been taken, as it is required, against those who committed the violations against the journalists (p. 32).

It seems, from the two reports that out of the total of 49 cases of violation against the journalists, the police at least violated 29 cases, security forces of government, and government officials (regional and local). This number constitutes about 60% of the cases, and implies that government (mainly regional) is responsible of more than half of the violations committed against journalists in Iraqi Kurdistan Region. Thus, one can see despite the existence of a journalism law in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region,

which guarantees and protects journalists' freedoms and rights, these freedoms and rights continue to be violated and, ironically, by the government which legislated it.

According to the report of Human rights watch, under the name 'Iraqi Kurdistan: Free speech under attack' mention that:

“Iraq's semi-autonomous Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) should stop arbitrarily detaining journalists, activists, and political opposition figures, and end its prosecution of journalists for insulting or defaming public figures. The Asayish – the Kurdistan Security Agency – and police arrested without warrants journalists and others who published articles criticizing public officials, and detained them without charge or trial for periods ranging from several weeks to a year” (Human Rights watch, 2013)

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Quantitative research is a kind of research method, which uses the numerical analysis system and has been favored in this present study. In other words, quantitative research method mostly grapples with quantities rather than qualities. Rearticulating my statement, this kind of research method tries to approach the real qualities even through quantities. Therefore, the all aspects of this research have been studied and designed very carefully in the pre-phase of data collection. The objective of quantitative research opens an appropriate space giving the chance to employ mathematical and numerical models, theories, but no hypotheses have been considered for this research.

3.1 Case Study

The research study was designed to understand the freedom of press in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, in the three governorates of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, namely Erbil, Sulimany, and Duhok.

3.2 Research Instrument

The data collection method used in the study is questionnaire. The study is an organized research. Since, the questionnaire was disseminated to journalists to fill in. Then, the researcher analysed the collected data by SPSS.

3.3 Procedures

The questionnaire was distributed to the 99 Kurdish journalists in the Kurdistan region of Iraq of without any kind of consideration like gender, the education level, the ethnicity, and so on. First, I went to some of the press organizations in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and explained to their managers the purpose of the study. Then they gave me permission to distribute the questionnaires among the journalists working there. After that, it was planned to collect the questionnaires two days later. The Kurdish and English versions of the questionnaire were put side by side to make sure the journalists understand them without any difficulty. Besides, a part of questionnaire was formulated by using the questionnaire of reporter without border.

Knowing about the reality of the freedom of the press and the extent of this freedom in Kurdistan Region of Iraq, or in any other part of the world for that matter, requires, among other factors, to know the ideas or the opinions of those people who work in journalism. This is important and gives the researcher the data which can be compared, especially in the case of Kurdistan Region of Iraq, to the laws and regulations of the region which are included in the region's laws (e.g., Kurdistan Region's Journalism's laws and regulations and Iraqi Constitution of 2005 which guarantee the freedom of the press/expression). Therefore, the most suitable method sought by the researcher to collect such data is designing a questionnaire in order to know the Kurdish journalists' opinions about the freedom of the press in Iraqi Kurdistan and whether it is compatible with freedom of expression/press which is outlined in Iraq and the region's laws. Berger (2011) argues that surveys (e.g., questionnaires) are used to determine, for example, people's ideas or thoughts about certain things (p. 221). Likewise, Wimmer and Dominick (1997) emphasize the very

idea of determining the ideas or opinions or the attitudes of the population about certain things/issues by using surveys such as questionnaires or interviewing. Wimmer and Dominick state that two main “types of surveys are used by researchers: descriptive and analytical” (p. 137). According to them, the “descriptive survey attempts to picture or document current conditions or attitudes-that is, to describe what exists at the moment”, on the other hand, analytical surveys “attempt to describe and explain *why* certain situations exist” (p. 137). This is exactly what this thesis attempts to achieve: using questionnaire in order to collect, and later to analyse and interpret, the Kurdish journalists’ opinions in Iraqi Kurdistan Region about the freedom of the press in their region and the reasons behind such opinions.

One of the main advantages of using questionnaire to collect data about this study’s topic lies in that questionnaire is an appropriate to examine a current problem in a real setting (Berger, 2011, p. 227; Wimmer and Dominick, 1997, p. 137). Another advantage of using questionnaire consists of obtaining or collecting “large amounts of data ... from a variety of people” (p. 138). By distributing questionnaires to 99 Kurdish journalists of three provinces of Iraqi Kurdistan Region, the researcher was able to collect vast data, related to this thesis’ topic, from different sects (governmental, political parties, and independent) of media outlets in the region. Finally, the data which is obtained by using questionnaires “can be quantified and analysed statistically and thus can reach a higher degree of precision about the group being studied” (Berger, 2011, p. 228).

The questions in the questionnaire are designed and formulated according to the main topic of this thesis, that is, to examine the freedom of the press in Iraqi Kurdistan Region. The questionnaire consists of 34 closed-ended questions and

geared toward knowing the selected journalists' opinions about the extent of freedom of the press in the region. It is divided into number sections. Each section overarches several sub-questions, which give, at the end of data collection, analysis and interpretation, main ideas or macro theme toward the end. Consequently, these main ideas or main or macro themes are considered as main concepts, which explain the overall idea of the freedom of the press in Iraqi Kurdistan Region.

3.4 Population and Sampling

Iraqi Kurdistan Region consists of three provinces: Erbil (the capital city of the region), Sulimany, and Duhok provinces.

The population of the study constitute the journalists in these three provinces. Since this study's main aim is to know these journalists' opinions about freedom of the press in Iraqi Kurdistan Region, the questionnaires were equally divided among representative journalists in these three provinces. Though the questionnaire mainly consists of closed-ended questions about the study's topic. The journalists were selected based on the organizations they were working for, that is, whether they were working independently, for political parties, or for government. However, the selection of the journalists in each press group was made randomly.

The study examined 99 journalists in different groups of press, including 33 journalists working in independent press organizations, 33 journalists working in press organizations of political parties, and 33 journalists from government press organizations. The purpose of having similar number of journalists in each group was to control this variable so that the result of the study will be reliable. Besides, sixty-

eight of the journalists were male and 31 of them were female. Their age ranges were 18-23, 24-29, 30-34, 35-39, and 40 or above.

Chapter 4

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

This chapter is composed of two parts. The first part gives detailed analysis of four independent variables, and the second part is analyzed the questions of the survey based on independent variables.

4.1 Demographic Information

The first part of questionnaire focused on gathering information about journalists, who participated in the survey, which consisted of four items: gender, age, level of education and degree in communication.

Table 4.1: The gender of journalists

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Male	68	68.7
Female	31	31.3
Total	99	100.0

The 68.7 % of participants were male, and 31.3%were female. The data tells us that most of the journalists who practice journalist's works are males. According to the syndicate of Kurdistan journalism 153 editor-in-chiefs are males and 11 are females.

Because of the following reason may explain why females don't prefer journalism:

1. Kurdish culture is highly dominated by males not giving enough opportunities for females to work as journalist. Journalism is seen in this region as male profession.

2. Females do not prefer Media and communication faculty, if you compared to the other faculties like education that is why in media and communication faculty of the Salahaddin University and university of Sulaymaniyah in Iraqi-Kurdistan region, the rate of male students is higher in comparison to rate of female students.

Table 4.2: The age of journalists

	Frequency	Percent
Valid 18-23	7	7.1
24-29	39	39.4
30-34	31	31.3
35-39	17	17.2
40- or above	5	5.1
Total	99	100.0

In the sample 7.1 % of participates are between 18-23 years old. 39.4 % of participants are between 24-29 years old. 31.3 % of them are between 30-34 years old. 17.2 % of them are between 36-40 years old, and only 5.1 % of them are 40 years or above. So the charts shows that 77.8% of journalists in the sample is under the age 35. This picture represents the reality in Iraqi Kurdistan. Till 2006 there was no media and communication faculty, Journalism in Iraqi-Kurdistan region is young profession and dominated by males. Most of the journalists who graduated in the media and communication faculty started their professional in 2010 and following years. According to the statistics of the Kurdistan journalists syndicate, 217 newspapers and magazines started publishing in 2010, 82 in 2011, 85 in 2012, 88 in 2013 and 26 in 2014. Until 2009 there were 243 newspapers and magazines, and all of them were based on the writing hobbies, and of course there were some exceptions among the writers who worked in these organizations, because a very low rate of

these journalists whom their numbers does not exceed the number of fingers of hands were educated outside of Iraqi-Kurdistan region and they had experiences that they gained from studying abroad.

Table 4.3: Level of education of journalists

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	High school	20	20.2
	Bachelor	56	56.6
	Master	12	12.1
	PHD	5	5.1
	Other	6	6.1
	Total	99	100.0

20.2% of participants have high school degree. 56.6% of them have a bachelor degree. 12.1% have a master degree. 5.1% of participants have PHD. And only 6.1% of them have other degrees. The results show that most of the journalists working for the media have bachelor, master or PHD degrees. Having at least an university degree is becoming sine-qua non in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Table 4.4: Having degree in media and communication by journalists

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	27	27.3
	No	72	72.7
	Total	99	100.0

Among the participants, 27.7 % of them had a certificate in media and communication. And 72.7 % of participants did not have any certificate in media and communication, the reason is before 2010 most of the journalists who were working in the press organizations, did not have any degree in communication, Because at

that time the college of media and communication studies did not exist in Kurdistan region. In 2010 first group of students, which consisted of 50 journalists graduated from this college.

4.2 Findings and Interpretations Based on Independent Variables

The results of the second part of the questionnaire (from question #5 to question # 34) are shown below.

Q 5: In your region, do any of the following exist?

Privately owned print press?

Table 4.5: Distributions of answers to question 5

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	66	66.7
No	33	33.3
Valid Total	99	100.0

66.7 % of participants believed that privately owned print press exists, and 33.3% of them don't think that privately owned print press exists. In Kurdistan region of Iraq, almost all newspapers call themselves independent, however in reality some of them have secret deals with the government or with political parties. Journalists see them as the shadow of the government.

Table 4.6 below shows that there is not a statistically significant difference between both genders in terms of their opinion on whether an independent press exists in Iraqi Kurdistan. However female journalists are more critical than male journalists.

Table 4.6: Distribution of answer by gender to question 5
Crosstab

			Q5		Total
			Yes	No	
Gender?	Male	Count	47	21	68
		% Within Gender?	69.1%	30.9%	100.0%
	Female	Count	19	12	31
		% Within Gender?	61.3%	38.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	66	33	99
		% Within Gender?	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.587 ^a	1	.444	.294

Table 4.7: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 5
Crosstab

			Q5		Total
			Yes	No	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	12	8	20
		% within What is your level of education?	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	42	14	56
		% within What is your level of education?	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	Master	Count	6	6	12
		% within What is your level of education?	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	2	3	5
		% within What is your level of education?	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
	Other	Count	4	2	6
		% within What is your level of education?	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	66	33	99
		% within What is your level of education?	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	5.250 ^a	4	.263

Table 4.7 shows that level of education does not make difference. On the other hand, the survey result tells us that, majority of the journalists who have bachelor degree, which makes (75%) believe that privately owned print press exist. But (60%) of journalists who have PHD degree believe that privately owned print press not exist.

Table 4.8: Distribution of answer by age to question 5
Crosstab

			Q5		Total
			Yes	No	
Select your age group?	18-23	Count	5	2	7
		% within Select your age group?	71.4%	28.6%	100.0%
	24-29	Count	28	11	39
		% within Select your age group?	71.8%	28.2%	100.0%
	30-34	Count	18	13	31
		% within Select your age group?	58.1%	41.9%	100.0%
	35-39	Count	12	5	17
		% within Select your age group?	70.6%	29.4%	100.0%
	40- or above	Count	3	2	5
		% within Select your age group?	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	66	33	99	
	% within Select your age group?	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	1.783 ^a	4	.776

Table 4.8 tells us statically there is no significant difference between ages of participants.

Table 4.9: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 5
Crosstab

				Q5		Total
				Yes	No	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count	Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	15	12	27
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?		55.6%	44.4%	100.0%
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	No	Count	Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	51	21	72
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?		70.8%	29.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	66	33	99
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?		66.7%	33.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.063 ^a	1	.151

Table 4.9 shows that, statistically there is no significant difference between those who have degree in communication and who have not.

Q 6: In your region, do any of the following exist?

Privately owned television networks

Table 4.10: Distributions of answers to question 6

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	58	58.6
	No	41	41.4
	Total	99	100.0

58.6 % of participants think that privately owned television networks exist, and 41.4% of them think that it does not exist, we will take a news network in Kurdistan as an example which is Rudaw news network it provides a very good quality videos when presenting their programs and they are very fast when delivering the news and they are always in the site of action delivering the events, they claim that they work in private sector but it is hard to believe because if you looked at their news and the video quality and sound and lights that are in the studios and also the cameras that appear in the site of action you can say that their budget is very large, but they say we got that money in the introducing products to the public, or simply advertising, but that is hard to believe, and until now nobody knows about the identity of the head of this news network.

The following table (Table 4.11) demonstrates that there is a quite amount of difference between the ideas of the two genders because, (45.6%) of males are

denying the existence of privately owned television while (87.1%) of the females said there are privately owned televisions. The reason is that female journalists do not work outside the governmental areas often, there is a small part of them who work outside the governmental areas, that is the main reason why they are in the favor of this idea by majority of them while majority of male journalists gave their testimonial negatively about this question by ratio of 54.4% while female journalists who were against that idea where just 12.9%. (The reason why males said no was because they were working in the private facilities and they were in the heart of the situation that is why they new about it).

Table 4.11: Distribution of answer by gender to question 6
Crosstab

		Q6		Total
		Yes	No	
Gender?	Male	Count 31	37	68
	% Within Gender?	45.6%	54.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count 27	4	31
	% Within Gender?	87.1%	12.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	58	41	99
	% Within Gender?	58.6%	41.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	15.121 ^a	1	.000		.000

Table 4.12: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 6
Crosstab

		Q6		Total
		Yes	No	
What is your level of education ?	High school	Count 15	5	20
	% within What is your level of education?	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count 33	23	56
	% within What is your level of education?	58.9%	41.1%	100.0%
	Master	Count 2	10	12
	% within What is your level of education?	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%
	PHD	Count 4	1	5
	% within What is your level of education?	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%

Other	Count	4	2	6
	% within What is your level of education?	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	58	41	99
	% within What is your level of education?	58.6%	41.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	12.021 ^a	4	.017

Table 4.12 above shows salient differences between those who have masters degree which is against this idea which makes a rate of 83.3% who are negative about the existence of privately owned television network of total participants who have masters degree, and other groups who are in favor of existence of privately owned news network, the majority of the participants of all groups other than masters are all in saying that privately owned television networks exists.

Table 4.13: Distribution of answer by age to question 6
Crosstab

			Q6		Total
			Yes	No	
Select your age group?	18-23	Count	6	1	7
		% within Select your age group?	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
	24-29	Count	27	12	39
		% within Select your age group?	69.2%	30.8%	100.0%
	30-34	Count	13	18	31
		% within Select your age group?	41.9%	58.1%	100.0%
	35-39	Count	7	10	17
		% within Select your age group?	41.2%	58.8%	100.0%
	40- or above	Count	5	0	5
		% within Select your age group?	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		41	99	
	% within Select your age group?		41.4%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	13.145 ^a	4	.011

Table 4.13 shows that people who are below the age of 30 years are saying that

privately owned television network exists, while people who are denying their existence are above 30 years. This difference is due to the lack of experience of the younger age group. Because there have been a lot of T.V networks who claimed that they were independent but later they showed their true intentions that they belonged to or supported by a political party, and the older age group have experience with these matters, while the younger age group don't have much experience so when a T.V network says that they are independent the younger age group will fell for that, while the older age group will not trust them.

Table 4.14: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 6 Crosstab

			Q6		Total
			Yes	No	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count % within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	18 66.7%	9 33.3%	27 100.0%
	No	Count % within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	40 55.6%	32 44.4%	72 100.0%
Total		Count % within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	58 58.6%	41 41.4%	99 100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.999 ^a	1	.318	.221
N of Valid Cases	99			

Table 4.14 tells us statistically having degree in communication does not cause significant difference.

Q 7: In your region, do any of the following exist?

Privately owned news agency.

Table 4.15: Distributions of answers to question 7

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	22	22.2
	No	77	77.8
	Total	99	100.0

22.2 % of participants think that privately owned news agency exist, and 77.8% of them does not believe, and the last group is the majority of participants who are against this idea. The reason is that they have experienced in their daily life that a large news agency cannot run on just the private sector, but it needs support from some political parties in order to run their big projects that need's a tremendous amount of budget.

Table 4.16: Distribution of answer by gender in question 7
Crosstab

			Q7		Total
			Yes	No	
Gender?	Male	Count	13	55	68
		% Within Gender?	19.1%	80.9%	100.0%
	Female	Count	9	22	31
		% Within Gender?	29.0%	71.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	22	77	99
		% Within Gender?	22.2%	77.8%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	1.211 ^a	1	.271	199

Table 4.16 shows that, statistically there is no significant difference between those who have degree in communication and who have not.

Table 4.17: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 7
Crosstab

			Q7		Total
			Yes	No	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	1	19	20
		% within What is your level of education?	5.0%	95.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	16	40	56
		% within What is your level of education?	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%
	Master	Count	1	11	12
		% within What is your level of education?	8.3%	91.7%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	3	2	5
	% within What is your level of education?	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%	
	Other	Count	1	5	6
	% within What is your level of education?	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%	
Total	Count	22	77	99	
	% within What is your level of education?	22.2%	77.8%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	10.313 ^a	4	.035

Table 4.17 shows that, statistically there is no significant difference between level of education of participants, all of them are agreeing on the idea that privately owned news agency does not exist, only 60% of PHD participants believe that privately owned news agency exist.

Table 4.18: Distribution of answer by age to question 7
Crosstab

			Q7		Total
			Yes	No	
Select your age group?	18-23	Count	3	4	7
		% within Select your age group?	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
	24-29	Count	10	29	39
		% within Select your age group?	25.6%	74.4%	100.0%
	30-34	Count	6	25	31
		% within Select your age group?	19.4%	80.6%	100.0%
	35-39	Count	1	16	17
	% within Select your age group?	5.9%	94.1%	100.0%	
	40- or above	Count	2	3	5
	% within Select your age group?	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%	
Total	Count		77	99	
	% within Select your age group?		77.8%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	5.676 ^a	4	.225

Table 4.18 shows that, statistically there is no significant difference between age of participants, all of them are agreeing on the idea that privately owned news agency does not exist, by the majority of their testimonials.

Table 4.19: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 7
Crosstab

				Q7		Total
				Yes	No	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	% within	Count Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	10 37.0%	17 63.0%	27 100.0%
	No	% within	Count Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	12 16.7%	60 83.3%	72 100.0%
Total		% within	Count Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	22 22.2%	77 77.8%	99 100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	4.714 ^a	1	.030	0.55	0.32

Table 4.19 shows that, there is statistically no significant difference between those who have degree in communication and who have not. But we can see that journalists who have degree in communication are more positive on the idea that privately owned news agencies exist.

Q 8: In covering news/information to press outlets, which outlets are given preference?

Table 4.20: Distributions of answers to question 8

	Frequency	Percent
Independent	31	31.3
Government press	14	14.1
Valid Foreign press	18	18.2
Political parties presses	36	36.4
Total	99	100.0

This chart shows 31.3% of participants think that Independent presses are given preference in covering news. Government press by 14.1 % of participants, Foreign press by 18%, and Political parties presses by 36.4% of participant, which is the highest rate. The reason could be most of newspapers owned by political parties, and they want the people to hear from their sources which gives them a priority when people watch or read or hear the news, the general public will tend to give more interest in the press that is powered by the political parties, which is also a very good way to gain their trust in the elections. On the other hand, when the competition between the political parties reaches its peak, they give the information to the independent press to use it against their rivals, in order that people will not think that, one political party against another uses this information.

Table 4.21: Distribution of answer by age to question 8
Crosstab

	Q8				Total
	Independent	Government press	Foreign press	Political parties presses	
Count	18	10	15	25	68
Male % Within Gender?	26.5%	14.7%	22.1%	36.8%	100.0%
Femal Count	13	4	3	11	31
e % Within Gender?	41.9%	12.9%	9.7%	35.5%	100.0%
Count	31	14	18	36	99
Total % Within Gender?	31.3%	14.1%	18.2%	36.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	3.480 ^a	3	.323

Table 4.21 Shows that, statistically there is no any significant difference between male and female journalists the rate of males that are supporting the idea that political parties presses are given preference in covering the news is 36.8%, while the females think that independent press is given preference in covering the news is 41.9%, and as I mentioned before the reason could that the females do not work in the private facilities they lack information about a lot of matters related to policies that are been taken or applied outside the government facilities.

Table 4.22 below shows that participants who have PHD degree are claiming that the preference is given to the independent press and to foreign press and they didn't gave any importance to the government or political parties press, if you looked at the participants with the masters degree also said that the preference is given to the independent press, and after that both foreign and governmental press are given the same importance and the political parties with the least preference, and the participants with the bachelor degree said that the preference is given to the political parties press and after that foreign press will come and independent press is after these two, while the governmental press comes in the last place, and the participants with the high school degree said that the preference is given to the independent press and political press comes in the second position followed by the foreign press, and governmental press comes in the last place.

Table 4.22: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 8
Crosstab

			Q8				Total
			Independent	Government press	Foreign press	Political parties presses	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count % within What is your level of education?	12 60.0%	2 10.0%	1 5.0%	5 25.0%	20 100.0%
	Bachelor	Count % within What is your level of education?	12 21.4%	6 10.7%	13 23.2%	25 44.6%	56 100.0%
	Master	Count % within What is your level of education?	4 33.3%	3 25.0%	3 25.0%	2 16.7%	12 100.0%
	PHD	Count % within What is your level of education?	3 60.0%	2 40.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	5 100.0%
	Other	Count % within What is your level of education?	0 0.0%	1 16.7%	1 16.7%	4 66.7%	6 100.0%
	Total	Count % within What is your level of education?	31 31.3%	14 14.1%	18 18.2%	36 36.4%	99 100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	24.606a	12	.017

Table 4.23 is showing a salient difference between participants of two different age groups the journalists whose their ages are 40 or above are claiming that the preference is given to the independent press by a rate of 100%, while journalists whose their ages are between 24-29 are saying that in covering news the preference is given to the political parties press by a rate of 51.3%, the reason behind the difference between two opinions of these age groups might be that the participants with older age groups 40 or above are working in the office and they did not worked in the field, while participants with age group 24-29 are in the field and they see with their own eyes when covering the news the preference is given to the political parties press.

Table 4.23: Distribution of answer by age to question 8
Crosstab

			Q8				Total
			Independent	Governm ent press	Foreign press	Political parties presses	
18-23	Count		3	1	1	2	7
	% within Select your age group?		42.9%	14.3%	14.3%	28.6%	100.0%
24-29	Count		11	3	5	20	39
	% within Select your age group?		28.2%	7.7%	12.8%	51.3%	100.0%
30-34	Count		6	2	11	12	31
	% within Select your age group?		19.4%	6.5%	35.5%	38.7%	100.0%
35-39	Count		6	8	1	2	17
	% within Select your age group?		35.3%	47.1%	5.9%	11.8%	100.0%
40- or above	Count		5	0	0	0	5
	% within Select your age group?		100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count			14	18	36	99
	% within Select your age group?			14.1%	18.2%	36.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	40.930 ^a 99	12	.000

Table 4.24: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 8
Crosstab

			Q8				Total
			Independent	Governm ent press	Foreign press	Political parties presses	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count	5	4	7	11	27
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	18.5%	14.8%	25.9%	40.7%	100.0%
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	No	Count	26	10	11	25	72
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	36.1%	13.9%	15.3%	34.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	31	14	18	36	99
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	31.3%	14.1%	18.2%	36.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	3.373 ^a	3	.338

Table 4.24 shows no statistically significant differences between those with digress in media and communication and those without any corresponding degree.

Q9: How much do these factors prevent press organization publish what they want?
Political factor.

Table 4.25: Distributions of answers to question 9

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	10%	2	2.0
	20%	1	1.0
	30%	3	3.0
	40%	8	8.1
	50%	7	7.1
	60%	12	12.1
	70%	13	13.1
	80%	13	13.1
	90%	18	18.2
	100%	22	22.2
	Total	99	100.0

22.2% of participants believe that, 100% political factor prevent press organizations to publish what they want, 90% was chosen by 18.2% of participants, 80% by 13.1%, 70% by 13.1%, 60% by 12.1%, 50% by 7.1%, 40% by 8.1%, 30% by 3.1%, 20% by 1%, and 10% by 2% of participants. Majority of participants which is 78.7% choose 60% and above. The reason could be Political parties are very powerful in the Kurdistan region of Iraq, but we have to put that in mind not all the individuals that are working in the political parties are against freedom of press, but there are some individuals who will be harmed if that information is being published because it will harm their personal benefits, in order to prevent them from publishing these information they threat these journalists, in year 2013 there were 12 cases of threatening journalists by some powerful personals that are a member of political

parties.

According to the results of question 9 shown in Table 4.26 below, no statistically significant differences between male and female journalists were found.

Table 4.26: Distribution of answer by gender to question 9
Crosstab

		Q9										Total
		10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	
Gender?	Count	2	1	3	7	4	7	11	8	11	14	68
	% within Gender?	2.9%	1.5%	4.4%	10.3%	5.9%	10.3%	16.2%	11.8%	16.2%	20.6%	100.0%
Female	Count	0	0	0	1	3	5	2	5	7	8	31
	% within Gender?	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	3.2%	9.7%	16.1%	6.5%	16.1%	22.6%	25.8%	100.0%
Total	Count	2	1	3	8	7	12	13	13	18	22	99
	% within Gender?	2.0%	1.0%	3.0%	8.1%	7.1%	12.1%	13.1%	13.1%	18.2%	22.2%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	7.667 ^a	9	.568

Table 4.27: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 9
Crosstab

		Q9										Total
		10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	
High school	Count	0	1	0	3	3	3	2	1	3	4	20
	% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	5.0%	0.0%	15.0%	15.0%	15.0%	10.0%	5.0%	15.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Bachelor	Count	2	0	2	4	2	7	6	10	8	15	56
	% within What is your level of education?	3.6%	0.0%	3.6%	7.1%	3.6%	12.5%	10.7%	17.9%	14.3%	26.8%	100.0%
Master	Count	0	0	1	1	2	2	3	0	3	0	12
	% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	0.0%	8.3%	8.3%	16.7%	16.7%	25.0%	0.0%	25.0%	0.0%	100.0%
PHD	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	5
	% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	40.0%	40.0%	100.0%
Other	Count	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	1	6
	% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	33.3%	33.3%	16.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	2	1	3	8	7	12	13	13	18	22	99
	% within What is your level of education?	2.0%	1.0%	3.0%	8.1%	7.1%	12.1%	13.1%	13.1%	18.2%	22.2%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	31.460 ^a	36	.684

Table 4.27 below shows no statistically significant differences among the age groups of the journalists regarding the option “political factors” in question 9 “How much do these factors prevent press organization publish what they want?”

Table 4.28: Distribution of answer by age to question 9
Crosstab

		Q9										Total	
		10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%		
Select your age group?	Count	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	1	1	7	
	18-23 % within Select your age group?	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%	14.3%	0.0%	28.6%	14.3%	14.3%	14.3%	100.0%	
	Count	0	1	0	4	3	5	5	3	9	9	39	
	24-29 % within Select your age group?	0.0%	2.6%	0.0%	10.3%	7.7%	12.8%	12.8%	7.7%	23.1%	23.1%	100.0%	
	Count	1	0	1	2	1	4	4	8	4	6	31	
	30-34 % within Select your age group?	3.2%	0.0%	3.2%	6.5%	3.2%	12.9%	12.9%	25.8%	12.9%	19.4%	100.0%	
	Count	0	0	2	1	2	3	1	1	3	4	17	
	35-39 % within Select your age group?	0.0%	0.0%	11.8%	5.9%	11.8%	17.6%	5.9%	5.9%	17.6%	23.5%	100.0%	
	Count	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	5	
	40- or above % within Select your age group?	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	20.0%	40.0%	100.0%	
	Total	Count		1	3	8	7	12	13	13	18	22	99
	% within Select your age group?		1.0%	3.0%	8.1%	7.1%	12.1%	13.1%	13.1%	18.2%	22.2%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	32.276 ^a	36	.646

Table 4.28 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Table 4.29: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 9
Crosstab

		Q9										Total
		10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 0	0	1	4	2	4	6	3	3	4	27
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	0.0%	0.0%	3.7%	14.8%	7.4%	14.8%	22.2%	11.1%	11.1%	14.8%	100.0%
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	No	Count 2	1	2	4	5	8	7	10	15	18	72
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	2.8%	1.4%	2.8%	5.6%	6.9%	11.1%	9.7%	13.9%	20.8%	25.0%	100.0%
Total		Count 2	1	3	8	7	12	13	13	18	22	99
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	2.0%	1.0%	3.0%	8.1%	7.1%	12.1%	13.1%	18.2%	22.2%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	7.881 ^a	9	.546

Table 4.29 also we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Q10: how much do these factors prevent press organizations publish what they want? Religious factor

Table 4.30: Distributions of answers to question 10

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	10%	4	4.0
	20%	2	2.0
	30%	2	2.0
	40%	6	6.1
	50%	9	9.1
	60%	14	14.1
	70%	13	13.1
	80%	9	9.1
	90%	16	16.2
	100%	24	24.2
	Total	99	100.0

24.2% of participants believe that, 100% Religious factor prevent press organizations to publish what they want, 90% was chosen by 16.2% of participants, 80% by 9.1%, 70% by 13.1%, 60% by 14.1%, 50% by 9.1%, 40% by 6.1%, 30% by 2%, 20% by 2%, and 10% by 4% of participants. According to the Second point of section one of article -10- of law of journalism in Kurdistan “ a journalists and editor in chief would be fined an amount not less that (1.000.000) million dinars and no more than (5.000.000) five million dinars when they publish insulting the religious sanctities and symbols of any religion or sect or abuse them”. Because of presence of different religions in Kurdistan, which all of them live together in harmony, the syndicate of journalists don’t want to disturb the harmony, so they decide to put this law in order to prevent some journalists who have a grudge against a different religion from one they believe to make chaos among the general public and disturbance of national security, they don’t want to start a civil war between the people with different religious beliefs, an example of religious war which we can say sectarian war is what happened between Shi’a and Sunni in middle and southern parts of Iraq, which was just a simple battles between journalists and it was separated later into battle between gangs and kept growing until it reached to a point that changed from small gang battles into a civil war.

Table 4.31: Distribution of answer by gender to question 10
Crosstab

		Q10										Total	
		10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%		
Gender ?	Male	Count	3	1	1	3	7	10	9	7	12	15	
	% within Gender?	4.4%	1.5%	1.5%	4.4%	10.3%	14.7%	13.2%	10.3%	17.6%	22.1%		
Female	Count	1	1	1	3	2	4	4	2	4	9	31	
	% within Gender?	3.2%	3.2%	3.2%	9.7%	6.5%	12.9%	12.9%	6.5%	12.9%	29.0%	100.0%	
Total	Count	4	2	2	6	9	14	13	9	16	24	99	
	% within Gender?	4.0%	2.0%	2.0%	6.1%	9.1%	14.1%	13.1%	9.1%	16.2%	24.2%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	3.164 ^a	9	.957

Table 4.31 statically we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that there is not any significant difference.

Table 4.32: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 10
Crosstab

		Q10										Total	
		10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%		
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	2	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	2	10	20
		% within What is your level of education?	10.0%	0.0%	5.0%	5.0%	10.0%	0.0%	10.0%	0.0%	10.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	1	1	1	4	3	11	9	7	9	10	56
		% within What is your level of education?	1.8%	1.8%	1.8%	7.1%	5.4%	19.6%	16.1%	12.5%	16.1%	17.9%	100.0%
	Master	Count	0	1	0	0	2	2	1	2	3	1	12
		% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	16.7%	8.3%	16.7%	25.0%	8.3%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	2	5
		% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	Other	Count	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	6
		% within What is your level of education?	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	33.3%	16.7%	100.0%
	Total	Count	4	2	2	6	9	14	13	9	16	24	99
		% within What is your level of education?	4.0%	2.0%	2.0%	6.1%	9.1%	14.1%	13.1%	9.1%	16.2%	24.2%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	37.155 ^a	36	.416

Table 4.32 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.33: Distribution of answer by age to question 10
Crosstab

		Q10										Total	
		10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%		
Select your age group?	Count	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	1	2	7	
	18-23 % within Select your age group?	14.3%	0.0%	14.3%	28.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	14.3%	28.6%	100.0%	
	Count	1	1	0	2	3	6	3	7	5	11	39	
	24-29 % within Select your age group?	2.6%	2.6%	0.0%	5.1%	7.7%	15.4%	7.7%	17.9%	12.8%	28.2%	100.0%	
	Count	2	1	1	2	2	6	5	1	5	6	31	
	30-34 % within Select your age group?	6.5%	3.2%	3.2%	6.5%	6.5%	19.4%	16.1%	3.2%	16.1%	19.4%	100.0%	
	Count	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	1	5	5	17	
	35-39 % within Select your age group?	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	23.5%	0.0%	11.8%	5.9%	29.4%	29.4%	100.0%	
	Count	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	5	
	40- or above % within Select your age group?	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	40.0%	60.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
	Total	Count	4	2	2	6	9	14	13	9	16	24	99
	% within Select your age group?	4.0%	2.0%	2.0%	6.1%	9.1%	14.1%	13.1%	9.1%	16.2%	24.2%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	51.027 ^a	36	.050

Table 4.33 showing a difference in the opinions between two different age groups, because majority of participants whose ages are between 18-23 are against the idea that religion discourages the journalists which is below 50% and their total rate is 57.2%, while participants whose ages are 40 or above are saying that religion is a factor that discourages the journalists which they say it is affecting the journalists by more than 50% and their total rate is 100%.

Table 4.34: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 10

Crosstab

		Q10										Total
		10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 1	Count 1	Count 0	Count 4	Count 4	Count 5	Count 4	Count 2	Count 3	Count 3	27
	% within	3.7%	3.7%	0.0%	14.8%	14.8%	18.5%	14.8%	7.4%	11.1%	11.1%	100.0%
n?	No	Count 3	Count 1	Count 2	Count 2	Count 5	Count 9	Count 9	Count 7	Count 13	Count 21	72
	% within	4.2%	1.4%	2.8%	2.8%	6.9%	12.5%	12.5%	9.7%	18.1%	29.2%	100.0%
Total		Count 4	Count 2	Count 2	Count 6	Count 9	Count 14	Count 13	Count 9	Count 16	Count 24	99
	% within	4.0%	2.0%	2.0%	6.1%	9.1%	14.1%	13.1%	9.1%	16.2%	24.2%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	11.239 ^a	9	.260

Table 4.34 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Q 11: how much do these factors prevent press organizations publish what they want? Ethnic factor.

Table 4.35: Distributions of answers to question 11

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	10%	5	5.1
	20%	8	8.1
	30%	10	10.1
	40%	11	11.1
	50%	11	11.1
	60%	20	20.2
	70%	16	16.2
	80%	9	9.1
	90%	8	8.1
	100%	1	1.0
Total		99	100.0

65.7% of participants believe that, ethnic factors have effect on press organizations to publish what they want, 90% was chosen by 8.1% of participants, 80% by 9.1%, 70% by 16.2%, 60% by 20.2%, 50% by 11.1%, and 34% of participants gave their testimonial against this idea and it started from 40% and below, while the 65.7% of participants who supported this idea which started from 50% and raised till 100%. If we compared the results of ethnic factor with the results of religious and political factors we can conclude that ethnic factors have smaller effect on the freedom of press in comparison to the other two, the reason could be the civilization because nowadays some stuffs became normal to talk about that it was impossible to talk about before.

Table 4.36: Distribution of answer by gender to question 11
Crosstab

		Q11										Total	
		10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%		
Gender?	Male	Count	4	6	7	5	7	11	14	7	6	1	68
	% within Gender?		5.9%	8.8%	10.3%	7.4%	10.3%	16.2%	20.6%	10.3%	8.8%	1.5%	100.0%
Gender?	Female	Count	1	2	3	6	4	9	2	2	2	0	31
	% within Gender?		3.2%	6.5%	9.7%	19.4%	12.9%	29.0%	6.5%	6.5%	6.5%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		5	8	10	11	11	20	16	9	8	1	99
	% within Gender?		5.1%	8.1%	10.1%	11.1%	11.1%	20.2%	16.2%	9.1%	8.1%	1.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	8.670 ^a	9	.468

Table 4.36: we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

As for the differences across the journalists' level of education, Table 4.37 below shows that there is not any difference, which is statistically significant.

Table 4.37: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 11
Crosstab

		Q11										Total
		10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	
High school	Count	1	0	3	0	3	4	3	3	2	1	20
	% within What is your level of education?	5.0%	0.0%	15.0%	0.0%	15.0%	20.0%	15.0%	15.0%	10.0%	5.0%	100.0%
Bachelor	Count	2	7	5	8	5	11	9	5	4	0	56
	% within What is your level of education?	3.6%	12.5%	8.9%	14.3%	8.9%	19.6%	16.1%	8.9%	7.1%	0.0%	100.0%
Master	Count	1	1	2	1	0	3	3	1	0	0	12
	% within What is your level of education?	8.3%	8.3%	16.7%	8.3%	0.0%	25.0%	25.0%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
PHD	Count	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	1	0	5
	% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	60.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Other	Count	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	6
	% within What is your level of education?	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	33.3%	16.7%	0.0%	16.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	5	8	10	11	11	20	16	9	8	1	99
	% within What is your level of education?	5.1%	8.1%	10.1%	11.1%	11.1%	20.2%	16.2%	9.1%	8.1%	1.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	36.342 ^a	36	.453

Table 4.38: Distribution of answer by age to question 11
Crosstab

		Q11										Total
		10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	
18-23	Count	2	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	7
	% within Select your age group?	28.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	42.9%	14.3%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
24-29	Count	1	2	3	5	4	12	6	2	3	1	39
	% within Select your age group?	2.6%	5.1%	7.7%	12.8%	10.3%	30.8%	15.4%	5.1%	7.7%	2.6%	100.0%
30-34	Count	2	4	5	3	3	3	6	4	1	0	31
	% within Select your age group?	6.5%	12.9%	16.1%	9.7%	9.7%	9.7%	19.4%	12.9%	3.2%	0.0%	100.0%
35-39	Count	0	1	2	3	2	2	3	0	4	0	17
	% within Select your age group?	0.0%	5.9%	11.8%	17.6%	11.8%	11.8%	17.6%	0.0%	23.5%	0.0%	100.0%

40- or above	Count	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	5
	% within Select your age group?	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	40.0%	0.0%	0.0%	40.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	5	8	10	11	11	20	16	9	8	1	99
	% within Select your age group?	5.1%	8.1%	10.1%	11.1%	11.1%	20.2%	16.2%	9.1%	8.1%	1.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	46.521 ^a	36	.113

Table 4.38 tells us statistically there is not any significant difference.

Table 4.39: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question

11

Crosstab

		Q11										Total
		10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 3	3	3	3	2	4	4	2	2	1	27
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	11.1%	11.1%	11.1%	11.1%	7.4%	14.8%	14.8%	7.4%	7.4%	3.7%	100.0%
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	No	Count 2	5	7	8	9	16	12	7	6	0	72
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	2.8%	6.9%	9.7%	11.1%	12.5%	22.2%	16.7%	9.7%	8.3%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	5	8	10	11	11	20	16	9	8	1	99
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	5.1%	8.1%	10.1%	11.1%	11.1%	20.2%	16.2%	9.1%	8.1%	1.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	6.996 ^a	9	.638

Table 4.39 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Q12: Does independent press exist – that's, press whose staff may take positions of any kind on public issues with no limits of any kind from owners or from the

government?

Table 4.40: Distributions of answers to question 12

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	41	41.4
	No	58	58.6
	Total	99	100.0

41.4% of journalists who participated of this survey think that independent press exists. While 58.6% of journalists who participated this survey they did not think the same. The reason could be that there were some newspapers that have been published with and independent name at first but then they started to show their true identity which was by way or another, a political news agency and soon after that incidents like that became a common thing so the people lost their fate in the independent press. And people call these types of journalisms a shadow of the government, or shadows of political parties.

Table 4.41: Distribution of answer by gender to question 12
Crosstab

		Q12		Total	
		Yes	No		
Gender?	Male	Count	27	41	68
		% within Gender?	39.7%	60.3%	100.0%
	Female	Count	14	17	31
		% within Gender?	45.2%	54.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	41	58	99
		% within Gender?	41.4%	58.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.261 ^a	1	.609	384

Table 4.41 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.42: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 12
Crosstab

			Q12		Total
			Yes	No	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	10	10	20
		% within What is your level of education?	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	21	35	56
		% within What is your level of education?	37.5%	62.5%	100.0%
	Master	Count	6	6	12
		% within What is your level of education?	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	3	2	5
		% within What is your level of education?	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	Other	Count	1	5	6
		% within What is your level of education?	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	41	58	99	
	% within What is your level of education?	41.4%	58.6%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	3.552 ^a	4	.470

Table 4.42 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference, if you looked at the table you can see the participants who have other degrees have a difference in their opinion because 83.3% of them are against this opinion, while 16.7% of them are in favor of this idea, maybe the reason is that they are in contact with this subject more than the people with degrees like masters and PHD.

Table 4.43: Distribution of answer by age to question 12
Crosstab

			Q12		Total
			Yes	No	
Select your age group?	18-23	Count	0	7	7
		% within Select your age group?	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	24-29	Count	18	21	39
		% within Select your age group?			

	% within Select your age group?	46.2%	53.8%	100.0%
30-34	Count	10	21	31
	% within Select your age group?	32.3%	67.7%	100.0%
35-39	Count	8	9	17
	% within Select your age group?	47.1%	52.9%	100.0%
40- or above	Count	5	0	5
	% within Select your age group?	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	41	58	99
	% within Select your age group?	41.4%	58.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	13.677 ^a	4	.008

Table 4.43 is giving the idea of people with younger age group (18-23) are working in the field rather than working in the office like people with the age 40 or above, the people with ages between 18 and 23 are denying any existence of the independent press by rate of 100%, on the other hand people with age 40 or above are supporting the existence of the independent press by are rate of 100%, the idea is that the people with age group 18-23 are present in the event and the facts are more clear to them, than the people with the age of 40 or above because they are normally working as editors in chief or gatekeepers.

Table 4.44: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 12

Crosstab

		Q12		Total
		Yes	No	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 9	Count 18	Count 27
	% within	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	No	Count 32	Count 40	Count 72
	% within	44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
Total		Count 41	Count 58	Count 99
		% within	% within	% within
		41.4%	58.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.999 ^a	1	.318	221

Table 4.44 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Q 13: If yes, how many of these press organizations exist? Write the names?

Table 4.45: Distributions of answers to question 13

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Hawlati	21	21.2	51.2
	Awena	8	8.1	19.5
	Rwdaw	6	6.1	14.6
	Bas	4	4.0	9.8
	Lven magazine	2	2.0	4.9
	Total	41	41.4	100.0
Missing	System	58	58.6	
Total		99	100.0	

The majority of the participants gave their testimonial in favor of the Hawlati newspaper, which is the first independent newspaper in Iraqi-Kurdistan region, with a total of 51.2% of the participants who answered the survey.

Table 4.46: Distribution of answer by gender to question 13
Crosstab

		Q13					Total	
		Hawlati	Awena	Rwdaw	Bas	Lven magazine		
Gender?	Male	Count	12	5	5	3	2	27
		% within Gender?	44.4%	18.5%	18.5%	11.1%	7.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count	9	3	1	1	0	14
		% within Gender?	64.3%	21.4%	7.1%	7.1%	0.0%	100.0%

Total	Count	21	8	6	4	2	41
	% within Gender?	51.2%	19.5%	14.6%	9.8%	4.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.750 ^a	4	.601

Table 4.46 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Table 4.47: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 13
Crosstab

		Q13					Total
		Hawlati	Awena	Rwdaw	Bas	Lven magazine	
What is your level of education ?	High school	Count 5	Count 1	Count 3	Count 1	Count 0	Count 10
		% within 50.0%	% within 10.0%	% within 30.0%	% within 10.0%	% within 0.0%	% within 100.0%
	Bachelor	Count 13	Count 4	Count 1	Count 1	Count 2	Count 21
		% within 61.9%	% within 19.0%	% within 4.8%	% within 4.8%	% within 9.5%	% within 100.0%
	Master	Count 2	Count 3	Count 1	Count 0	Count 0	Count 6
		% within 33.3%	% within 50.0%	% within 16.7%	% within 0.0%	% within 0.0%	% within 100.0%
PHD		Count 1	Count 0	Count 1	Count 1	Count 0	Count 3
		% within 33.3%	% within 0.0%	% within 33.3%	% within 33.3%	% within 0.0%	% within 100.0%
Other	Count 0	Count 0	Count 0	Count 1	Count 0	Count 1	
	% within 0.0%	% within 0.0%	% within 0.0%	% within 100.0%	% within 0.0%	% within 100.0%	
Total	Count 21	Count 8	Count 6	Count 4	Count 2	Count 41	
	% within 51.2%	% within 19.5%	% within 14.6%	% within 9.8%	% within 4.9%	% within 100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	22.627 ^a	16	.124

Table 4.47 is showing a significant difference between the participants with different educational degrees, about the independent newspapers, 100% of the participants with other educational degrees are saying that Bas news paper is the independent

newspaper in Kurdistan region, while 61.9% of the participants with the bachelor degree are believing that Hawlati newspaper is the independent newspaper in Iraqi Kurdistan region.

Table 4.48: Distribution of answer by age to question 13
Crosstab

		Q13					Total
		Hawlati	Awena	Rwdaw	Bas	Lven magazine	
24-29	Count	11	1	3	2	1	18
	% within Select your age group?	61.1%	5.6%	16.7%	11.1%	5.6%	100.0%
30-34	Count	4	3	1	1	1	10
	% within Select your age group?	40.0%	30.0%	10.0%	10.0%	10.0%	100.0%
35-39	Count	5	3	0	0	0	8
	% within Select your age group?	62.5%	37.5%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
40- or above	Count	1	1	2	1	0	5
	% within Select your age group?	20.0%	20.0%	40.0%	20.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	21	8	6	4	2	41
	% within Select your age group?	51.2%	19.5%	14.6%	9.8%	4.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	11.536 ^a	12	.484

According to the results shown in Table 4.48, we can conclude that there is not any statically significant difference, but that the 50% of the younger participants (24-29) showed more positive tendencies to Hawlati newspaper while 40% of the older participants (40 or above) comparatively showed more positive preference to Rudaw, which is an independent newspaper.

Table 4.49 there is statically a significant difference between the opinions of the participants who have degree in communication and the participants who don't have

degree in communication, because 59.4% of the participants who don't have degree in communication are saying that Hawlati newspaper is the independent newspaper in Kurdistan region, while participants who have degree in communication are saying that Awena is the independent newspaper by a rate of 33.3%.

Table 4.49: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 13

Crosstab

		Q13.					Total
		Hawlati	Awena	Rwdaw	Bas	Lven magazine	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 2 22.2%	Count 3 33.3%	Count 2 22.2%	Count 2 22.2%	Count 0 0.0%	Count 9 100.0%
	No	Count 19 59.4%	Count 5 15.6%	Count 4 12.5%	Count 2 6.3%	Count 2 6.3%	Count 32 100.0%
Total		Count 21 51.2%	Count 8 19.5%	Count 6 14.6%	Count 4 9.8%	Count 2 4.9%	Count 41 100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	5.875 ^a	4	.209

Q14: Constitution guarantees Freedom of the press in Kurdistan Regional of Iraq.

Table 4.50: Distributions of answers to question 14

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Strongly agree	15	15.2
Valid Agree	12	12.1
Valid Undecided	22	22.2
Valid Disagree	19	19.2
Valid Strongly disagree	31	31.3
Total	99	100.0

31.3 % of participants Strongly disagreed with the issue that Constitutions guarantee the freedom of the press Iraqi Kurdistan region, and 19.2% of the participants Disagreed, while 22.2% of the participants remained neutral and didn't gave their opinions, on the other hand 12.1% of them agreed, and 15.2% of them strongly agreed with this issue. The charts shows that 50% of journalists disagree, and they did not think that constitution can guarantee their rights, the reason could be that journalists did not feel free in writing reports, and not just that there was times which their rights been violated, and even more their life have been threatened, and further more the situation reached to a point where they killed the journalist.

Table 4.51: Distribution of answer by gender to question 14
Crosstab

		Q14					Total	
		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree		
Gender?	Male	Count	9	6	11	13	29	68
	% Within Gender?		13.2%	8.8%	16.2%	19.1%	42.6%	100.0%
Female	Count		6	6	11	6	2	31
	% Within Gender?		19.4%	19.4%	35.5%	19.4%	6.5%	100.0%
Total	Count		15	12	22	19	31	99
	% Within Gender?		15.2%	12.1%	22.2%	19.2%	31.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	14.956 ^a	4	.005

Table 4.51 tell us statistically significant different between male and female on the statement that constitutions guarantee Freedom of the press in Kurdistan Region of Iraq. According to the survey results more than half of the male (61.7%) disagree or strongly disagree with the statement. However, almost half (38.8%) of the female agree or strongly agree with the statement. the reason for this differences could be the females working in non-controversial area of journalism.

Table 4.52: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 14
Crosstab

		Q14					Total	
		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree		
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	7	5	1	3	4	20
	% Within	What is your level of education?	35.0%	25.0%	5.0%	15.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	6	6	13	13	18	56
	% Within	What is your level of education?	10.7%	10.7%	23.2%	23.2%	32.1%	100.0%
	Master	Count	1	0	4	1	6	12
	% Within	What is your level of education?	8.3%	0.0%	33.3%	8.3%	50.0%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	0	0	3	2	0	5
% Within	What is your level of education?	0.0%	0.0%	60.0%	40.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
Other	Count	1	1	1	0	3	6	
% Within	What is your level of education?	16.7%	16.7%	16.7%	0.0%	50.0%	100.0%	
Total	Count	15	12	22	19	31	99	
% Within	What is your level of education?	15.2%	12.1%	22.2%	19.2%	31.3%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	26.784 ^a	16	.044

Table 4.52 shows that there is statically significant different between those journalists who have high school degree and other groups epically with those who have bachelor degree, on the statement that constitutions guarantee Freedom of the press in Kurdistan Region. According to the results 60% of journalists who have high school degree agreed and strongly agreed with the statement. However 55.3% of those journalists who have bachelor degree disagree and strongly disagree with the statement.

We can conclude from the results shown in Table 4.53 below that statically there is not any significant difference. We can say that age does not make a difference in this question; all of the journalists similarly have the idea that constitution does not

guarantee the freedom of press in Kurdistan region.

Table 4.53: Distribution of answer by age to question 14
Crosstab

		Q14					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
18-23	Count	1	2	0	3	1	7
	% within Select your age group?	14.3%	28.6%	0.0%	42.9%	14.3%	100.0%
24-29	Count	10	4	8	5	12	39
	% within Select your age group?	25.6%	10.3%	20.5%	12.8%	30.8%	100.0%
30-34	Count	3	3	8	6	11	31
	% within Select your age group?	9.7%	9.7%	25.8%	19.4%	35.5%	100.0%
35-39	Count	1	2	4	5	5	17
	% within Select your age group?	5.9%	11.8%	23.5%	29.4%	29.4%	100.0%
40- or above	Count	0	1	2	0	2	5
	% within Select your age group?	0.0%	20.0%	40.0%	0.0%	40.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	15	12	22	19	31	99
	% within Select your age group?	15.2%	12.1%	22.2%	19.2%	31.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	15.483 ^a	16	.490

Table 4.54: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 14

Crosstab

		Q14					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 2	4	5	6	10	27
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	7.4%	14.8%	18.5%	22.2%	37.0%	100.0%
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	No	Count 13	8	17	13	21	72
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	18.1%	11.1%	23.6%	18.1%	29.2%	100.0%
Total		Count 15	12	22	19	31	99
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	15.2%	12.1%	22.2%	19.2%	31.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.487 ^a	4	.647

Table 4.54 shows that statically there is not any significant difference.

Q15: Freedom of press exists only in name.

As demonstrated in Table 4.55 below, 37.4 % of participants strongly agreed with the idea that Freedom of press exists only in name in Iraqi-Kurdistan region and they don't feel free or safe. And 30.3% of them agreed, while 13.1% of the participants remained neutral about this statement, and 14.1% of them disagree, and 5.1% of participants strongly agreed with this statement, the reason might be that they've seen the reality by their own eyes.

Table 4.55: Distributions of answers to question 15

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	37	37.4
Agree	30	30.3
Undecided	13	13.1
Disagree	14	14.1
Strongly disagree	5	5.1
Total	99	100.0

Table 4.56: Distributions of answers by gender to question 15
Crosstab

		Q15					Total	
		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree		
Gender ?	Male	Count	27	24	7	7	3	68
		% Within Gender?	39.7%	35.3%	10.3%	10.3%	4.4%	100.0%
Gender ?	Female	Count	10	6	6	7	2	31
		% Within Gender?	32.3%	19.4%	19.4%	22.6%	6.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	37	30	13	14	5	99
		% Within Gender?	37.4%	30.3%	13.1%	14.1%	5.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	5.881 ^a	4	.208

Table 4.56 tells us there is no significant difference between male journalists and female journalists. On the other hand male journalists are agreeing more than female journalists by a rate of (75%) while female journalists who support this idea by a rate of (51.7%).

Table 4.57: Distributions of answers by level of education to question 15
Crosstab

		Q15					Total	
		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree		
What is your level of education ?	High school	Count	7	5	5	1	2	20
		% within What is your level of education?	35.0%	25.0%	25.0%	5.0%	10.0%	100.0%
What is your level of education ?	Bachelor	Count	21	16	5	11	3	56
		% within What is your level of education?	37.5%	28.6%	8.9%	19.6%	5.4%	100.0%
What is your level of education ?	Master	Count	5	5	1	1	0	12
		% within What is your level of education?	41.7%	41.7%	8.3%	8.3%	0.0%	100.0%
What is your level of education ?	PHD	Count	0	4	0	1	0	5
		% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	80.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Other	Count	4	0	2	0	0	6
		% within What is your level of education?	66.7%	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	37	30	13	14	5	99

% within What is your level of education?	37.4%	30.3%	13.1%	14.1%	5.1%	100.0%
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Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	21.391 ^a	16	.164

4.57 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference. The majority of the participants with the different level of education are agreeing on this statement with a total rate of 67.7%.

Table 4.58: Distributions of answers by age to question 15

Crosstab

		Q15					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Select your age group?	Count	3	2	2	0	0	7
	18-23 % within Select your age group?	42.9%	28.6%	28.6%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count	11	12	7	6	3	39
	24-29 % within Select your age group?	28.2%	30.8%	17.9%	15.4%	7.7%	100.0%
	Count	15	5	4	5	2	31
	30-34 % within Select your age group?	48.4%	16.1%	12.9%	16.1%	6.5%	100.0%
	Count	7	8	0	2	0	17
	35-39 % within Select your age group?	41.2%	47.1%	0.0%	11.8%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count	1	3	0	1	0	5
	40- or above % within Select your age group?	20.0%	60.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	37	30	13	14	5	99
% within Select your age group?		37.4%	30.3%	13.1%	14.1%	5.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	15.787 ^a	16	.468

Table 4.58 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Table 4.59: Distributions of answers by having degree in communication to question 15

Crosstab

		Q15					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 11 40.7%	Count 5 18.5%	Count 4 14.8%	Count 5 18.5%	Count 2 7.4%	27 100.0%
	No	Count 26 36.1%	Count 25 34.7%	Count 9 12.5%	Count 9 12.5%	Count 3 4.2%	72 100.0%
Total		Count 37 37.4%	Count 30 30.3%	Count 13 13.1%	Count 14 14.1%	Count 5 5.1%	99 100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.805 ^a	4	.591

Table 4.59 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Q 16: independent press organizations have more freedom than government press organizations and Political parties press organizations.

Table 4.60: Distributions of answers to question 16

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	43	43.4
No	20	20.2
Valid Sometime	33	33.3
I don't know	3	3.0
Total	99	100.0

43.4% of participants answered by yes, they think that independent press organizations have more freedom than government and Political press organizations,

while 20.2% of participants they did not think the same, 33.3% of them said sometime, and only 3% of participants undecided. The reason could be that the journalists, who are working in government and political press organizations, just publish governments activates and their work, and it is same for the journalists who are working in the political parties press. They cannot publish the shortcoming of the government or political parties, or criticize them.

Table 4.61: Distributions of answers by gender to question 16

		Q16				Total	
		Yes	No	Sometime	I don't know		
Gender?	Male	Count	29	16	20	3	68
		% Within Gender?	42.6%	23.5%	29.4%	4.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count	14	4	13	0	31
		% Within Gender?	45.2%	12.9%	41.9%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	43	20	33	3	99
		% Within Gender?	43.4%	20.2%	33.3%	3.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	3.591 ^a	3	.309

Table 4.61 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Table 4.62: Distributions of answers by level of education to question 16

Crosstab

		Q16				Total	
		Yes	No	Sometime	I don't know		
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	13	2	4	1	20
		% within What is your level of education?	65.0%	10.0%	20.0%	5.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	20	14	21	1	56
	% within What is your level of education?	35.7%	25.0%	37.5%	1.8%	100.0%	
	Master	Count	7	3	1	1	12
	% within What is your level of education?	58.3%	25.0%	8.3%	8.3%	100.0%	

	Count	0	1	4	0	5
PHD	% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	20.0%	80.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count	3	0	3	0	6
Other	% within What is your level of education?	50.0%	0.0%	50.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count	43	20	33	3	99
Total	% within What is your level of education?	43.4%	20.2%	33.3%	3.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	18.136 ^a	12	.112

Table 4.62 is showing the deference of opinions between the participants with high school degree who are saying yes with a rate of 65.0% and the participants with the PhD degree who are saying sometimes with a rate of 80.0%.

Table 4.63: Distributions of answers by age to question 16

Crosstab

		Q16				Total
		Yes	No	Sometime	I don't know	
18-23	Count	1	1	5	0	7
	% within Select your age group?	14.3%	14.3%	71.4%	0.0%	100.0%
24-29	Count	19	6	13	1	39
	% within Select your age group?	48.7%	15.4%	33.3%	2.6%	100.0%
30-34	Count	13	7	10	1	31
	% within Select your age group?	41.9%	22.6%	32.3%	3.2%	100.0%
35-39	Count	7	6	3	1	17
	% within Select your age group?	41.2%	35.3%	17.6%	5.9%	100.0%
40- or above	Count	3	0	2	0	5
	% within Select your age group?	60.0%	0.0%	40.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		20	33	3	99
	% within Select your age group?		20.2%	33.3%	3.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	10.787 ^a	12	.547

Table 4.63 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.64: Distributions of answers by having degree in communication to question 12

Crosstab

			Q16				Total
			Yes	No	Sometime	I don't know	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 10 % within 37.0%	Count 4 % within 14.8%	Count 12 % within 44.4%	Count 1 % within 3.7%	27 100.0%	
	No	Count 33 % within 45.8%	Count 16 % within 22.2%	Count 21 % within 29.2%	Count 2 % within 2.8%	72 100.0%	
Total		Count 43 % within 43.4%	Count 20 % within 20.2%	Count 33 % within 33.3%	Count 3 % within 3.0%	99 100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.314 ^a	3	.510

Table 4.64 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Q17: Is freedom of getting information guaranteed?

Table 4.65: Distributions of answers to question 17

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	20	20.2
	No	52	52.5
	Sometimes	25	25.3
	I don't know	2	2.0
	Total	99	100.0

20.2% of participants think that freedom of information is guaranteed in Kurdistan region of Iraq, but however 52.2% of them believe that freedom of information is not guaranteed in Kurdistan region, also 25.3% of the participants said that sometimes

the information is guaranteed, and 2% of them undecided. Almost half of participants disagree with this statement, which states that getting information guaranteed by (the law of journalism in Kurdistan), according to the (article two) “a journalist has right to access information of interest to citizens and public interest associated with the various source in accordance with the law”.

Table 4.66: Distributions of answers by gender to question 17
Crosstab

		Q17				Total	
		Yes	No	Sometimes	I don't know		
Gender?	Male	Count	14	38	14	2	68
		% Within Gender?	20.6%	55.9%	20.6%	2.9%	100.0%
	Female	Count	6	14	11	0	31
		% Within Gender?	19.4%	45.2%	35.5%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	20	52	25	2	99
		% Within Gender?	20.2%	52.5%	25.3%	2.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	3.265 ^a	3	.353

Table 4.66 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Table 4.67: Distributions of answers by level of education to question 17
Crosstab

		Q17				Total	
		Yes	No	Sometimes	I don't know		
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	6	12	1	1	20
		% within What is your level of education?	30.0%	60.0%	5.0%	5.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	9	31	16	0	56
		% within What is your level of education?	16.1%	55.4%	28.6%	0.0%	100.0%
	Master	Count	3	5	3	1	12
		% within What is your level of education?	25.0%	41.7%	25.0%	8.3%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	2	1	2	0	5
		% within What is your level of education?	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	0.0%	100.0%

	Count	0	3	3	0	6
Other	% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count	20	52	25	2	99
Total	% within What is your level of education?	20.2%	52.5%	25.3%	2.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	15.303 ^a	12	.225

Table 4.67 is stating that almost half of the participants are saying no, while the participants with PHD degree are divided into half in their opinion 50% of them are saying no, while the other 50% are saying sometimes.

Table 4.68: Distributions of answers by age to question 17
Crosstab

		Q17				Total
		Yes	No	Sometimes	I don't know	
18-23	Count	0	4	2	1	7
	% within Select your age group?	0.0%	57.1%	28.6%	14.3%	100.0%
24-29	Count	8	22	9	0	39
	% within Select your age group?	20.5%	56.4%	23.1%	0.0%	100.0%
30-34	Count	7	16	7	1	31
	% within Select your age group?	22.6%	51.6%	22.6%	3.2%	100.0%
35-39	Count	4	8	5	0	17
	% within Select your age group?	23.5%	47.1%	29.4%	0.0%	100.0%
40- or above	Count	1	2	2	0	5
	% within Select your age group?	20.0%	40.0%	40.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		52	25	2	99
	% within Select your age group?		52.5%	25.3%	2.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	9.394 ^a	12	.669

Table 4.68 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.69: Distributions of answers by having degree in communication to question 13

Crosstab

		Q17				Total
		Yes	No	Sometimes	I don't know	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 3	Count 17	Count 6	Count 1	Count 27
	% within	11.1%	63.0%	22.2%	3.7%	100.0%
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	No	Count 17	Count 35	Count 19	Count 1	Count 72
	% within	23.6%	48.6%	26.4%	1.4%	100.0%
Total		Count 20	Count 52	Count 25	Count 2	Count 99
	% within	20.2%	52.5%	25.3%	2.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.945 ^a	3	.400

Table 4.69 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Q 18: Which kind of press organization is more powerful for gaining information?

Table 4.70: Distributions of answers to question 18

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Independent press	27	27.3
	Government Press	19	19.2
	Political parties presses	42	42.4
	All of them are equal	11	11.1
	Total	99	100.0

27.3% of participants believe that independent press is more powerful for gaining information in Kurdistan region in Iraq, 19.2% of them think that government press

is more powerful than the other groups, Political parties presses gained the highest rate by 42.2% of participants, and 11.1% of participants believe that all of them are equal. The reason could be there are several difference political parties, and each party has its own newspaper and magazine, they don't pay much attention to independent media and journalists.

Table 4.71: Distributions of answers by gender to question 18
Crosstab

		Q18				Total	
		Independent press	Government Press	Political parties press	All of them are equal		
Gender?	Male	Count	18	14	26	10	68
		% Within Gender?	26.5%	20.6%	38.2%	14.7%	100.0%
	Female	Count	9	5	16	1	31
		% Within Gender?	29.0%	16.1%	51.6%	3.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	27	19	42	11	99
		% Within Gender?	27.3%	19.2%	42.4%	11.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	3.696 ^a	3	.296

Table 4.71 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Table 4.72: Distributions of answers by level of education to question 18
Crosstab

		Q18				Total	
		Independent press	Government Press	Political parties presses	All of them are equal		
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	8	3	7	2	20
		% within What is your level of education?	40.0%	15.0%	35.0%	10.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	15	7	26	8	56
		% within What is your level of education?	26.8%	12.5%	46.4%	14.3%	100.0%
	Master	Count	1	5	5	1	12
		% within What is your level of education?	8.3%	41.7%	41.7%	8.3%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	1	3	1	0	5

	% within What is your level of education?	20.0%	60.0%	20.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count	2	1	3	0	6
Other	% within What is your level of education?	33.3%	16.7%	50.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count	27	19	42	11	99
Total	% within What is your level of education?	27.3%	19.2%	42.4%	11.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	14.938 ^a	12	.245

Table 4.72 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Table 4.73: Distributions of answers by age to question 18
Crosstab

		Q18				Total
		Independent press	Government Press	Political parties presses	All of them are equal	
	Count	2	0	4	1	7
18-23	% within Select your age group?	28.6%	0.0%	57.1%	14.3%	100.0%
	Count	10	5	19	5	39
24-29	% within Select your age group?	25.6%	12.8%	48.7%	12.8%	100.0%
Select your age group?	Count	10	6	12	3	31
	% within Select your age group?	32.3%	19.4%	38.7%	9.7%	100.0%
	Count	3	6	7	1	17
35-39	% within Select your age group?	17.6%	35.3%	41.2%	5.9%	100.0%
	Count	2	2	0	1	5
40- or above	% within Select your age group?	40.0%	40.0%	0.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Count		19	42	11	99
Total	% within Select your age group?		19.2%	42.4%	11.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	10.740 ^a	12	.551

Table 4.73 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.74: Distributions of answers by having degree in communication to question 18
Crosstab

		Q18				Total
		Independent press	Government Press	Political parties presses	All of them are equal	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 6 22.2%	Count 7 25.9%	Count 10 37.0%	Count 4 14.8%	27 100.0%
	No	Count 21 29.2%	Count 12 16.7%	Count 32 44.4%	Count 7 9.7%	72 100.0%
Total		Count 27 27.3%	Count 19 19.2%	Count 42 42.4%	Count 11 11.1%	99 100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	1.937 ^a	3	.586

Table 4.74 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Q 19: Are there any difficulties for press freedom in Kurdistan region of Iraq?

Table 4.75: Distributions of answers to question 19

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	61	61.6
	No	33	33.3
	Sometimes	3	3.0
	I don't know	2	2.0
	Total	99	100.0

Among the Kurdish journalists of Iraqi Kurdistan region who participated in this survey, 61.6% of participants think that there are difficulties for journalists which relates to the freedom of press, 33.3% of them they did not think the same they claimed that there is not any kind of difficulties for journalists to get information, 3% of participants thought that sometimes its difficult to get information, and only 2% undecided. The reason could be the Kurdish society and government, did not understand the journalists rights, or the job of the journalist which is delivering the right information to the people and letting them to be the judges and he is the one who brings evidence.

Table 4.76: Distributions of answers by gender to question 19
Crosstab

		Q19				Total	
		Yes	No	Somet imes	I don't know		
Gender?	Male	Count	46	19	2	1	68
		% within Gender?	67.6%	27.9%	2.9%	1.5%	100.0%
	Female	Count	15	14	1	1	31
		% within Gender?	48.4%	45.2%	3.2%	3.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	61	33	3	2	99
		% within Gender?	61.6%	33.3%	3.0%	2.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	3.507 ^a	3	.320

Table 4.76 tells us statistically there is no significant difference between genders of participants.

Table 4.77: Distributions of answers by level of education to question 19
Crosstab

		Q19				Total
		Yes	No	Sometimes	I don't know	
High	Count	12	7	1	0	20

school	% within	What is your level of education?	60.0%	35.0%	5.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count		36	17	1	2	56
What is your level of education?	Bachelor	% within	64.3%	30.4%	1.8%	3.6%	100.0%
	Count		6	5	1	0	12
	Master	% within	50.0%	41.7%	8.3%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count		4	1	0	0	5
	PHD	% within	80.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count		3	3	0	0	6
	Other	% within	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count		61	33	3	2	99
Total	% within	What is your level of education?	61.6%	33.3%	3.0%	2.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	5.449 ^a	12	.941

Table 4.77 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Table 4.78: Distributions of answers by age to question 19
Crosstab

		Q19				Total	
		Yes	No	Sometimes	I don't know		
18-23	Count	5	2	0	0	7	
	% within Select your age group?	71.4%	28.6%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
24-29	Count	22	15	2	0	39	
	% within Select your age group?	56.4%	38.5%	5.1%	0.0%	100.0%	
Select your age group?	30-34	Count	21	8	0	2	31
	% within Select your age group?	67.7%	25.8%	0.0%	6.5%	100.0%	
	35-39	Count	9	7	1	0	17
	% within Select your age group?	52.9%	41.2%	5.9%	0.0%	100.0%	
	40- or above	Count	4	1	0	0	5
	% within Select your age group?	80.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	
Total	Count		33	3	2	99	
	% within Select your age group?		33.3%	3.0%	2.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	9.127 ^a	12	.692

Table 4.78 also we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.79: Distributions of answers by having degree in communication to question 19

Crosstab

		Q19				Total
		Yes	No	Sometimes	I don't know	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication ?	Yes	Count 17 63.0%	Count 8 29.6%	Count 1 3.7%	Count 1 3.7%	Count 27 100.0%
	No	Count 44 61.1%	Count 25 34.7%	Count 2 2.8%	Count 1 1.4%	Count 72 100.0%
Total		Count 61 61.6%	Count 33 33.3%	Count 3 3.0%	Count 2 2.0%	Count 99 100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.740 ^a	3	.864

Table 4.79 show that statistically there is no significant difference between who have degree in communication and who have not.

Q 20: Are social networking sites in Iraqi-Kurdistan region affecting the freedom of press to be develop?

Table 4.80: Distributions of answers to question 20

		Frequency	Percent
Yes		72	72.7
No		23	23.2
Valid	Sometime	2	2.0
	I don't know	2	2.0
Total		99	100.0

72.2% of participants believe that social networking sites are affecting the freedom of press to develop, 23.2% of participants were against that, also 2% of participants think that sometime social network sites have some effects on freedom of press to develop, and 2% of them undecided.

Table 4.81: Distributions of answers by gender to question 20
Crosstab

		Q20				Total	
		Yes	No	Sometime	I don't know		
Gender?	Male	Count	51	14	1	2	68
	% within Gender?		75.0%	20.6%	1.5%	2.9%	100.0%
Gender?	Female	Count	21	9	1	0	31
	% within Gender?		67.7%	29.0%	3.2%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	72	23	2	2	99
	% within Gender?		72.7%	23.2%	2.0%	2.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.044 ^a	3	.563

Table 4.81 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.82: Distributions of answers by level of education to question 20
Crosstab

		Q20				Total	
		Yes	No	Sometime	I don't know		
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	15	4	1	0	20
	% within What is your level of education?		75.0%	20.0%	5.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	43	11	1	1	56
	% within What is your level of education?		76.8%	19.6%	1.8%	1.8%	100.0%
PHD	Master	Count	5	6	0	1	12
	% within What is your level of education?		41.7%	50.0%	0.0%	8.3%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	4	1	0	0	5

	% within	What is your level of education?	80.0%	20.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count		5	1	0	0	6
Other	% within	What is your level of education?	83.3%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count		72	23	2	2	99
Total	% within	What is your level of education?	72.7%	23.2%	2.0%	2.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	10.465 ^a	12	.575

Table 4.82 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference among the level of education in the question 20 in questionnaire. But those journalists who have PHD degree were more positive with this question.

Table 4.83: Distributions of answers by age to question 20
Crosstab

		Q20				Total
		Yes	No	Sometime	I don't know	
18-23	Count	4	3	0	0	7
	% within Select your age group?	57.1%	42.9%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
24-29	Count	29	8	1	1	39
	% within Select your age group?	74.4%	20.5%	2.6%	2.6%	100.0%
30-34	Count	25	5	0	1	31
	% within Select your age group?	80.6%	16.1%	0.0%	3.2%	100.0%
35-39	Count	9	7	1	0	17
	% within Select your age group?	52.9%	41.2%	5.9%	0.0%	100.0%
40- or above	Count	5	0	0	0	5
	% within Select your age group?	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		23	2	2	99
	% within Select your age group?		23.2%	2.0%	2.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	10.464 ^a	12	.575

Table 4.83 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.84: Distributions of answers by having degree in communication to question 20

Crosstab

		Q20				Total
		Yes	No	Sometime	I don't know	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 21 77.8%	Count 4 14.8%	Count 1 3.7%	Count 1 3.7%	27 100.0%
	No	Count 51 70.8%	Count 19 26.4%	Count 1 1.4%	Count 1 1.4%	72 100.0%
Total		Count 72 72.7%	Count 23 23.2%	Count 2 2.0%	Count 2 2.0%	99 100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.304 ^a	3	.512

In this Table 4.84 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference. both group of journalists almost have same idea about this question.

Q 21: Is the freedom of press improved in Iraqi Kurdistan since the past?

Table 4.85: Distributions of answers to question 21

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	78	78.8
	No	17	17.2
	I don't know	4	4.0
	Total	99	100.0

78.8% of participants believe that freedom of press improved in Kurdistan region of Iraq since the past, 17.2% of them didn't think so, and 4% of them undecided about this issue. Majority of journalists believe that freedom of press improved in

Kurdistan region since the past, Especially After 2003 Kurdistan region of Iraq, Because before 2003 all newspapers, radio, and TV was owned by political parties, and now there are also some newspapers that are published by the independent press, because after 2003 almost everything in Iraq changed on all the levels and the system that used to exist before 2003 was no longer available or it disappeared, after 2003 a new system starting from political regime to the rulers and governmental managing and directing facilities changed, and the press was also a part of this change, now they can write about some stuff that they were not permitted to write about before 2003.

Table 4.86: Distributions of answers by gender to question 21
Crosstab

			Q21			Total
			Yes	No	I don't know	
Gender?	Male	Count	55	11	2	68
		% Within Gender?	80.9%	16.2%	2.9%	100.0%
	Female	Count	23	6	2	31
		% Within Gender?	74.2%	19.4%	6.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	78	17	4	99
		% Within Gender?	78.8%	17.2%	4.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.896 ^a	2	.639

Table 4.86 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.87: Distributions of answers by level of education to question 21
Crosstab

			Q21			Total
			Yes	No	I don't know	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	14	6	0	20
		% within What is your level of education?	70.0%	30.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	45	8	3	56
		% within What is your level of education?	80.4%	14.3%	5.4%	100.0%
	Master	Count	9	3	0	12
		% within What is your level of education?	75.0%	25.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	4	0	1	5
		% within What is your level of education?	80.0%	0.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Other	Count	6	0	0	6
		% within What is your level of education?	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	78	17	4	99
		% within What is your level of education?	78.8%	17.2%	4.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.012 ^a	8	.264

Table 4.87 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.88: Distributions of answers by age to question 21
Crosstab

			Q21			Total
			Yes	No	I don't know	
Select your age group?	18-23	Count	5	2	0	7
		% within Select your age group?	71.4%	28.6%	0.0%	100.0%
	24-29	Count	33	6	0	39
		% within Select your age group?	84.6%	15.4%	0.0%	100.0%
	30-34	Count	22	8	1	31
		% within Select your age group?	71.0%	25.8%	3.2%	100.0%
	35-39	Count	13	1	3	17
		% within Select your age group?	76.5%	5.9%	17.6%	100.0%
	40- or above	Count	5	0	0	5
		% within Select your age group?	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count		17	4	99

% within Select your age group?	17.2%	4.0%	100.0%
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Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	14.724 ^a	8	.065

Table 4.88 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference

Table 4.89: Distributions of answers by having degree in communication to question 21

Crosstab

				Q21			Total
				Yes	No	I don't know	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count	22	4	1	27	
	% within	Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	81.5%	14.8%	3.7%	100.0%	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	No	Count	56	13	3	72	
	% within	Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	77.8%	18.1%	4.2%	100.0%	
Total		Count	78	17	4	99	
	% within	Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	78.8%	17.2%	4.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.165 ^a	2	.921

Table 4.89 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Q22: What made you start your carrier as a journalist?

Table 4.90: distributions of answers to question 22

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Hobby	69	69.7
	You can get a good amount of money	30	30.3
	Total	99	100.0

69.7% of participants started working as a journalist because of a hobby, and 30.3% of them think that they can get good money, that is why they started working as a journalist. The result shows that majority of journalists in Kurdistan region became journalists as a hobby not as a carrier, because until 2006 there was not any Media and Communication College in Kurdistan region, and almost every journalist who worked before 2006 had not any kind of certificate that is related to the carrier of journalism.

Table 4.91: Distribution of answer by gender to question 22

Crosstab

			Q22		Total
			Hobby	You can get good money	
Gender?	Male	Count	47	21	68
		% within Gender?	69.1%	30.9%	100.0%
	Female	Count	22	9	31
		% within Gender?	71.0%	29.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	69	30	99
		% within Gender?	69.7%	30.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.035 ^a	1	.853	525

Table 4.91 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.92: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 22
Crosstab

			Q22		Total
			Hobby	You can get good money	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	16	4	20
		% within What is your level of education?	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	41	15	56
		% within What is your level of education?	73.2%	26.8%	100.0%
	Master	Count	7	5	12
		% within What is your level of education?	58.3%	41.7%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	1	4	5
		% within What is your level of education?	20.0%	80.0%	100.0%
	Other	Count	4	2	6
		% within What is your level of education?	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	69	30	99	
	% within What is your level of education?	69.7%	30.3%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	7.940 ^a	4	.094

Table 4.92 is showing that people with the degrees like masters, bachelor, and high school are more interested in the field of journalism as a hobby all of them said that with a rate higher than 50%, on the other hand participants with PHD said that they choose this field in order to get a good amount of money the rate that they choose was 80.0%

Table 4.93: Distribution of answer by age to question 22
Crosstab

			Q22		Total
			Hobby	You can get good money	
Select your age group?	18-23	Count	6	1	7
		% within Select your age group?	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
	24-29	Count	28	11	39
		% within Select your age group?	71.8%	28.2%	100.0%
	30-34	Count	26	5	31
		% within Select your age group?	83.9%	16.1%	100.0%
	35-39	Count	6	11	17
		% within Select your age group?	35.3%	64.7%	100.0%
	40- or	Count	3	2	5

	above	% within Select your age group?	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
Total		Count		30	99
		% within Select your age group?		30.3%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	13.630 ^a	4	.009

Table 4.93 is showing the difference in the interest between the ages, participants with age group 18-23 said that they are interested in the field of journalism as a hobby with a rate of 85.7%, while the participants with the age group 35-39 said that they were interested in this field because they can get a good money with a rate of 64.7%, the reason could be that the people with the younger age group are excited about this field because they are new, their ideas might change with the flow of time.

Table 4.94: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 22

Crosstab

			Q22		Total
			Hobby	You can get good money	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication ?	Yes	Count % within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	19 70.4%	8 29.6%	27 100.0%
	No	Count % within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	50 69.4%	22 30.6%	72 100.0%
Total		Count % within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	69 69.7%	30 30.3%	99 100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.008 ^a	1	.929		568

Table 4.94 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Q23: Can citizens directly and freely contact journalists, with no government controls or monitoring, especially in order to provide information?

Table 4.95: Distributions of answers to question 23

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	74	74.7
	No	20	20.2
	Sometimes	5	5.1
	Total	99	100.0

74.7% of participant thinks that citizens can directly and freely contact journalists, with no government controls or monitoring, especially in order to provide information. But 20.2% of them said that the citizens couldn't contact the journalists without permission from the government, and only 5.1% of participants they believe that sometime citizens can directly and freely contact journalists. So the result shows that majority of journalists agreed with the statement that citizen directly and freely contact to journalists, because it has nothing to do with the government, the people are free to do what they want whether to talk to journalists or not.

Table 4.96: Distributions of answers by gender to question 23
Crosstab

			Q23			Total
			Yes	No	Sometime	
Gender?	Male	Count	51	12	5	68
		% Within Gender?	75.0%	17.6%	7.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count	23	8	0	31
		% Within Gender?	74.2%	25.8%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	74	20	5	99
		% Within Gender?	74.7%	20.2%	5.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.983 ^a	2	.225

Table 4.96 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.97: Distributions of answers by level of education to question 23
Crosstab

			Q23			Total
			Yes	No	Sometime	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count % within What is your level of education?	11 55.0%	8 40.0%	1 5.0%	20 100.0%
	Bachelor	Count % within What is your level of education?	46 82.1%	6 10.7%	4 7.1%	56 100.0%
	Master	Count % within What is your level of education?	7 58.3%	5 41.7%	0 0.0%	12 100.0%
	PHD	Count % within What is your level of education?	5 100.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	5 100.0%
	Other	Count % within What is your level of education?	5 83.3%	1 16.7%	0 0.0%	6 100.0%
	Total	Count % within What is your level of education?	74 74.7%	20 20.2%	5 5.1%	99 100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	14.178 ^a	8	.077

Table 4.97 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference, all of the participants are agreeing on this idea with a total rate of 74.7%.

Table 4.98: Distribution of answer by age to question 23
Crosstab

			Q23			Total
			Yes	No	Sometime	
Select your age group?	18-23	Count % within Select your age group?	4 57.1%	2 28.6%	1 14.3%	7 100.0%
	24-29	Count % within Select your age group?	28 71.8%	10 25.6%	1 2.6%	39 100.0%
	30-34	Count	25	4	2	31

	% within Select your age group?	80.6%	12.9%	6.5%	100.0%
35-39	Count	12	4	1	17
	% within Select your age group?	70.6%	23.5%	5.9%	100.0%
40- or above	Count	5	0	0	5
	% within Select your age group?	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	20	5	99	
	% within Select your age group?	20.2%	5.1%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	5.736 ^a	8	.677

Table 4.98 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.99: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 23

Crosstab

		Q23			Total
		Yes	No	Sometime	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Count	19	5	3	27
	Yes % within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	70.4%	18.5%	11.1%	100.0%
	Count	55	15	2	72
	No % within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	76.4%	20.8%	2.8%	100.0%
Total	Count	74	20	5	99
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	74.7%	20.2%	5.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.847 ^a	2	.241

Table 4.99 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Q 24: do you rate press jobs in Kurdistan region as free?

Table 4.100: Distributions of answers to question 24

		Frequency	Percent
Yes		39	39.4
No		49	49.5
Valid	Sometime	9	9.1
	I don't know	2	2.0
Total		99	100.0

39.4% of participants rate press jobs in Kurdistan region as a free, but 49.5% of them said that freedom of press does not exist, 9.1% of them believe that it is free but sometimes not always, and 2% of them undecided. According to the survey results almost half of journalists do not rate press jobs as a free work that you can have all the freedom you want in Kurdistan region. The reason could be the policy of organizations, which is not giving them enough right in order to write what ever they want.

Table 4.101: Distributions of answers by gender to question 24
Crosstab

			Q24				Total
			Yes	No	Sometime	I don't know	
Gender?	Male	Count	26	33	7	2	68
		% Within Gender?	38.2%	48.5%	10.3%	2.9%	100.0%
	Female	Count	13	16	2	0	31
		% Within Gender?	41.9%	51.6%	6.5%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	39	49	9	2	99
		% Within Gender?	39.4%	49.5%	9.1%	2.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	1.372 ^a	3	.712

Table 4.101 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.102: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 24
Crosstab

			Q24				Total
			Yes	No	Sometime	I don't know	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	9	10	1	0	20
		% within What is your level of education?	45.0%	50.0%	5.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	21	26	7	2	56
		% within What is your level of education?	37.5%	46.4%	12.5%	3.6%	100.0%
	Master	Count	5	6	1	0	12
		% within What is your level of education?	41.7%	50.0%	8.3%	0.0%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	3	2	0	0	5
		% within What is your level of education?	60.0%	40.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Other	Count	1	5	0	0	6
		% within What is your level of education?	16.7%	83.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	39	49	9	2	99	
	% within What is your level of education?	39.4%	49.5%	9.1%	2.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	6.766 ^a	12	.873

Table 4.102 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.103 shows that there is a difference in points of view of participants of two different age groups because participants of age 40 or above are agreeing on this idea by a rate 100%, while participants with age groups 35-39 are disagreeing on this idea by a rate of 58.8%, the reason might be that the journalists with older age group are comparing the situation of the journalists today with the situation of the journalists in the past years, and they think that the work of the journalists nowadays is safer that it

used to be in the past years.

Table 4.103: Distribution of answer by age to question 24
Crosstab

		Q24				Total	
		Yes	No	Sometime	I don't know		
Select your age group?	18-23	Count	3	4	0	0	7
		% within Select your age group?	42.9%	57.1%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	24-29	Count	14	20	4	1	39
		% within Select your age group?	35.9%	51.3%	10.3%	2.6%	100.0%
	30-34	Count	10	15	5	1	31
		% within Select your age group?	32.3%	48.4%	16.1%	3.2%	100.0%
	35-39	Count	7	10	0	0	17
		% within Select your age group?	41.2%	58.8%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	40- or above	Count	5	0	0	0	5
		% within Select your age group?	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Total	Count		49	9	2	99
		% within Select your age group?		49.5%	9.1%	2.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	13.358 ^a	12	.344

Table 4.104: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 24

Crosstab

		Q24				Total	
		Yes	No	Sometime	I don't know		
Do you have any degree in Media and communication ?	Yes	Count	10	12	5	0	27
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	37.0%	44.4%	18.5%	0.0%	100.0%
	No	Count	29	37	4	2	72
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	40.3%	51.4%	5.6%	2.8%	100.0%
	Total	Count	39	49	9	2	99
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	39.4%	49.5%	9.1%	2.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	4.623 ^a	3	.202

Table 4.104 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically

there is not any remarkable difference.

Q25: Do you think that your organizations Policies affect journalists; they cannot write whatever they want?

Table 4.105: Distributions of answers to question 25

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	54	54.5
	No	31	31.3
	Sometime	14	14.1
	Total	99	100.0

54.4% of participants believe that Policies that is made by organizations affect journalist's freedom; they cannot write whatever they want. But 31.3% of them disagree, and 14.1% of them think that sometimes the policies that are set by the press organizations in order to control the journalists affects on their articles which they write; they cannot write whatever they want.

Table 4.106: Distribution of answer by gender to question 25
Crosstab

		Q25			Total	
		Yes	No	Sometime		
Gender?	Male	Count	38	18	12	68
	% Within Gender?		55.9%	26.5%	17.6%	100.0%
Female	Count	16	13	2	31	
	% Within Gender?		51.6%	41.9%	6.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	54	31	14	99	
	% Within Gender?		54.5%	31.3%	14.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	3.585 ^a	2	.167

In the Table 4.106, we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that

statically there is not any remarkable difference. So both gender group were with the same idea. Almost half of male and female journalists answered by ‘yes’ with this question.

Table 4.107: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 25
Crosstab

			Q25			Total
			Yes	No	Sometime	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	12	7	1	20
		% within What is your level of education?	60.0%	35.0%	5.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	29	20	7	56
		% within What is your level of education?	51.8%	35.7%	12.5%	100.0%
	Master	Count	4	3	5	12
		% within What is your level of education?	33.3%	25.0%	41.7%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	4	0	1	5
		% within What is your level of education?	80.0%	0.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Other	Count	5	1	0	6
		% within What is your level of education?	83.3%	16.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	54	31	14	99
		% within What is your level of education?	54.5%	31.3%	14.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	13.933 ^a	8	.084

Table 4.107 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference, all of the participants are agreeing on this issue with a total rate of 54.5%.

Table 4.108: Distribution of answer by age to question 25
Crosstab

			Q25			Total
			Yes	No	Sometime	
Select your age group?	18-23	Count	2	4	1	7
		% within Select your age group?	28.6%	57.1%	14.3%	100.0%
	24-29	Count	24	12	3	39

	% within Select your age group?	61.5%	30.8%	7.7%	100.0%
30-34	Count	17	8	6	31
	% within Select your age group?	54.8%	25.8%	19.4%	100.0%
35-39	Count	9	5	3	17
	% within Select your age group?	52.9%	29.4%	17.6%	100.0%
40- or above	Count	2	2	1	5
	% within Select your age group?	40.0%	40.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		31	14	99
	% within Select your age group?		31.3%	14.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	5.365 ^a	8	.718

Table 4.108 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is remarkable difference.

Table 4.109: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 25

Crosstab

		Q25			Total
		Yes	No	Sometime	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication ?	Yes	Count 13	Count 9	Count 5	Count 27
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	48.1%	33.3%	18.5%	100.0%
No	Count	41	22	9	72
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	56.9%	30.6%	12.5%	100.0%
Total	Count	54	31	14	99
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	54.5%	31.3%	14.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.830 ^a	2	.660

Table 4.109 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Q26: Journalists who are working for independent press face many challenges.

Table 4.110: Distributions of answers to question 26

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Strongly Agree	33	33.3
Agree	43	43.4
Undecided	21	21.2
Disagree	1	1.0
Strongly disagree	1	1.0
Total	99	100.0

In respect with in this question, 33.3% of participants strongly agreed with this statement that Journalists who are working for independent press face many challenges, also 43.4% of them agreed, 21.2% of them undecided, while 1% of them disagreed and only 1% of the participants Strongly disagreed. Majority of participants 76.7% agreed with the statement, the reason could be that the independent journalists are criticizing more, and they criticize the government, and the people who are working in the government give them many obstacles in order that they will not be able to do their job properly.

Table 4.111: Distribution of answer by gender to question 26

Crosstab

		Q26					Total	
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree		
Gender?	Male	Count	24	25	17	1	1	68
	% within Gender?		35.3%	36.8%	25.0%	1.5%	1.5%	100.0%
Female	Count	9	18	4	0	0	31	
	% within Gender?		29.0%	58.1%	12.9%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	33	43	21	1	1	99	
	% within Gender?		33.3%	43.4%	21.2%	1.0%	1.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	4.855 ^a	4	.302

Table 4.111 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Table 4.112: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 26
Crosstab

		Q26					Total
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
High school	Count	11	7	2	0	0	20
	% Within What is your level of education?	55.0%	35.0%	10.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Bachelor	Count	17	27	12	0	0	56
	% within What is your level of education?	30.4%	48.2%	21.4%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Master	Count	4	3	3	1	1	12
	% within What is your level of education?	33.3%	25.0%	25.0%	8.3%	8.3%	100.0%
PHD	Count	1	1	3	0	0	5
	% within What is your level of education?	20.0%	20.0%	60.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Other	Count	0	5	1	0	0	6
	% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	83.3%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	33	43	21	1	1	99
	% within What is your level of education?	33.3%	43.4%	21.2%	1.0%	1.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	28.997 ^a	16	.024

Table 4.112 is not showing any significant difference because all of the participants with different level of education are agreeing on this issue with a total rate of 76.7%.

Table 4.113: Distribution of answer by age to question 26
Crosstab

		Q26					Total
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Select your age group 18-23	Count	2	2	3	0	0	7
	% within Select your age group?	28.6%	28.6%	42.9%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
group 24-29	Count	17	20	2	0	0	39

?	% within Select your age group?	43.6%	51.3%	5.1%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count	6	14	9	1	1	31
30-34	% within Select your age group?	19.4%	45.2%	29.0%	3.2%	3.2%	100.0%
	Count	6	6	5	0	0	17
35-39	% within Select your age group?	35.3%	35.3%	29.4%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count	2	1	2	0	0	5
40- or above	% within Select your age group?	40.0%	20.0%	40.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count		43	21	1	1	99
Total	% within Select your age group?		43.4%	21.2%	1.0%	1.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	17.958 ^a	16	.326

Table 4.113 tells us statistically there is no significant difference.

Table 4.114: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 26
Crosstab

		Q26					Total
		Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 7	10	9	0	1	27
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	25.9%	37.0%	33.3%	0.0%	3.7%	100.0%
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	No	Count 26	33	12	1	0	72
	% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	36.1%	45.8%	16.7%	1.4%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count 33	43	21	1	1	99
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	33.3%	43.4%	21.2%	1.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	6.574 ^a	4	.160

Table 4.114 is not showing any significant difference because all of the participants

who have degrees or the ones that do not have any degrees in communication are agreeing on this issue with a total rate of 76.7%.

Q 27: Who's the gatekeeper in the press organizations of Kurdistan region of Iraq?

Table 4115: Distributions of answers to question 27

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Government	17	17.2
	Editors	15	15.2
	Media Owners	24	24.2
	Political parties	43	43.4
	Total	99	100.0

These chart shows that 43.4% of participants believed that, Political parties are the gatekeepers of the press organizations in Kurdistan region, 24,2% of them think that media owners are the gatekeepers, editors were chosen by 15.2% of participants and 17.2% of participants believed that government is the gatekeeper. Almost half of journalists who participated this survey believe that political parties are gatekeepers in Kurdistan region because each party has its own newspaper, magazine, radio and TV. One of the biggest problems that the journalists in Kurdistan are suffering from is the interruption of political parties, which is affecting on their freedom and their rights, because the political parties want to control what is going to be published in the next no of the news paper, they want to seize everything in their favor.

Table 4.116: Distribution of answer by gender to question 27
Crosstab

		Q27				Total	
		Government	Editors	Media Owners	Political parties		
Gender?	Male	Count	8	11	14	35	68
		% Within Gender?	11.8%	16.2%	20.6%	51.5%	100.0%
	Female	Count	9	4	10	8	31
		% Within Gender?	29.0%	12.9%	32.3%	25.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	17	15	24	43	99
		% Within Gender?	17.2%	15.2%	24.2%	43.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	8.273 ^a	3	.041

Table 4.116 is giving us a clear idea about the difference of thoughts between male and female participants because male participants are saying that the gatekeepers in Kurdistan region are the political parties with a rate of 51.5%, while female participants are saying that the gatekeepers in Kurdistan region are the media owners with a rate of 32.3%.

Table 4.117: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 27
Crosstab

		Q27				Total	
		Government	Editors	Media Owners	Political parties		
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	2	3	6	9	20
		% within What is your level of education?	10.0%	15.0%	30.0%	45.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	9	8	13	26	56
		% within What is your level of education?	16.1%	14.3%	23.2%	46.4%	100.0%
	Master	Count	3	1	5	3	12
		% within What is your level of education?	25.0%	8.3%	41.7%	25.0%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	3	1	0	1	5
		% within What is your level of education?	60.0%	20.0%	0.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Other	Count	0	2	0	4	6
		% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	33.3%	0.0%	66.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	17	15	24	43	99
		% within What is your level of education?	17.2%	15.2%	24.2%	43.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	16.132 ^a	12	.185

Table 4.117 is showing the difference between the two different educational groups the participants with the PhD degree are claiming that the government is the gatekeeper of the press organizations of Kurdistan region with a rate of 60%, while participants with other degrees are claiming that the political parties are the gatekeepers of press organizations in Kurdistan region with a rate of 66.7%.

Table 4.118: Distribution of answer by age to question 27
Crosstab

		Q27				Total
		Government	Editors	Media Owners	Political parties	
18-23	Count	0	2	0	5	7
	% within Select your age group?	0.0%	28.6%	0.0%	71.4%	100.0%
24-29	Count	7	4	13	15	39
	% within Select your age group?	17.9%	10.3%	33.3%	38.5%	100.0%
30-34	Count	4	6	5	16	31
	% within Select your age group?	12.9%	19.4%	16.1%	51.6%	100.0%
35-39	Count	4	2	6	5	17
	% within Select your age group?	23.5%	11.8%	35.3%	29.4%	100.0%
40- or above	Count	2	1	0	2	5
	% within Select your age group?	40.0%	20.0%	0.0%	40.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		15	24	43	99
	% within Select your age group?		15.2%	24.2%	43.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	14.161 ^a	12	.291

Table 118 is not showing any significant difference almost all the age groups gave

their testimonial in favor of the political parties except participants with ages between 35-39 are saying that media owners are the gatekeepers in Kurdistan region.

Table 4.119: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 27

Crosstab

			Q27				Total
			Government	Editors	Media Owners	Political parties	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count % within	6 22.2%	4 14.8%	4 14.8%	13 48.1%	27 100.0%
	No	Count % within	11 15.3%	11 15.3%	20 27.8%	30 41.7%	72 100.0%
Total		Count % within	17 17.2%	15 15.2%	24 24.2%	43 43.4%	99 100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.105 ^a	3	.551

Table 119 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Q28: Is the practice of journalism discouraged for any of the following reasons:

Nationality

Table 4.120: Distributions of answers to question 28

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	42	42.4
	No	57	57.6
	Total	99	100.0

42.2% of participants think that nationality is prohibited to talk about in the field of journalism, but 57.6% of them don't think so. There are many nationalities other than Kurds in Kurdistan like Arabs, Turkmen, and other western people like English, Russian, American...etc. but majority of the journalists are claiming that talking about the nationalities are not prohibited, but of course there are some nationalities who are not in a good relationship with others, so they have to be careful about what they write, in order not to anger each other.

Table 4.121: Distribution of answer by gender to question 28
Crosstab

		28		Total	
		Yes	No		
Gender?	Male	Count	29	39	68
		% within Gender?	42.6%	57.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count	13	18	31
		% within Gender?	41.9%	58.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	42	57	99
		% within Gender?	42.4%	57.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.004 ^a	1	.947	562

Table 4.121 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference, both genders of the participants are declining that issue, with a rate of 57.6% of total voices.

Table 4.122: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 28
Crosstab

		Q28		Total	
		Yes	No		
What is your level of education ?	High school	Count	10	10	20
		% within What is your level of education?	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	17	39	56
		% within What is your level of education?	30.4%	69.6%	100.0%
	Master	Count	8	4	12
		% within What is your level of education?	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%

PHD	Count	3	2	5
	% within What is your level of education?	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
Other	Count	4	2	6
	% within What is your level of education?	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
Total	Count	42	57	99
	% within What is your level of education?	42.4%	57.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	8.771 ^a	4	.067

Table 4.122 is showing the difference between the participants with bachelor degree who are saying that the journalism is not discouraged by the nationality with a rate of 69.6%, and the participants with master's degree who are saying that journalism is discouraged by the nationality with a rate of 66.7%.

Table 4.123: Distribution of answer by age to question 28
Crosstab

		Q28		Total	
		Yes	No		
Select your age group?	18-23	Count	4	3	7
		% within Select your age group?	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%
	24-29	Count	9	30	39
		% within Select your age group?	23.1%	76.9%	100.0%
	30-34	Count	14	17	31
		% within Select your age group?	45.2%	54.8%	100.0%
	35-39	Count	11	6	17
		% within Select your age group?	64.7%	35.3%	100.0%
	40- or above	Count	4	1	5
		% within Select your age group?	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	57	99		
	% within Select your age group?	57.6%	100.0%		

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	13.038 ^a	4	.011

Table 4.123 is showing the difference between journalists with age group 24-29 who are saying that nationality does not have effect on journalism with a rate of 76.9%,

and the journalists with the 40 or above is saying that journalism is discouraged by the nationality with a rate of 80.0%.

Table 4.124: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 28

Crosstab

				Q28		Total
				Yes	No	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count	Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	12	15	27
		% within		44.4%	55.6%	100.0%
Total	No	Count	Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	30	42	72
		% within		41.7%	58.3%	100.0%
Total				42	57	99
				42.4%	57.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.062 ^a	1	.803	490

Table 4.124 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference.

Q29: Is the practice of journalism discouraged for any of the following reasons:
Government

Table 4.125: Distributions of answers to question 29

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	40	40.4
	No	59	59.6
	Total	99	100.0

40.4% of participants think that talking about the Government is prohibited in the field of journalism, but 59.6% of them don't think so, because nowadays the

government is not blocking the way of journalists, and as I mentioned before there are some individuals who are part of the government and they don't like some journalists but other than that there is not any kind of objection from the government side if the journalist talked about them.

Table 4.126: Distribution of answer by gender to question 29
Crosstab

			Q29		Total
			Yes	No	
Gender?	Male	Count	29	39	68
		% within Gender?	42.6%	57.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count	11	20	31
		% within Gender?	35.5%	64.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	40	59	99
		% within Gender?	40.4%	59.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.454 ^a	1	.501	327

Table 4.126 is not showing any salient difference, all of the participants including males and females are denying the discouragement of the government on the field of journalism with a rate of 59.6%.

Also Table 4.127 is not showing any significant difference, all the participants with different educational levels are against this issue with a rate of 59.6%

Table 4.127: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 29
Crosstab

			Q29		Total
			Yes	No	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	9	11	20
		% within What is your level of education?	45.0%	55.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	21	35	56
		% within What is your level of education?	37.5%	62.5%	100.0%
	Master	Count	4	8	12
		% within What is your level of education?	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%

PHD	Count	4	1	5
	% within What is your level of education?	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Other	Count	2	4	6
	% within What is your level of education?	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	40	59	99
	% within What is your level of education?	40.4%	59.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	4.001 ^a	4	.406

Table 4.128: Distribution of answer by age to question 29
Crosstab

			Q29		Total
			Yes	No	
Select your age group?	18-23	Count	2	5	7
		% within Select your age group?	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%
	24-29	Count	15	24	39
		% within Select your age group?	38.5%	61.5%	100.0%
	30-34	Count	7	24	31
		% within Select your age group?	22.6%	77.4%	100.0%
	35-39	Count	11	6	17
		% within Select your age group?	64.7%	35.3%	100.0%
	40- or above	Count	5	0	5
		% within Select your age group?	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		59	99	
	% within Select your age group?		59.6%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	16.102 ^a	4	.003

Table 4.128 is showing a difference in opinion between two age groups; participants with age group are denying this idea by a rate of 77.4%, also 71.4 % of those journalists who their age were between 18-23 with the same idea, while participants with age group 40 or above are supporting this idea with a surprising rate, which is 100%.

Table 4.129: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 29

Crosstab

				Q29		Total
				Yes	No	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication ?	Yes	% within	Count	10	17	27
			Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	37.0%	63.0%	100.0%
	No	% within	Count	30	42	72
			Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	41.7%	58.3%	100.0%
Total		% within	Count	40	59	99
			Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	40.4%	59.6%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.175 ^a	1	.676	428

Table 4.129 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Q30: Is the practice of journalism discouraged for any of the following reasons:

Religion

Table 4.130: Distributions of answers to question 30

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	61	61.6
	No	38	38.4
Total		99	100.0

61.6% of participants think that Religion is not a good topic to talk about in the field of journalism, but 38.4% of the participants claimed that it is normal to talk about religion, and as I mentioned before there is a law that is not allowing the journalists to insult or disrespect the religions because in Kurdistan everyone is living together, the government does not want to ruin the peace that exist between the religion.

Table 4.131: Distribution of answer by gender to question 30
Crosstab

			Q30		Total
			Yes	No	
Gender?	Male	Count	40	28	68
		% within Gender?	58.8%	41.2%	100.0%
	Female	Count	21	10	31
		% within Gender?	67.7%	32.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	61	38	99
		% within Gender?	61.6%	38.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.716 ^a	1	.397	268

Table 4.131 is not giving any significant differences, majority of the participants are saying that religion is discouraging the field of journalism with a total rate of 61.6%.

Table 4.132: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 30
Crosstab

			Q30		Total
			Yes	No	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	14	6	20
		% within What is your level of education?	70.0%	30.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	36	20	56
		% within What is your level of education?	64.3%	35.7%	100.0%
	Master	Count	8	4	12
		% within What is your level of education?	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	0	5	5
		% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Total	Other	Count	3	3	6
		% within What is your level of education?	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		Count	61	38	99
		% within What is your level of education?	61.6%	38.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	9.261 ^a	4	.055

Table 4.132 shows that the participants with different educational levels are all agreeing on this issue that the religion is discouraging the field of journalism 61.6%,

but as you can see people with PhD is disagreeing with the other educational levels they are against this issue and saying that religion is not discouraging the journalism with a rate of 100%.

Table 4.133: Distribution of answer by age to question 30
Crosstab

			Q30		Total
			Yes	No	
Select your age group?	18-23	Count	4	3	7
		% within Select your age group?	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%
	24-29	Count	28	11	39
		% within Select your age group?	71.8%	28.2%	100.0%
	30-34	Count	19	12	31
		% within Select your age group?	61.3%	38.7%	100.0%
	35-39	Count	8	9	17
		% within Select your age group?	47.1%	52.9%	100.0%
	40- or above	Count	2	3	5
		% within Select your age group?	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
Total	Count		38	99	
	% within Select your age group?		38.4%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	4.280 ^a	4	.369

Table 4.133 is showing no significant difference the majority of the participants are agreeing on this issue with a total rate of 61.6%, but the participants 40 or above are saying that religion does not affecting or discourages the field of journalism with a rate of 60.0%.

Table 4.134: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 30

Crosstab

			Q30		Total
			Yes	No	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count	13	14	27
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	48.1%	51.9%	100.0%
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	No	Count	48	24	72
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?			

n?	% within	Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
		Count	61	38	99
Total	% within	Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	61.6%	38.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.847 ^a	1	.092	.074

Table 4.134 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is a significant difference between participants who degree in communication and participants who don't, the participants who have degree in communication are against this idea by 51.9%, while participants who don't have degree in communication are with this idea by 66.7%.

Q31: Is the practice of journalism discouraged for any of the following reasons:

Gender

Table 4.135: distributions of answers to question 31

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	32	32.3
	No	67	67.7
	Total	99	100.0

32.3% of participants think that gender is prohibited in the field of journalism, but 67.7% of them did not think the same, and they said that it's a not something bad and that is due to the cultural development. But there are some Islamic journals that does not permit to publish articulated about gender and that is because of the policies they have which is set by the Islamic political parties in Kurdistan.

Table 4.136: Distribution of answer by gender to question 31
Crosstab

			Q31		Total
			Yes	No	
Gender?	Male	Count	22	46	68
		% within Gender?	32.4%	67.6%	100.0%
	Female	Count	10	21	31
		% within Gender?	32.3%	67.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	32	67	99
		% within Gender?	32.3%	67.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.000 ^a	1	.993	.592

Table 4.136 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference, both genders are against the idea, that journalism is discouraged by gender by a total rate of 67.7%.

Table 4.137: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 31
Crosstab

			Q31		Total
			Yes	No	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	8	12	20
		% within What is your level of education?	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	14	42	56
		% within What is your level of education?	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
	Master	Count	5	7	12
		% within What is your level of education?	41.7%	58.3%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	2	3	5
		% within What is your level of education?	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
Total	Other	Count	3	3	6
		% within What is your level of education?	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		Count	32	67	99
		% within What is your level of education?	32.3%	67.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	3.382 ^a	4	.496

Table 4.137 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically

there is not any remarkable difference. The majority of the participants with different educational degrees are against this idea with a total rate of 67.7%.

Table 4.138: Distribution of answer by age to question 31
Crosstab

			Q31		Total
			Yes	No	
Select your age group?	18-23	Count	3	4	7
		% within Select your age group?	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
	24-29	Count	14	25	39
		% within Select your age group?	35.9%	64.1%	100.0%
	30-34	Count	7	24	31
		% within Select your age group?	22.6%	77.4%	100.0%
	35-39	Count	6	11	17
		% within Select your age group?	35.3%	64.7%	100.0%
	40- or above	Count	2	3	5
		% within Select your age group?	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
	Total	Count		67	99
		% within Select your age group?		67.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.131 ^a	4	.712

Table 4.138 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference. Again the majority of the participants with different age groups are against this idea with a total rate of 67.7%.

Table 4.139: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 31

Crosstab

				Q31		Total
				Yes	No	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count	9	18	27	
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	No	Count	23	49	72	
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	31.9%	68.1%	100.0%	
Total		Count	32	67	99	
		% within Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	32.3%	67.7%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.017 ^a	1	.895	.538

Table 4.139 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Q32: Have you ever written a report where the press organization hasn't allowed it to be published?

Table 4.140: Distributions of answers to question 32

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	56	56.6
	No	43	43.4
	Total	99	100.0

56.6% of participants wrote a report which the press organization haven't allowed the articles to be published, but 43.4% of them did not face this kind of challenges, in Kurdistan region of Iraq, most of magazines and newspapers are owned by government, political parties and there are some intendant newspapers. The independent newspapers can criticize the government, due to the fact that some rules have been set which allows publishing these kind of reports, that criticizes the government. According to the section one of article seven in chapter four of the law of journalism in Kurdistan “ the journalists are independent and have no authority in the performance of their professionalism other than the law”

Table 4.141: Distribution of answer by gender to question 32
Crosstab

			Q32		Total
			Yes	No	
Gender?	Male	Count	51	17	68
		% within Gender?	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	Female	Count	5	26	31
		% within Gender?	16.1%	83.9%	100.0%
Total	Count	56	43	99	
	% within Gender?	56.6%	43.4%	100.0%	

. Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	30.037 ^a	1	.000	.000

Table 4.141 shows that there is statistically significant different between male and female on the statement that; have you ever written a report where the press organization hasn't allowed it to be published (75%) of male participants faced this kind of challenges and (83.9%) of female in a favor of no with this statement. The reason could be female journalists do not prefer the political issues and they do not criticize government.

Table 4.142: Distribution of answer by level of education question 32
Crosstab

			Q32		Total
			Yes	No	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	11	9	20
		% within What is your level of education?	55.0%	45.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	32	24	56
		% within What is your level of education?	57.1%	42.9%	100.0%
	Master	Count	7	5	12
		% within What is your level of education?	58.3%	41.7%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	3	2	5
		% within What is your level of education?	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	Other	Count	3	3	6
		% within What is your level of education?	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	56	43	99	
	% within What is your level of education?	56.6%	43.4%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.172 ^a	4	.997

Table 4.142 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any remarkable difference.

Table 4.143: Distribution of answer by age to question 32
Crosstab

			Q32		Total
			Yes	No	
Select your age group?	18-23	Count	3	4	7
		% within Select your age group?	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
	24-29	Count	21	18	39
		% within Select your age group?	53.8%	46.2%	100.0%
	30-34	Count	17	14	31
		% within Select your age group?	54.8%	45.2%	100.0%
	35-39	Count	11	6	17
		% within Select your age group?	64.7%	35.3%	100.0%
	40- or above	Count	4	1	5
		% within Select your age group?	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%
	Total	Count		43	99
		% within Select your age group?		43.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.267 ^a	4	.687

Table 4.143 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference, majority of the age groups tend to have some problems with publishing their reports with a total rate of 56.6%, but we can see from the table that 57.1% of the participants who their ages are between 18-23 did not have this problem.

Table 4.144: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 32

Crosstab

			Q32		Total
			Yes	No	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 21 77.8%	Count 6 22.2%	27	100.0%
	No	Count 35 48.6%	Count 37 51.4%	72	100.0%
Total		Count 56 56.6%	Count 43 43.4%	99	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	6.799 ^a	1	.009	.008

Table 4.144 tell us there is a Statistically significant difference between who have degree in communication and who have not, on the statement that, have you ever written a report where the press organization hasn't allowed it to be published? According to the survey results these journalists who have degree in communication that makes a rate of (77.8%). The reason could be that the journalists who have degree in communication are looking for the facts more than journalists who do not have degree in communication.

Q33: As a journalist, have you ever been violated in Kurdistan covering the press?

Table 4.145: Distributions of answers to question 33

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	45	45.5
	No	54	54.5
	Total	99	100.0

45.5% of the participants said that their rights have been violated, in Kurdistan region of Iraq, but 54.5% of them said that their rights have not been violated. Attacking journalists is strongly rejected by the law, and it is against the rights of journalism. According to the section five of article seven in chapter four of the law of journalism in Kurdistan region “any persons that insult or attack journalists because of their duty are punishable by sanctions such as for those who violated civil servants performing their duties”. According to the statistics of the total cases of violation of journalist’s rights: 75 journalist’s rights have been violated in 2013.

Table 4.146: Distribution of answer by gender to question 33
Crosstab

			Q33		Total
			Yes	No	
Gender?	Male	Count	31	37	68
		% within Gender?	45.6%	54.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count	14	17	31
		% within Gender?	45.2%	54.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	45	54	99
		% within Gender?	45.5%	54.5%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	.002 ^a	1	.968	.572

Table 4.146 tell us statistically there is no significant difference between participants with both genders (male/female), both of the genders are saying that they haven’t been violated by a total rate of 54.5%.

Table 4.147: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 33
Crosstab

			Q33		Total
			Yes	No	
What is your level of education?	High school	Count	12	8	20
		% within What is your level of education?	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%

	Count	23	33	56
Bachelor	% within What is your level of education?	41.1%	58.9%	100.0%
	Count	3	9	12
Master	% within What is your level of education?	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
	Count	3	2	5
PHD	% within What is your level of education?	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
	Count	4	2	6
Other	% within What is your level of education?	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Count	45	54	99
Total	% within What is your level of education?	45.5%	54.5%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	5.681 ^a	4	.224

Table 4.147 is showing a salient difference between other degrees which is 66.7% who say yes, and masters degree which is 25.0% who also say yes, the reason could be that the people who have other degrees are working in the field, so they are in continuous contact with the people and police and other security forces and the participants who have masters degree are working in the office.

Table 4.148: Distribution of answer by age to question 33
Crosstab

		Q33		Total
		Yes	No	
	Count	3	4	7
18-23	% within Select your age group?	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
	Count	18	21	39
24-29	% within Select your age group?	46.2%	53.8%	100.0%
	Count	16	15	31
30-34	% within Select your age group?	51.6%	48.4%	100.0%
	Count	6	11	17
35-39	% within Select your age group?	35.3%	64.7%	100.0%
	Count	2	3	5
40- or above	% within Select your age group?	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
	Count		54	99
Total	% within Select your age group?		54.5%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	1.269 ^a	4	.867

Table 4.148 we can conclude from what we have seen from this table that statically there is not any significant difference, we observed that participants with different age groups are claiming that they haven't been violated with a total rate of 54.5%.

Table 4.149: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 33

Crosstab

		Q33		Total
		Yes	No	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Count	16	11	27
	Yes % within	59.3%	40.7%	100.0%
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Count	29	43	72
	No % within	40.3%	59.7%	100.0%
Total	Count	45	54	99
	% within	45.5%	54.5%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	2.854 ^a	1	.091	.72

Table 4.149 tell us there is a Statistically significant difference between who have degree in communication and who have not, on the statement that, as a journalist, have you ever been violated in Kurdistan covering the press? According to the survey results more than half of those journalists who have degree in communication that makes a rate of (59.3%) of participants are violated more than who do not have a degree in communication (40.5%). The reason could be that the journalists who have degree in communication are looking for the facts more than journalists who do not have degree in communication.

Q34: Journalists have been treated very badly in many cases, while covering news especially by security forces.

Table 4.150: Distributions of answers to question 34

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Strongly agree	33	33.3
Valid Agree	41	41.4
Valid Undecided	18	18.2
Valid Disagree	4	4.0
Valid Strongly disagree	3	3.0
Valid Total	99	100.0

41.4% of participants agreed that Journalists have been treated very badly in many cases, while covering the news especially by security forces like police and body guards, 33.3% of them strongly agreed, undecided by 18.2% of participants, 4% of them disagree, and only 3% of participants disagreed. The high rate of participants who whom their rights been violated which is approximately 74% shows that, security forces do not have enough awareness with the journalists or as we can say they don't have enough experience with treating journalists properly. They need to be trained in order to treat journalists professionally.

Table 4.151: Distribution of answer by gender to question 34

Crosstab

		Q34					Total	
		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree		
Gender?	Male	Count	26	21	15	3	3	68
		% within Gender?	38.2%	30.9%	22.1%	4.4%	4.4%	100.0%
	Female	Count	7	20	3	1	0	31
		% within Gender?	22.6%	64.5%	9.7%	3.2%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	33	41	18	4	3	99
		% within Gender?	33.3%	41.4%	18.2%	4.0%	3.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	10.619 ^a	4	.031

Table 4.151 we can conclude from what we have seen from table that there is not any significant difference in the statics. With a total rate of 74.7 %, the majority of both male and female journalists, agreed on the idea that journalists have been treated very badly in many cases, while covering news especially by security forces.

Table 4.152: Distribution of answer by level of education to question 34
Crosstab

		Q34					Total	
		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree		
What is your level of education ?	High school	Count	7	9	3	0	1	20
		% within What is your level of education?	35.0%	45.0%	15.0%	0.0%	5.0%	100.0%
	Bachelor	Count	19	21	10	4	2	56
		% within What is your level of education?	33.9%	37.5%	17.9%	7.1%	3.6%	100.0%
	Master	Count	4	4	4	0	0	12
		% within What is your level of education?	33.3%	33.3%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	PHD	Count	0	5	0	0	0	5
		% within What is your level of education?	0.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Other	Count	3	2	1	0	0	6
		% within What is your level of education?	50.0%	33.3%	16.7%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total	Count	33	41	18	4	3	99	
	% within What is your level of education?	33.3%	41.4%	18.2%	4.0%	3.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	13.511 ^a	16	.635

Table 4.152 shows that statistically there is no significant difference between levels

of education of participants. 100% of journalists who are in PHD level agree with the statement that Journalists have been treated very badly in many cases, while covering news especially by security forces.

Table 4.153: Distribution of answer by age to question 34
Crosstab

		Q34					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Select your age group?	Count	2	2	2	0	1	7
	18-23 % within Select your age group?	28.6%	28.6%	28.6%	0.0%	14.3%	100.0%
	Count	13	18	8	0	0	39
	24-29 % within Select your age group?	33.3%	46.2%	20.5%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Count	12	10	5	3	1	31
	30-34 % within Select your age group?	38.7%	32.3%	16.1%	9.7%	3.2%	100.0%
	Count	4	9	3	0	1	17
	35-39 % within Select your age group?	23.5%	52.9%	17.6%	0.0%	5.9%	100.0%
	40- or above % within Select your age group?	40.0%	40.0%	0.0%	20.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Total	Count		41	18	4	3
	% within Select your age group?		41.4%	18.2%	4.0%	3.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	16.910 ^a	16	.391

Table 4.153 shows that there is no statistically any significant difference between ages of participants the majority of the participants with different age groups are tending to agree with this case with a total rate of 74.7%.

Table 4.154: Distribution of answer by having degree in communication to question 34
Crosstab

		Q34					Total
		Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree	
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	Yes	Count 14	9	3	1	0	27
	% within	51.9%	33.3%	11.1%	3.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Do you have any degree in Media and communication?	No	Count 19	32	15	3	3	72
	% within	26.4%	44.4%	20.8%	4.2%	4.2%	100.0%
Total		Count 33	41	18	4	3	99
	% within	33.3%	41.4%	18.2%	4.0%	3.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Test

	Value	df	Significance
Pearson Chi-Square	6.561 ^a	4	.161

Table 4.34.4 tell us statistically there is no significant difference between who have degree in communication and who have not, on the statement that Journalists have been treated very badly in many cases, while covering news especially by security forces. According to the survey results we can see that those journalists who have degree in communication (85.1%) agree more than those who have no degree in communication (71.1%).

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION FOR FUTHER RESEARCH

The research questions and findings have been shortly evaluated in this final chapter. And also some suggestions for further research have been offered.

5.1 Summary

Firstly, an introduction was given to the concept of “freedom of press”. After that, the aim of the study was stated, which was to describe the situation of the freedom of the press in Iraqi Kurdistan Region. Conducting a study in that context was important because Kurdistan region is a new area as there used to be no independent press before 2000. 99 journalists from three cities in Kurdistan participated in this study. They covered three different groups: independent, political parties, and governmental press. The researcher focused on a number of constitution and international laws. While some countries support the freedom of press completely, others put some constraints and obstacles on the journalists, like Islamic Republic of Iran. However, while the constitution of Iraq and the law of journalism in Kurdistan guarantee the freedom of press, according to the results of the study, the majority of the journalists believe that freedom of press in the region does not represent the reality and that they don't feel free or safe. They also did not think that the constitution could guarantee their rights.

5.2 Research Questions

Six research questions have been employed for this study. The first question is

related to the participants' overall impressions whether the media and journalism were free in Kurdistan region of Iraq. In the questionnaire, we asked the journalists their opinion on freedom of the press. The results showed that almost half of the participants (49.5%) said "no" to this question and 39.4% said "yes". The results tell us that most journalists do not believe that the press is free in Kurdistan region.

In the second question, we asked them whether journalism in Kurdistan region of Iraq is developing. 78.8% of the participants believe that journalism in Kurdistan has improved recently. For instance, in the past 4 years, a number of new newspapers and magazines have begun publishing. This can be seen as a sign of development of journalism in this region.

In the third research question, we asked journalists' opinion on whether independent media exist in Kurdistan region of Iraq. Even though almost all editors of newspapers claim that they are independent, only 58.6% of the journalists participating in the survey declined to accept the existence of independent press in the region.

The fourth research question was about the challenges the journalists who worked for independent media faced while doing journalism. 77.7% of the journalists either agreed or strongly agreed. This tells us that, journalists working for the independent media are having difficulties in reaching information they need to write their stories, and they are under pressure from the government. The government usually prefers to give information to government controlled media. This is a universal problem for all authoritarian countries, and Kurdistan region of Iraq is no exception.

In the fifth research question, we asked journalists their opinion on whether Iraqi Constitution guarantees freedom of the press. According to the survey results, only 27.3% of journalists believed that the Constitution guaranteed the freedom of the press in Kurdistan region of Iraq. Even though it is clearly written in the Constitution, 67.7% of journalists think that the protection is not real, but only given lip service.

And the last research question was about whether the journalists participated in the survey faced violations against their rights while practicing journalism. According to the results, 45.5% of the journalists said that their rights have been violated, and sometimes they've been insulted, especially by the security forces as it appears in the table of the question 34. 74.7% of the participants agreed with the statement, "Journalists have been treated very badly in many cases by security forces while covering news".

5.3 Conclusion Drawn from The Study

The majority of journalists in Kurdistan region are males, and there is a small amount of female journalists. The number of male journalists is twice as the number of female journalists. It seems that journalism in Kurdistan region of Iraq is a male profession. Kurdish culture is highly dominated by males not giving enough opportunities for females to work as journalist. Journalism is seen in this region as male profession. And females do not prefer Media and communication faculty.

A high ratio of journalists is below the age of 35, which also shows that journalism is a young profession in the region. Journalism is becoming an attractive profession as

well. A high number of journalists have university degrees, and a small part has degrees in communication. According to the survey results, only 27.3% of the journalists have degrees in communication. The major reason is that there was no Faculty of Communication in the past. Communication faculties offering journalism degrees opened only a few years ago. In the near future, we expect more journalism graduates enter to the media.

According the survey results, it seems that there are gender differences on opinions about different aspects of journalism. Our interpretation for the possible reasons is that most female journalists work government-controlled media and they are not assigned to cover critical or sensitive stories. Male reporters who were working for independent media outlets seem the most critical ones.

Age also seems to affect the responses. Even though the majority of the journalists do not believe the existence of independent media in Kurdistan region of Iraq, young journalists under the age of 23 seem the most critical ones. They don't believe the existence of independent media at all.

In Kurdistan region, the political parties have the prime responsibility for almost all problems facing the independent press. They either directly or indirectly control the majority of the media outlets. The news agency is controlled by the government, and the news agency covers mostly the type of news stories favorable for the government. The agency is given privileged access to news events.

There seems to be self-censorship in practice for all journalists. Journalists cannot publish everything they want because of the possible consequences. They may

receive threats, lose their jobs, or even face physical attacks. In the recent years in Kurdistan region of Iraq, there've been many cases about the violations of journalistic freedom. Some journalists even were killed, or attacked. Some of those critical journalists under threat had to migrate to other countries in order to save their lives. But the most common violation against journalists comes from security forces. They treat journalists like ordinary citizens.

According to Kurdistan journalists law the journalists cannot be harmed and their rights cannot be violated for their opinions or for publishing information (paragraph 2). The results that we got from the conclusion was different from that have been expected, because journalists said that these rules that have stated that the freedom of press are just ink on paper and not applied in real life.

5.4 Recommendations for Further Research

This study is limited only with the survey, and the results are only generalizable for the participants to this quantitative study. I wanted to conduct in-depth interviews with the journalists as well, however, they were afraid to talk and refused giving interviews.

For further research, I recommend finding ways to conduct qualitative research, and get more intimate knowledge about what is really going on in journalism in Kurdistan region of Iraq. And also because of time limitation, I could not compare the results to similar countries or regions. This comparison could give us more objective knowledge where Kurdistan region stands. Measuring the level of freedom of the press in any country is not easy job to be done. One way was to ask the working journalists to self-evaluate themselves. Future researchers may find better

ways of evaluating the freedom of the press in Kurdistan region of Iraq. Also I recommend to researchers to do discourse analysis in order to see power relations between the Kurdish journalists and political parties.

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APPENDIX

Freedom of press in Iraqi Kurdistan

1. Gender?

- 1) Male 2) Female

(1) رەگەز؟

نێر مێ

2. Select your age group?

- 1) 18-23 2) 24-29 3) 30-34 4) 35-39 5) 40 or above

(2) تەمەن؟

(1) ٢٣ .. ١٨ (2) ٢٩ .. ٢٤ (3) ٣٤ .. ٣٠ (4) ٣٩ .. ٣٤ (5) ٤٠ .. زیاتر

3. What is your level of education?

- 1) High school 2) Bachelor 3) Master 4) PHD 5) other

(3) ناستی زانستیت؟

(1) نامادە (2) بەکالۆریۆس (3) ماستەر (4) دکتۆرا (5) هیتەر

4. Do you have any degree in Media and communication?

- 1) Yes 2) No

(4) هیچ بروانامەیکت هەیە لە بواری میدیا؟

بەڵێ نەخێر

5. In your region, do any of the following exist?

	Yes	No
5) Privately owned print press		
6) Privately owned television networks		
7) Privately owned News agency		

(5) لە هەرێمەکەت کام لەمانە ی خوارووه بونی هەیە؟

نەخێر	بەڵێ	
		(5) رۆژنامە ی چاپکراو بەخاوەنداریەتی کەرتی تاییبەت
		(6) تەلفەزیۆن بەخاوەنداریەتی کەرتی تاییبەت
		(7) نازانسی هەوای بەخاوەنداریەتی کەرتی تاییبەت

8. In covering news/ information to press outlets, which outlets given preference?

- 1) Independent press 2) government press 3) Foreign press 4) Political parties Presses

۸) ئەگەر ئاددىي روبرو ھەيئەت لە گەياندنى پەيماھەكان بۇ رۇژنامەكان كام لەمانە پېشەنگ دەيىت لە ۋەرگرتنى زانبار يەكان؟

- ۱) رۇژنامەى سەر بەخۇ ۲) رۇژنامەى ميرى ۳) رۇژنامەى بيانى ۴) رۇژنامەى حيزبى

9. How much do these factors prevent press organizations from publishing what they want?

9) Political factor	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
10) Religious factor	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%
11) Ethnic factor	10%	20%	30%	40%	50%	60%	70%	80%	90%	100%

۹) تا چ رادەيەك ئەم فاكترانە دەبنە ھۆكار لە بلاو نەيونەھى پەيماھە رۇژنامەوانەكان؟

۹) ھۆكارى سىياسى	%۱۰۰	%۹۰	%۸۰	%۷۰	%۶۰	%۵۰	%۴۰	%۳۰	%۲۰	%۱۰
۱۰) ھۆكارى ئايىنى	%۱۰۰	%۹۰	%۸۰	%۷۰	%۶۰	%۵۰	%۴۰	%۳۰	%۲۰	%۱۰
۱۱) ھۆكارى نەتەۋايەتى	%۱۰۰	%۹۰	%۸۰	%۷۰	%۶۰	%۵۰	%۴۰	%۳۰	%۲۰	%۱۰

12. Does independent press exist – that's, press whose staff may take positions of any kind on public issues with no limits of any kind from owners or from the government?

- 1) Yes 2) No

۱۲) ئايا رۇژنامەى سەر بەخۇ بونى ھەيە، كە ھېچ سنورىكى ديارى كراوى نيە، لە بلاو كرددەھى بابەتە رۇژنامەوانىيەكان، نە لە لايەن خاۋنەكە، نە لە لايەن حكومەتەھ.

- ۱) بەلى ۲) نەخىز

13. If yes, write the names of these press organizations?

۱۳) ئەگەر بەلى، ناۋى ئەو رۇژنامانە بنوسە

14. **Constitutions guarantee Freedom of the press in Kurdistan Regional Government.**

- 1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Undecided 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

١٤) دستور گهرمنتی نازادی روژنامهگهری کردوو له کوردستان.

- ١) بهتەر اوای لهگهڵیدام ٢) لهگهڵیدام ٣) بریار نادهم ٤) لهگهڵیدانیم ٥) بهتەر اوای لهگهڵیدانیم

15. **Freedom of press exists only in name.**

- 1) Strongly agree 2) Agree 3) Undecided 4) Disagree 5) Strongly disagree

١٥) نازادی روژنامهگهری تهنها مهرهکبهی سهر کاغزه.

- ١) بهتەر اوای لهگهڵیدام ٢) لهگهڵیدام ٣) بریار نادهم ٤) لهگهڵیدانیم ٥) بهتەر اوای لهگهڵیدانیم

16. **Do you think that independent press organizations have more freedom than the government press organizations and Political parties presses organizations?**

- 1) Yes 2) No 3) Sometimes 4) I don't know

١٦) پینت وایه که روژنامهی سهر بهخو نازادی زیاتره له روژنامه میری و روژنامه حیزبی؟

- ١) بهلێ ٢) نهخیز ٣) ههندیک جار ٤) نازانم

17. **Is freedom of getting information guaranteed?**

- 1) Yes 2) No 3) Sometimes 4) I don't know

١٧) نایا نازادی گهیشتن به زانیاری گهرمنتی کراوه؟

- ١) بهلێ ٢) نهخیز ٣) ههندیک جار ٤) نازانم

18. **Which kind of press organization is more powerful for gaining information?**

- 1) Independent press 2) Government Press 3) Political parties presses 4) All of them are equal

١٨) کام روژنامه بههیزتره له گهیشتن بهزانیاری؟

- ١) روژنامهی سهر بهخو ٢) روژنامهی حکومهت ٣) روژنامهی حیزبی ٤) ههموو یهکسان

19. **Are there any difficulties for freedom of press in Kurdistan region?**

- 1) Yes 2) No 3) Sometimes 4) I don't know

١٩) هیچ ز محمتهتیهک ههیه له بهردهم نازادی روژنامهگهری له کوردستان؟

- ١) بهلێ ٢) نهخیز ٣) ههندیک جار ٤) نازانم

20. Are social networking sites in Iraqi Kurdistan affecting the freedom of press to be develop?

- 1) Yes 2) No 3) Sometimes 4) I don't know

٢٠) نایا تۆره کۆمه‌لایه‌تییه‌کان کاریه‌گری کردۆته سه‌ر نازادی رۆژنامه‌گری؟

- ١) به‌لێ ٢) نه‌خیز ٣) هه‌ندیک جار ٤) نازانم

21. Is the freedom of press improved in Iraqi Kurdistan since the past?

- 1) Yes 2) No 3) I don't know

٢١) نایا نازادی رۆژنامه‌گری له کوردستان په‌ره‌ی سه‌ندوه به به‌راورد له‌گه‌ل سالانی پێشوو؟

- ١) به‌لێ ٢) نه‌خیز ٣) نازانم

22. What made you start your carrier as a journalist?

- 1) Hobby 2) you can get good money

٢٢) چی وای له‌تۆ کرد که ده‌ست به‌کاری رۆژنامه‌وانی؟

- ١) ناره‌زوو (هه‌یوایه‌ت) ٢) بۆ ده‌ست کهوتنی پاره

23. Can citizens directly and freely contact journalists, with no government controls or monitoring, especially in order to provide information?

- 1) Yes 2) No 3) Sometimes

٢٣) نایا خه‌لکی ناسای ده‌توانن راسته‌وخۆ په‌یوه‌ندی به رۆژنامه‌نوسانه‌وه به‌کهن؟

- ١) به‌لێ ٢) نه‌خیز ٣) هه‌ندیک جار

24. Do you rate press jobs in Kurdistan region of Iraq as a free?

- 1) Yes 2) No 3) Sometimes 4) I don't know

٢٤) نایا تۆ کاری رۆژنامه‌وانی به‌کاریکی سه‌ربه‌خۆ داده‌نیه‌یت؟

- ١) به‌لێ ٢) نه‌خیز ٣) هه‌ندیک جار ٤) نازانم

25. Do you think that your organizations Policies affect journalists; in a way that they cannot write whatever they want?

- 1) Yes 2) No 3) Sometimes

٢٥) نایا سیاسه‌تی نه‌و ده‌زگایه‌ی که کاری تێدا ده‌که‌یه‌ت، هه‌چ جار رێگر بووه که نه‌توانی نه‌و شته‌ بنوسی که ده‌ته‌وێت؟

□ هه‌ندیک جار □ (۳)

□ نه‌خیز □ (۲)

□ به‌لی □ (۱)

26. Journalists who are working for independent press outlets face many challenges.

- 1) Strongly agree □ 2) Agree □ 3) Undecided □ 4) Disagree □ 5) Strongly disagree □

(۲۶) ئه‌و رۆژنامه‌نوسانه‌ی که له میدیای سه‌ریه‌خۆ کارده‌کهن رۆبه‌روی کێشه‌ی زۆر ده‌بنه‌وه.

(۱) به‌ته‌واوی له‌گه‌لێدام (۲) له‌گه‌لێدام (۳) بریار ناده‌م (۴) له‌گه‌لێدانی‌م (۵) به‌ته‌واوی له‌گه‌لێدانی‌م

27. Who's the gatekeeper in the press organizations of Kurdistan region of Iraq?

- 1) Government □ 2) Editors □ 3) Media Owners □ 4) Political parties □

(۲۷) ئه‌وانه‌ کێن که ده‌بن به‌ پاسه‌وانی ده‌رگا (حارس بوابه) له‌ رۆژنامه‌کان؟

(۱) حکومه‌ت (۲) ئیدیتۆره‌کان(محرر) (۳) خاوه‌نی ده‌رگا (۴) پارتی سیاسیه‌کان

28. Is the practice of journalism discouraged for any of the following reasons?

	Yes	No
28) Nationality		
29) Government		
30) Religion		
31) Gender		

(۲۸) له‌ کاری رۆژنامه‌گه‌ریدا کام له‌مانه‌ رۆژنامه‌نوس ناتوانییت باسیان لێوه‌بکات؟

به‌لی	نه‌خیز	
		(۲۸) نه‌ته‌واویته‌ی
		(۲۹) حکومه‌ت
		(۳۰) ناین
		(۳۱) جینده‌ر

32. Have you ever written a report where the press organization hasn't allowed it to be published?

- 1) Yes □ 2) No □

(۳۲) نایا هیچ راپۆرتیکت نوسیوه‌، رێ به‌ بلاو بونه‌وه‌ی نه‌درابیت؟

□ نهخيز (۲)

□ بهلى (۱)

33. As a journalist, have you ever been violated in Iraqi Kurdistan?

1) Yes □

2) No □

۳۳) نايا هيچ پيشنيلكار يهكت بهرام بهر كراوه؟

□ نهخيز (۲)

□ بهلى (۱)

34. Journalists have been treated very badly in many cases, while covering news especially by security forces.

1) Strongly agree □

2) Agree □

3) Undecided □

4) Disagree □

5) Strongly disagree □

۳۴) مامهله خراب بهرام بهر رۆژنامه نويسان دهكرت به تايبهتى له لايهن هيزه نه منيه كانه وه.

۵) به تهواوى له گهليدانييم

۴) له گهليدانييم

۳) بريار نادهم

۲) له گهليدانييم

۱) به تهواوى له گهليدانييم