

The Others

Is The Media Being used As
A Tool For Hate Speech?







Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft
Confédération suisse
Confederazione Svizzera
Confederaziun svizra

**Swiss Agency for Development
and Cooperation SDC**

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Preface

The globalization and openness of the world has resulted in people having the ability to move from one country to another. The reasons for behind these movements vary from one group to another as some do due to coercive reasons like those seeking asylum because of conflicts, wars, or political or environmental crises; while others move seeking better lives in terms of work or investment or simply as tourists or because of marriage.

As the extents of these movements grew though, the hate speech discourse towards others grew as well. Such speech has been expressed in different countries, targeting various groups in communities, and in some cases even reinforced by official authorities for multiple reasons.

The media plays a big role in shaping the attitudes of societies. This sensitive and crucial role sometimes could lead to the promotion of hate speech, either by its conveying of news without checking or due to not dealing with certain subjects' objectivity. Some outlets for example publish articles or stories without considering or taking into account the opinion of the other sides. Others have used derogatory or unprofessional terms when talking about specific categories like refugees and migrant workers.

As a multi-national and cultural society, Jordan's society has always been diverse since its establishment. The Kingdom is also a host country for refugees since that time, as well as migrant workers. Statistics show that the percentage of non-Jordanians residing in the country is 30% of the population.

It is due to these facts that Tamkeen Fields for Aid found it necessary to conduct a monitoring of the media outlets in the country. The monitoring aimed at identifying whether there was hate speech disseminated by these outlets that either target specific groups or in general.

Although the monitoring periods were short, Tamkeen believes that the results that came out must be addressed in order to promote tolerance and human rights in our society.

Finally, Tamkeen would like to express its gratitude and thanks to the research team led by Mr. Fadi Al-Qadi, who worked on this monitoring

Introduction

Recent years have witnessed a development in the quality of the Jordanian media discourse. Media outlets, in their various forms, have had an increased impact on the Jordanian society and the various movements occurring within it, whether political, social or otherwise.

Although media has been and remains to be one of the most important drives of public opinion and source for its information, their role has amplified lately. Recent Events that included waves of asylum seeker arriving to Jordan, the rise the number of non-Jordanian workers in the labor market have led to this expanded role of the media. These events have divided the options in front of various media outlets into 2 categories: either to be the safety valve for our multicultural society, or to be a party in the conflict, broadcasting materials that lead to diffusion, discrimination and division.

Throughout, different opinions have surfaced about the role of the media in this tumultuous time. Some considered that it should stand with the public good of society and be a source of safety, stability, and a tool to fight against racism, xenophobia and discrimination. Others, on the other hand, said that it is the opposite as it in fact fuels hate, thus keeping the scene always tense and on fire.

As these opinions tend to be more subjective than actually based on actual data, quantitative and qualitative monitoring of the media remains a great tool to monitor how it is performing. The data provided by the monitoring would provide a clear assessment of the degree of its success and professionalism in their work, especially in such delicate periods.

Tamkeen Fields for Aids conducted this monitoring, focusing on Hate Speech targeting non-Jordanians present in the country. The monitoring was done in two distinct periods, the first was between May 1 and June 15, while the second was between September 1 and 15 October 2018.

The monitoring was conducted on selected local media outlets according to the methodology prepared for this purpose. The team recorded their observations, issues they faced, and also the contradictions or developments that were found and are related to the categories targeted by this report. Such a step was taken due to the team's observation that while many published articles do no incite hatred against these groups, they may be used for that purpose later on Social Media. The team also ensured to always preserve any data or links for monitored articles that concerns the targeted group for quality assurance and fact-checking purposes.

During the monitoring period, 591 information forms were filled over a period of 91 days. 318 of these monitoring forms included articles from

three electronic news sites: Khabrani, Ammon and Saraya, as well as 22 news sites randomly selected during the second monitoring period. Meanwhile, 3 printed newspapers were monitored: Al Rai, Al Ghad and Al Sabeel, where 273 forms were filled.

A number of realities imposed themselves on the results of the analysis. The first of which is the general direction followed by various media organizations in dealing with news they publish.

Another reality was the extent to which they are affected by events that occur locally that changes their attention and thus become the primary item in their coverage. Such a change is expected as local media outlets are supposed to cover these events. However, the overall results of the monitoring showed that the media may ignore coverage of different issues when such breaking news occur.

In the first monitoring period, the absence of coverage of any news related to refugees or migrant workers was evident. The absence was the result of media's preoccupation in covering the 4th circle Demonstrations that happened in Amman and lasted for seven consecutive days. However, the coverage of refugee affairs then doubled remarkably during the second monitoring period. In that period, the focus shifted to the story on the creation of a Palestinian-Jordanian confederation through a proposal allegedly floated by the US administration. The story was then closely followed by another on the United States of America's decision to stop its support for the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). The ramifications of the decision was heatedly covered and discussed by various media outlets alike, as well as on Social Media platforms. In these discussions, a number of discrimination and incitement comments were made during talks on the repercussions of this decision, which then resulted in a number of media activists encouraging the government to issue a law on Cyber Security.

The implications of these discussions have had a significant impact on the media. The repercussions of the supposed end of the Syrian crisis and the opening of the border crossing between two crossing was another heavily covered topic as well, especially as it coincided with the release of the government's new response plan for Syrian refugees in Jordan.

An important thing to note here is that throughout the first monitoring period, the team focused on news related to the targeted categories included in the methodology of the report, which is all non- Jordanians residing in the country, whether they are refugees, tourists, migrant workers, investors among others. In the second period though, the category was expanded to include content that includes discrimination and incitement in general to Jordanians or others.

The results of the monitoring showed that there were a number of articles that included expressions of racial discrimination or on the basis of political belief. Furthermore, several texts also were published that contained incitement on

activists of social media, and others that came following a famous party that was held in Jordan.

It was also noted that during the two monitoring period, local media published 460 items that included content that discussed refugees or migrants or events like studies, conferences or symposiums that dealt with their issues. Out of these, 63 item included incitement or discriminatory texts, with the majority published on websites.

Additionally, some items were found by the team which contained hate speech, though it did not target a specific group; while others which could be classified as hate speech when in fact they were merely an expression of opinion on political, economic or social issues.

It is in this context that the material that the team categorized as possibly including incitement or hate speech in general, whether within the purview of this report or not, were documented and placed in the table of monitored articles. The table is not limited to articles that directly contained hate speech, but also include that did not but where then used in Social Media to incite hate speech. The number of these items is 38, all of which were published on electronic media platforms.

Despite the findings presented in this report, the monitoring process has led to important points and observations regarding the coverage of Syrian refugees and migrant workers. It should also be highlighted that this type of report is unique in Jordan, as there have been no previously published reports tackling the media discourse and its handling of news depicting non-Jordanians in the country.

This report does not defend any party or entity that was the target of hate speech the Jordanian media. It is not concerned with examining the extent to which this category is deserving of this incitement and hatred. Rather, it attempts to present refutation of opinions and attitudes that were presented to the recipient as objective facts when they were not actually that. It also sheds a light on pages of opinion that displayed a lack of diversity and balance, and transformed from being platforms of opinion to a courts where judgements are made and then disseminated to the public to be adopted and implemented, without backing by information or reference to the other side's perspective or position.

Finally, it must be reminded that the absence of diversity in the current media scene as a whole has resulted in a united predominant tone of a single voice and unified position. It has also resulted in the confiscation of the right of the recipient, regardless of their orientation or position, to recognize or be introduced to different or even opposing viewpoints; thus ultimately taking their freedom of choice.

Problem addressed by the Report

The problem addressed in the report can be summarized in the following question:

What are the characteristics of hate speech in Jordanian society as displayed in print media or electronic news websites? What are the implications of that discourse and its impact on Jordanian society?

Objectives of the Report

The report seeks to identify the concept of Hate Speech and its forms in the media. It also aims at examining its impact on Jordanian society, its spread in the media, as well as the role of the media in disseminating and combating hate speech.

The importance of the Report

The report sheds light on the dissemination of hate speech in the media among members of the community, and the possible outcomes which include calls for regionalism, or community violence.

The report quite important due to the very few reports that discusses such an issue and attempts at identifying the concept and forms of hate speech and its effects through the role played by the media.

Questions of the Report

This report attempts to identify the characteristics of hate speech in the media. The questions of the report are as follows:

1. What are the forms of Hate Speech utilized through the various media outlets?
2. What are the effects of the spread of hate speech in media outlets?

Theories of the Report

1. There is a general direction among journalists that tends to address issues relating to non- Jordanians, regardless of which category they belong to that are living in Jordan, from a non- humane perspective. These prevailing practices dehumanize these people, and detracts their inherent human qualities; thus making them vulnerable for exploitation.
2. These journalistic common practices, implemented whether in writing of publication of news, tend to negatively discriminate against non- Jordanians, without consideration to their human rights.
3. Published News Pieces in their various forms have generally contributed in the creation of a “public opinion” in Jordan that hates Non-Jordanians living in Jordan, regardless of which category these people belong to. At the very least, these reports have contributed to influencing public opinion regarding this category without a basis for that.

Definition of Terms

Hate: Hate is defined as a natural state that originates in the section of the mind that is concerned with feelings and sensations. It could invoke feelings of animosity, anger or resentment, which can be directed against certain individuals, groups, entities, objects, behaviors, concepts, or ideas. Hate speech: is defined as a speech that attacks a person or group on the basis of attributes such as race, religion, ethnic origin, national origin, sex, disability, sexual orientation, or gender identity. Hate Speech does not just include speech but also encompasses gestures, conduct, writing, or displays that incite violence or prejudicial actions against a protected group or individuals on the basis of their membership in the group, or r intimidates a protected group, or individuals on the basis of their membership in the group. Hate speech could lead to various outcomes including:

1. Attacking and / or inciting attacks on people or groups targeted in the discourse on the basis of race, race, national origin, religion, sex, gender, sexual orientation or identity, disability or illness.
2. In contravention of article 4 (a) of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination which states the dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred, incitement to racial discrimination, as well as all acts of violence or incitement to such acts against any race or group of persons of another color or ethnic origin, and also the provision of any assistance to racist activities, including the financing thereof shall be condemned by states. “
3. Violates article 20 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights: “Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law”.
4. Public incitement to hatred against certain groups, calls for violence, advocacy of abusive measures, insulting, or defaming or abuse in a way that violates their constitutionally protected human dignity.
5. Any calls that constitutes gender-based incitement and hatred of persons and their sexual orientation in accordance with the provisions of article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as it expresses in point (3) of the article it states:

“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.”

6. Any speech or expressions that support or encourage acts of violence.
7. Acts that include incitement to commit a terrorist act or acts.
8. Those that lead either directly or indirectly to incitement to commit genocide, in contravention of article 1 (c) of the 1948 Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

Invitation to Murder and Violence: This section includes all paragraphs, sentences, words and images on which an inflammatory speech is written, whether explicit or systematic. Or any speech that justifies or motivates, or encourages the recipient to engage in violent behavior or commit murder.

Discrimination: any verbal or nonverbal speech that falls within the scope of the dissemination of discriminatory values as contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the various international and regional covenants and conventions which condemn, prevent and even criminalize forms of discrimination based on race, religion or belief, or different affiliations on whatever basis.

Incitement: Linguistically it can be defined as all the areas of urge and insistence or forms of request for the implementation of something. In the current context it is all acts that call to or urge the commitment of acts of evil, revenge, or violence using various tools and justifications that could be even fabricated.

Stigma: The disapproval of, or discrimination against, a person based on perceivable social characteristics that serve to distinguish them from other members of a society. Social stigmas are commonly related to culture, gender, race, and health.

Cursing: Directing of insults at people through words, images, or other forms of expressions that carry meanings of discrimination, humiliation and prejudice against a person, or group.

Limitations of the report

Geographical Scope:

The basic criterion that was followed in the selection process of articles monitored was those that included an “explicit” reference to hate speech in their texts. As such, the team did not conduct any interpretations of what the text might mean, or look at the data or information utilized within it. Thus, while some news coverage of a certain event was included, others tackling the same topics were excluded.

Meanwhile, the selection mechanism for electronic media sites and printed newspapers was based on several criteria in addition to the basic standard. Further studies and surveys in this regard were also reviewed, taking into account the following bases:

The extent of their spread and their visibility by the local public and the extent of their impact on it.

Cultural diversity and intellectual affiliations.

Classification in terms of independence and publication

Time limitations

The monitoring process covered two extended time periods, each of which went on for 45 days, in the following order:

First monitoring period: 1 May to 15 June 2018.

Second monitoring period: 1 September Until 15 October 2018.

Subject Limitations:

The Monitoring process only focused on hate speech and discrimination against “non-Jordanians” present in Jordan

Operational Limitations:

The monitoring was conducted on articles published in the following media outlets:

Daily printed newspapers (or electronic versions): Al Ghad, Al Rai, and Sabeel.

Online news sites: Ammon, Khubrani, Saraya.

The second period of monitoring encompassed various media sites that included both independent and governmental outlets that were selected on a random basis. They include:

Al-Hayat News, Al-Koun News, Wakeel News, Mamlaka (Kingdom) TV, Joe 24, Ram Online, Zad Jordan, Sawalif, Al Susana, Al-Anbat Newspaper, Hawa Jordan, Jordan News Agency (Petra), Graasa Agency, Al Arab News, Al Balad News, Jafra News, Nissan News and the Dostour Newspaper website.

In terms of the monitoring process, it calculated the number of repetition of hate speech terms and then evaluated quantitatively and qualitatively:

Quantitative Monitoring: It was used to keep track of the material published in newspapers during the monitoring period. The data was then filled in a monitoring form that includes all the variables recorded by the team. These variables represent the components of the monitoring results that are then entered into the database to obtain the statistics that would provide a clear reading of the material monitored.

Qualitative Monitoring: This was done through the noted recorded by team regarding observations that cannot be measured and monitored by quantitative instruments. This type of monitoring is a complement to the quantitative analysis. Thus, while quantitative monitoring measures the number of repetition of these terms, qualitative monitoring analyses the content of the material which are difficult to measure and contain discriminatory content linked to hate speech. In the context of such analysis, the study will use the following qualitative analytical tools:

Measuring the extent of damage: the extent of the damage caused by the publication of a press material containing hateful discriminatory content on the individuals concerned and the category to which the individuals belong. The damage is measured morally and materially; as well as its consequences, the direct and indirect.

Measurement of responsibility: It is intended to examine the various degrees of measurements that were taken in order to prevent incitement and its consequences. It could also cover the degrees of responsibility related to the occurrence of damage as a result of the publication of the press material. Such damage would include the legal responsibility of the State; the editorial responsibility of the media; and the individual responsibility of journalists and writers.

Measuring the expected impact on “public opinion”: It is intended to measure the realistic possibilities of transforming the journalistic material into an instrument of incitement of hatred and discrimination because of its content and the language used in it. These factors are combined with the other including the strength of the media outlet itself, its status among readers and its popularity.

Measurement of “hated” categories: It is intended to examine the characteristics of the categories that were targeted in the published article with discriminatory or hateful content.

Monitoring categories

Jordanians: Any Jordanian citizens as defined by the provisions of the Jordanian Constitution in Article 5, which states that “Jordanian nationality is determined by law” and article 6 (paragraph 1) that stipulates “Jordanians are equal before the law, regardless of their rights and duties, Language or religion “.

Non-Jordanians living in Jordan:

1. Refugees
2. Residents in the country, regardless of their nationality or employment status
3. Migrant workers
4. Permanent Residents who have not obtained Jordanian citizenship
5. The Children of Jordanian women and Non- Jordanian fathers
6. Temporary Residents who include: tourists, medical tourists, among others
7. Other categories

Categories of analysis

The categories of analysis are defined as groups of classifications prepared by the researchers based on the purpose of the analysis, the types of materials that would be analysed and its content.

These categories are then used to classify the contents used in the analysis with the highest possible degree of objectivity and comprehensiveness, allowing for the possibility of analysis and the extraction of results in a precise manner. The following is a presentation of indicators of measuring hate speech and discrimination in the media discourse:

- Incitement to violence against groups, categories or persons
 - Public incitement to hatred against certain groups
 - Incitement to aggression against groups, categories or persons
 - Incitement to discriminate against categories, groups or persons
 - Call for funding (whether financial or material) for efforts, programs, projects or activities that advocate hate against groups, categories or persons.
 - Invitation to arbitrary measures (unlawfully, in violation of international human rights law and domestic laws) against groups, categories or persons
 - Insulting human dignity
 - Defamation or being hostile in a manner hurtful of others dignity;
 - Support of violence against groups, categories or persons
 - Incitement to retaliate against groups, categories or persons
 - Support for genocide.
 - Promote racial superiority over a particular group or category.
- The Monitoring also included the bases of which hate speech and discrimination emerged from in the media discourse, they included:
- Race and Lineage
 - National origin
 - Religion
 - Religious belief
 - Disability
 - Illnesses
 - Racial Hatred
 - Racism
 - Skin Color
 - Language or dialect
 - Appearance or shape
 - Age
 - Social status
 - Economic Status
 - Gender and Sex
 - Educational Level
 - Political opinion or political belief
 - Occupation
 - Violence and extremism

Types of Materials

Observed Material: They included those which the team found to contain incitement and hate speech, or were used in one way or another for incitement in Social Media

Targeted material: Media Content that are directly relevant to the target groups, but do not contain hate speech or discriminatory texts.

Documented material: Material that the team classified as to contain hate speech against the targeted categories of the report, or material misused in the Social Media as such

General information on the Monitoring

The monitoring process was divided into two equal periods, the first starting from 1 May to 15 June 2018, and the second from 1 September to 15 October 2018. Both periods lasted for 91 days.

During the first period, 6 local media outlets were monitored. 3 of which were news websites: Khaberny, Amoon, and Saraya. The other 3 outlets were newspapers: Al Rai, Al Ghad and Al Sabeel.

On the other hand, the second monitoring period included 22 news websites, randomly selected, taking into account that they had a n electronic archive. The list of websites included: Hayat News, Kawn New, Wakeel News, Mamlaka TV, Jo 24, Rum Online, Zad Al Ordon, Sawaleef, Sawsana, Amman One News, Maraya News, Anbat Newspaper website, Hawa Jordan, Arab News, Jafra News, Nissan News website, Watanona Al Youm, and the Dostour Newspaper website.

Monitoring forms

Throughout the monitoring, 591 forms were filled, divided by 91 form for each of the 6 sources in the first period. 273 forms covered news from website, and the same number of forms covered news from newspapers amounting for 46.2% of the total forms for each source. The remaining forms, 45 of them, covered news from the randomly selected sites, amounting to .6% of the total number of forms

Published Material during the Monitoring Periods

During both monitoring period, 77489 news items were covered, including: articles, stories, caricature drawings, among others. In the first monitoring period, 33643 items were covered, amounting for 43.4% of the total number. While in the second period, 43,846 items were monitored, accounting for 56.6% of the total number of items.

The number of items published on news websites was 45,589; representing 58.8% of the total number of monitored materials. Of these, 18075 were published on Amoon, 11991 in Saraya, and 10513 in Khabirni. 5,010 of the items on the other hand were published in the randomly selected websites.

In terms of items published in newspapers, there were 31,900 monitored news items, which accumulated for 41.2% of the total number. 14624 of those items were published in Al Ghad, 10911 in Al Rai, and 6365 in Al Sabeel.

The following table shows the general technical results of the monitoring process. It shows the monitored media outlets, the number of forms filled for each one, the number of published items, and those that were monitored during the first and second period:

Site	Number of forms	Observed	Targeted	Documented
Ammon	91	112	97	18
Khabirni	91	57	51	9
Saraya	91	74	66	21
Randomly Selected	45	63	55	6
Al Rai	91	73	73	6
Al Ghad	91	93	93	3
Al Sabeel	91	25	25	0
Total	591	497	460	63

Targeted Media Items

The number of items targeted by the monitoring process in this report was 460, which accounted for 0.6% of those that were published in both monitoring periods, while 92.5% of them were monitored. Of these, 269 items were published on news websites and 58.5%, while 191 items were in daily newspapers, which accounted of 41.5% of the total targeted items. During the first period, 59 items were recorded, while in the second monitoring period there were 400 items, accounting for 12.8% and 87.2% respectively.

In terms of publication source, 97 of the items were published in Amoon news sites, 93 in Al Ghad newspaper, 73 in Al Rai newspaper, 66 in Saraya news site, 55 in the randomly selected sites, 51 in Khabirny, and 25 in Al Sabeel newspaper.

In the second monitoring period, it was noted that items found in the randomly selected sources constituted 7.6% of the total forms and 6.5% of the total published items. However, their percentage was high compared with other sites and newspapers in terms of the targeted materials.

The coverage on issued related to both Palestinian and Syrian refugees in Jordan dominated the news cycle and contributed significantly to the increase in the number of news items about refugees. Thus, the number of news items about refugees was the highest category, with 317 items out of 460 targeted items, accounting for 68.9% of those targeted.

News items on Migrant Workers followed, with 82 news items, which accounted for 17.8%; while 31 items discussed temporary residents in Jordan, accounting for 6.7% of the total.

The final two categories were Permeant Residents in Jordan. The category encompasses those that live in Jordan but do not have the Jordanian citizenship and it includes the children of Jordanian women married to foreigners and refugees from the Gaza Strip. 19 news items were published about this category, amounting for 4% of the total. The final category is Investors and Stakeholders in Jordan, with 11 items published, accounting for 2.4% of the total targeted items.

It is worth noting that the majority of the targeted items were in the form of news reports, with 404 items targeted, amounting for 87.8% of all forms. Meanwhile, there were 52 news articles, the majority of which focused on refugees in Jordan, accounting 11.3%.

Also, worth noting that Amoon news website published advertisements for two bids on projects related to refugees, one press release for a political party and one news report as shown in the following table.

Information materials monitored

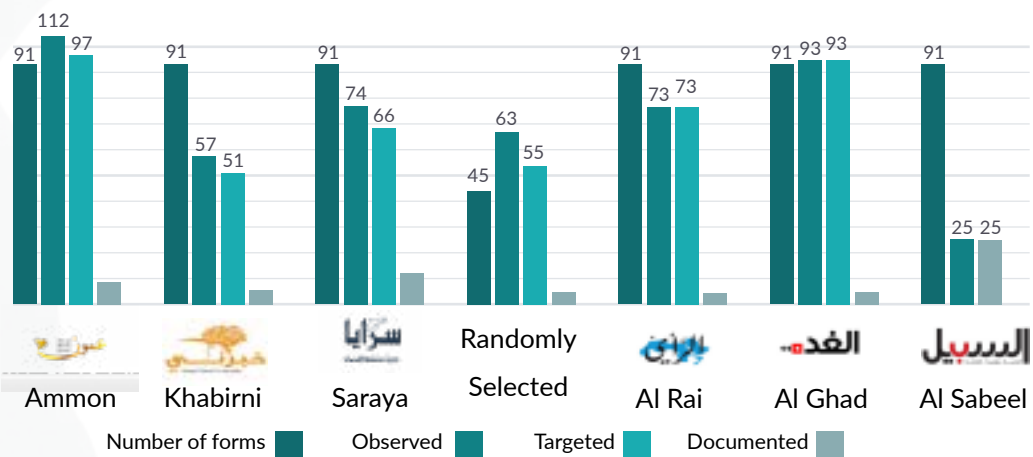
The total number of items studied was 497, representing 0.7% of the total items that were monitored. Of which 306 were published on news media websites and accounted for 61.6% of monitored items.

The remaining 191 articles were published in the printed daily newspapers, accounting for 38.4% of items monitored.

During the first monitoring period, 61 of these articles were found, constituting 12.3%; while 436 articles were monitored in the second monitoring, constituting 87.7% of all items.

In terms of where these items were published, 112 of them were on Ammon news website, 93 in Al Ghad newspaper, 74 in Saraya news website, 73 in Al Rai newspaper, 63 in the random sites selected in the second monitoring period and 57 in Khabirny, while 25 were published in Al Sabeel newspaper.

It must be noted here that the items monitored include targeted and documented materials. These items include those that included items containing discrimination and incitement that were general in their targeting and thus outside the context of the target groups of the report. The number of those items reached number 38 items, all of which were published on electronic news websites.



Source	# of Items	Target group				
		Refugees	Migrant Workers	Non-Nationals	Residents	Temporary Arrivals
Ammon	97	61	17	5	5	9
Khabirny	51	25	14	2	2	8
Saraya	66	31	18	4	4	9
Random	55	40	8	4	0	3
Rai	73	58	13	2	0	0
Ghad	93	79	12	1	0	1
Sabeel	25	23	0	1	0	1
Total	460	317	82	19	11	31

Source	Item Format				
	News	Article	Statement	Advertisement	Report
Ammon	71	22	1	2	1
Khabirny	50	1	0	0	0
Saraya	62	4	0	0	0
Random	51	4	0	0	0
Rai	62	11	0	0	0
Ghad	87	6	0	0	0
Sabeel	21	4	0	0	0
Total	404	52	1	2	1





Hate Speech in the Media Items

Following the analysis of all monitored items, 63 were categorised as containing discrimination and incitement against the target groups of non-Jordanians present in Jordan, as identified in the methodology.

It is important to note the following observations highlighted by the team:

The issue of discontinuing support for UNRWA dominated both monitored and targeted items during the first monitoring period.

The team noted that there was a heightened number of articles published that demanded more severe penalties for those who publish rumours or personal assassinations on Social Media. They also called for law that place further restrictions on freedoms of opinion and expression.

Some of these articles included abusive language or discriminatory terms as seen in the article by Dr. Adil Al Sherman published on September 3rd on Sarayah, entitled: xqAmoon by Waleed Khaled Abu Delboh on September 6th, entitled: "Rumours: Haters Last Weapon".

Another dominating topic was the pressure placed on Jordan by the International Monetary Fund as a result of its positions on what is known as the "Deal of the Century". Many articles and news reports were published discussing this issue, especially following statements launched by the President of the Palestinian National Authority Mahmoud Abbas on the possibility of a Confederation between Palestine And Jordan. These items contained indicators of discrimination such as an article by Mohammed Hayyagna published on September 8th on Saraya under the title "Jordanians, East and West." Another was published on September 3rd written by Saif Turki Akhwarishida entitled: "The American Delusion of Confederation ... Jordan will not pay the price" on Ammon. The same website also published another article on September 6th entitled: "The Confederation Whirlpool rotates again" by the author Fahd Khaitan; and another one on September 7th, by Dr. Bassam Al Saket, with the title: "Jordan: Unlocking the Minds then the Borders". On September 6th, Jo News also published: "The Political Divorce between Jordan and the West Bank", by Fayeze Al Fayeze. Rum Online published a news report in its Local News section, holding the title: "Al Adayle: Abbas Statement on Confederation are rejected. He should lift the siege on Gaza".

There was a number of articles that included incitement and hatred against specific individuals, containing personified language.

Other articles may be devoid of discrimination and incitement themselves, but their titles may include such language, whether intentionally or unintentionally. Examples of that include an article published in Al Rai on October 14th that included a comment from a government official in the water sector. The official, under the title of "flood sewage in the Mafraq because of Syrian asylum," but the newspaper later returned to the amendment to the title to "sewage flooding in the retail because of population pressure and abuse."

Target Groups in Documented Items

Throughout the monitoring process, it was noted that Migrant Workers and Refugees were the two categories which were the two most heavily discussed of the targeted groups. Out of 460 items that were targeted, 317 of them were on refugees, amounting to 69% of the total. Items on Migrant Workers on the other hand amounted for 17.8% as the number was 82 items.

In terms of documented items, refugees again were the category that was subjected to more hate speech than the others that the report focused on. The final results showed that from the 63 items that contained hate speech and documented in both monitoring periods, 38 were on refugees, while 23 of them were on Migrant workers. In regards to the other 3 categories, 2 items were documented on each of them.

Thus, the following section of the report will focus on these two categories through the provision of a brief analysis for the items that were documented as including hate speech, incitement and discrimination against both Refugees and Migrant Workers.

Items with Hate Speech on Refugees

The report documented 38 media articles that included incitement and discrimination against refugees who are in Jordan, All of these articles appeared on News Websites, except 6 articles that were published in Al Rai Newspaper, and 3 that were in Al Ghad Newspaper.

The sections where these articles were published varied on the documented sources. Some appeared in sections under the names: "Local News", or "Pulse of the Street". Others appeared in sections called "East and West", "Opinion Sections", "Variety", "Facebook and Twitter", "Universities and Schools", "Miscellaneous" and "Between You and I".

Plenty of the coverage was focused on blaming refugees as the cause of unemployment, that they dominate the labour market and highlighting

complaints made by unemployed Jordanians; as though refugees are the only responsible party for the increase in unemployment rates among Jordanians.

Such stories were published despite studies being published about the market, including one heavily discussed by the media, which clearly shows that the market was already suffering from pre-existing imbalances that precedes the Syrian Refugees Crisis.

As such, the coverage ignored the fact that while Syrian labour “deepened” the imbalances in Jordanian Labour Market, it did not create them. Furthermore, the coverage ignored another fact: the impact of refugee employment has in fact not just on local workers, but migrants as well ⁽¹⁾.

Other coverage focused on accusing Syrian Refugees of being the reason behind failing infrastructure and that they have caused more pressure to be put on service provision in the country. In doing so, the coverage overlooked several reports that talked about the same issues long before the onset of the crisis and the poor and sometimes even scarcity of services provided to Jordanians anyway.

In addition to the above, another coverage was on Syrian refugees accepting wages that are below the minimum wages and to work longer hours. Employers, on the other hand, do not have to comply to provide these workers with any of the protections and guarantees as provided by law. The argument made by such reports was that Syrians could afford to work for such low wages, while local workers cannot do it.

The problem with the above is that some coverage is presented using terms that does not describe indecent working conditions as labour and human rights violations committed by employers. Instead, it depicts refugees as though they are the beneficiaries of such conditions; using the same terms that they utilise to talk about positive aspects like their skill in a particular sector for example. Contextually, some of the coverage even removes any responsibilities from the employers, as though such conditions do not actually exploit Syrian workers ⁽²⁾.

(1) Jordan Media Credibility Monitor(Akeed), Results of Media Monitoring, <http://cutt.us/r9xsX>

(2) Jordan Media Credibility Monitor(Akeed), Results of Media Monitoring, <http://cutt.us/r9xsX>

During the monitoring, some observations were made that ought to be noted:

Some of the material was used and / or misunderstood, misused or used in the context of incitement on social media. These items were utilised to promote the circulation of hate speech against refugee, especially Syrians for several reasons; notably: the worsening levels of unemployment, decline in the national economy, and the deficit in the budget.

Items on Syrian refugees were also used in the context of the spread of crime in society. Some of the items even went as far to blame them as a cause for the rise in crime. Some of the headlines in some reports and articles included a direct blame on Syrians as well as photographs, among other forms.

Refugees were also used in calls and advocacy for better economic, cultural and social rights by certain groups of society.

Some articles included a general incitement on activists and Social Media Influencers, with the incitement being linked to the issue of refugees in Jordan and the burden of hosting them.

It was noted that there were items that discussed refugees in the context of possible political risks that Jordan might face as a result of the crises in the region.

Below are examples illustrating some of the items that contained indications of hate speech against refugees in Jordan:



On May 6, 2018, Amman News Site published a report that was previously published in Al Dustur Newspaper. The report was the second in a series of «Dialogue with Experts» conducted by the university with former Prime Minister Samir Rifai. The report was entitled: «Al-Rifai: The Refugees Crisis has grown to exhausting proportions». The dialogue included talk about Syrian refugees which accounted for 3.2% of the article. In fact, out of 5424 words in the article, 177 of them targeted Syrians.

The idea expressed in the title, as seen above, was further reflected in the content as Al Rifai was supposedly quoted as though he incited at the end to end the Syrian Asylum crisis. The text of what he said is as follows:

“ However, everybody knows that the circumstances of the country have been affected by the regional crises that have occurred in neighbouring countries. The country has been indeed struggling since 2003 and till this moment due to the difficult repercussions of these events an increase in costs and a decline in aid received as well. Other countries have also clearly abandoned their responsibilities and duties to strengthen the position and capabilities of Jordan and left it to carry these burdens alone.

At the top of these crises is the Refugees Crisis, which has escalated to exhausting levels, especially following the Syrian Crisis. The crisis has affected Jordan's economy, jobs, infrastructure, services, projects and the provincial development plans that were planned among others.

Therefore, the governments work in recent periods has been confined Crisis Management. There are also many trends that imposed themselves on the scene, as there are a number of theories on crisis management and the handling of difficult challenges.

I think it is natural and healthy for a prime minister or a former minister to speak out on governance, economics and public policy issues if he thinks he has better alternatives to serve the people, or that things are not going in the right direction. In fact, these propositions should be taken into consideration and not be seen as merely attempts to regain the spotlight.

Self-confident officials who are keen to serve should not stand by regarding these issues and they should not be sensitive from other opinions or constructive criticism.”



On February 9, 2018, the website Khabirni published an article entitled “The Syrians in Jordan: Ticking Time Bombs”.

“ In it, the Lebanese Foreign Minister said that if Syrian refugees remained in their current host countries, whether in Jordan or Lebanon, without returning to their country constitutes a time bomb. He also added that the final destination for these Syrians should be their home country. The same comments ere also reported in Khabirni. These comments were made by the Minister Joubran Bassil during a visit with his Jordanian counterpart Ayman Al Safadi in Amman.



On May 14, 2018, Saraya published on its page “Various Articles” an article by the writer Dr. Mohammed Salem Al-Majali under the title “Jordan ... Where to?”

“ In the article, he alluded that the reasons behind the disintegration of the social fabric and the dangers posed to Jordan and its stability and economy are due to the refugees.



On October 14, 2018, Al Rai published a news story that included a comment from a government official in the water sector. The newspaper quoted that official in the title of the article entitled

“ Flood of Sewage in Mafraq due to Syrian asylum

However, the newspaper later re-edited the title to” Sewage Flooding in Mafraq result of over population and abuse. “



On June 4, 2018, Amoon published an article entitled:

“ The arrest of five Syrians who took part in sit-in

The website cited a security source, though the source did not elaborate on the reasons that caused these persons to be arrested. The article also used the term “apprehended” in the title instead of the term “arrest”. The article was published during the same period that the 4th Circle Protests were happening in Amman.



On the same day, June 4, Saraya also published a news story quoting an identified security source in a report titled:

“ Security Services arrest Syrian citizen with Molotov cocktails during Irbid Protest

The report included the photograph of the arrested young man in an interrogation room, and there were no follow or clarifications provided at a later stage.



On September 30, 2018, Hawa Jordan website published an article on its page, “Between Me and You,” entitled “ How the aid cuts by Washington to UNRWA threaten Jordan’s stability?” The article was published following the decision of US President Trump to suspend the support provided by to UNRWA. The article contained the following text:

“ Whenever Palestinians are denied access to quality education and find themselves unable to improve their economic situation, they will become increasingly disillusioned with regional and global power structures that are not concerned with their welfare. This means that those affected will begin to seek radical solutions to their problems like joining radical extremist groups. As long as these problems keep growing, these issues will also be compounded in Jordan. As a result, Washington’s closest regional ally in counterterrorism has become a breeding ground for terrorism instead of an arena to combat it.”



Hate Speech on Migrant Workers

The number of documented items that included incitement and discrimination against migrant workers reached 23 throughout the monitoring process. These items were published in various sections of both newspapers and websites under the names: “Accidents”, “Selected Articles”, “Life”, “East and West”, “Opinion Articles “And” Religious Affairs “.

In general, issues related to Migrants are not highly ranked within the media in Jordan. Certain events though do occur that attracts their attention for periods of time but not in a continuous or consistent manner.

Furthermore, it is noted that the articles that do get published on media outlets reflect the journalist’s negative view on the issue, which then affects the opinions of the readers as well. Such negative views of Migrants lead to news about them being discussed in a non- humanised way; resulting in coverage not representing the reality of this category, and therefore does not make the desired change in society regarding their its view of them.

The items that were monitored also did not have any follow-ups and mostly depended on sources or statements issued by entities like the Public Security Department, or The Directorate of Civil Defence; while other items were simply citations of reports published by the Jordan News Agency (Petra).

In fact, statements issued by entities like the Public Security Department, or The Directorate of Civil Defence, in addition to those issued by relevant entities or Civil Society Organisations topped the list of items published about Migrants during the monitoring periods. It was observed that the majority of media outlets did neither edit nor follow up on the data or information of these items prior to publishing them.

Throughout the monitoring, there were no humane stories published about Migrant Workers due to the absence of Human Rights- related issues on the agendas of media outlets. Consequently, coverage of these issues is usually limited to those on activities conducted by governmental and non-governmental organizations related to these issues.

Meanwhile, in-depth coverage of individual human rights issues remain as individualistic and non-systematic by certain journalists as they continue to be absent from the editorial policies of media organizations.

While immediate coverage of humanitarian when they occur were noted to be done from a humanitarian angle where the perspective of victims is highlighted, it was striking to notice the continued marginalization of such coverage to issues related to migrant workers in Jordan, despite the increasing number of violations that they continue to be subjected to.

Thus, news items that talked about incidents involving migrant workers or those dealing with work injuries and the absence of public safety standards were based solely on press releases issued by the Directorate of Civil Defence. These items show the extent of which coverage about such issues is lacking and does not reflect the size of the issue

or the suffering of the victims. Even though Migrant Workers are the main victims of these accidents, the items that cover them are usually brief with no follow ups or focus placed on the victim.

Another thing to note when observing news items on Migrants is that the majority of media coverage promotes stereotypes that have been circulating in society about this category. Due to this, these items do not usually generate much attention, as journalists usually suffice with publishing the incoming information unilaterally, with one side highlighted, which is usually a governmental one.

Weakness in objective coverage is another issue to note, as negative perspective of journalist has been noted to be taken into account when writing some reports. As these negative opinions are common, issues concerning migrants are not highly placed in priorities set in editorial policies. It is thus not surprising that in some published items, it was noted the use of terms that fuel hate speech against this category.

In terms of issues that were covered by media outlets, items that focus in crimes that might be committed by migrants, particularly those with a sexual aspect, were much covered by outlets, accompanied by headlines that focus on the nature of the committed crime. Other dominant topics include regulatory and administrative issues.

Finally, both newspapers and websites publish items regarding migrants under various subheadings, whether social or economic, as migrant workers issues are not usually addressed by them in any other context. Also, throughout the monitoring process it was clear that the majority of media coverage focused on the supposed effect of migrant workers on the wages and job opportunities of Jordanians.

During the monitoring, some observations were made that ought to be noted:

The most prominent feature of the documented material is the use of inflammatory language terms, as stated in an article in Al Rai newspaper, in which the writer used the term “stole” when talking about migrant workers. Others talk about migrant workers in the context of the current economic situation and high unemployment rates, as in an article published on May 4th, 2018 in Al Rai Newspaper written by Essam Qadamani under the title of “The Secret behind the Concealment Hat”. The same article was then republished by Amoon website as well. In the article, the writer talked about the number Migrant Workers holding work permits in Jordan. The data showed that at the time, 700,000 migrants held permits, which in the opinion of the writer that these 700,000 workers have stolen the jobs that they have from Jordanians.

The repetition of ideas that Migrant Workers have replaced or taken jobs from Jordanians in light of the high unemployment rate and poor economic situation leads to incitement against migrant workers. Some articles have even directly blame migrants as the cause of these issues. An example is an article published by Ahmed Hassan Zoubi in Al Rai Newspaper, entitled: “Bakery of Arabism”, where he described a scene where all the workers in an a bakery are migrants while there is as a Jordanian who described as a beggar standing outside.

Below are examples illustrating some of the items that contained indications of Hate Speech against Migrant Workers in Jordan:



Saraya News Website published on its page “Writers of Saraya” an article on September 3, 2018 by the author Dr. Fares Mohammed Al-Amarat under the title “Jordanization of jobs and the Unemployment Dilemma”:

“ Every day, the Ministry of Labour issues statistics about working conditions in Jordan and the status of workers, who are defined in the Labour Law as anyone performing any kind of labour, whatever its nature or sector. These statistics contains massive numbers of Migrant Workers legally working in the Market through work permits issued by the Ministry. It also shows that there are others who are working illegally wherever they want through a Black Market for these purposes. According to figures by the Ministry the number of these Migrants has reached a million worker. If these numbers are correct, then based on Economic theories, would suggest that the country is developing in the right direction, and might even reach the level to enable to join the ranks of oil countries, as attractive countries for expatriates to work and invest in. However, in the perspective of Social Security, these numbers call for fear and anticipation of an increase in the size and number of crimes in all their forms. These crimes will occur due to the weakness and negligence in oversight over these workers by the Ministry. The resulting crimes will lead us to stop and question why these crimes are occurring and how? What is the solution, especially in cases where the Migrant is a female who lacks any permit or documentation?



On May 24, 2018, Al Rai published an article by Ahmed Hassan al-Zu'bi describing a television interview that was filmed in an Iraqi bakery where Egyptians and Syrians worked. The bakery had a Yemeni customer as well. The same article then went on to describe a Jordanian standing outside as a beggar.

“ The article utilised inflammatory speech against migrant workers of different nationalities, which might then lead to Jordanians reading it to feel that these people have come to take job opportunities from them.



On 14 October, Saraya published a news report that states that

“The employment of Migrants is taking away chances from Jordanians. It also had a quote from the Ministry of Labour stating that it is working on strengthening the procedures related to the recruitment and employment of Migrants. The article also said that a number of citizens have complained about irregularities that have been occurring regarding the employment of Migrants. It also claimed that the size of this issue has grown to a level that the government entities cannot handle anymore, due to the high number of Migrants in the country, and that the majority of them are irregular.



Al Rai newspaper published another article on September 18 by Ziad Ruab'i. The article, entitled:

“Migrant Workers: An Urgent Issue

held migrants responsible for the increase in unemployment levels, poverty and corruption. It also urged the government to find a solution for this issue.



On October, 14th, Saraya News Website published a news article entitled:

“ Exploitations by Migrant Workers snatch opportunities from Jordanians

The Ministry to Sararya: The severest of procedures will be taken out against the violators.” The report said that numerous Jordanians have lodged complaints from the excessive control and violations made by Migrant Workers. These actions have led to opportunities being snatched from Jordanians. The report indicated that the size of the issue has overgrown beyond the scope of the Official entities’ capacity even though they are responsible for the work of Migrants. Furthermore, and even worse to note is that the majority of these workers are irregular workers in the market.





The role of social networks in disseminating hate speech

As noted previously, Social Media platforms are now considered one of the main tools used for Social Change and the quick exchange of ideas and influence of public opinions in various societies in the modern era.

Therefore, it can be said that the impact of these networks, most notably Facebook and Twitter, is not just restricted within only the social and economic spheres; as it has begun playing a key role in influencing politics and mass mobilization, that could place pressure on the political environment of the country.

Although Social Media has played an active role in interacting with others and making positive changes, as well as enable experience sharing between people, it also had negative effects, particularly in helping widespread and disseminate hate speech and incitement among the public.

Thus, these platforms have been used to provide wider audience for articles or pieces that hold such views, which were then consumed by the public and used to disseminate hate speech. Several similar incidents were located during the monitoring process.

People, for example, used some of these articles to spread hate speech targeting refugees, holding them responsible for the decline in of employment opportunities and services provided to Jordanians. Others targeted migrants and held them responsible for the increase in crime rates and spreading judgements about some nationalities as criminals. These views were then use to create public opinion that demands the restriction, or even prohibitions to be placed against migrant workers of certain nationalities from entering Jordan.

Recommendations

The escalation of hate speech and incitement threatens the societal fabric of the community. Additionally, the possible widespread of this phenomenon threatens the freedom of expression in Jordan as it might push the government to develop measures and legislations that limit these freedoms, especially those of the media.

As such, Tamkeen Fields for Aid recommends the following:

1. Develop effective measures to counter hate speech through awareness programs, which include, inter alia, the dissemination of a culture of tolerance to combat against hate speech.
2. The need for Media organizations to develop new editorial policies that includes issues related to both migrants and refugees and cover stories related to them in more holistic approach. They also need to train journalists in various media outlets to distinguish between hate speech and opinion, as well as the need to promote principles of human rights.
3. The necessity to find a media discourse that would address and solve the circulation of misconceptions and combatting Hate Speech in the media.

4. Introduce lessons within the Educational System that addresses hate speech through courses in the curriculum beginning from elementary schools. Additionally, teachers should be provided with intensive awareness programs that build their capacity in terms of spreading a culture of tolerance and love against hate speech.
5. Provide both Refugees and Migrants the opportunity to have their voices heard in a differing way than what is traditionally shown in the media; since media coverage of this category shows them as either victims or criminals. Thus, it is essential that journalists should begin to focus on different aspects of their lives that include their day-to-day normal lives, families, work environment and personal interests.
6. Communicate with Media Outlets and Publishers on Social Media to create a mechanism to limit the spread of hate speech, such as a specific algorithm, where people can be trained to review content on Social Media sites to determine who writes this type of speech and stops their accounts.
7. Develop standards and tools to monitor media and respond to misleading or mistaken news by having journalists have access to information and reliable experts who can be interviewed in emergency situations through a specific, clear and applicable strategy.

To view the Annex of tables and articles categorisations
and links please scan the code



[I.lead.me/bb7RhE](https://lead.me/bb7RhE)



The Others

Is The media being used as a tool for hate speech?

Tamkeen Fields for Aids conducted this monitoring, focusing on Hate Speech targeting non-Jordanians present in the country. The monitoring was done in two distinct periods, the first was between May 1 and June 15, while the second was between September 1 and 15 October 2018.

The monitoring was conducted on selected local media outlets according to the methodology prepared for this purpose. The team recorded their observations, issues they faced, and also the contradictions or developments that were found and are related to the categories targeted by this report. Such a step was taken due to the team's observation that while many published articles do not incite hatred against these groups, they may be used for that purpose later on Social Media. The team also ensured to always preserve any data or links for monitored articles that concerns the targeted group for quality assurance and fact-checking purposes.

