Deanship of Scientific Research

Media Coverage of Minority Issues in Jordan from the Viewpoint of the Elders (Sheikhs) and Minority Representatives: A Qualitative Study

Hana Abdul-Rahman Al-Souob* iD

Radio and Television Department, Faculty of Mass Communication, University of Petra, Amman, Jordan

* Corresponding author:
hana.alsouob@uop.edu.jo

Abstract

Objectives: This study aims to investigate media coverage of minority issues in Jordan from the viewpoint of elders (sheikhs) and minority representatives.

Methodology: This is a qualitative study which uses the inductive approach, conducting in-depth interviews with the study's purposive sample which consists of 10 sheikhs and minority representatives of Al-Nawar (Bani Murra) and the Turkmen.

Results: The study reveals that media coverage of minority issues in Jordan is limited and irregular, and that Jordanian TV and YouTube channels briefly present general topics about the minorities' history, customs, and traditions, focusing on the their reliance on begging as a profession. Therefore, the study suggests that media in Jordan should meet the expectations of the minorities by focusing on more important topics like youth unemployment and the increasing levels of education especially among Al-Nawar.

Conclusion: The study concludes that media in Jordan does not do justice to the minorities because it does not reflect their reality or tackle their central concerns. Hence, it does not have any positive effect on the lives of the minorities, which prevents them from maintaining a positive social image and achieving social acceptance.

Keywords: minorities, media coverage, Al-Nawar (Bani Murra), Turkmen.

تغطية الإعلام لقضايا الأقليات في الأردن من وجهة نظر شيوخ وممثلي هذه الأقليات "دراسة نوعية"

هناء عبد الرحمن الصعوب*
قسم الإذاعة والتلفزيون، كلية الإعلام، جامعة البترا- عمان، الأردن

ملخّص

الأهداف: تهدف هذه الدراسة التعرف إلى مدى تغطية الإعلام لقضايا الإقليات في الأردن من وجهة نظر شيوخ وممثلي هذه الأقليات.

المنهجية: تعتمد الدراسة منهجين، هما: المنهج النوعي، والمنهج الاستقرائي، من خلال إجراء المقابلات المعمقة مع عينة الدراسة القصدية البالغ عددها 10 من شيوخ وممثلي أقليتي النور (بني مرة) والتركمان.

النتائج: أظهرت النتائج أن تغطية وسائل الاعلام الأردنية لقضايا وموضوعات الأقليات في الأردن قليلة وغير منتظمة، وأن المحطات التلفزيونية الأردنية ومنصات اليوتيوب التابعة لها تطرح مواضيع عامة، وبشكل مختصر عن التاريخ والعادات والتقاليد، فيما تركز بشكل كبير على امتهان التسول. كما أظهرت الدراسة أن أهم القضايا التي ينبغي على وسائل الإعلام الأردنية تغطيتها لتلبي توقعات الأقليات في الأردن، هي معاناة شباب الأقليتين في الحصول على عمل، وارتفاع المستوى التعليمي خاصة عند أقلية النور.

الخلاصة: تغطية وسائل الاعلام لقضايا الأقليتين لا تلبي مستوى توقعاتهم؛ لأنها لا تتعامل مع القضايا الملحّة بالنسبة لهم، ولا تنطلق من واقعهم. وبالتالي لم يكن لوسائل الإعلام أي تأثير إيجابي على تحسين حياتهم، خاصة من ناحية تعرّف المجتمع عليهم وتقبّلهم.

الكلمات الدالة: الأقليات، تغطية وسائل الإعلام، النور (بني مرة)، التركمان.

Introduction

Since ancient times, the Levant and Jordan have been a center of attraction for different ethnic and religious groups by virtue of their central location in a region characterized by being a destination for human and cultural interaction between different peoples, civilizations, and beliefs (faiths).

Given this distinctive and intermediary geographical location (of the Levant and Jordan) vis-à-vis ancient and modern trade and pilgrimage routes, this attraction was manifested by the arrival and settlement of various groups over the years who left their original homelands as a result of various factors such as conflict and religious persecution, or in an effort to benefit from this distinguished location.

Among these groups were the Circassians, the Chechens, the Druze, the Kurds, the Armenians, the Turkmens, and the group called the Nawar (from the word light in Arabic) who are referred to as Ghajar (the Arabic word for Gypsies) by laymen and in popular culture; however they are of Arabic origin "Bani Murra".

These groups are referred to as minorities compared to the Arabic population of Jordan. However, some groups were able to fully integrate; some were able to integrate fully into Jordanian society, while others were unable to integrate, even partially. Some of them enjoy a strong presence in terms of rights, and some do not enjoy their full rights despite holding Jordanian citizenship for decades.

Given the ability of the media through its various means to form, enhance, and change the mental image associated with the mind of Jordanian society about these minorities, this study aims to determine the extent of the Jordanian media's coverage of the issues of minorities who are not integrated into Jordanian society, from the point of view of the elders (Sheikhs) and representatives of these minorities, represented by Al-Nawar "Bani Murra" and the Turkmen.

Study Problem & Questions

The audiovisual, print media (through its various tools including television, radio, print publications, i.e. newspapers and magazines), news websites -and social media platforms associated with them- play a major role with regard to the ability and interest of minorities in preserving their identity and the nature of their connection to the different constituents of society. This is due to its influential role in shaping, strengthening, and sometimes changing the image perceived in the minds of society towards these groups.

Some minorities in Jordan enjoy full rights. Thus this was reflected in their ability to fully integrate into society, while others, especially (the Nawar "Bani Murra" and the Turkmen) were unable to integrate into Jordanian society.

The importance of the role of the media in shaping the image of these minorities appears here, first in terms of how members of Jordanian society, policymakers, decision-makers, and state officials view them, and secondly in how members of minorities view themselves as members of this society, and the nature of their connection to society and the state.

Through the researcher's effort in identifying and reviewing the materials available on the various Jordanian media outlets (TV and radio stations, newspapers and magazines, and social media platforms affiliated with these media) about how media addresses minority issues, the researcher noticed that the Jordanian media's failure most importantly with regard to identifying the critical issues as perceived by them. This failure extends to cover various aspects related to the culture of these groups, such as their history, customs, traditions, occasions and celebrations, religious rituals, language, etc. This is in addition to the weak awareness of minorities themselves about their duties and rights, such as their right to jobs, access to services and support programs, and running for parliament, municipal councils, governorate councils, and others. Although the media monitored by the researcher covered topics related to the culture of these groups and their language, customs, rituals, etc., this coverage was superficial and ineffective.

Therefore, the problem of this study is to answer the following main question:

To what extent does the Jordanian media cover the issues of minorities in Jordan from the point of view of the elders (Sheikhs) and representatives of these minorities?

This is done by answering the following sub-questions:

1. Are the media in general, and the Jordanian media in particular, followed by minorities in Jordan?

2. What media outlets are followed by minorities in Jordan and constitute a source of information for them (newspapers, radio and television stations, magazines, and electronic news websites)?

3. Does the Jordanian media (newspapers, radio and television stations, magazines, and electronic news websites) cover the issues and topics of minorities in Jordan?

4. What are the most prominent issues and topics related to minorities covered by the Jordanian media?

5. What is the (nature, form), and (volume/area) of Jordanian media coverage of minority issues?

6. To what extent does Jordanian media coverage meet the level of expectations of minorities in Jordan, in terms of (volume of coverage and continuity in comparison with coverage of other minorities)?

7. What issues should Jordanian media cover to meet the expectations of minorities in Jordan?

Objectives of the Study

This study aims to achieve the following objectives:

1. A better understanding of the Jordanian media's coverage of issues and topics of minorities in Jordan through the minority's own assessment of the level of presence of their identity in the Jordanian media.

2. Determining the nature and form of Jordanian media coverage of minority issues, in comparison with coverage of other minorities.

3. Improving the efficiency and effectiveness of Jordanian media's handling of minority issues.

4. Assessing the level of compatibility between media performance and the expectations and demands of these minorities.

Significance of the Study

- *Scientific importance:*

- Filling the apparent deficiency in literature related to the Jordanian media's dealing with the pressing issues of minorities, especially the Nawar "Bani Murra" and the Turkmen, has led to a scarcity of academic information from specialized studies.

- This study can represent an example that can be replicated in the media's dealings with the issues of other minorities in Jordan in terms of the level of Jordanian society's knowledge of these minorities and these minorities' knowledge of Jordanian society. Thus, it open the way for many studies that could enrich the scientific balance, especially in the Arab world.

- *Practical importance:*

- Evaluating the extent of the Jordanian media's commitment to its social responsibility by providing decision-makers and society with sufficient information to enable them to make decisions related to dealing with the issues of minorities, in addition to evaluating the role of the media in protecting the rights of these minorities.

- Identifying the required interventions regarding media coverage of minority issues in terms of the topics covered and the form and professionalism of coverage, to contribute to addressing the challenges facing these minorities.

Limitations of the Study

The study was confined to the following limits:

- Time Boundaries: The study was implemented in the last half of 2023.

- Spacial Boundaries: The study was implemented in the Jordanian governorates where the bulk of these minorities (Nawar "Bani Murra" and Turkmen) are found permanently and/or seasonally. These are Amman, Mafraq, Ma'adaba, The Jordan Valley (The Ghour area), Zarqa and Azraq district.

- Human Boundaries: The study was implemented with the elders (sheiks) and representatives of the minorities in Jordan (Nawar "Bani Murra" and Turkmen).

Methodology of the Study

The study relied on the following two approaches to reach its results:

First, the qualitative approach, through conducting in-depth interviews with the elders (Sheikhs) and representatives of the minorities in Jordan, the Nawar "Bani Murra" and the Turkmen, to get acquainted with their point of view on media coverage of minorities' issues.

This approach is considered the most appropriate for this type of study and for achieving its objectives through focusing on and analyzing terminologies rather than numbers, in addition to its ability to deduce opinions and experiences of the study sample (Hesse & Leavy, 2006, p 49).

Second, the second approach is the inductive approach, which proceeds from the specific to the general to reach conclusions based on observation and experimentation to arrive at a law or a general rule. The researcher performed this by analytically observing the parts and sub-points related to the research subject by generalizing the results arrived at after testing some of the parts and cases and then by generalizing the results to all parts or cases that form the subject of the research (Omar, 2008, p. 174).

Data collection

The researcher conducted 10 semi-structured interviews with Elders (Sheikhs) and Representatives of the Nawar (Bani Murra) and Turkmen minorities in Jordan (6 Nawar, 4 Turkmen), according to the following characteristics:

Geographic Distribution in Jordan:

The two minorities are distributed in Amman, Mafraq, Madaba, Balqa (Jordan Valley), Zarqa, and Azraq district.

Age range:

As for the Nawar minority (4 of their sheikhs and representatives were between 58 - 65 years old, and only one of them was 72 years old, one of the representatives was in the age group between 37 - 42 years. Despite his relatively young age compared to the other representatives, he was mentioned as a representative by others from the Nawar minority in Madaba.

The four representatives of the Turkmen minority, were in the age group 55 - 60 years.

Educational level:

The Nawar minority, only one participant holds a doctorate degree, and the remaining five had an educational level between primary and middle school (intermediate).

All the representatives of Turkmen minority had no formal education.

Work areas:

One of the Nawar minority had a high position in a governmental institution, and he is currently retired, while the rest work in sporadic activities such as collection and trading of scrap and recyclable materials or trading in sheep and the like.

Regarding the Turkmen minority, the work as street peddlers of simple items and in filling scrap and other materials collected by the female of the minority.

Economic level:

All representatives of the Nawar minority had average - to -middle economic level, and they owned houses at a normal level.

The Turkmen minority's economic level was low - to – average.

Data Analysis

The researcher analyzed the interview data using content analysis, following the seven steps outlined by (Colaizzi, 1978). Firstly, the researcher immersed themselves in the participants' comments by thoroughly reading and rereading the interviews to identify significant statements related to the phenomenon. These statements were then organized into a meaningful order in the second step. Next, each significant statement was categorized into themes. A comprehensive

descriptive picture was developed by integrating findings from these themes.

The fourth step involved formulating detailed descriptions that captured the essential qualities of the phenomenon. These descriptions were then reviewed and validated in the fifth step by comparing them with the original interviews. Finally, the findings were presented in a comprehensive report that accurately reflected the participants' experiences.

The researcher followed the following steps to contribute to building confidence in the results of the study:

1- Using multiple methods for the collection and examination of the topic from different aspects. The methods included interviews, field notes, and analysis of existing documents that the researcher became privy to.

2- Before leaving the place of the interview, the researcher resorted to informing the respondents, i.e. the elders (sheikhs) and representatives of minorities, with what the researcher wrote down to reflect their words according to each question to verify accuracy of information.

To preserve anonymity, the researcher removed all identifying names of the individuals and institutions for which they worked when presented the interview data.

The Study Population and Sample

The study population consisted of the minorities in Jordan "Nawar (Bani Murra) and Turkmen" living in the various governorates and totaling eighty (80) thousand persons from the Nawar "Bani Murra" minority and fifty-sixty (50-60) thousands from Turkmen minority. The numbers were furnished to the researcher from elders and representatives of the two minorities (Musa, 2023; Al-Kurdi, 2023).

The study relies on a purposive sample of elders (sheikhs) and representatives of minorities in Jordan, namely the Nawar "Bani Murra" and Turkmen, who are present in the various governorates of the Kingdom, and the number 10 (6 sheikhs and representatives of Nawar "Bani Murra" and 4 from the Turkmen). In-depth qualitative interviews were used to obtain exploratory, descriptive, and interpretive data. These interviews are used as a single research method or in conjunction with other research methods (Hesse & Leavy, 2006, p. 211).

Regarding the justifications for choosing the sample, initially the researcher believed that there was one person representing the Nawar minority, and one person representing the Turkmen minority in Jordan. However, after research, it became clear that each region is represented by one Elder (Sheikh) or representative. Therefore, the researcher determined the locations of the two minorities, visited the minorities in their places of residence, and asked them about the names of their sheikhs and representatives. The researcher was guided to their homes, and through the researcher's interview with the first sheikh, she was asked about the names of other minority representatives in other regions and their contact information.

Accordingly, a number of interviews were conducted with sheikhs and representatives of these minorities in their geographical areas. It is worth noting that these interviews with them were conducted in the presence of about 6-8 other members of the minority, but the interview questions were directed to the sheikh or representative of the minority.

The researcher was content with interviewing 10 elders (sheiks) and representatives from the minorities since the study had reached theoretical saturation, and the interviews no longer added new information. (Hesse & Leavy, 2006, p. 211) indicate that if the researcher finds that the results are similar for a group of individuals and that they do not add something new to the researcher's existing knowledge by re-selecting samples from among the members of the research community, then the research will have reached the stage of theoretical saturation for this group.

The Terminologies

- **Media Coverage:** It is how minority issues are dealt with in the Jordanian media in terms of the nature of the issues and topics, their volume and continuity, compared to the media's handling of other minority issues.
- **Media:** These are the Jordanian media represented by (radio and television stations, newspapers, magazines, electronic news websites, and social media platforms affiliated with these media).
- **Minorities in Jordan:** They are the human communities/groups that have the smallest quantity/number in society,

which are distinguished from the rest of the population, and whose members are linked to each other by physical, biological (such as unity of origin or ancestry), or cultural (such as unity of religion, language, or culture). Its members are aware of the components of their identity and distinction, and work to preserve and support them in the face of factors of weakness and disintegration. These groups are often in a non-dominant position in society, and many of them suffer - to varying degrees - from discrimination, persecution and exclusion in the various political, social and economic sectors of society. The minorities in this study are represented by the Nawar "Bani Murra" and the Turkmen.

Theoretical Attribution for the Study

This study is based on the social responsibility theory, which is defined as: "the set of functions that the press must be committed to performing *vis.-a- vie* society in its various political, economic, social and cultural fields. Additionally,, its treatment of its materials caters to professional values, such as accuracy, objectivity, balance, and comprehensiveness, provided that the press has true freedom that makes it responsible Before the law and public opinion" (Hussam Al-Din, 2003).

The theory emphasizes the media tool's obligations towards society's values and provides information to enable it to make decisions. It also emphasizes the media tools' responsibility to protect the rights of individuals as it is considered to be the gatekeeper.

(Makkawi, 2003) refers to the main principles of the theory as follows:

- Giving the individual the right to obtain information and not concealing it. It is not permissible to provide the individual with false or incomplete information.
- Disseminating society's goals as well as its educational and economic plans since Media aims to serve society and promises a comfortable life and respect for its political, economic, cultural, and social rights.
- Providing the opportunity for the individual to obtain information that he benefits from, wants to learn, or adds to the inventory of his cultural and political level.
- High transparency in the joints of the state, its policies and programs, and putting information in front of citizens and not hiding it, except for the purposes of community and state security.
- The necessity for establishing professional standards for honesty, objectivity, accuracy and balance.
- Avoiding everything that leads to spreading crime, violence, or abuse of the minorities in society.
- Professional journalists should be responsible to society, in addition to their responsibilities to their institutions and market trends.

Literature Review

1. A Minority:

It is the ethnic group with the least human population in its society, which is distinguished from other populations in terms of race, physical characteristics, language, religion, or culture. Its members are aware of the components of their identity and distinction, always striving to preserve them. This group is often in a position It is not dominant in that society, and many of them suffer - to varying degrees - from discrimination, persecution and enslavement in various political, social and economic sectors of society. (Wahban, 2004, p. 113)

According to (Al-Baghdadi,1993), minorities are classified into linguistic minorities, religious minorities, national minorities, ethnic or lineage minorities, tribal minorities, and expatriate minorities.

2. United Nations Declaration on Minorities

The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities indicates the need for states to protect the existence of these minorities. The most prominent contents of the declaration include the following articles (text excerpted from the nine -9- articles in the official document): (https://www.un.org)

1) States shall protect the existence and the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities

within their respective territories and shall encourage conditions for promoting that identity.

2) States must take measures to create favorable conditions to enable persons belonging to minorities to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, language, religion, traditions, and customs, except in cases where certain practices violate national law and contravene international standards.

3) States should, where appropriate, take measures in the field of education to encourage knowledge of the history, traditions, language, and culture of minorities within their territories. Persons belonging to minorities should have adequate opportunities to learn about society as a whole.

3. Minorities Addressed in This Study:

3.1 The Nawar (Bani-Murra):

o **The "Nawar/Bani Murra" in Jordan:**

This terminology is given to minorities of Gipsy (Roma) origins who have resided in Jordan for many years and are spread all over the Kingdom. They adhere to their customs and traditions and have their own language that they speak among themselves.

o **Distribution in Jordan:**

The "Nawar" are distributed in large various areas of Jordan (Amman, Mafraq, Madaba, Azraq area) in large numbers. Their number ranges between 70-80 thousand, and they have Jordanian national numbers (Musa, 2013).

o **Occupations and Professions:**

(Al-Madenah News Website,2019) indicated that the "Nawar" work as street vendors. They also work in dental repair, on farms, metal and woodworking, carpentry, and fortune-telling and palm-telling.

o **Neglect and Adaptation**

Some of the "Nawar" live under difficult and harsh conditions as they live in tents made of burlap or plastic, on the edges of cities and on the sides of roads, without water, electricity, health facilities, schools, health insurance, or social security. On the other hand, some "Nawar" groups have adapted to contemporary conditions, and have begun to exercise their roles in life fully and are fully involved in society, but yet they still suffer from discrimination in social interaction, especially in the field of marriage and the tainted traditional perception of the group by the society at large which treats them with contempt and as being of lower class (Gharayba, 2010).

The deep gap between "Nawar" and the society at large is due to the misconceptions that have been established in the minds of society members about the "Nawar". This increases frustration and desperation, especially among the new generation, which finds it difficult to deal with others, due to the negative view with which society perceives them (Musa, 2013).

(Musa, 2013) views that the "Nawar" are a vital component of Jordanian society, and they include doctors, engineers, teachers, lawyers, and university professors, as well as other professions.

3.2 The Turkmen

o **Turkmen in Jordan:**

(Bedili, 2020) indicates that the Turkmen are descended from the Oghuz (Ghaz) tribe of the Turkish ethnicity, which originally inhabited areas in Central Asia. They speak the Turkmen language, which is a branch of the group of Turkish languages. It is believed that the first arrival of Turkmen to the Middle East was in the seventh century AD. Wars and conquests were a major reason for the migration of Turkmen from their original homes in Central Asia and their influx to reside in neighboring countries and regions such as Iraq, the Levant, and others.

(The Ohio Newspaper website in Arabic,2021) indicates that the Turkmen in Jordan are Jordanian citizens with passports and national identity cards, and some of them work in the Arab Army. They live in the governorates of (Amman, Madaba, Irbid, and Al-Aghwar). However, they do not settle in a specific place, and they are forced to continue their travel sometimes because of the weather and the change of seasons, and sometimes because of their forced deportation by

municipalities or land owners. This constant movement deprives them of stability and a sense of security. They are not forced to live in tents, but they choose to do so to strengthen their connection to the land, to feel free, and to enjoy the outdoors, according to their words.

o **Occupations and Professions:**

Turkmen work in collecting scrap, as it is their source of income and is more like their official job, in which all family members participate. Grandmothers, mothers, daughters, even children. As for men, some of them work - mostly - in Egypt and Sudan to earn money, others earn their living by selling coats, glasses, and some supplies, and those who remain help women collect scrap (The Ohio Newspaper website in Arabic, 2021).

o **Culture:**

The Turkmen follow in the footsteps of their fathers and grandfathers, and ancient legacies and superstitions dominate most of them after they have adopted fortune-telling as a profession for most of them.

4. Jordanian Media and the "Nawar" and "Turkmen" Minorities:

(Al-Omari, 2019) points out that the official Jordanian television shows many traditional programs about Bedouin and rural life and life within the city's dwellings, especially in Amman. Despite this, it has not addressed at all to the many issues and problems experienced by the "Nawar" group that is found in most Arab countries.

Through the researcher's monitoring of some Jordanian media outlets during the years 2004 - 2021, it was found that a limited number of media materials related to "Al-Nawar and Turkmen"minorities were published and broadcast in the visual, audio, print, and electronic media throughout the 17 years.

The monitoring showed that two daily Jordanian newspapers published only 3 press materials, while the Jordanian television channels and their social media platforms published 4 visual media materials, and the number of press materials published on Jordanian websites reached 5. This is evident in the following table:

Ser	Media	Nature of Media	Title of Program or Published Material	Publication/Broadcasting Date	Link
1.	Al-Ghad Jordanian Daily	Newspaper	Roma (Gypsies) and Turkmen: Are they two sides of the same suffering? Writer - Muhammad Jamil Khadr Issue No. (84)	Published on 23/10/2004	http://www.mutazelah.com/researchs/103-2014-06-11-10-20-54.html
2.	Ammon News Website	Electronic Website	A Jordanian Female Gypsi in the Parliament Writer: Salim Maani	Published on 07/10/2010	https://www.ammonnews.net/article/7950

Ser	Media	Nature of Media	Title of Program or Published Material	Publication/Broadcasting Date	Link
3.	Al-Haqiqa Al Dawleyyah News website	Electronic Website	The "Nawar" in Jordan: Integration promoted by the Government and a Stereotype that worries its proponents	Published on 11/08/2010	http://factjo.com/fullnews.aspx?id=18989
4.	Assawsana News Website	Electronic Website	The "Nawar" Groups in Jordan: Do they have Rights and Duties. Article by Dr. Rheil Gharayba	Published on 20/08/2010	https://www.assawsana.com/portal/pages.php?newsid=35216
5.	Jordan Television	Television Channel	The "Nawar" in Amman .. A Story of Permanent Moving presented in the program Under the Light Program	Broadcasted 23/04/2014	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J4mV2MyGLT0
6.	Al-Madenah News	Electronic Website	Who are the Gypsies? What do you Know about them?	Published on 28/04/2016	http://www.almadenahnews.com/article/477568-
7.	Al-Haqiqa Al Dawleyyah Channel	Television Channel	The Governorates Studio Program: The story of the "Nawar" and "Turkmen" in Jordan	Broadcasted 16/04/2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qBMxRAVftdw

Ser	Media	Nature of Media	Title of Program or Published Material	Publication/Broadcasting Date	Link
8.	Al-Rai Daily	Newspaper	The Gypsies of Jordan …from a Different Life in which the ascend to the Sky. Report by Hussein Da'asa	Published on 29/12/2017	https://alrai.com/article/10419127-أخر-الاسبوع/غجر-الاردن-من-حياة-مختلفة-يصعدون-فيها-إلى-السماء-
9.	A One Tv	Television Channel	The "Turkmen" a.k.a the "Nawar" in Jordan .. A mysterious Group	Broadcasted 17/10/2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q2AEdQmbqlo
10.	Addustour Daily	Newspaper	What You Don't Know about Gypsies in Jordan? YouTube Broadcast	Broadcasted 10/03/2019	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ngyGUt4IDI
11.	Al-Madenah News	Electronic Website	Gypsies of Jordan: A History Shrouded by Mystery.	Published on 13/02/2019	https://www.almadenahnews.com/article/727287
12.	Al-Haqiqa Al Dawleyyah Channel	Television Channel	(The "Nawar" and "Turkmen" in Jordan … This is their story).	Broadcasted 19/10/2021	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HwMm7reFcCQ

Previous Studies

1. **The study by Müller et al. (2023) titled: "Differential Racism in the News: Using Semi-Supervised Machine Learning to Distinguish Explicit and Implicit Stigmatization of Ethnic and Religious Groups in Journalistic Discourse"** aimed to reveal the role of news coverage in shaping attitudes toward ethnic and religious minority groups in Germany. The study used semi-supervised machine learning to distinguish explicit and implicit stigmatization of ethnic and religious groups in German journalistic coverage ($n = 697,913$ articles).

The results indicated that groups that are associated with less wealthy countries and with culturally more distant countries face more stigmatization, both explicitly and implicitly. The results also show that groups associated with Islam and groups with large refugee populations living in the country of study are implicitly, but not explicitly stigmatized in news coverage.

2. **The study by Ramirez et al. (2023) titled: "Media Representations and Diversity in the 100 Years of *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*"** aimed to document the struggle that members of marginalized groups face in their quest to be treated equally in media content and careers, by analyzing a cluster of The *Journal*

and Mass Communication Quarterly (JMCQ) articles published in the past 100 years on media representation and diversity, using a data-driven, inductive, and machine-assisted approach. The study sample included 210 traditional journal articles, 71 book reviews, 32 special issues, 12 editorials, and 5 new and notable.

The results showed that the articles highlighted the invisibility and stereotyping of marginalized groups in media messages. Articles also highlighted audience reception of media portrayals. The results also showed that the terms minority, marginalized, underrepresented, underprivileged, disadvantaged, Black, Indigenous and People of Color (BIPOC), and others identify diverse communities.

3. The study by <u>Zhan Xu</u> et al. (2022) titled: "Perpetuating Health Disparities of Minority Groups: The Role of U.S. Newspapers in the COVID-19 Pandemic" **examined whether minority health gained news attention in national and local U.S. newspapers during the COVID-19 pandemic and how these disparities have been covered, as well as whether partisan bias affected related coverage in the early stages of the pandemic. The study sample included a total of 24,345 articles published in 40 newspapers.**

The results indicated that minority groups have been underrepresented in COVID-19 news articles. Left-leaning newspapers were more likely to discuss minorities in COVID-19 news than least biased media. COVID-19 news exceeded the average U.S. reading comprehension level and require some college education to understand but did not differ in readability levels among partisan newspapers. Left-leaning newspapers used significantly more medical terms and affiliated scientific facts to describe COVID-19 than right-leaning newspapers.

4. **The study by Boer et al. (2019) titled: "Media Messages and Attitudes Toward Muslims and Ethnic Minorities: A Panel Study Among Ethnic Majority Adolescents in the Netherlands"** investigated whether high media salience of *Muslims*, indicated by the frequency of news articles about Muslims, increased negative attitudes toward Muslims and toward ethnic minority groups that are predominantly Muslim. As well as the study examined whether media-induced negative attitudes toward Muslims (or Muslim ethnic minority groups) are "transferred" to *non-Muslim ethnic minority groups*, by studying the attitudes of adolescents (aged 15–25 years).

The study showed that the increased negative visibility of Muslims in the media was associated with increased negative attitudes of Dutch adolescents toward Muslims. Because media salience is operationalized as media coverage of Muslims on the day of survey completion, this effect identified interpreted as an immediate or short-term response to media attention.

5. **The study of Weaver (2016) titled: "Analysis of Representations of African Americans in Non-linear Streaming Media Content"** aimed a**t** developing better understanding of how Americans of African origin are portrayed in nonlinear distribution platforms through the analysis of the content of the top five shows/materials on Netflix, Hulu, and Amazon platforms, and the impact of this portrayal on the societal and individual perception towards them as well as on the policies and practices targeting them. The study showed that broadcasting platforms on the internet provide more variety/diversity than traditional TV, and it also showed that there is a significant relationship between the media's portrayal of the African American personality and negative individual attitudes towards them.

6. **The study of Rumbaut (2015) titled: "Assimilation of Immigrants"** aimed to investigate in-depth the two dimensions of assimilation and acculturation that affect minority communities by analyzing the main influences on these two dimensions, which are represented by the images, concepts, and impressions included in the media, cultural, advertising, and recreational materials from their various sources, i.e. (newspapers, television, radio, cinema, novels, school curricula).

The study identified the cultural and behavioral phenomena represented by assimilation/integration and acculturation, which characterize the societal and collective view about minorities, and how minorities are influenced by these phenomena, of which the media represents the main tool and channel for disseminating and enhancing them. The latter is considered as the product of cultural and media interaction.

7. **The study by Al-Hourani (2015) titled: "Reproducing the Ethnic Identity in Jordan"** aimed to explore if the ethnic minorities in Jordan work at reproducing and preserving their cultural identity. The study sample included

(496) young men and women aged between (20-25) years, and belonging to five ethnic minorities: Circassians, Chechens, Armenians, Druze, and Kurds.

The results showed that ethnic minorities in Jordanian society are still clearly reproducing their identity, but some mechanisms of reproduction, especially language and social relations, have declined compared to other mechanisms. The results also showed that there are slight differences between minorities in reproducing ethnic identity, with the highest being (the Druze minority) and then, respectively, Armenians, Circassians, Chechens, and Kurds.

8. **The study by Georgieva (2013) titled: "How Media Portrayal Affects Perceptions of Minorities: The Case of Bulgaria"** aimed to determine the extent to which the method of presentation in the media affects views on minorities (The case of Bulgaria) by analyzing the position of the group (society) using a randomly combined sample in terms of (age, gender, and educational level) towards the two largest minority groups in the country (Bulgarian Turks and Romas), where the views of the study sample were first identified before they were presented with a set of newspaper articles from three of the largest newspapers - two articles from each newspaper - and each article related to the most common stereotypes of these minorities.

The study showed that before reading the articles, the results of the survey indicated that Bulgarian citizens had a positive or neutral view, as they did not see the two main minorities (Turks and Romas) as posing an economic or social threat to them, but after presenting the newspaper articles to them, there was a decrease in the positive or neutral view about the social economic and economic threat posed by them on Bulgarian citizens.

As for measuring social distance and the desire to associate with people from minority groups, the percentage of respondents who do not mind working with/for someone from the two main minorities decreased, as well as for those who accept the idea of intermarriage between one of their acquaintances or relatives from others from the two main minorities.

9. **The study by Johnson (2012) titled: "The Impact of Negative Stereotypes & Representations of African-Americans in the Media and African-American Incarceration"** aimed to identify the impact of new policies (especially related to the criminal system and the judiciary) on African Americans as well as to analyze media content about the policies and the stereotypical image of the African personality.

The study concluded that the displayed content reinforces racism and negative stereotypes towards African Americans as deviants and criminals in a way that generates false perceptions about them, which is reflected in their detention and imprisonment rates.

The study also concluded that from the beginning of the motion picture industry, African American women and men (with few exceptions) were negatively portrayed as stupid, inferior, child-like, and unsophisticated characters, ignorant, violent, sexually aggressive, corrupt, and morally bankrupt.

10. **The study by Firmstone et al. (2002) titled: " Representation of Minorities in the Media: UK. Final Analysis Report"** aimed to review the coverage of the British national press (12 newspapers) on issues related to minorities by reviewing the most important political and social events during the data collection period.

The results showed that ethnic minorities receive relatively little coverage in the British press, and it is clear that the media appearance of the leaders of these groups remains limited and random. The study also showed a high share of ethnic minorities in media coverage regarding specific news agendas such as immigration, terrorism, and crime in particular.

11. **The study by Gordon (1964) titled: "Assimilation in American Life: Role of Race, Religion and National Origins " aimed to** present the Assimilation Theory (Conformity with the Majority) which refers to how members of an ethnic or racial minority group who no longer have significant cultural, social, or personal differences between themselves and members of the dominant group function and interact. While physical or racial differences may persist, they are not the final distinction point With regard to group prejudice and discrimination, these minority group members actually no longer appear to be outsiders because they have abandoned their own cultural traditions and successfully integrated into the dominant group".

Gordon suggested in his theory the existence of seven (7) stages for assimilation, namely: Cultural, Structural, Marital, Identification, Attitude, Behavioral, Civic.

Study Results and Discussion

This chapter presents and then discusses the information obtained by the researcher, after conducting in-depth interviews with the study sample, which consisted of (10) respondents from the Elders (Sheikhs) and representatives of the "Nawar and Turkmen" minorities (6 from the Nawar and 4 from the Turkmen).

The main question of the study is: To what extent does the Jordanian media cover the issues of minorities in Jordan from the point of view of the Elders (Sheikhs) and representatives of these minorities?

It will be addressed through answering the following sub-questions:

The First Question: Are the media in general, and the Jordanian media in particular, followed by minorities in Jordan?

The answers of all respondents agreed that they follow the media in general. As for the Jordanian media, they are followed intermittently if they know that a topic related to them is scheduled to be broadcasted, so that it is followed either directly on the media outlet or by watching it later on the YouTube platform of the outlet.

The Second Question: What media outlets are followed by minorities in Jordan and constitute a source of information for them (newspapers, radio and television stations, magazines, and electronic news websites)?

The answers of the respondents from the "Nawar and "Turkmen" minorities agreed that their sources of information were from Jordanian and non-Jordanian media, while the non-Jordanian ones were mostly Turkish media and they are followed in particular by the Turkmen minority.

The media outlets watched by the two minorities were in the following order: First: TV stations and social media platforms affiliated with these stations, most notably (YouTube and Facebook), Second: Electronic news websites And Radio stations; and Fourth: Newspapers, in a very limited manner. As for magazines, they are not followed by either minority.

This result is consistent with the study by (Weaver, 2016), which results showed that online broadcast platforms provide greater diversity than traditional television.

The researcher believes that the result of the small group of the "Nawar and Turkmen" minorities that follow Jordanian newspapers and news websites is due to the low educational (to the level of illiteracy by some) and cultural level of this group. Follow-up of newspapers is very limited and only by the educated class of the two minorities. While following television stations and social media platforms does not require any educational or cultural level. As for the results of the magazines, it is due to education and culture first, and secondly to the low economic level, which requires the availability of money to buy the magazine.

The Third Question: Does the Jordanian media (newspapers, radio and television stations, magazines, and electronic news websites) cover the issues and topics of minorities in Jordan?

Regarding the coverage of issues and topics of minorities in Jordan, the results showed that the volume of coverage is small and irregular. The reason for this, from the point of view of a number of respondents from the Nawar and Turkmen minorities, is that "all stations and programs repeat the same story". The sparse or irregular follow-up by Jordanian television stations is due, according to what they say, "… them being marginalized," and the follow-up is through what is placed on the television station's platform, especially YouTube and Facebook.

The interviewee (No. 1) from the "Nawar" minority adds, "The important program that I watched (but I did not participate in) was on Al-Haqiqa Al Dawleyyah Channel about two years ago in Al- Mowajaha (encounter) program with Dr. Musa Al-Amarat, and its aim was to present the issues that concern the Nawar".

The interviewee (No. 2) from the "Nawar" minority, said, "I participated in more than 15 interviews with local and foreign press... My problem with them is that they come and conduct an interview for 10 minutes that conveys a very abstract image that confirms the firmly established image that is already rooted in people's minds. Unfortunately, they do not address topics that reflect reality... What do they do? They carry a camera and take video, but only of the tents and shacks... I wish they take a video of a villa or a palace that some Nawar own."

He added, "The most important interview for me was with Al-Haqiqa Al Dawleyyah Channel about two years ago in Al- Mowajaha (encounter) program with Dr. Musa Al-Amarat, and its aims was to present Al-Nawar's issues, problems, and suffering."

"Turkmen" representatives (Nos. 1, 2, 4) indicated that most of them do not follow the news on Jordanian channels "because they do not present anything that interests us," and that if they follow any item it would be of drama series and for the purpose of entertainment, and most likely those broadcasted by Turkish (non-Jordanian) stations, attributing the reason for their lack of interest in following Jordanian channels to their belief that "The stations are not seriously interested in us, and we do not have enthusiasm to follow up on a regular basis."

As for the appearance of the "Turkmen" on the official/public or private Jordanian television channels and their affiliated platforms, they explained that their experience with these channels is through "people who come to film tents, shacks and families, and women's clothing, and they are not interested in asking us about matters that concern us...they film them for a few minutes and upload them to YouTube with a repeated comment that we have memorized, and it is all simple information about origins and movement... Many of us, especially those living in sedentary homes, refused to allow them to take photos or video reels of our women and daughters because they are not for display".

This result is consistent with (Firmstone et al., 2002), who showed that ethnic minorities receive relatively very little coverage in the British press and that the appearance of leaders of these groups in the media remains limited and random. And consistent with (Müller et al., 2023) study which indicated that groups that are associated with less wealthy countries, and with culturally more distant countries, face more stigmatization, both explicitly and implicitly.

This result is also not in line with what is included in the literary framework of the study about the United Nations Declaration on "The Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious, and Linguistic Minorities," in terms of the obligation of states to protect the existence of minorities, their national or ethnic identity, and their cultural, religious, and linguistic identity, and to create conditions necessary to enhance this identity.

The researcher indicates that through her monitoring of a number of Jordanian media outlets, which are described in the literary framework of the study, it became clear that most of the Jordanian and non-Jordanian media outlets, whether visual, print, or electronic, focused on the origins of these minorities, their place of residence, the way they dress, their methods of transportation, and their work occupation, while these channels did not address their requirements and needs and therefore their demands.

More importantly, the media channels did not attempt to find solutions to the problems and challenges facing these minorities.

The Fourth Question: What are the most prominent issues and topics related to minorities that are covered by the Jordanian media?

The sheikhs and representatives of the "Nawar and Turkmen" minorities unanimously agreed that the Jordanian and Arab media, especially the television stations and YouTube platforms affiliated with those stations, present general topics about history and customs minimally, and also superficially address some issues such as poverty, constant movement, education, society's outlook and focus largely on the practice of begging.

This is evident from what was explicitly expressed by respondent (No. 5) from the "Nawar" minority, who said "The media deals superficially with our issues and concerns. For example, begging, which the media focuses on as a defect attached the "Nawar" - is a phenomenon practiced by a small group-, and this can be attributed to the lack/scarcity of jobs".

The "Turkmen" had the same opinion as the "Nawar", as demonstrated by the two respondents (No. 4 and 1) from the "Turkmen" minority who stated that "the media focuses on begging as it is a characteristic attached to us. They continue to add that "The media present the common, negative image about us and neglect to verify that many of us cannot find a job and try using connections for finding simple and mediocre jobs for our sons to sweep and clean the streets".

This result is consistent with the study (Johnson, 2012), which showed that the content displayed in the media reinforces racism and negative stereotypes towards African Americans as deviants and criminals in a way that generates false

perceptions about them.

It is also consistent with the study (Firmstone et al., 2002), the results of which showed that ethnic minorities get a high share in media coverage regarding specific news agendas such as immigration, terrorism, and crime in particular. And consistent with (Ramirez et al., 2023) study which showed that the articles highlighted the invisibility and stereotyping of marginalized groups in media messages.And that the terms minority, marginalized, underrepresented, underprivileged, disadvantaged, Black, Indigenous and People of Color (BIPOC), and others identify diverse communities.

This result differs from what the theory of social responsibility focused on in terms of the need for the media outlet to adhere to professionalism, honesty, objectivity, accuracy, and balance when presenting various issues and to avoid everything that leads to offending the minority in society.

This result differs from what is included in the literature framework of the study, which explains the jobs practiced by the "Nawar" minority, the most prominent of which are selling in the streets as street peddlers, dental repair, on farms, metal and woodworking, carpentry, fortune-telling palmistry.

As for the "Turkmen" minority, they work in collecting scrap, especially women and children. As for men, some of them work in Egypt and Sudan – mostly- to earn money, and others work by selling coats, glasses, and some supplies (The Ohio Newspaper Website in Arabic, 2021).

This result confirms what (Musa, 2013) pointed out about the deep gap (difference) between the "Nawar" and society at large is due to the negative perceptions that have taken root in society's minds about them, even though they have been Jordanian citizens since the founding of the Jordanian state.

The researcher believes that the overall answers of the respondents from the two minorities, which indicate the absence/weakness of media coverage (especially the official ones) are due to the lack of systematic treatment of issues that concern the two minorities, and this is manifested in various forms, the most prominent of which are: irregularity in coverage, and poor preparation for it, and its reliance on consolidating the negative stereotype that has been prevailing for a long time without verifying the developments that have occurred to it, for example: the increasing demand among young people (both males and females) on education up to various university levels and specializations, particularly with regard to the "Nawar" minority.

The Fifth Question: What is the (nature, form), and (volume/area) of Jordanian media coverage of minority issues?

The results of interviews with the "Nawar" minority showed that the media coverage of their issues is superficial and does not deal with pressing issues and is not based on reality. Their representatives expressed this in the following terms:

Respondent (No. 2): "Television stations come to us and film our tents and poverty, and they ask us the same repeated questions, and sometimes there are television stations that come to us with societies and projects and give people false hopes about providing them with assistance and support, after that they disappear and we do not see neither them nor the assistance and support".

Respondent (No. 4): "The media presents the common misconception about our community / group, such as men refusing to work and the same media ignore that many of us resort to connections and favoritism in order to be able to find a job opportunity for our sons in menial jobs such as cleaning the streets.. There are many of our young people who collect materials from garbage as a way to help them earn a decent living".

The "Turkmen" minority indicated, through interviewee No. (3), that media coverage is represented in "the You-Tubers channels who come to us and film our shacks and tents and poverty, and ask us the same superficial questions, most clips/posts are very short time-wise and have no results that can improve our living and conditions".

This finding is consistent with (Johnson, 2012) study that showed that media content related to African Americans portrays women and men (with a few exceptions) in a negative way that portrays them as stupid, inferior, child-like, unsophisticated, ignorant, violent, and sexually aggressive, corrupt and morally bankrupt.

It is also consistent with (Weaver, 2016) study which showed the presence of a significant relationship between the

media's portrayal of the African American personality and negative individual attitudes towards them and the impact of this on the policies and practices taken against them, and consistent with (Boer et al., 2019) study which showed that the increased negative visibility of Muslims in the media was associated with increased negative attitudes of Dutch adolescents toward Muslims.

This result differs from what the theory of social responsibility states in terms of the responsibility of professional journalists towards their institutions and society, and the pressing need for the media outlet to protect the rights of individuals as media is considered to be the gatekeeper.

This result differs from what is included in the literary framework of the study, through the United Nations Declaration which indicates the obligation of states in terms of enabling persons belonging to minorities to express their characteristics and to develop their culture, language, religion, traditions, and customs, except in cases where certain practices violate national law and violate international standards.

The researcher attributes the answers of the representatives of the two minorities to the reason behind the media treatment of their issues as being of low importance and not of interest to society in general, as well as to poor knowledge of media of the real circumstances of these two groups, which is reflected in the media's tendency not to allocate sufficient space to deal with their issues and follow them up as required. In terms of media content, it reinforces the stereotypical image of these two minorities because it ignores the changes that have occurred over the past decades with regard to their lives and issues, such as describing them as constantly on the move at a time when the percentage of sedentary people from the Nawar reaches 70% of their total number, as well as a fairly close percentage for "Turkmen" according to the respondents. This makes the media coverage superficial and disconnected from reality.

The Sixth Question: To what extent does Jordanian media coverage meet the level of expectations of minorities in Jordan, in terms of (volume of coverage and continuity in comparison with coverage of other minorities)?

All the representatives of the "Nawar" unanimously agreed that media coverage of their issues do not meet their expectations and expressed their view that "coverage is little and there must be regular programs so that people know us properly and thus accept us".

As for the representatives of the "Turkmen", they unanimously agreed that there is no effect from covering their issues, explaining that, "There is no effect in media coverage because it does not cover our issues in a focused manner, and is limited to short clips/video on YouTube that do not impact realizing the change we aspire to in our lives in terms of people's acceptance of us".

In terms of continuity and follow-up of coverage, representatives of the Nawar minority stated that media coverage is intermittent and irregular, noting this in the following statements:

Respondent (No. 1): "There is no channel that covers our issues except Al-Haqiqa Al Dawleyyah Channel which broadcasted a serious and well-researched program".

Respondent (No. 2): "The media generally comes to us when an important official comes to the region. Furthermore, most of the time, local officials in Ma'adaba do not invite any representative of the Nawar when there are official meetings of the people of the city and governorate with other officials from the state".

Respondent (No. 4): "Media coverage is not related to our needs and issues... It happens by chance when a channel or YouTube activist decides to film something simple about us, and then the discussion is repetitive and unhelpful".

As for the Turkmen representatives, the respondents (No. 1 and 2) stated that "the media in general, and the Jordanian television channels in particular, do not know anything about us or our problems."

As for whether this media coverage supports their rights or derogates them, the "Nawar and Turkmen" gave identical answers when they said: "It has no effect on supporting our rights because it does not cover our issues in a focused and in-depth manner".

The respondent (No. 2) from the Nawar minority explained "Derogation of our status occurs when the media presents one side of the picture about us, such as poverty, wandering, movement between places and the tents, while ignoring the

other side of the picture represented by an increasing education rate among the new generations of the "Nawar" in many fields".

He continued, "The media also ignores that the vast majority (70%) of the "Nawar" are settled in specific places, and the smaller percentage (30%) move from one place to another. These media also ignore that many of us live in homes and sometimes in palaces".

As for whether the issues of other minorities are covered more than the issues of the "Nawar and Turkmen" minorities, the results of the interviews from the "Nawar" minority gleaned through the respondents No. (1, 3, 4) showed they perceive that the Circassians, Chechens, and Armenian minorities have a much better situation than the "Nawar". Furthermore, they stated that there is no comparison in terms of social status, which in turn was reflected in the media's better coverage of their issues. They expressed this by saying, "The state trusts both Circassians and Chechens, and they reach high and senior positions. They also obtain services and support from institutions, jobs, and positions. For this reason, they were able to preserve their language, customs, and traditions and to set up institutions that follow up on these issues".

As for the representatives of the "Turkmen", they answered through respondent No. (2, 4): "What we know and are certain of is that some other minorities have a distinguished position socially and financially and are strongly present in official jobs, and as a result of their status social and financial, they will have a strong presence in the media and in a distinct way not like the image that the media conveys about us".

Regarding whether these two minorities resorted to the media to shed light on their topics and issues, the "Nawar" minority expressed this by saying:

- Respondent (No. 1): "We did not contact the media, because we know that they will not help us with anything".

- Respondent (No. 5): "We do not try to communicate with them because they are uninterested in us".

One of the educated and cultured figures from the Nawar (No. 2) said "I am personally thinking of creating a YouTube channel dedicated to our issues and news, and this method may help us reach His Majesty King Abdullah given our failure to meet him previously".

He continued: "I did not find any way for me except to send a video to His Majesty. The video is an audio and video message recorded by me, and I sent it several months ago to all websites in Jordan. Until now I have not received any response, neither from an official nor from the Royal Court".

As for representatives of the "Turkmen" minority, they reported that they did not communicate with the media to raise their issues. They expressed this by saying:

- Respondent (No. 2): "We cannot reach them, and even if we communicate with them, they do not give our issues any attention because they do not think highly of us".

- Respondent (No. 4): "We do not see that there is any benefit from them, and we do not expect anything from them".

This result is consistent with the study (Rumbaut, 2015), which identified the cultural and behavioral phenomena of Assimilation / integration and acculturation, which characterized the societal and collective view about the minorities, and how minorities have been influences by these phenomena, of which the media represents the main conduit for disseminating and deepening them, and which are the product of cultural and media interaction.

It also agrees with the study (Al-Hourani, 2015), which showed that ethnic minorities in Jordanian society are still clearly reproducing their identity. There are slight differences between minorities in reproducing ethnic identity, with the highest being the "he Druze minority" followed respectively by "Armenians", "Circassians", "Chechens" and Kurds. This is consistent with (Zhan Xu et al., 2022) study, which indicated that minority groups have been underrepresented in COVID-19 news articles. Left-leaning newspapers were more likely to discuss minorities in COVID-19 news than least biased media. COVID-19 news exceeded the average U.S. reading comprehension level and require some college education to understand but did not differ in readability levels among partisan newspapers.

This result differs from what is stipulated in the "Theory of Social Responsibility" in terms of the role of the media that aims at serving society and respecting the cultural, social, political and economic rights of its members.

This result is consistent with what was included in the literary framework of the study. (Al-Omari, 2019) pointed out

that the official Jordanian television displays many traditional programs about Bedouin and rural life and popular life within the cities, especially the capital, Amman, but it has not addressed at all the many issues and problems experienced by the "Nawar" group which also is present in most Arab countries.

The researcher attributes the answers of the respondents to the injustice that befell the two minorities as a result of the negative stereotypes that the media contributed to strengthening, especially with regard to acceptance and social identification with the rest of Jordanians, and to their complete absence from actual political participation which would have materialized through allocating a specific quota for them in the House of Representatives, or through appointments in civil and military state agencies, at a time when a significant number of individuals from other minorities have reached the highest positions such as prime minister, ministers and directors of security services such as Public Security, Intelligence and the Armed Forces.

The Seventh Question: What issues should Jordanian media cover to meet the expectations of minorities in Jordan?

The answers of all representatives of the "Nawar and Turkmen" agreed that there are many issues that should be raised in the media, and they are as follows:

- "Young people struggle to find work, even if it is at the level of a municipal cleaning crew".
- "Allocating a seat in the House of Representatives and some municipal councils to the Nawar".
- "The state should allocate lands to the non-sedentary Nawar and Turkmen while providing basic services there".
- "Focus on the fact that the educational level of the "Nawar" is high. Some of us are teachers in Jordanian universities, and some of us work in government jobs, municipalities, and the army - but in a very small percentage -. Media should not suffice its coverage to focusing on our constant movement, or incidents when some of the Nawar and Turkmen cause problems or connecting some of them to some practices like stealing, dancing, selling junk, and digging up trash, etc..".
- "The difficulty of appointing Turkmen to government and municipal jobs, and when we submit applications to join the army and public security jobs, our applications are rejected on the pretext that we are Turkmen and have no role".
- "Our repeated demands and hopes are for His Majesty King Abdullah II to visit us. Despite our loyalty to the Hashemites and our homeland and distancing ourselves from everything that affects Jordan's security, such as demonstrations, sit-ins, and terrorism, yet, the Hashemite leadership did not visit us or invite us to meet even once or deign to meet our representatives, even though they visited all the people and sites in the desert, the countryside, the cities and the camps!!".
- "The inferior and negative view of us as "Nawar" and "Turkmen", especially by the Jordanian tribes. We do not enjoy proper consideration by the Jordanian tribes".
- The injustice inflected on us as "Nawar and Turkmen" by officials, and its forms "include:
  ▪ The decisions of the administrative governors to demolish and burn the shacks and tents inhabited by the "Nawar and Turkmen" due to complaints from neighbors or because of the mood of the administrative governor.
  ▪ Discrimination against us by the security authorities in case of any problem involving a person/group from the "Nawar or Turkmen".
  ▪ Discrimination and neglect, without knowing the reason for this neglect, despite our loyalty and sincere belonging to the homeland and the Hashemite leadership.
  ▪ The "Nawar and Turkmen" minorities are not included in some subsidy programs aiming to support needy groups, as they do not benefit from government housing projects.

This result differs from the study (Gordon, 1964), which indicated that members of the minority group no longer appear to be outsiders because they have successfully integrated into the dominant group.

This result is consistent with a study (Georgieva, 2013) that showed the effect of media content on the decrease of positive perception by Bulgarians towards the two minorities (Turks and Romanians) in terms of socio-economic threat.

This result differs from what is stipulated in the theory of society regarding the   the importance of high transparency in the state's aspects, policies, and programs and placing information in front of citizens (not hiding it) except for the purposes of the security of society and the state.

This result is consistent with what was included in the literary framework of the study, which showed the weakness in addressing the issues of the "Nawar and Turkmen" minorities in the visual, audio, print, and electronic media during the years 2004 - 2021, as it was found that only 12 media articles (visual, printed and electronic) were published throughout these seventeen (17) years.

The researcher believes that the issues mentioned by the elders (Sheikhs) and representatives of the two minorities reflect their lived reality, and stem from the stereotypical image imprinted in the minds of officials and people in general about them, which the media (especially the audio-visual ones and the social media platforms affiliated with these media) have contributed to consolidating due to their: weakness in playing the role they are expected to play. This is in terms of not being committed to the values of society, as well as in failing to present a realistic picture of the diverse groups that make up society, and lastly its weak role in changing the prevailing concepts and impressions of society in general about minorities who are their partners in the homeland, since they are Jordanian citizens and are supposed to be equal in rights, duties and opportunities with all Jordanians.

Conclusion

The results showed that Jordanian media coverage of issues and topics of minorities in Jordan is limited and irregular and that Jordanian television stations and their YouTube platforms present general topics in a brief manner about history, customs, and traditions while focusing largely on resorting to begging as a profession.

The representatives of the two minorities did not see that the media's coverage of their issues met their level of expectations because it did not deal with the issues that were pressing for them and did not start from their reality.

Regarding whether the issues of other minorities are covered more than the issues of the "Nawar and Turkmen" minorities, the results showed that the Circassians, Chechen and Armenian minorities have a much better social and financial situation than the "Nawar and Turkmen", which was reflected in better media coverage of their issues.

Regarding the issues that Jordanian media should cover to meet the expectations of minorities in Jordan, the answers of all representatives of the "Nawar and Turkme" minorities agreed on many issues, the most important of which are:

- The suffering of the youth of the two minorities in obtaining work in general, particularly in government jobs and in the army and public security.

- Focusing on increasing the educational level, especially among the Nawar minority, and not just focusing on the constant movement of the two minorities, and a number of them causing problems, and some of them engaging in stealing, dancing, selling junk, and digging up trash.

- Changing the inferiority and negative view of the "Nawar and the Turkmen", especially by the Jordanian tribes.

- Eliminating the injustice inflicted on them by officials, such as some administrative rulers' decisions to demolish and burn the tents and shaks in which they live because of complaints from neighbors or because of the mood of administrative governor. As well as discrimination against them by the security authorities in the event of any problem involving a party who belong to "Nawar and Turkmen" minorities.

Recommendations

The study recommends that the Jordanian media outlets do the following:

- Covering the issues and topics of minorities in Jordan on a regular and in-depth basis by focusing on their requirements, needs and thus their demands, and trying to find solutions to the problems and challenges facing these minorities.

- Focus on the positive role of these minorities and their rights and duties, and not just focus on the negative matters that reinforce society's common and wrong image of these two minorities.

- Benefiting from the results of in-depth scientific research such as this study, which clearly and scientifically shows the interests and needs of minorities in Jordan and the issues that they aspire to be focused on by the media.
- Paying attention to the social media platforms affiliated with these media outlets as they are the most widespread and followed by the majority of society's groups, especially the minority group that this study addressed, by including them with content that targets these minorities.

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