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THE PROBLEM OF THE BALANCE BETWEEN FREEDOM OF THE PRESS AND THE REQUIREMENTS OF NATIONAL SECURITY IN IRAQ AFTER 2003

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ABSTRACT

The journalistic openness in Iraq after 2003 allowed for the emergence of many newspapers, and granted it the privilege of expressing the economic, political and social situation in Iraq with relatively great freedom compared to previous years. This freedom faces large walls of obstacles, some of which are related to the security aspect. Not all information related to the strategic security of the country is allowed for a journalist to publish it without permission or approval to publish, and the question that comes to mind is how can freedom of the press play its role in balance with the requirements of strong security in Iraq after 2003, and this is the question about which the current research seeks an accurate answer.

Introduction

The media environment after the US occupation of Iraq on 9/4/2003 witnessed an unprecedented transformation, from a comprehensive monolithic media that is subject to strict government control, to a democratic media that is not restricted by regulations and legislation and most of it lacks a sense of responsibility, and a huge number of press websites have launched into the Iraqi cyberspace. Electronic deluge has a variety of interests, affiliations, orientations and specializations, in a way that can be described as an electronic deluge (Khalil, 2000). Despite the rapid growth of the electronic press and the increase in its numbers significantly, it revealed the lack

of electronic journalism qualified human cadres to manage it technically and in writing, and then the low effectiveness of its performance of its news functions, and it was revealed through the follow-up of Iraqi electronic press websites during the study period from 1/1 / 2006 until 12/31/2006 AD there is a clear discrepancy in the aspect of their moral and professional obligations, and that the majority of the Iraqi media have not assumed their national responsibilities in the critical junctions that the country has gone through, and the media work has diverted towards paths that contradict its true goals and the services entrusted to it. This was reflected on its credibility with readers (Al-Anzi, 2007). The crisis of professional responsibility for journalists in the post-American occupation period was one of the aspects of the Iraqi conflict, and commitment to values and a sense of responsibility became a necessity to build bridges of trust between the press institution and the reader, in light of the technological development and imposition of new methods of journalistic communication, which were able to break the barriers and borders that were The reluctance and restriction of the tasks of the press institutions in covering news and reporting events and crises (Wien, 2005). In the year 2006 AD, Iraq witnessed many security crises, the most prominent of which was the bombing of (the shrine of the two military imams) in the city of Samarra, and the ensuing outbreak of sectarian violence during which hundreds of people were killed in Iraq, and the crisis environment as a result of those events was reflected in the structure of the media operation to the point that it became The functions of mass communication media are far from the concerns of society, but are linked to a large extent with partisan goals and narrow factional interests, and determining the influence of the media on national security has become a scientific and practical requirement, in search of a media that does not practice advocacy, discrimination, hatred, disrespect for human and other rights, violation of the principle of citizenship, tear and fragmentation The people split the ranks and hit the national unity. And in light of the urgent need of the Iraqi society for a media that is balanced by freedom and media responsibility, and it looks forward to a national media strategy that maintains freedom of the press and expression and respect for the opinion of the other, and without prejudice to dignity, defamation and defamation. He rejected dissent and extremism, spreading the spirit of national values, tolerance, coexistence and civil peace, and a catalyst and a call for national unity, within a framework of freedom without restrictions or censorship except within limits related to the sanctity of public morals and religious values and the right to dignity, respect for reputation and protection of privacy on the one hand, and what is related to strengthening security On the other hand, the importance of the study was to search for the vision of the contact person for how to strike a balance between press freedom and national security requirements (Saleh, 2002).

Research problem : Iraq is located in an enviable vital geographic location, and its people have religious, sectarian and national extensions with most of the neighboring countries (Knights, 2015). Iraq occupies the site of the second largest oil reserves within the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries. All these basic factors combined have made Iraq historically a prey or a focal point for conflicts between major regional and international powers (Al-Anzi, 2007). No two people disagree that Iraq is now in a suffocating crisis due to the societal, security and economic situation with the deterioration of the state and politics (Naqshbandi, 2015). On the

other hand, press freedom is a human necessity for the advancement and advancement of societies, due to its role in communicating information to all members of the people, especially in the era of globalization in which the world is experiencing a communication revolution. The freedom of the press contributes to granting the individual the possibility of expression, and at the same time it works to spread the facts in society. The press can play an important role in national security issues, by participating in the process of education and public awareness. The relationship of the press with national security issues lies in the relational framework because each of them is necessary for the other. If the role of the press is established, the issues of defense and national security will take root with it, and it will be absent in the event of his absence (Khalil, 2000). The exercise of this freedom requires duties, responsibilities and controls that the journalist must adhere to in order for the press to achieve its social functions in a positive way. Freedom is a responsibility, and he who does not enjoy social responsibility will not enjoy freedom. The call for more freedom of the press must be accompanied by more care on the part of the contact person in the Iraqi press and security institutions to enhance and protect national security in light of the conditions in the region. Therefore, attention came to the theory of social responsibility, which means adherence to professional standards for the transmission of information such as: truth, accuracy, Objectivity, balance, avoiding what could lead to crime, violence and chaos, and observing the journalistic code of honor in the Iraqi press, regardless of its ownership, and the political situations that attract it. In light of the above, the study problem was defined in the search for how to strike a balance between freedom of the press and the requirements of national security in post-2003 Iraq, by revealing the level of freedom for Iraqi electronic newspapers (Al-Sabah, Al-Zaman, The People's Path), and the administrative procedures that media institutions are subjected to, In addition to learning about the laws and regulations that limit the freedom of electronic press, and whether there is a possibility to determine publicly available information and information subject to the confidentiality of national security in Iraq, as well as the most prominent points of distinction between the right of readers to see the truth on the one hand and their right to privacy on the one hand. Other, and learn about the reality of electronic newspapers from the social responsibility of the media, the role of publishing laws and honor codes in journalistic work, and finally the extent to which the 2005 Iraqi constitution guarantees the right to press freedom, in an attempt to present proposals that can contribute to striking a balance between the desired freedom of the press and the requirements of national security.

Research importance :*The importance of the research derives from the following :*

1. The absence of laws that regulate journalistic work and the disruption of the system of value due to the chaos that the press experienced after 4/9/2003, especially the law to protect Iraqi journalists, in addition to the difficult security conditions that many journalists who were killed while performing their journalistic duty.
2. The seriousness of the security situation that the Iraqi people are going through, which threatens their social cohesion and could destroy their unity and division into small, ineffective and ineffective mini-states.
3. The major repercussions of the Iraqi political crises on the Iraqi interior and the negative effects that result from the Iraqi people.

4. The wide spread of the Iraqi media, especially newspapers, websites, and television channels, and the influence they represent on Iraqis, in light of the security situation, and the threats to the Iraqi national security.
5. The Iraqi press is at the heart of ideological conflicts, waging media wars against each other and moving away from its traditional functions of monitoring the external environment and interpreting events, without paying attention to professional rules and ethics in journalistic work. And the necessities of the Iraqi national security.
6. Highlighting the trends of the contact person in the Iraqi security institutions and the press towards the concepts of freedom and social responsibility, and identifying the most important pressures and obstacles facing the contact person and the media organization in which he works in covering Iraqi national security issues.
7. The growing debate over how to balance the right of the press to publish news and information, and its responsibilities in maintaining national security; With the aim of rationalizing the performance of the media in its handling of issues related to national security.
8. Research objectives : The research aims mainly to identify how to strike a balance between freedom of the press and the requirements of national security, by achieving the following sub-objectives:
 - Learn about the level of freedom of Iraqi electronic newspapers (Al-Sabah, Al-Zaman, and Al-Shaab Road).
 - Learn about the administrative procedures that media organizations have been subjected to.
 - Learn about the laws and regulations that limit the freedom of electronic press.
 - Identify the possibility of identifying publicly available information and confidential information related to national security in Iraq.
 - Highlighting points of distinction between the readers' right to see the truth on the one hand, and their right to privacy on the other hand.
 - Statement of the reality of electronic newspapers from the social responsibility of the media.
 - Learn about the role of publishing laws and codes of honor in journalistic work.
 - Explain what the Iraqi constitution of 2005 guarantees for the right to freedom of the press.

Research questions: *The research sought to answer the main question ,which is how to strike a balance between freedom of the press and the requirements of national security ?Several questions emerged from it, which can be summarized as follows:*

1. What is the level of freedom for Iraqi electronic newspapers (Al-Sabah, Al-Zaman, Tareeq Al-Shaab)?
2. What are the administrative procedures that your media organization has been subjected to?
3. What laws and regulations that limit the freedom of electronic press ?
4. Can publicly available information and confidential information regarding national security in Iraq be determined?
5. What are the points of distinction between the right of readers to see the truth on the one hand, and their right to privacy on the other hand?
6. What are the websites of electronic newspapers from the social responsibility of the media?

7. What is the role of publishing laws and codes of honor in journalistic work?
8. To what extent does the Iraqi constitution of 2005 guarantee the right to press freedom?

Research Hypotheses: **The first hypothesis:** The laws and regulations of Iraqi media in force currently limit freedom of opinion and expression in the press. **The second hypothesis:** the existence of trends of the communicator towards the concept of social responsibility in the press. **The third hypothesis:** There are trends of the communicator towards publications laws and journalistic honor codes

Methodology

Research methodology:The study is based on the descriptive survey method that describes the phenomenon through a survey of the journalist community in a number of official, party and independent newspapers, with the aim of obtaining accurate answers on the subject of the study, which contribute to answering a set of questions to arrive at interpreted results that have their significance. Statistics, in order to measure the views and attitudes of those in contact with how to strike a balance between freedom of the press and the requirements of national security in Iraq after 2003.

Research type:This study belongs to descriptive research Descriptive study, Which aims to depict, analyze and evaluate the characteristics of a particular group or a specific situation that is predominantly defined, or study the current facts related to the nature of a phenomenon, situation, or group of people, or a group of events or a group of situations, with the aim of obtaining sufficient and accurate information about it (Hussein, 2006)). Aimed at identifying the journalists 'vision of the study community, of the requirements for striking a balance between freedom of the press and the requirements of national security in Iraq after 2003

Research community :The field study was conducted on a sample of those in contact with the daily Iraqi newspapers (Al-Sabah government newspaper, Al-Zaman independent newspaper, Tareeq Al-Shaab newspaper).

Research tools :The questionnaire sheet was used as a tool to collect data that measure the various dimensions and variables of the study in light of the study problem and its objectives, as well as the study hypotheses. The questionnaire sheet is one of the basic methods used in collecting primary, basic or direct data from the selected sample or from All vocabulary of the research community by directing a set of specific or prepared questions in advance, with the aim of identifying certain facts or the respondents' views and attitudes or the motives, factors and influences that drive them to certain behavioral behaviors (Hussein, 2006). The researcher used the interview method on two levels, the first of which is a "codified interview": where he was keen to be with most of the respondents while answering the questionnaire questions, in order to ensure more accurate answers. The second: the free interview: where the researcher conducted dialogues with some of the study sample respondents to obtain impressions, interpretations and background knowledge that is difficult to obtain through the questionnaire newspaper.

Truthfulness and constancy :honesty: honesty is one of the necessary and necessary conditions for building tests and standards, and honesty indicates the extent to which the paragraphs measure the phenomenon to be measured, and the best way to measure honesty is apparent honesty, which is to present the paragraphs of the scale to a group

of experts to judge their validity, and the validity of the scale has been apparent. Through the presentation of paragraphs on a group of afflicted - khaschin in the media, and the proportion of the experts agreed on the paragraphs of the scale (9, 8.4), which is an acceptable ratio. Stability : It is consistency in the results of the scale, as it gives the same results after applying it twice in two different times on the same individuals, and the stability was calculated in two ways: Stability by the half-segmentation method: The idea of half-segmentation is based on dividing the scale paragraphs into two homogeneous halves for the purpose of calculating the stability according to this method All the sample's (200) forms were used after excluding those who do not watch the satellite news channels. The scale paragraphs were divided in two halves. The first includes the marital paragraphs and the second includes the individual paragraphs, and the Pearson correlation coefficient between the degrees of the two halves was extracted (0.71) and using the Spearman Brown corrective equation The reliability coefficient in this way reached (0.85), which is an acceptable reliability coefficient. The (alpha) coefficient for internal consistency: The alpha coefficient provides us with a good estimate in most situations. This method depends on the consistency of the individual's performance from one paragraph to another. To extract the consistency according to this method, all the search forms were used, and then the (alpha) equation was used. The scale reliability coefficient reached (0.88). The scale is internally consistent, because this equation reflects the extent of the internal consistency of the paragraphs.

Research fields and their limits :The thematic field: The study is limited to identifying the role of press freedom in realizing the balance with the requirements of national security after 2003. The human field: Those who communicate in the daily Iraqi newspapers (Al-Sabah government, Al-Zaman independent, Al-Shaab Al-Hizbiya way), according to the following: Those who contact in Al-Sabah Newspaper, by (140) respondents, those who contact in the newspaper of Al-Zaman, by (32) respondents, The contact persons in Tareeq Al-Shaab newspaper, according to (28) respondents. The spatial domain: the daily Iraqi electronic newspapers represented by the newspapers (Al-Sabah, Al-Zaman, Tareeq Al-Shaab), and these newspapers were chosen because they represent various trends and lines of thought, as Al-Sabah newspaper represents government newspapers, Al-Zaman newspaper represents independent newspapers, and Tareeq Al-Shaab newspaper represents the Iraqi Communist Party. The time domain: The researcher specified the time period from 01/01/2006 to 31/12/2006, when the year 2006 AD witnessed the worst years of freedom of the Iraqi press, due to the security events and crises it witnessed, the most prominent of which were: the bombing of (the shrine of the two military imams) in the city of Samarra, and the outbreak Sectarian violence during which hundreds of Iraqis were killed.

Research sample :The field research was conducted on a simple random sample Sample random samplingIt consists of (200) individuals who are responsible for communicating in the daily Iraqi newspapers (Al-Sabah government, Al-Zaman independent, Al-Shaab Al-Hizbiya path,(and because the size of the journalistic community is relatively small, it is preferable to use a comprehensive inventory method .In addition to the absence of lists showing the actual number of journalists, this method helps to draw a healthy sample .Finally, the researcher's desire to obtain

accurate results free from random errors resulting from the method of using the sample.

Literature review

1. Research terms

Electronic journalism :There are many concepts of electronic journalism. Some researchers point out that newspapers that are published and published on the Internet, and are in the form of newspapers printed on computer screens, cover the pages of the newspaper, including the text, pictures, graphics, sound and animated images. On the other hand, electronic journalism is the one that takes place. Issuance and publication on the global Internet or other information networks, whether it is an electronic copy or version of a printed paper newspaper or an electronic newspaper that does not have a printed paper issue, whether it is a general or specialized newspaper, whether it is an accurate record of the paper version or summaries of the publication in it as long as it is It is issued regularly, meaning its content is updated from day to day or from hour to hour or time to time according to the capabilities of the issuer (**Amin, 2007**). Others define it as newspapers that are published and published on the Internet as grand or electronic magazines and do not have regular printed publications on paper, providing real-time news, live photos, audio and video, which can be retrieved within a few seconds (Al-Faisal, 2006). Some believe that electronic journalism is a type of communication between humans that takes place through cyberspace, the Internet and other information and communication networks, in which the arts, mechanisms and skills of work in print journalism are used, in addition to the skills and mechanisms of information technologies that are suitable for the use of cyberspace as a medium or means of communication, including The use of text, voice, image, and different levels of interaction with the recipient, to investigate real-time and non-real-time news, process it, analyze it, and quickly publish it to the masses via the cyberspace (Abu Aisha, 2010). Procedural: Electronic journalism is the newspaper that publishes its edition on the Internet and owns or does not have a hard copy. It publishes the news at the time of its occurrence and updates it on an irregular basis, and it is read through a computer or phone connected to the Internet, and in our study we mean Iraqi electronic newspapers (Al-Sabah, the government, Al-Zaman, Independent, and People's Party).

Freedom of the press :Many international and national covenants included defending the right of citizens to freedom of expression by various available means. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 included the following: “Everyone has the right to freedom of expression and opinion, and this right involves holding opinions without interference as well as seeking to receive And the transfer of information by any means without regard to borders ”(Al-Jurf, 2004). The UNESCO constitution is considered a treaty among the countries that have ratified this constitution... Its first article states: “Cooperation in efforts aimed at introducing peoples to each other and their mutual understanding of the cultural values of each one through the means of mass communication” (Franklin, & Wright, 1985). As for the freedom of the press in the permanent Iraqi constitution that was approved in the referendum that took place on October 15, 2005, which was establishing a new era in the framework of building the modern Iraqi state, there is a constitutional text that has not been seriously strengthened. It was stated in Article (36) related to freedoms

from Chapter Two, the state guarantees that it does not violate public order and morals: First: The freedom to express opinion by all means. Second: Freedom of the press, printing, advertising, media and publishing (**Iraqi Organization for the Coordination of Human Rights, Iraq, 2005**). Freedom of the press is also defined as the right of the individual to express his views and beliefs through publications of various forms, such as a book, pamphlet, magazine, newspaper or advertisement, without being subject to prior authorization or censorship, provided that their authors assume civil and penal responsibility (Ravault, 2003). Procedural: Press freedom means giving the individual the right to publish whatever ideas and news he wants through the press and the means of publication, in a manner that does not contradict publishing laws and at the same time the executive authority refrains from restricting freedom before the publishing process. Considering that the freedom of the media is a general privilege of society that reflects pluralism and different opinions, and the practice of the profession of journalism and media requires legal, political and professional guarantees more than others.

National Security :Ensuring the safety of the state against external and internal dangers that may lead to it falling under foreign control as a result of external pressures or internal collapse (Al-Jarabaa, 2012). The Center for Strategic Studies of the Egyptian Armed Forces defines it as national security: a complex local process that determines the state’s ability to develop its capabilities and protect its capacity at all levels and in various fields from internal and external dangers. As for the Jordanian National Defense College, it defines national security as: the state of political and social expression in society, which is a dynamic and dynamic concept that interacts within 3 circles (local, regional, and international) and includes the security of the citizen, his property and beliefs, the state's sovereignty and the integrity of its geography (Jarrar, 2019).Procedural : means national security: the state's ability to interact, adapt and respond within the strategic environment (local, regional, international) in order to protect its resources, lands and national interests in times of peace and war. It also expresses the state's ability to survive and preserve its values while continuing to grow and progress.

Balance : This concept refers to many opinions, including: that balance means allowing the owners of different opinions and points of view to be in the spotlight, and it means that journalists must convey different points of view (opinion and other opinion on any issue in question or discussion) (Saleh, 2002). Others define it as: the balance is not merely a balance between the two anti-news trends and giving them the same coverage time, but an interest in covering all corners of the issue (**Wien, 2005**). Procedural: Balance in this study means the ability of the contact person in the Iraqi electronic newspapers under study to create a balance between press freedoms in dealing with and dealing with events and the requirements of Iraqi national security.

2. Practical side

Description of the sample members

- **By type:** Table (1)shows the distribution of the sample members according to type

T	Type	Repetition	The ratio
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1	Mention	184	92.0%
2	female	16	8.0%
Total		200	100.0%

Through Table (1) and Figure (1), we note that the percentage of respondents who were selected according to gender were (184) males, (92%) and females (16), and (8%).

- **According to the age stage :Table (2** (shows the distribution of the sample members according to the age stage

T	Age stage	Repetition	The ratio
1	30-39 years old	86	43.0%
2	40-49 years old	54	27.0%
3	30 years or less	46	23.0%
4	50 years or more	14	7.0%
Total		200	100.0%

Through Table (2) and Figure (2), we note that the percentage of respondents who were selected according to the age group was the highest frequency for the age group (30-39) years with frequency (86) and the percentage (43%), followed by the age group (40-49 years) repeatedly. (54) And the percentage (27%), followed by the age group (30 years and less) with (46) frequency and (23%), followed by the age group (50 years and over) with frequency (14) and the rate (7%).

- **According to the scientific level :Table (3) shows the distribution of the sample members according to the scientific level**

T	Scientific level	Repetition	The ratio
1	Bachelor	140	70.0%
2	Secondary and below	52	26.0%
3	M.A.	5	2.5%
4	PhD	3	1.5%
Total		200	100.0%

We note from Table No. (3) and Fig. No. (3) that the percentage of respondents who were selected according to the scientific level was the highest frequency for those who hold a bachelor’s degree with repeat (140) and the percentage (70%), followed by those who hold a high school diploma or less with (52) repetition and percentage (26%), followed by those who hold a master's degree repeatedly (5), at a rate of (2.5%), and followed by those who hold a doctorate degree repeatedly (3) and at a rate of (1.5%).

- **According to the scientific specialization :Table (4) shows the distribution of the sample members according to the scientific specialization**

T	Scientific specialization	Repetition	The ratio
1	Humanitarian	110	55.0%
2	scientific	90	45.0%
Total		200	100.0%

We note through Table No. (4) and Fig. No. (4) that the percentage of respondents who were selected according to the scientific specialization was the highest frequency of the human specialization with a frequency of (110) and the rate of (55%) and then the scientific specialization with a frequency of (90) and a rate of (45%).

- **According to years of experience in journalistic work : Table (5) shows the distribution of members of the sample according to years of experience in the field of journalistic work**

T	Years of experience in the field of journalistic work	Repetition	The ratio
1	4-7 years	84	42.0%
2	1-3 years	50	25.0%
3	8-11 years old	44	22.0%
4	12 years and over	22	11.0%
Total		200	100.0%

We note from Table No. (5) and Fig. No. (5) that the percentage of respondents who were selected according to years of experience in the field of journalism was the highest frequency for those who served (4-7 years) with frequency (84) and the percentage (42%) followed by those whom I served (1-3 years) with (50) frequency and (25%), followed by those whom I served (8-11 years) with (44) frequency and (22%), and followed by those whom I served (12 years and over) with (22) frequency and (11%).

- **Work motivations: Table (6) shows the distribution of the sample members according to the work motives**

T	Work motivation	Repetition	The ratio
1	Academic and academic specialization	70	35.0%
2	To achieve fame	42	21.0%
3	Previous experience in this field	34	17.0%
4	Because I love this field	28	14.0%
5	Expressing myself and imposing my personality	26	13.0%
Total		200	100.0%

We note through Table No. (6) and Fig. No. (6) that the percentage of respondents who were selected according to work motives, we notice the highest percentage achieved is for scientific and academic specialization, as it reached (35%) and repeatedly (70), followed by the motivation to achieve fame repeatedly (42) with a percentage of ((21%), followed by previous experience in this field repeatedly (34) and at a rate (17%), followed by a motive because I love this field repeatedly (28) and by (14%) and the motive for self-expression and imposing my personality came last with a frequency of (26) and a rate of (13%).

- **Name of the institution in which you work: Table (7) showing the distribution of the sample members according to the name of the institution in which you work**

T	The name of the institution in which you work	Repetition	The ratio
1	Al-Zaman Newspaper	76	38.0%
2	morning newspaper	68	34.0%
3	People's Road Newspaper	56	28.0%
Total		200	100.0%

We note from Table No. (7) and Fig. No. (7) that the percentage of respondents who were selected according to the institution in which you work was the highest frequency of Al-Zaman newspaper with (76) frequency and (38%), followed by Al-Sabah newspaper with (68) frequency and (34%) It was followed by Tareeq Al-Sha`ab newspaper, at a frequency of (56) and (28%).

• **The nature of your work in the institution: Table (8) shows the distribution of the sample members according to the nature of work in the institution**

T	The nature of work in the institution	Repetition	The ratio
1	editor	90	45.0%
2	Photographer	42	21.0%
3	Secretary edit	40	20.0%
4	Head of the Department	22	11.0%
5	Other	6	3.0%
6	editor	-	-
7	Deputy Editor-in-Chief	-	-
8	managing editor	-	-
Total		200	100.0%

Figure (8) shows the distribution of the sample members according to the nature of work in the institution

We notice through Table No. (8) and Fig. No. (8) that the percentage of respondents who were selected according to the nature of work in the institution was the highest frequency of the editor with a frequency of (90) and the percentage of (45%), followed by the photographer with a frequency of (42) and the percentage of (21%), followed by Editorial secretary at (40) frequency and (20%), followed by department head (22) frequency (11%), followed by other work (6) frequency and (3%).

Scale questions:

The first axis: the level of freedom for Iraqi electronic newspapers (Al-Sabah, Al-Zaman, Al-Shaab Road)

In this axis, we will learn about the level of freedom for the Iraqi electronic newspapers under discussion through the following questions:

Has the journalist in your organization ever been exposed to the following events and procedures?

Table (9) shows whether the journalist in your organization was exposed to the following events and procedures

Category	Always		frequently		Sometimes		Scarcely		Start	
	T	%	T	%	T	%	T	%	T	%

<i>the kill</i>	-	-	2	1.0	42	21.0	52	26.0	104	52.0
<i>Kidnapping</i>	16	8.0	4	2.0	40	20.0	46	23.0	94	47.0
<i>Reserve freedom</i>	6	3.0	22	11.0	26	13.0	56	28.0	90	45.0
<i>Torture or cruel treatment</i>	-	-	2	1.0	32	16.0	58	29.0	108	54.0
<i>Dismissal from work</i>	-	-	12	6.0	28	14.0	56	28.0	104	52.0
<i>Censorship</i>	156	78.0	28	14.0	4	2.0	4	2.0	8	4.0
<i>The trial</i>	-	-	4	2.0	22	11.0	66	33.0	108	54.0
<i>Prevent posting</i>	6	3.0	32	16.0	34	17.0	42	21.0	86	43.0
<i>Summons from the security services</i>	2	1.0	20	10.0	56	28.0	48	24.0	74	37.0
<i>Warning</i>	-	-	20	10.0	60	30.0	50	25.0	70	35.0
<i>Defamation and slander abuse</i>	-	-	6	3.0	32	16.0	78	39.0	84	42.0
<i>Threat to strike</i>	-	-	12	6.0	52	26.0	46	23.0	90	45.0
<i>Abasement</i>	-	-	-	-	26	13.0	64	32.0	110	55.0
<i>Threat of prosecution</i>	4	2.0	10	5.0	28	14.0	52	26.0	106	53.0
<i>Interference with journalistic work</i>	128	64.0	22	11.0	6	3.0	5	2.5	39	19.5
<i>Pressure to reveal sources</i>	156	78.0	24	12.0	11	5.5	4	2.0	5	2.5
<i>Withholding information or difficulty in obtaining it</i>	170	85.0	20	10.0	6	3.0	2	1.0	2	1.0
<i>Failure to provide information</i>	156	78.0	34	17.0	8	4.0	-	-	2	1.0
<i>Prevent attending public meetings</i>	2	1.0	4	2.0	42	21.0	60	30.0	92	46.0
<i>Banned from covering some events</i>	20	10.0	26	13.0	52	26.0	34	17.0	68	34.0
<i>Not being invited to attend official events</i>	6	3.0	28	14.0	54	27.0	38	19.0	74	37.0
<i>Alert</i>	18	9.0	16	8.0	38	19.0	40	20.0	88	44.0
<i>Fear of being transferred or arbitrarily transferred</i>	8	4.0	36	18.0	26	13.0	22	11.0	108	54.0

Has your press organization been subjected to the following sanctions and pressures?
Table (10) shows whether your press organization was subjected to the following sanctions and pressures

Category	Always		frequently		Sometimes		Scarcely		Start	
	T	%	T	%	T	%	T	%	T	%
<i>Total closing</i>	18	9.0	34	17.0	40	20.0	24	12.0	84	42.0
<i>Temporary closure</i>	14	7.0	30	15.0	28	14.0	40	20.0	88	44.0
<i>Censorship</i>	158	79.0	24	12.0	4	2.0	6	3.0	8	4.0
<i>The role of legislation in limiting freedom (licensing laws)</i>	154	77.0	28	14.0	8	4.0	-	-	10	5.0

<i>Security intervention</i>	14	7.0	40	20.0	68	34.0	52	26.0	26	13.0
<i>Official intervention</i>	30	15.0	62	31.0	56	28.0	32	16.0	20	10.0
<i>Confiscation of machinery and documents</i>	12	6.0	60	30.0	62	31.0	34	17.0	32	16.0
<i>Obstruction of distribution</i>	16	8.0	68	34.0	58	29.0	30	15.0	28	14.0
<i>The pressure of revealing sources</i>	160	80.0	16	8.0	14	7.0	2	1.0	8	4.0
<i>Pressure to adopt and promote certain views</i>	34	17.0	70	35.0	52	26.0	24	12.0	20	10.0
<i>Administrative obstacles due to press orientation</i>	122	61.0	48	24.0	14	7.0	10	5.0	6	3.0
<i>Government bias in providing news and advertising</i>	152	76.0	24	12.0	10	5.0	6	3.0	8	4.0
<i>High uptime costs (fees and taxes)</i>	70	35.0	66	33.0	34	17.0	12	6.0	18	9.0
<i>Private actors enter</i>	20	10.0	42	21.0	68	34.0	36	18.0	34	17.0
<i>Interference parties</i>	12	6.0	32	16.0	64	32.0	40	20.0	52	26.0
<i>Interference with religious institutions</i>	-	-	6	3.0	38	19.0	52	26.0	104	52.0

Do you think that the laws and regulations of the Iraqi media currently in force limit freedom of opinion and expression in the press?

Table (11) shows do you think that the laws and regulations of the Iraqi media in force currently in force limit the freedom of opinion and expression in the press

T	the scale	Repetition	The ratio
1	Always	150	75.0
2	Start	32	16.0
3	frequently	10	5.0
4	Sometimes	4	2.0
5	Scarcely	4	2.0
Total		200	100.0

What are the most restrictive laws currently in force?

Table (12) shows the laws currently in force to restrict freedoms

T	Law	Repetition	The ratio
1	Press and Publication Law	196	98.0
2	State Secrets Protection Law	2	1.0
3	Law to guarantee the right of access to information	2	1.0
4	Penal Code	-	-
5	State Security Court Law	-	-
6	Journalists Syndicate Law	-	-

Total	200	100.0
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In your opinion, do these measures contribute to creating a balance in the roles between the press and the security services, in order to safeguard the Iraqi national security?

Table (13) shows the procedures for creating a balance in roles between the press and the security services, in order to preserve the Iraqi national security

Category	OK		neutral		I do not agree		neutral	I do not agree
	T	%	T	%	Standard	Standard	Standard	Standard
<i>Developing security media courses to be taught to media students to promote societal integration between security and journalism.</i>	196	98.0	4	2.0	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14
<i>Organizing periodic meetings between officials of the security services and those in charge of newspapers to discuss the latest developments in urgent cases, and to reach an agreed method for publishing and avoiding the side caveats of an issue.</i>	186	93.0	14	7.0	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26
<i>The presence of permanent representatives from the press sector in the official security committees ensures the speedy delivery of the security message in the correct manner, away from rumors that harm the case.</i>	190	95.0	10	5.0	0.22	0.22	0.22	0.22
<i>Informing newspaper editors-</i>	182	91.0	18	9.0	0.29	0.29	0.29	0.29

<i>in-chief about the latest security developments in the public or emergency, to avoid falling into some publishing caveats, which harm the course of justice and the rights of people and not expose them to abuse or defamation.</i>								
<i>Reviving the idea of establishing institutions for the prevention of crime, involving the sectors of civil society and the press; To relieve pressure on the security services in combating daily crimes, given that crime prevention is a collective effort.</i>	192	96.0	8	4.0	0.20	0.20	0.20	0.20
<i>The importance of the agreement between the newspapers and the security agencies concerned to allocate pages within the general tab for the various newspapers and periodicals, to focus on the most important security issues raised.</i>	192	96.0	6	3.0	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26
<i>Involving all security, media, social and economic parties...</i>	166	83.0	34	17.0	0.38	0.38	0.38	0.38

<i>etc., in presenting their perceptions regarding the press coverage of the security issues at hand, in order to preserve the public interest.</i>								
<i>Strengthening the continuous relationship between the press and all concerned security agencies in society leads to the development of awareness and a sense of media security for citizens.</i>	178	89.0	18	9.0	0.39	0.39	0.39	0.39
<i>Creating security publications and periodicals, in cooperation with the press, that help reinforce the concept of public security in society in its official and public face, instead of just publishing security-press releases that are abstract of problems.</i>	172	86.0	26	13.0	0.38	0.38	0.38	0.38

Hypothesis test:

First: T-test for one sample:

First: To test the first main hypothesis, which states: (Laws and regulations for the Iraqi media in force currently restrict freedom of opinion and expression in the press) and the results appeared as in Table (18)?

Table (14) shows the t-test for one sample

Arithmetic mean	standard	The compute	Hypothe	Degree of	Tabular T-value	indicatio
4.23	1.51	11.47	3	199	1.97	D.

The schedule is from the researcher's work depending on the results of the program SPSS

The calculated T value reached (11.47), which is greater than its tabular value at the level of significance (0.05) and the degree of freedom (199), which amounts to (1.97). This means that there is a statistically significant relationship and since the value of the arithmetic mean of this axis is (4.23), which is greater than the hypothetical mean value The adult (3) means that the moral is in favor of the mathematical milieu, meaning that the laws and regulations of the Iraqi media in force currently in force limit the freedom of opinion and expression in the press.

Second: To test the second main hypothesis, which states: (There are trends of the communicator towards the concept of social responsibility in journalism) and the results appeared as in Table (15)?

Table (15) shows the t-test for one sample

Arithmetic mean	standard	The compute	Hypothe	Degree of	Tabular T-value	indicatio
4.26	0.35	50.76	3	199	1.97	D.

The schedule is from the researcher's work depending on the results of the program SPSS

The calculated T value reached (50.76), which is greater than its tabular value at the level of significance (0.05) and the degree of freedom (199), which amounts to (1.97). This means there is a statistically significant relationship and since the value of the arithmetic mean of this axis is (4.26), which is greater than the hypothetical mean value And adult (3), this means that the moral is in favor of the mathematical milieu, meaning that there are trends of the communicator towards the concept of social responsibility in the press.

Third: To test the third main hypothesis, which states: (There are trends of the communicator towards publications laws and journalistic honor codes) and the results appeared as in Table (16)?

Table (16) shows the t-test for one sample

Arithmetic mean	standard	The compute	Hypothe	Degree of	Tabular T-value	indicatio

4.15	0.75	21.69	3	199	1.97	D.
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The schedule is from the researcher's work depending on the results of the program SPSS

The calculated T value reached (21.69), which is greater than its tabular value at the level of significance (0.05) and the degree of freedom (199), which amounts to (1.97). This means there is a statistically significant relationship and since the value of the arithmetic mean of this axis is (4.15), which is greater than the hypothetical mean value And adult (3), this means that the moral is in favor of the mathematical milieu, meaning that there are trends of the communicator towards the laws of publications and journalistic honor charters.

Results

- 1- It appeared that there was a restriction in the level of freedom for the electronic newspapers under discussion, as there was censorship on the journalist and interference in his work by his bosses at work, as well as the journalist being pressured to reveal his sources and withholding information on him or the difficulty of obtaining it and not providing him with some information.
- 2- The researched institutions were subjected to a limitation of freedom and pressure to uncover sources and bias by the government in providing news and advertising, and the high costs of continuing work (fees and taxes).
- 3 - It appeared that the laws and regulations of the Iraqi media in force currently in force limit freedom of opinion and expression in the press, and the Press and Publication Law has emerged as the most restrictive law on freedoms.
- 4- The negative effects of laws, regulations and legislations on the press, media and electronic freedoms that limit the spread and restrict the sources of the diversity of news and determine the difficulty of obtaining available information and information subject to confidentiality affecting national security.
- 5- It appears that the readers 'right to know the truth is within the freedom of opinion and expression that this right is restricted and conditional on respecting the rights of others, and the sanctity of their private lives. Freedom of expression is usually subject to restrictions such as cases of defamation, obscenity and incitement to commit a crime or infringement of the rights of others and the sanctity of their private lives.
- 6- The presence of the communicator's trends towards the concept of social responsibility in journalism.
- 7- There are trends of the contact person towards publications laws and journalistic honor codes.

Conclusions

- 1 - It was noticed that most of the workers in this field of human specialization and their proportions exceeded the rest of the disciplines in addition to the lack of decisive decision by some because of the dominance of some over them and their control over media institutions of all kinds.
- 2- Restricting freedoms and censorship, and some were subjected to detention and the threat of administrative penalties, dismissal and dismissal, in addition to threats and intimidation. And the weak role of legislations in limiting press freedom, which contributed to permitting official interference in the decision, imposing restrictions,

exerting pressure and its wide influence, imposing a living reality on means of revealing sources and obtaining information.

3- The existence of obstacles and obstacles, including administrative ones, by official institutions in front of media sources and preventing them from providing them with news, advertisements and posts, in addition to the interference of parties and some parties, including religious institutions.

4- The power and authority of government media and its control over media outlets, satellite channels, visible and read media, electronic journalism, and unifying government discourse through pro-media against adverse media.

5- The state is directing to extend its influence over all parts of the media by enacting laws and legislations that contribute to restricting freedom of opinion and expression and as a means to silence and restrict publishing.

6- The lack of media methods to spread the culture and fortification of national security, because some people do not feel citizenship.

Recommendations

1- Reconsidering the constitutional laws and legislations and granting a wider and greater leeway to the freedom of laws, decisions and legislations related to freedom of opinion, thought and expression.

2- Activating legislative advocacy initiatives aimed at achieving and consolidating the principles of freedoms, providing a safe environment for freedom of media and publishing, and supporting and supporting the independence of all kinds of newspapers.

3- Reconsidering the cybercrime law recently enacted by the Iraqi parliament, which restricts freedom of opinion, expression, and publication.

4- Reconsidering the Iraqi penal code and working on amending articles that limit freedom of opinion and expression.

5- Reconsidering the Publications Law periodically and amending it according to the stage, which has become unable to keep pace with the accelerating developments of the information technology era and the new material reality in its development and the flow of culture and information across the world, and there is no alternative to that except by establishing legal rules in which the legislator abandons imposing restrictions on rights And freedom of opinion and expression and the means to exercise it in the field of printing and publishing, as well as freedom of the paper, electronic and media press.

6- Granting legal immunity, preventing imprisonment and arrest of journalists and all media workers, and imposing judicial control over administrative decisions issued to prevent, suspend or seize publications, especially journalists in cases of emergency declared by the executive authority, so as not to restrict freedom of opinion and expression, which is most of the freedoms that are violated in such cases and these conditions.

7- Reconsidering the law of the Iraqi Journalists Syndicate and endeavoring to bring the Syndicate together with the bodies, associations and organizations under one umbrella because of its strength.

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