**Investigating the Epistemological Orientations and Professional Standards of Journalism Cultures: A Case Study of Transitional and Developing Societies**

**ABSTRACT**

This study examines the epistemological orientations of journalism cultures in post-conflict, transitional, and developing contexts—areas that remain underexplored in journalism scholarship. Focusing on the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, where both media institutions and political structures are undergoing democratisation, the research investigates how journalists in non-Western societies define and enact their professional responsibilities. These contexts are marked by ongoing tensions between established professional norms and the dominance of partisan ideologies. Challenging traditional understandings of journalism cultures as a universally governed institution rooted in shared norms, values, and identity, the study argues for a more context-sensitive and dynamic interpretation of professionalism. Rather than treating professionalism as a fixed standard, it is approached as a contested discourse shaped by local political, institutional, and cultural conditions. Utilizing Hanitzsch’s (2011) framework—particularly the roles of the Critical Change Agent and Opportunist Facilitator—alongside a neo-Gramscian lens and the Priority Model of journalistic practice, the study draws on survey data from 142 Kurdish journalists to explore these dynamics. Ultimately, the findings of this study suggest that journalistic professionalism in such environments evolves through processes of identity negotiation, adaptation to institutional constraints, and engagement with competing hegemonies. Above and beyond, the research contributes to a deeper, more nuanced understanding of journalism in non-Western, post-conflict societies, and advocates for analytical frameworks that are culturally grounded and responsive to local complexities in democratic transition contexts.

**KEYWORDS**

Epistemological Orientations, Journalism cultures, Neo-Gramscian framework, Transitional Contexts, and non-Western societies

1. **INTRODUCTION**

In developing and post-conflict societies such as Kurdistan Region of Iraq, the role of journalists play in democratic transitions and shaping public discourse is of critical significance. However, the boundaries and interpretations of professional journalistic conduct in such complex environments remain contested. This study examines epistemological orientations of journalists within the dynamic and diverse of Iraqi Kurdish media landscape, aiming to understand how media practitioners perceive and perform their roles amid political transformation and institutional uncertainty. Utilizing Hanitzsch’s (2011) theoretical model of journalistic cultures—namely, the Populist Disseminator, Detached Watchdog, Critical Change Agent, and Opportunist Facilitator—this research explores how Iraqi Kurdish journalists position themselves within evolving media ideologies and power structures. The interplay between professional norms and partisan loyalty is particularly pronounced in post-war societies, where journalism often becomes a battleground for competing hegemonies. Although the profession is traditionally grounded in principles such as objectivity, independence, and public service, these ideals are frequently challenged by the realities of politicised media environments and commercial pressures. This paper argues that journalistic professionalism in such contexts should not be viewed as a static set of standards, but rather as a discursive formation shaped by local political, cultural, and institutional dynamics. Drawing on a content analysis of 142 survey responses from Iraqi Kurdish media professionals, the study adopts a neo-Gramscian perspective to reconceptualise professionalism, emphasising the interdependent relationship between journalistic routines and hegemonic forces in transitional societies.

1. **Research Methodology:**

MRe

* 1. **RESEARCH THEORITICAL FRAMWORK**

Although the concept of *epistemology*—a branch of philosophy concerned with the nature and justification of knowledge—has long been debated, it is broadly defined as the study of knowledge and the grounds for belief (Dancy, 1985). Within journalism cultures, epistemology refers to the basis upon which journalism's claims to truth and knowledge are validated (Aivas, et al., 2025 & Ekström, 2002), reflecting the idea that truth is journalism’s foremost obligation (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001). This perspective frames epistemology as a measure of validity, a philosophical inquiry into the essence of knowledge, and a criterion for acceptable evidence—enabling distinctions between truth and falsehood, fact and possibility (Aivas, 2017; Anderson & Baym, 2004). Hearns-Branaman (2016) bridges philosophical debates about truth and human understanding with discussions in journalism on objectivity and bias. He highlights the central tension in journalism: the role of the journalist in relation to truth. Truth serves as a primary motivator in news production and consumption, and the perceived credibility of journalism is closely tied to its ability to deliver ‘factual’ content. This function extends even to non-commercial public service media, where journalistic legitimacy is based on producing accurate and trustworthy reporting. Thus, journalism’s philosophical roots—particularly its epistemological foundations—are vital to understanding professional journalistic culture. Epistemologically, two core orientations are typically distinguished in journalism: objectivism and empiricism. Hanitzsch (2007) explores the connection between journalists’ objectivist roles and the epistemological question of how truth can be achieved. This objectivism is philosophical rather than procedural—based on the idea that a reality exists independently and can be mirrored through accurate reporting. This view aligns with epistemological foundationalism and perceptual realism, asserting that mental representations should correspond to external reality. Accuracy-oriented journalism supports this position, often advocating for a scientific-like pursuit of truth. Objectivity, in this sense, requires the separation of fact from value and assumes an external, discoverable reality that should be observed, not constructed. Conversely, the subjectivist epistemological stance views news as a constructed representation of the world that inherently involves interpretation. Subjectivist journalists believe that truth is not absolute and that the context and individual perspectives are inseparable from how truth is understood or conveyed. Eastern philosophies, for instance, often view objective reality and its representations as interdependent, which helps explain why some Asian journalists resist Western notions of detached objectivity. Even within this subjective framework, journalists are still committed to truth, albeit as a result of the interplay among various subjective accounts, reflecting a pluralistic and contested marketplace of ideas (Aivas, 2025 & Hanitzsch, 2007).

These epistemological debates are highly relevant for examining the professional role perceptions of Iraqi Kurdish journalists, particularly in relation to reporting on private information. The question emerges whether journalists adhere to professional standards of objectivity or are influenced by personal or political considerations. Hanitzsch (2007) also introduces a second epistemological dimension: empiricism. Here, journalists justify truth claims based on their perceived validity, relying either on empirical (high) or analytical (low) reasoning. Journalism cultures that prioritize empirical justification emphasize observation, evidence, and experience—consistent with classical foundationalism traditions. Merrill and Odell (1983) note that journalists with strong empiricist leanings prioritize factual accuracy over interpretative analysis. This approach aligns with the principles of precision journalism, which value methodological rigor in practices such as fact-checking and investigative reporting. On the other end of the continuum, analytical justification emphasizes reasoning, values, interpretation, and commentary. In such journalism, truth is understood as independent of empirical verification. Commentary and opinion-based journalism typically fall into this category, where the journalist's credibility relies more on persuasive reasoning than factual neutrality. In these cases, standards like balance or objectivity may be secondary to the effectiveness of argumentation. In practice, few journalistic approaches adhere strictly to either extreme. Most reporting, particularly critical journalism, occupies a middle ground. The dimensions of objectivism and empiricism may intersect—for example, high objectivity can coincide with empirical rigor, while subjectivist orientations may align more with analytical approaches. Nevertheless, the two dimensions are distinct: objectivism concerns how reality is perceived, whereas empiricism pertains to the process of validating knowledge through facts versus analysis. Interestingly, even journalists committed to objectivity may engage in commentary if they believe certain values—like human dignity or peace—can be universally accepted and presented as "facts." Thus, these overlapping epistemological orientations help illuminate journalistic decisions around privacy, particularly in the Kurdish media context. Some journalists may justify privacy invasions involving public figures based on news value or perceived public interest, while others refrain from such practices based on a normative belief in the right to privacy. Ultimately, media ownership and conceptions of privacy influence how facts are gathered and presented, shaping the use of objectivist or empiricist reasoning in journalistic practice. These dimensions are crucial to understanding the epistemological underpinnings of Iraqi Kurdish journalism and its approach to sensitive information (Aivas, et al., 2025).

* 1. **RESEARCH DATA COLLECTION**

To gather data for this study, a structured quantitative questionnaire was utilized, targeting journalists with editorial responsibilities in the production or dissemination of news content, consistent with the approach outlined by Weaver and Wilhoit (1986:168). In this study, 142 Iraqi Kurdish journalists, including two freelance professionals, representing 29 distinct media outlets, completed the survey. Respondents were drawn from a broad spectrum of media platforms, including print (newspapers and magazines), broadcast (radio and television), and digital formats (news websites and agencies). The survey distribution encompassed a diverse array of media organizations, ranging from officially affiliated and unofficial partisan outlets to media entities identifying as independent within the Iraqi Kurdish media environment. The sampling framework was informed by Berelson’s (1952) three core systematic procedures for media population and sampling: (1) the selection of media outlets or titles, (2) the sampling of specific issues or time periods, and (3) the extraction of relevant content. Within this framework, various probability sampling techniques—such as simple random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling, and multi-stage cluster sampling—are typically employed to minimize selection bias. However, this study adopted a non-probability sampling strategy, acknowledging the limitations regarding the representativeness of the sample. While methods such as convenience sampling, snowball sampling, and quota sampling are commonly applied in similar contexts, the researcher employed a non-probability approach without claiming full statistical representativeness of the wider journalist population (Ahmad & Aivas, 2025; Bryman, 2012). In this context, Table No. 01 provides a detailed overview of the population size and sampling procedures. For the purposes of this study, Iraqi Kurdish journalists working in media organizations across the provinces of Dhok, Hewlêr (Erbil), and Slêmanî (Sulaimani)—representing diverse ownership structures—were selected as the survey sample.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table 01: Sampling size of a Survey Questionnaire | | | | | |
| Types of  News- organization | | **Provinces of news worker** | **Types of media ownership** | | |
| **State or Government media** | **Partisan media**  **(Official and unofficial)** | **Private media**  **(Non-Government and Non-Partisan)** |
| Daily newspaper | | Slêmanî | - | - | 1(7) |
| Hewlêr (Erbil) | - | 1(6) | - |
| Dhok | - | 1(11) | - |
| General interest weekly (magazine/ newspaper) | | Slêmanî | - | - | 3 (9) |
| Hewlêr (Erbil) | - | 2(10) | - |
| Dhok | - | - | - |
| Television | | Slêmanî | - | 4(37) | 1(19) |
| Hewlêr (Erbil) | - | 1(1) | - |
| Dhok | - | 5(9) | - |
| Radio | | Slêmanî | 3(9) | - | 2(9) |
| Hewlêr (Erbil) | - | - | - |
| Dhok | - | - | - |
| Web journalism networks | News sites | Slêmanî | - | 2(10) | - |
| Hewlêr (Erbil) | - | 1(1) | - |
| Dhok | - | 1(1) | - |
| News agencies | Slêmanî | 1(1) | - | - |
| Hewlêr (Erbil) | - | - | - |
| Dhok | - | - | - |
| Total | | 29 (142) including  2 Freelancers | 4(10) | 18(86) | 7(44) |
| Numbers in parentheses represent the total subsample of working journalists in the respective media category | | | | | |

Despite ongoing debates, there is broad consensus that the terms "journalist" and "journalism" derive from the Latin diurnal—meaning daily or occurring every day—which itself originates from the French word journey, referring to a day’s work, and was first employed by the French publication Journal (Cayne, 1983). Nevertheless, media scholars continue to seek a unified definition of journalistic professionalism, including the roles, identities, and ideological frameworks of journalists within various journalistic cultures. The term "journalist" is commonly used in scholarly discourse to describe individuals engaged in diverse journalistic practices aimed at different audiences. Contemporary journalists utilize a variety of methods for the collection, selection, and dissemination of news and information related to current affairs, societal issues, trends, and lifestyles (Aivas, 2020; Bainbridge et al., 2011). Furthermore, Weaver and Wilhoit (1986) characterize a journalist as a person with editorial responsibility for producing and distributing news and informational content, thereby distinguishing journalists from practitioners involved in creative endeavors such as fiction writing, art, drama, or other forms of media production. This precise characterization was adopted in the present study due to its flexibility and its capacity to differentiate between distinct media types and their functions. Within the context of Iraqi Kurdish media, editorial responsibility is conceptualized across three hierarchical tiers: (a) senior management, including editors-in-chief, managing editors, chief editors, and their deputies, who oversee overall editorial strategy; (b) middle management, consisting of senior editors, department heads, and desk chiefs, who are responsible for operational decision-making; and (c) non-managerial personnel, such as reporters and news writers, who occupy the foundational level of the newsroom structure (Hanitzsch et al., 2014).

1. **Result & Discussion**

In this study, practicing journalists were invited to express their levels of agreement with seven statements designed to measure the epistemological orientations underlying Kurdish journalism culture. Responses were recorded using a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 ("strongly disagree") to 5 ("strongly agree"). As presented in Table No. 02, a significant proportion of respondents (83.7%) strongly agreed with the statement that journalists are capable of portraying reality as it truly is. This was followed by 70.3% who reported maintaining strict impartiality in their professional practice. Additionally, 36.0% of participants somewhat agreed with the notion that "facts speak for themselves," suggesting a moderate endorsement of empiricist principles. Furthermore, 30.2% of the journalists expressed a preference for incorporating analytical perspectives into their reporting, and 26.6% stated that they only assert claims when these are backed by verifiable evidence and credible sources. In contrast, only 17.14% of respondents strongly disagreed with the statement that journalists do not allow personal beliefs to shape their reporting, as well as the assertion that they consistently indicate which side of a conflict holds a stronger position. The data suggest that while a commitment to objectivity is prevalent among Kurdish journalists, the influence of personal convictions—particularly in partisan media outlets—is more evident during politically charged periods, such as election campaigns or times of political crisis. This highlights the tension between professional norms and ideological or institutional pressures within the Kurdish media environment. As outlined by Forsyth (1980), this study assessed the ethical ideologies of journalists using six core items—three measuring idealism and three measuring relativism. To evaluate adherence to professional journalism ethics, a five-point Likert scale was employed, prompting Kurdish journalists to indicate their level of agreement with each statement, ranging from ‘strongly agree’ to ‘strongly disagree’. Within this framework, a response of ‘strongly agree’ signifies a high degree of either idealism or relativism, depending on the item assessed. Within the epistemological orientations of Kurdish journalism cultures, it is evident that a significant proportion of journalists in the Iraqi Kurdish media landscape are relatively young and hold diplomas or university degrees in media and journalism. Despite this educational background, professional advancement is often contingent upon clientelistic ties and allegiance to dominant political parties, which tend to offer greater personal and professional privileges. Due to limited journalistic experience and inadequate financial compensation, nearly half of Kurdish media professionals maintain secondary sources of income. This reflects broader characteristics of emerging democracies, where the distinction between journalism and political communication is frequently blurred, with many identifying as journalists while functioning primarily as public relations agents for partisan entities (Aivas, et. al., 2025, and Hussein, et, el., 2025). The prevalence of “churnalism” and propagandist reporting is symptomatic not only of Kurdistan’s media sphere but also of global media trends, where misinformation and distortion increasingly overshadow objective journalism. Paradoxically, since the 1991 Kurdish uprising and the subsequent establishment of a semi-autonomous government and parliament, Kurdish ruling parties have utilized ideologically driven media to suppress dissent, exert control over journalistic expression, and stifle critical voices. This environment has undermined national public institutions, including the judiciary, intelligence services, and independent media frameworks akin to the BBC. Alarmingly, some media organizations and their personnel have developed financial and political affiliations with the intelligence arms of the two dominant parties. Viewed through Gramsci’s theory of hegemony, this partisan media apparatus has played a central role in maintaining political dominance, particularly during moments of crisis such as the Kurdish civil conflict (1994–1998). Partisan media practices have contributed to political violence and infringements on information privacy, notably during the 2009 elections when opposition parties gained a significant share of parliamentary seats (Aivas, 2020).

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Table02: Epistemologies orientation of the Kurdish journalism cultures | | | | | |
| Epistemologies orientation of journalism cultures | **Strongly agree**  **N (%)** | **Somewhat agree**  **N (%)** | **Neither agree**  **nor disagree**  **N (%)** | **Somewhat disagree**  **N (%)** | Strongly disagree  N (%) |
| I do not allow my own beliefs and convictions to influence my reporting. | 97 (68.8) | 26 (18.4) | 7 (5.0) | 6 (4.3) | 5 (3.5) |
| I provide analysis of events and issues in my work. | 56 (40.3) | 42 (30.2) | 18 (12.9) | 10 (7.2) | 13 (9.4) |
| I think that facts speak for themselves. | 63 (45.3) | 50 (36.0) | 14 (10.1) | 8 (5.8) | 4 (2.9) |
| I remain strictly impartial in my work. | 97 (70.3) | 29 (21.0) | 7 (5.1) | 3 (2.2) | 2 (1.4) |
| I make claims only if they are substantiated by hard evidence and reliable sources. | 79 (56.8) | 37 (26.6) | 14 (10.1) | 2 (1.4) | 7 (5.0) |
| I think that journalists can depict reality as it is. | 118 (83.7) | 11 (7.8) | 7 (5.0) | 3 (2.1) | 2 (1.4) |
| I always make clear which side in a dispute has the better position. | 57 (40.4) | 26 (18.4) | 24 (17.0) | 13 (9.2) | 21 (14.9) |

1. **CONCLUSION**

This study has examined the epistemological orientations of journalism cultures in transitional contexts and developing society of Iraqi Kurdish journalists within the broader context of political transformation and post-conflict reconstruction. Drawing on Hanitzsch’s (2011) typology of journalistic cultures—comprising the Populist Disseminator, Detached Watchdog, Critical Change Agent, and Opportunist Facilitator—and supported by survey data from 142 participants, the research provides insight into how Kurdish journalists understand and enact their roles in a complex and evolving socio-political environment. Findings highlight the fluid and contested nature of journalistic professionalism in the Kurdish context. Rather than adhering to a fixed set of professional norms or institutional standards, professionalism is shown to function as a discursive construct shaped by political affiliations, structural limitations, and shifting hegemonic influences. The tension between partisan alignment and professional integrity underscores the challenges faced by journalists striving for autonomy and public accountability within a highly polarized media landscape. Moreover, the study critically re-evaluates classical ideals of journalistic professionalism—such as objectivity, neutrality, and commitment to public service—arguing that these concepts may not carry the same normative authority in transitional societies as they do in more stable, Western contexts. Instead, the findings suggest that journalistic professionalism in such settings emerges through processes of identity negotiation, evolving work practices, and context-specific norms. As such, professionalism should be understood as a dynamic and context-dependent phenomenon. Ultimately, this research contributes to a more nuanced understanding of journalism in non-Western, post-conflict societies, and encourages scholars to adopt culturally sensitive and contextually grounded frameworks when analyzing media practices and professional identities in democratizing regions. In such contexts, partisan outlets have routinely violated the personal privacy of candidates and opposition leaders as a strategic means to undermine rivals and consolidate support. Nevertheless, alternative media outlets and independent journalists operating outside the sphere of ruling party control have demonstrated some success in creating nonpartisan platforms. Despite frequent closures and suppression, new outlets often emerge in their place. In response, the KDP, PUK, and the Kurdistan Regional Government (KRG) have occasionally recalibrated their media strategies, fostering informal and covert media structures often referred to as “shadow media.”

**Disclaimer:**

We, the author(s) of this manuscript, take full responsibility for any "False Positive Similarity Score" generated by plagiarism detection software or tools. We believe that such a similarity score may be due to technical errors related to the software’s internal data storage system, repository, or other system-related issues. We hereby affirm and guarantee the originality and authenticity of our manuscript.

Disclaimer (Artificial intelligence)

Option 1:

Author(s) hereby declare that NO generative AI technologies such as Large Language Models (ChatGPT, manuscript.

1. **REFERENCES**

Ahmad, S.Y., and Aivas, S.A., 2025. [Exploring the Impact of Total Quality Management on Organizational Behavior: A Comparative Study of Local Firms](https://journalarjass.com/index.php/ARJASS/article/view/735). *Asian Research Journal of Arts & Social Sciences* 23 (7): 168-78.

Ahmed, T.N., Mustafa, N.N., Ahmed, R.K., Saeed, M.S., Ali, A.Q. and Qadir, K.A., 2025. The Impact of Digital Technologies on Journalistic Integrity: An Analysis of Clickbait, Algorithmic Influence and Societal Consequences. *Asian Journal of Education and Social Studies*, *51*(6), pp.566-580.

*Aivas, S. A., 2020.* [*Freedoms of expression and journalism in Kurdistan Region of Iraq*](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/353822365_Freedoms_of_expression_and_journalism_in_Kurdistan_Region_of_Iraq)***.*** *Suleîmanî: Federation of Civil Society Organizations.* [*https://www.researchgate.net/publication/353822365\_Freedoms\_of\_expression\_and\_journalism\_in\_Kurdistan\_Region\_of\_Iraq*](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/353822365_Freedoms_of_expression_and_journalism_in_Kurdistan_Region_of_Iraq)

*Aivas, S. A., 2020.* [*KURDISH JOURNALISM CULTURES: Shifting Boundaries of Privacy Understandings Amongst Professional Role Orientations of Journalists*](https://www.amazon.com/KURDISH-JOURNALISM-CULTURES-Understandings-Professional/dp/6202816406?ref_=litb_std_nodl)*. LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing.*

*Aivas, S. A., 2023.*[*Social Networks and Misusing the Kurdish Language*](https://sulicihan.edu.krd/files/2024/01/%D8%B2%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86%DB%95%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%86%DB%8C-%DA%98%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B1%DB%95-2-1.pdf)*. Journal of Zmanawany at CIHAN UNIVERSITY SULAIMANYAH, 02, Pp. 23-27.*

*Aivas, S. A., 2024.*[*Artificial Intelligence and its Impact on Media Professionalism.*](https://kfuture.media/artificial-intelligence-and-its-impact-on-media-professionalism/?fbclid=IwZXh0bgNhZW0CMTEAAR2ml6CGXFBWzK8Pl-P1kJn2xdBVAJ5EfCyeb-OR0X5mUOyC72qXhI1ZuXM_aem_JPhZok-wgtL6696TsZz8pQ) *Kfuture.Media Website, on 09 October 2024.*

Aivas, S. A., et al., 2025. [Artificial Intelligence Applications in Media Content Production: Emerging Risks or Technological Revolutions?](https://www.ijsrmt.com/index.php/ijsrmt/article/view/578) *International Journal of Scientific Research and Modern Technology (IJSRMT)*, 4 (6), pp. 29-39.

*Aivas, S. A., Jalal, H. M., Maarouf, B. J., Assad, A. F., and Majeed, A. D., 2025.* [*Artificial Intelligence Applications in Media Content Production: Emerging Risks or Technological Revolutions?*](https://www.ijsrmt.com/index.php/ijsrmt/article/view/578) *International Journal of Scientific Research and Modern Technology (IJSRMT), Volume 4, Issue 6.*

Aivas, S.A. and Abdulla, M.K., 2021. [The Effects of Media Language Using of Comedian Program Audiences of Kurdish Televisions; BEZMÎ BEZM Program at KurdMax TV as A Case Study.](https://journal.uor.edu.krd/index.php/JUR/article/view/Vol(8).No(1).paper7) *Journal of University of Raparin*, *8*(1), pp.144-186.

Aivas, S.A., 2005. [*Ethics in Kurdish journalism; Hawllatî (2000-2002) as a case study*](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325514568_Ethics_in_Kurdish_journalism_Hawllati_2000-2002_as_a_case_study_Itik_Le_Rojnamewani_Kurdiyda_Hawllati_20002002_Wek_Nmune) *([Itîk Le Rojnamewanî Kurdîyda](https://chmk.org/ku/ethics-in-kurdish-journalism/)****; Hawllatî (20002002) Wek Nmune).*** *Suleîmanî: Çap û Pexşî Serdem (Serdam Printing House).*

 Aivas, S.A., 2005.[***Kurd Û Proseyi Geyandin***](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325514376_Kurd_U_Proseyi_Geyandin_Kurd_and_communication) ***(Kurd and communication)*** *Handbook. Suleîmanî: NAWA Radio Publisher.* [*https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325514376\_Kurd\_U\_Proseyi\_Geyandin\_Kurd\_and\_communication*](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325514376_Kurd_U_Proseyi_Geyandin_Kurd_and_communication)

 Aivas, S.A., 2013. [*The Right to Privacy between Law and Ethics of Journalism*](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/325514562_The_Right_to_Privacy_between_Law_and_Ethics_of_Journalism_Mafi_Jiyani_Taybet_Leyasaw_Itiki_Rojnamegeriyda) ***(Mafî Jiyanî Taybet Leyasaw Îtîkî Rojnamegerîyda)****, Suleîmanî: Berrêwberayetî Çap Û Billawkrdineweyi Roşnbîrî (Roşnbîrî Printing House).*

Aivas, S.A., 2022. [Media development and its indicators; the Iraqi Kurdistan Region between 1991-2021 as an example.](https://journals.soran.edu.iq/index.php/Twejer/article/view/258) *Twejer Journal*, *5*(2), pp.895-982.

Aivas, S.A., 2025. [The Institutional Roles of Journalism Cultures in Post-Conflict Societies,](https://zenodo.org/records/15777461)*the International Journal of Scientific Research and Technology (IJSRT), 2 (7), 01-15.*

Aivas, S.A., Fatah, N.A., Bayz, H.A., Karem, L.E., Salih, H.H. and Hussein, K.Q.Y., 2025. [***Critically Discuss Epistemological Issues by Examining the Claim to ‘Truth’***](https://ijssers.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/01/12-2901-2025.pdf)*. International Journal of Social Science and Education Research Studies. Vol 5 No 1, Pp 78-83.*

Aivas, S.A., Hussein, H.H.S., Yaqub, K.Q. and Salih, A.M., 2025. [**Civil Liberties and Natural Resources; Media Freedom among Developing Countries as a Case Study**](https://rsisinternational.org/journals/ijriss/Digital-Library/volume-9-issue-3/1316-1331.pdf?_gl=1*57ggld*_gcl_au*NTUyNjczMzc0LjE3NDAwODAwNzI.*_ga*MjA3ODQyMDI4NC4xNzQwMDgwMDcy*_ga_J3C1TKKSZ0*MTc0NDEyMDUwMC4yLjEuMTc0NDEyMDUxNi40NC4wLjA)**.** *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science*, *9*(3), pp.1316-1331.

Aivas, S.A., Hussein, H.S., and Ahmed, R.K., 2024.[***Effects of Digital Media on Professional Objectivity: The Coalition between Journalists and Politicians in the Kurdistan Region, as an Example***](https://dmedialaw24.spu.edu.iq/conference-proceeding/paper12?fbclid=IwY2xjawFpCRBleHRuA2FlbQIxMAABHUfQkaAKzHrdKsJD53JPConh1kYrCJxc9-nSC6T1UM_KdNsBHDbaA0CPiA_aem_sd6GgKFRBLOYIe0Hcx2Ixw) *(DmediaLaw conference paper). Available at https://shorturl.at/ySTvK*

Aivas, S.A., Saeed, N.H. & Khafoor, H.K., 2020. [The effects of COVID-19 on advertising production and revenue reduction: Kurdish televisions during the curfew in the Iraqi Kurdistan Region](https://www.centerfs.org/files/2020/07/5-Vol.3-No.5k-139-190.pdf). *Journal for Political and Security Studies,* 5(3), pp.139-190.

 Aivas, S.A.W., 2014. [***Kurdish online journalism: shifting boundaries of privacy rights during the coverage of the 2014 general election campaigns***](http://irep.ntu.ac.uk/id/eprint/19064/). Breaking Boundaries 2014: First Annual Professional Research Practice Conference, Nottingham Trent University, and 15 May 2014*.* <https://irep.ntu.ac.uk/id/eprint/19064/>

Aivas, S.A.W., 2017. [***Kurdish journalism cultures*: Shifting Boundaries of Privacy Understandings Amongst Professional Role Orientations of journalists**](https://chmk.org/files/2018/05/AIVAS-SH-A-W.-2017.-Kurdish-Journalism-Cultures-Shifting-Boundaries-of-Privacy-Understandings-amongst-Professional-Role-Orientations-of-Journalists.-Ph.D.-thesis-Nottingham-Trent-University..pdf) (Doctoral dissertation. Nottingham Trent University)*.*

Aivas, S.A.W., 2019.Professional Role Orientations of Journalists: Kurdistan Region of Iraq as a Case Study*.* [The 3rd International Kurdish Studies Conference](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1Mhga7mfkp4Q2W2rOlOK3ljcg7RXzja2f76nuRdt-Tb0/edit) *In*: the Shifting Dynamics of the Kurdistan Question in a Changing Middle East, Middlesex University London, UK, 25 and 26 July 2019. <https://docs.google.com/document/d/1Mhga7mfkp4Q2W2rOlOK3ljcg7RXzja2f76nuRdt-Tb0/edit?tab=t.0>

Al-Müsawi, M, J., 2006. Reading Iraq: Culture and Power in Conflict. London and New York: I. B. Tauris.

Al-Rawi, A., and Gunter, B., 2013. News in Iraq. *In* Gunter, B., and Dickinson, R., 2013. News media in the Arab world: A study of 10 Arab and Muslim countries (ed.,) London: Bloomsbury.

Anderson, J.A. and Baym, G., 2004. Philosophies and philosophic issues in communication, 1995–2004. *Journal of Communication*, *54*(4), pp.589-615.

Artz, L., and Kamalipour, Y.R. eds., 2012. *Globalization of Corporate Media Hegemony, The: Evaluating California's Imprisonment Crisis*. SUNY Press.

Aziz, N. A., and Aivas, S. A., 2025. [**Consumer Satisfaction in Kurdish Online Shopping: Kurdistan Region of Iraq as a Case Study**](https://www.ijsrtjournal.com/article/Consumer%20Satisfaction%20in%20Kurdish%20Online%20Shopping:%20Kurdistan%20Region%20of%20Iraq%20as%20a%20Case%20Study), International Journal of Scientific Research and Technology (IJSRT), 2 (3), 239-251.

Barbie, Z., 2004. Taking Journalism seriously: news and the academy, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bell, A., 1991. The Language of News Media. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bentivegna, S., 2002. Politics and new media. *The handbook of new media*, pp.50-61.

Berger, A., 2000. *Media and Communication Research Methods: An Introduction to Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. US, Sage.

Bieler, A., & Morton, A. D., 2003. Theoretical and methodological challenges of neo-Gramscian perspectives in international political economy. International Gramsci Society, pp.08-28.

Bloor, M., and Wood, F., 2006. *Keywords in Qualitative Methods: a Vocabulary of Research Concepts*. London: Sage.

Bogdan, R., and Biklen, S. K., 2007. Qualitative research for education. Pearson.

Bok, S., 1988. “Lies for the Public Good”. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 17(1), pp. 20–34.

Borden, S.L. and Tew, C., 2007. The role of journalist and the performance of journalism: Ethical lessons from “fake” news (seriously). *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, *22*(4), pp.300-314.

Conboy, M., 2004, *Journalism: A Critical History*. London: SAGE.

Cox, R., 1996. ‘Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations’, *in* Cox (with Sinclair, T), ed., Approaches to World Order. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cox, R.W. and Schechter, M.G., 2002. The political economy of a plural world: critical reflections on power, morals and civilization. Psychology Press.

Craig, G., 2004. The media, politics and public life. Allen & Unwin.

Deuze, M., 2005. What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered. *Journalism*, (6), Pp. 442–464.

Donsbach, W., 1995. Lapdogs, watchdogs, and junkyard dogs. Media Studies Journal, 9(4), 17–30.

Donsbach, W., 2014. Journalism as the new knowledge profession and consequences for journalism education. *Journalism*, 15(6), pp.661-677.

Donsbach, W., and Patterson, T. E., 2004. Political news journalists: Partisanship, professionalism, and political roles in five countries. *In* F. Esser & B. Pfetsch (Eds.), Comparing political communication: Theories, cases, and challenges (pp. 251–270). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ekstro¨M, M., 2002. Epistemologies of TV journalism: A theoretical framework. Journalism, 3, 259–282.

Fatah, N. A., Omer, G. M. D., Bayz, H. A., Karem, L. E., Ahamd, K. H., Mustafa, W. O., Aivas , S. A. (2025). Conceptualization of the Capital Maintenance. *British Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, *2*(3), 134–148. <https://doi.org/10.31039/bjir.v2i3.27>

Freedom House, 2008. ‘‘Freedom of the Press 2007: table of global press freedom rankings’’. Available at: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/Chart110File156.pdf> , [Accessed 1 February 2008].

Fuller, J., 1996. News values: Ideas for an information age. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gill, S., 1993. Gramsci, historical materialism and international relations (Vol. 26). Cambridge University Press.

Golding, P., 1977. Media professionalism in the Third World: The transfer of an ideology. Mass communication and society, Pp.291-308.

Hall, S., 1986. Gramsci’s Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, (10), Pp. 5-27.

Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P., 2004. Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hallin, D.C., aAnd Mancini, P., 2004. *Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge University.

Hamlin, B., 1992. Owners, editors and journalists. *In:* A. Belsay and R. Chadwick, eds., *Ethical issues in journalism and media*, London: Routledge, Pp. 33-48.

Hanitzsch, T. and Donsbach, W., 2012. Comparing journalism cultures. The Handbook of Comparative Communication Research, pp.262-275.

Hanitzsch, T. and Maximilians, L., 2013. Role perceptions and professional values Worldwide. *Documento no publicado WJEC-3*.

Hanitzsch, T., 2007. Deconstructing Journalism Culture: Towards a universal theory. *Communication Theory,*17(4), Pp. 367-385.

Hanitzsch, T., 2011. Populist Disseminators, Detached Watchdogs, Critical Change Agents and Opportunist Facilitators: Professional Milieus, the Journalistic Field and Autonomy in 18 Countries. *International Communication Gazette* 73(6): Pp.477–494.

Hanitzsch, T., 2013a. Journalism, participative media and trust in a comparative context. *Rethinking Journalism. Trust and participation in a transformed news landscape*, Pp.200-209.

Hanitzsch, T., 2013b: Comparative journalism research: mapping a growing field. *Australian Journalism Research* 35(2), Pp.9-19

Hanitzsch, T., Anikina, M., Berganza, R., Cangoz, I., Coman, M., Hamada, B., Hanusch, F., Karadjov, C, D., Mellado, C., Moreira, S, V., Mwesige, P, G., Plaisance, P, L., Reich, Z., Seethaler, J., Skewes, E, A., Noor, D, V., & Yuen, K, W., 2010. Modeling Perceived Influences on Journalism Evidence from a Cross-National Survey of Journalists. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 87(1), pp. 7-24.

Hanitzsch, T., Folker, H., Claudia, M., Maria, A., Rosa, B., Incilay, C., Mihai, C., Basyouni, H., Maria, E, H., Christopher, D, K., Sonia, V, M., Peter G, M., Patrick, L, P., Zvi, R., Josef, S., Elizabeth, A, S., Dani, V, N., & Kee, W, Y., 2011. Mapping Journalism Cultures across Nations: A Comparative Study of 18 Countries. *Journalism Studies* 12(3), pp. 273-293.

Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F. & Lauerer, C., 2014. Setting the Agenda, Influencing Public Opinion, and Advocating for Social Change. *Journalism Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2014.959815.

Hanitzsch, T., Hanusch, F. and Lauerer, C., 2016. Setting the Agenda, Influencing Public Opinion, and Advocating for Social Change: Determinants of journalistic interventionism in 21 countries. *Journalism Studies*, 17(1), pp.1-20.

Hardy, J., 2010. Western media systems. Routledge.

 Hassan, K, M and Aivas, S, A., 2024. [Dramatic assignment of the main characters in the Kurdish documentary; Kurdsat and Kurdmax satellite channels as examples](https://kissrjour.org/index.php/jkss/article/view/263)*. Journal of Kurdistani for Strategic Studies, 1(6).*

Hobsbawm, E.J., 1982. Gramsci and Marxist political theory. *Approaches to Gramsci*, pp.20-36.

Hogan, J., and Trumpbour, J., 2013. The Press and Political Processes in Contemporary Iraqi Kurdistan: FINAL REPORT.

Hussein, H.H.S., Aivas, S.A., Ahmed, R.K., Yaqub, K.Q. and Salih, A.M., 2025. [Journalistic objectivity in the Kurdistan region of Iraq: examining the relationship between journalists and politicians](https://britishjir.org/index.php/bjir/article/view/28). *British Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, *2*(3), pp.149-171.

IREX Report. 2006: Iraq Media Sustainability Index 2005. *Unesdoc* [online]. Available at: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001518/151833E.pdf> [Accessed: 24 February 2016].

IREX report. 2015. Media Sustainability Index; the Development of Sustainable Independent Media in Europe and Eurasia. *IREX* [online]. Available at: <https://www.irex.org/sites/default/files/2015-msi-summary.pdf>. [Accessed: 7 March 2016].

Janowitz, M., 1975. Professional models in journalism: The gatekeeper and the advocate. Journalism Quarterly, 52, Pp. 618–662.

Jones, C., 2005. *Winning with the News Media* [Online]. Available at: <http://www.winning-newsmedia.com/privacy.htm> [Accessed: 28 November 2011].

Kovach, B., & Rosenstiel, T., 2001. The elements of journalism. London: Atlantic Books.

Kreyenbroek, P.G., and Allison, C., eds., 1996. *Kurdish culture and identity*. Zed Books.

Kumar, R., 2011. *RESEARCH METHODOLOGY a step-by-step guide for beginners*. 3rd ed. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Latzer, M., 2013. 12. Media convergence. *Handbook on the digital creative economy*, p.123.

Laughey, D., 2007. *Key themes in media theory*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

Litowitz, D., 2000. Gramsci, hegemony, and the law. *BYU L. Rev.*, pp.515.

Maciver, R., 1966. Professional groups and cultural norms. *Professionalization*, pp.49-55.

Masterton, M. (Ed.). (1996). Asian values in journalism. Singapore: AMIC.

Mayring, P., 2000. Qualitative content analysis. Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 1(2). Retrieved July 28, 2008, from <http://217.160.35.246/fqs-texte/2-00/2-00mayring-e.pdf>.

Mcquail, D., 2000. McQuail’s mass communication theory. London: Sage.

Meho, L.I., and Maglaughlin, K.L., 2001. Kurdish culture and society: an annotated bibliography (No. 9). Greenwood Publishing Group.

Meikle, G., and Young, S., 2011. *Media convergence: Networked digital media in everyday life*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Merill, J. C., & Odell, J. S., 1983. Philosophy and journalism. New York: Longman.

Mḧemed, A. E., 2016. Kurdistan's Shadow and Partisan Media Choke Independent Journalism. *The Pasewan* [online], (25 February 2016). Available at: <http://www.pasewan.com/English/Detail.aspx?Jimare=173> [Accessed on 26 February 2016].

Morrison, D, E., Kieran, M, L., Svennevig, M., and Ventress, S, A., 2007. Media and Values: Intimate Transgressions in a Changing Moral and Cultural Landscape. Intellect Books.

MOSCO, V., 2014. Political Economic Theory and Research. The handbook of media and mass communication theory, pp.37-55.

Mwesige, P. G., 2004. Disseminators, advocates, and watchdogs: A profile of Ugandan journalists in the new millennium. *Journalism*, 5(1), 69–96.

Najjar, O. A., 2004. ‘‘The Middle East and North Africa’’. *In*: Arnold S. de Beer and John C. Merrill (eds), *Global Journalism*: topical issues and media systems, Boston: Pearson, Pp. 257\_98.

Nasution, Z., 1996. Social and cultural influences on journalism values in Asia. *In* M.Masterton (Ed.), Asian values in journalism (pp. 52–55). Singapore: AMIC.

Oller-Alonso, M. and Meier, K., 2010. Journalistic roles and objectivity in Spanish and Swiss journalism. An applied model of analysis of journalism culture. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, (65), p.488.

Oommen, T., K., 2004. “New Nationalisms and Collective rights: The case of South Asia” *in* Ethnicity, Nationalism and Minority Rights ed. by Stephen May et al., 2004. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 121-122.

Patton, M.Q., 2002. *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Plaisance, P, L., 2000. The concept of media accountability reconsidered. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 15(4), Pp.257-268.

Plaisance, P. L., & Skewes, E. A., 2003. Personal and professional dimensions of news work: Exploring the link between journalists’ values and roles. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, (80), Pp. 833–848.

Pritchard, D., 2000. The Process of Media Accountability. *In* D. Pritchard, ed. *Holding the media accountable: Citizens, ethics and the law*, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, Pp.1-10.

Qaradakhi, B.H. and Aivas, S.A., 2020. [Media Messages, And Its Effect On the Health Awareness of the Citizens, COVID-19, During The Curfew in The Kurdistan Region of Iraq. *Qalaai Zanist Journal*, *5*(2), pp.1-35.](https://journal.lfu.edu.krd/ojs/index.php/qzj/article/view/254)

Reese, S. D., 2001. Understanding the global journalist: A hierarchy-of-influences approach. Journalism Studies, 2(2), 173–187.

Reich, Z. and Hanitzsch, T., 2013. Determinants of journalists' professional autonomy: Individual and national level factors matter more than organizational ones. *Mass Communication and Society*, 16(1), Pp.133-156.

Relly, J.E., Zanger, M., and Fahmy, S., 2015. Professional role perceptions among Iraqi Kurdish journalists from a ‘state within a state’. *Journalism*, 16(8), Pp.1085-1106.

Romano, D., 2006.*The Kurdish nationalist movement: opportunity, mobilization and identity. Middle East studies* (No. 22). Cambridge University Press.

Rosen, J., 2000. Questions and answers about public journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 1, Pp. 679–683.

Ryan, M., 2001. Journalistic ethics, objectivity, existential journalism, standpoint epistemology, and public journalism. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 16, (1), Pp. 3-22.

Schramm, W., 1964. Mass media and national development: The role of information in developing countries. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Schudson, M., 2001. The objectivity norm in American journalism\*.*Journalism*, *2*(2), Pp.149-170.

Schwarzmantel, J., 2009. Gramsci and the problem of political agency. *Gramsci and Global Politics: Hegemony and Resistance*.

Sheyholislami, J., 2011. *Kurdish identity, discourse, and new media*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sinjari, H., 2006. ‘The Iraqi Press after Liberation: Problems and Prospects for Developing a Free Press’ in *Arab Media in the Information Age*, ECSSR (ed.), Abu Dhabi: ECSSR, Pp. 472-490.

Waisbord, S.R., 2013. *Watchdog journalism in South America: News, accountability, and democracy*. Columbia university press.

Yaqub, K. Q., 2022. The impact of the United States macroeconomics on the price of gold. In Proceedings of the 7th International Conference on Business, Management and Economics (pp. 42–57). Diamond Scientific Publishing.

Yaqub, K. Q., 2025. Effect of United States monetary policy and macroeconomics on the Dow Jones Industrial Average pre, during, and post COVID-19 period. Journal of University of Raparin, 12(2), 675-707.

Yaqub, K.Q., 2024. The role of oil revenue in shaping Iraq's public budget. *British Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, *1*(2), pp.1-24.

Yaqub, K.Q., 2025. Analysis of Nominal and Real Exchange Rates in the Iraqi Economy (1970-2013). *British Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, *2*(3), pp.17-41.

Zanger, M., 2004. ‘Kurdish Media After the War’, Arab Reform Bulletin, December 2004 [Online]. Available at:<http://www.mafhoum.com/press7/2205251.htm> [Accessed on 12 February 2016].

Zia, A., Ali, M.Z., Jamil, M.N., Mukhtar, Z., Yaqub, K.Q. and Javed, K., 2025. The Impact of Financial Monetary Economic Variables on Economic Growth. *Kashf Journal of Multidiscip*