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Cultivation effects of Saudi newspapers on estimates of expatriate crime

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Cultivation Effects of Saudi Newspapers on Estimates of Expatriate Crime

A Thesis Submitted to the
Department of Journalism and Mass Communication
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Arts

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Under the supervision of Dr. Amani Ismail

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Acknowledgment

I would like to thank my mother, father and my beautiful family, my loving and supportive wife who has bared a lot with me. I would also like to thank many friends and colleagues for their support especially my friend Hadeel for her help, assistance and support.

Abstract

For years, scholarly work examined the media effects on audience and how they view and understand the world. In particular, media can play a role in shaping how an individual views crime and criminals. Using cultivation theory, this study examines the effects of Saudi Arabian print media (newspapers) on nationals and expatriates living in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Surveys from 526 respondents were analyzed and hypotheses tested finding; there was no relationship between level of readership and personal perceptions of expat crime levels; there is no statistical significance between the level of readership and further judgments on how to deal with expat crimes and no resonance effect was found. On the other hand, group membership has a significant effect on estimations of expat crime levels.

Chapter One: Introduction to the Study

Humans are complex beings, shaped and influenced by many intertwined variables. Media consumption, personal factors and social factors can play a significant role in developing how individuals view the world around them. It is important to note that media consumption does not happen in isolation. Media consumers, as individuals or groups (class, race, gender, ethnicity etc.) are subjected to a complex set of psychological and sociological factors that may change the direction and/or volume of media effects. It is difficult to determine which of these elements has stronger influence toward prejudice (Bissell & Parrott, 2013). Similarly, media institutions and media gatekeepers do not work in a vacuum and are prone to reflect the conditions, power struggles and dominant ideologies of the society in which they operate. In particular and relevant for this research, the media can play "a substantial role in shaping beliefs and fear of crime" (Weitzer & Kubrin 2004). Morgan and Shanahan (1999) state,

> Cultivation means that the dominant modes of cultural production tend to generate messages and representations which nourish and sustain the ideologies, perspectives, and practices of the institutions and cultural contexts from which they arise (p. 40).

The purpose of this quantitative study is to examine the effects of Saudi Arabian print media on nationals and expatriates living in Jeddah. The study examines the level of readership and the cultivation effect by examining perceptions of crime in relation to nationality. All respondents are from the city of Jeddah that has a big expat community. Residence of Jeddah will have more direct contact with expats, due in part to its comparatively high rate of inter-marriages between citizens and expats, which is important to consider in a cultivation study as personal experience moderates cultivation effects for victimization fears (Schnauber & Meltzer, 2015). This study helps understand the effect of a newspapers, a traditional medium, in a time

when newspaper readership is declining in Saudi and most countries in the region, while online news is booming (Northwestern University in Qatar, 2016). Will a decline in readership reduce the likelihood of cultivation effects taking place?

Background on Saudi Arabia and Expatriates

Similar to the other oil-rich countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), Saudi Arabia has a large expat population because these countries rely heavily on cheap foreign labor. As with other GCC countries, there are concerns about the conditions of expatriates in Saudi Arabia. These issues are well known and constantly addressed by international, regional and local organizations. One particular concern regarding expatriates working in the GCC and in particular Saudi Arabia is the use of the highly restrictive Kafala, or sponsorship, laws that govern the lives and activities of non-citizens in the country.

According to the Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (2014), the Kafala laws requires all foreign workers to be sponsored by an employer, rather than the state and the employer then becomes legally responsible for the employee. The sponsor pays all fees associated with recruitment including to the agency, employment visa, work permit, and return airfare home (Manseau, 2006). The worker must rely on the employer for the right to stay in the country creating "a situation wherein the employer can dictate all conditions of employment for the worker because the state has passed its responsibility to sponsors" (Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants, 2014, p. 27). The sponsor is also responsible for

> monitoring the legal exit and entry into the country of the worker by granting an exit
> visa/permit notifying the Ministry of Interior of changes in the worker's status, and
> reporting the worker to the police if he/she leaves the job without prior permission
> (Human Rights Watch, 2012a, p. 27).

The Saudi National Society for Human Rights (National Society for Human Rights, 2008*[1]) issued a detailed report in 2008 about the Kafala. The report outwardly called for the abolishment of all sponsorship laws and played a role in making the penal code even stricter in dealing with human trafficking. A 2012 report by Human Rights Watch found that migrant workers in Saudi "fill manual, clerical, and service jobs, constituting more than half the national workforce. Many suffer multiple abuses and labor exploitation, sometimes amounting to slavery-like conditions" (Human Rights Watch, 2012b, p.618).

The way media covers minorities was subjected to numerous media studies, many of which found evidence of overrepresentation in crime news and crime depictions. For the purpose of this research, cultivation theory was used to establish a better understanding of this issue within the Saudi context

Saudi Perceptions of Expatriates

Abdulkader (2014*) conducted a comprehensive study on how Saudis and non-Saudis perceive each other. Many of his findings are relevant to this study. One of the findings was the existence of stereotypical views against expats in relation to criminality. Interestingly, such perceptions increase against non-Arab expats indicating that Arabs are not seen as an extreme "other" forming a level of in-group bias. The language barrier for non-Arabs is an obvious obstacle to more integration and not surprisingly, Abdulkader (2014*) found that personal relationships and friendships moderate negative perceptions that some Saudis may hold against non-Saudis. Similarly in media studies, real world contact has been found to moderate the effects of exposure to stereotypical media messages (Behm-Morawitz et al., 2007). Nevertheless, the surveyed sample in his study reported that mass media, including newspapers,

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[1] All citations featuring an asterisk are found exclusively in the list of Arabic references on pp. 70-76 of this thesis.

was not a major contributor to how they view expatriates. This current cultivation research examined the validity of this claim.

An interesting component of Abdulkader's study reveals that perceptions about expats taking jobs from Saudi nationals is the least common among a number of negative perceptions. This finding is important and is consistent with a recently conducted world-wide survey which found residents of high-income countries to be much more likely to say immigrants do take jobs in their countries that citizens do not want to take, while in weaker economies it was more likely to think of immigrants as taking jobs that are desired by citizens (Relief Web, 2015).

Significance of the Study

This study addresses a global issue and helps fill a knowledge gap. Worldwide concerns have been raised in regards to how media portrays minority groups. Scholarly work affirmed such concerns when it comes to media depictions of many groups, including the association between Muslims and terrorism (e.g. Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009; Dixon & Williams, 2015; Kabir, 200). Stereotypical crime news can "subtly influence the interpretations people make about members of other social groups" (Gorham, 2006), that assert the importance of this area of media studies.

In 2008 a number of Saudi media articles and online petitions demanded the expulsion of Bangladeshi expats from the country due to allegedly high number of crimes committed by members of this nationality. This ended with a governmental decision to limit accepting labor from Bangladesh. However, the same year, statistics showed that the top three expat nationalities in committing crimes in Saudi were the Yemeni, Pakistani and Indian nationalities in this order. Ethiopians, who were targeted by a similar campaign in 2013-14, were responsible for merely 3 percent of the crimes in Saudi during the same year.

The Ethiopian government and human rights groups have criticized media portrayals of Ethiopian in Saudi and other GCC countries. In an interview with Alhayat newspaper (2013[*]), the Ethiopian ambassador in Saudi accused the media of exaggeration and rejected claims that Ethiopian maids kill children as part of a religious sacrifice, reminding the readers that 97 percent of Ethiopians are either Muslim or Christian.

The UN has sounded the alarm a few times as well. Recently the UN criticized a British newspaper for calling migrants "cockroaches" linking it to a wider pattern of "decades of sustained and unrestrained anti-foreigner abuse, misinformation and distortion" (OHCHR, 2015). Previously in 2007 the UNHCR condemned media "demonization" of a Tunisian migrant accused of a crime in Italy who later turned out to be innocent. The UNHCR held a meeting with Italian media stakeholders to change how the media reports on migrants and crime (UNHCR, 2007). Previous studies found media exposure lead audience to perceive minorities as a threat, whether it was general exposure, fictional exposure, entertainment exposure or commercial exposure (Lubbers et al, 2000), a demonstration of how far reaching this phenomena can get. There is a global interest in studying this topic but few studies have been conducted in the Arab world.

As for the knowledge gap, one of the aims of this study is to contribute to understanding the Arab and Saudi media. There is a small amount of studies on Saudi media as well as a small number of studies about how Saudi and Saudis are portrayed in other media (e.g. Ibrahim, 2009a; 2009b). Scholarly work is needed to provide more in-depth understanding of the different mechanisms under which a rapidly changing society functions. The scarcity of studies about Saudi Arabia as a whole and about Saudi media in particular is an obstacle in shaping

such in-depth understandings and helps create an unnecessarily ambiguous image of one of an important Arab society.

The Saudi media has been categorized as un-free by a number of scholars and human rights groups. Even without prior-censorship, journalists will not cross the red lines. Editor in chief of Alhayat newspaper, with its pan-Arab appeal, stated:

> "I feel at times that I'm not so much covering the news as covering it up ... We can afford to be banned in Sudan, where the currency is almost worthless, but if we are banned in Saudi Arabia, we stand to lose tens of thousands of dollars in advertising revenue. Consequently, we are more careful with Saudi news; it is a matter of economics, even of survival" (Khazen, 1999, p.87).

The Saudi government considers the news media a tool for promoting government interests (Duffy, 2013). Rugh (2004) describes the GCC press as a loyalist press.

While all the Saudi newspapers, except the official paper of Um Al-Qura, are privately owned, they are all either linked to the government or to members of the royal family (Duffy, 2013). The privately owned Saudi TV channels for example are seen as a Saudi attempt at "creating and funding a media empire for itself outside its borders." Examples include the MBC channels which belong to a brother-in-law of the late King Fahd, and the Rotana channels which belongs to the multibillionaire Prince Alwaleed bin Talal who's media empire expands to LBC, Time Warner, Disney, News Corporation, Fox Movies, Apple, Amazon and Microsoft (Castells, 2009; Sakr, 2008 & Sakr, 2013).

Media laws in saudi Arabia

The main written media law in Saudi Arabia is what is called The Printing and

Publications Law (PPL) or نظام النشر والمطبوعات السعودي. It is 49 articles long and more than a

decade old. The current law regulates media outlets, licensing, and renewals. It also covers other

broader issues such as libraries, photography, and scanning services. This law was amended in

2011 during the Arab Spring events.

One of the main characteristics of the PPL is the use of vague terms. It contains articles

that are open to different interpretations. Article 3 for instance, states, "the goals of printed and

published materials should include promoting Islam, good deeds, to direct people to all that is

good, and to spread knowledge and culture."

The law also states that licensing will be provided to those who fulfill eight

preconditions including being a Saudi national, twenty five years old or older, and "known" for

his/her "good conduct." The Saudi National Society for Human Rights (NSHR) commented on

these preconditions in their 1st published report, saying that those preconditions "It is feared

that this provision may grant the concerned authorities a wide margin to interfere in media"

(NSHR, 2006, p. 69).

All Saudi media outlets must – according to this law - refrain from publishing anything

that "insults Islam or the regime" or anything that "contradicts with good manners". A text of

this nature gives the Saudi security apparatus and judicial system the ability to portray a variety

of media products as "anti-regime" or "contradictory to good manners". Overall, Saudi Arabia

is one of the most restrictive media environments in the world (Duffy, 2013).

In April 2011, following the Arab Spring events, Saudi issued amendments to the Printing and Publications Law and many criticized the amendments. NSHR (2011[*]) pledged to the king to rethink the amendments.

Aside from the PPL, other laws contribute in shaping the media environment of Saudi Arabia. The Basic Law of Governance (BLG) that enjoys judicial and legislative supremacy in Saudi Arabia is sometime considered an equivalent to a constitution.

Article 39 of the BLG states that Saudi media must abide by "the righteous word" and must avoid publishing anything that may lead to "disorder, divisions or endanger the state security and its general relations." NSHR pointed out that this article "permit the possibility of different interpretations including those limiting that right [Of expression]" (NSHR, 2006, p. 19).

Article 12 of the BLG prohibits "anything that may lead to disunity, sedition and separation". Such wording can create a very restrictive environment for the media (Duffy, 2013).

Saudi newspapers

According to the encyclopedia of international media and communication, Saudi Arabia has a daily circulation of newspapers of 1.1 million copies. Saudi Arabia has 9 main local newspapers, they are: Om Al-Qura (the official newspaper), Okaz, Alriyadh, Aljazirah, Alwatan, Alyum, Alsharq, Al-Madina and Makkah.

There are a number of newspapers targeting non-Arab audience such as the Arab News and the Saudi Gazette (both English) and Urdu News are published in Urdu. Arab News was in a number of comparison studies (AlMaskati, 2012; Mishra, 2007; Halim, & Meyers, 2010).

In addition, two other newspapers are considered Saudi but with a focus on Arab readers inside and outside Saudi Arabia: Alsharq Alawsat and Alhayat.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this research lies within the premise of the cultivation theory. As proposed by Gerbner and others, cultivation theory hypothesized that frequent themes in the media, especially TV, will influence the audience's views. This in turn will influence their perception of reality. Gupta (2006) states, "cultivation theory in its most basic form, suggests that television is responsible for shaping, or 'cultivating' viewers' conceptions of social reality" (p. 14).

Cultivation theory is a well-known theory for examining the impacts of mass communication and has significantly contributed to media research offering an analysis of how perception of real life occurrences, especially violence, could be shaped by continuous media exposure. Media portrayals of violence is particularly relevant to this study since it is concerned with perceptions of expat crime levels.

The main proposition of cultivation theory is that recurrent television messages accumulate in the minds of viewers overtime and the more exposure to television results in beliefs about the real world that are more aligned with the television world than real life. Simply stated, the more time people spend 'living' in the world of television, they are more likely to believe the social reality portrayed on television (Cohen & Weimann, 2000).

Violence is a major area of interest in cultivation research. One of the most well-known manifestations of cultivation is the "mean world syndrome" that suggests individuals who are considered heavy television viewers will systematically embrace views presented by television more than light television viewers, are prone to overestimate the possibilities of violence in the

real world due to the huge amount of violence they see on television (Chang & Reber, 2000).
Individuals who are exposed to large amounts of television can develop:

an overestimation of crime and violence in society, a heightened sense of personal risk,
heightened anxieties, or a general distrust or suspicion towards other people, all of
which were fostered by a conception of life's truths as coming closer to television reality
than to that of the real world (Leder, 2009, p. 18-19).

Cultivation theory suggests that violence is depicted on TV in a way which mirrors the
society's prejudices, as media violence is not about dominance of one individual over the other,
but of a social role over another (Fiske & Hartley, 2001). The theory is concerned about how
the media maintains dominant ideologies and violence as a demonstration of power with serious
consequences related to social control and the confirmation and perpetuation of minorities
(Morgan, Shanahan & Signorielli, 2009). Morgan and Shanahan (1999) state:

Rather than stimulating aggression, cultivation theory contends that heavy exposure to
television violence cultivates insecurity, mistrust, and alienation and a willingness to accept
potentially repressive measures in the name of security, all of which strengthens and helps
maintain the prevailing hierarchy of social power (p. 40)

Many media studies within cultivation framework or outside of it have revealed a
relationship between heavy viewership of TV and overestimation of violence and crime in the
real world and stereotyping (e.g. Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Lee et al, 2009). Heavy viewers are
more prone to overrate the occurrence of violent events, thus perceiving the world as more
hostile and dangerous than it really is. Subjecting twenty years of cultivation studies to meta-
analysis found that "on average, cultivation studies (summing across all studies, all samples, all
methods, all measures, and all dependent areas) have found a consistent, theoretically predicted

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relationship between exposure to television and beliefs about the world" (Morgan & Shanahan, 1999, p. 125).

Violence, which is a major theme in cultivation research, is still a recurrent media message today. Around 30 percent of all US televised news reports are about crime, trials, and unusual events (Pew Research Center, 2013). Another example can be seen in TV drama that can exaggerate the occurrence of homicide to be as high as 92 percent while the real ratio is .22 percent (Eschholz, Mallard & Flynn, 2004). Covering crimes committed by strangers and exaggerating the frequency of dramatic and infrequent crimes is driven primarily by business needs (Chiasson, 2008). In Switzerland, stories about migrants in the commercial media are far more dominated with crime news than the public media (Singer et al, 2011).

Another cultivation concept is the resonance hypothesis that predicts more cultivation effects for people who have real-life experiences resembling the media world. This effect has been reported by some studies. For example, higher levels of fear were reported in respondents living in high-crime areas (Heath & Petraitis, 1987) and respondents who have been recently a victim of a crime (Chiricos, Padgett & Gertz, 2000). Eschholz (2002) found Blacks exhibited a correlation between the time they spend watching TV and fear of crime whereas for Whites the relative frequency of Black offenders on TV is a stronger predictor of fear than the amount of time spent watching TV. One exception to such findings was reported in women's fear of sexual crime where women with higher socioeconomic status and those who have no direct experience with crime were more susceptible to fear of sexual crimes (Custers & Van den Bulck, 2013).

Cultivation is one of the strongest theories in media effects. Even today, and despite many changes in the media world, cultivation research is still remarkably healthy (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010) with more than 100 published studies in the period between 2000-2010 where

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cultivation theory is among the three most cited media theories in decades of media research (Bryant & Miron, 2004). Cultivation effects can become strong and resistant to change. This is why making a quick transformation in media portrayals produces no change in audience attitudes, as message frequency is found to be stronger than message recency (Hetsroni, 2010). Furthermore, cultivation has been linked to other theories such as knowledge gap theory, theory of reasoned action, spiral of silence, elaboration likelihood model, mental models, social capital, the third person effect, and a combination of third-person effect and agenda setting (Morgan & Shanahan, 2009; Potter, 2014). Agenda-setting theory is seen as the closest to cultivation theory (Potter, 2014). Third person effect is also relevant to cultivation and both can be integrated with agenda setting theory (Jeffres et al., 2008).

There are other relevant concepts that are part of cultivation theory. In response to early criticism, cultivation theorists introduced the notions of mainstreaming, resonance, and first and second order cultivation.

Mainstreaming is the concept that people's life experience could possibly moderate the cultivation effect More specifically, those individuals "whose life experiences are more discrepant from the world of television are the most likely to be influenced by the television message . . . mainstreaming predicts an interaction between television viewing and certain demographic variables (Shrum & Bischak, 2001, p. 4).

Furthermore, mainstreaming refers to the observation that heavy television viewers from different groups report similar views, including groups that are traditionally in opposition. A commonly discussed example is how heavy viewers tend to have similar opinions despite their ideological differences. This is apparent in liberals and conservatives in the United States, as heavy viewers from both sides tend to have much closer opinions to each other in issues like

segregation, minority rights and abortion, in comparison to light viewers from both sides (Morgan, Shanahan & Signorielli, 2009).

The term *resonance* refers to a "double dose" cultivation effects reported when the real life experience matches the TV world. This has been reported in some cultivation studies (Chiricos, Padgett & Gertz, 2000). This has been reported in studies that found higher fear in respondents living in high-crime areas (Heath & Petraitis, 1987) and respondents who have been recently a victim of a crime (Chiricos, et al., 2000). Finally, there is the concept of *first* and *second order cultivation*. First order cultivation centers on television's cultivation of prevalent judgments and general beliefs about the world such as the percentage of Americans who own a pool (O'Guinn & Shrum, 1997). Second order cultivation concerns television's influence on specific values or attitudes such as a hatred, the desirability of traditional families (Morgan et al., 1999) or adherence to the values of consumer materialism (Shrum, Lee, Burroughs, & Rindfleisch, 2011).

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Chapter Three: Literature Review

The purpose of this chapter is to conduct an examination of the literature relevant to media portrayals of minorities. Many studies have covered this issue using a range of theories including cultivation theory.

Minority Portrayals

The issue of minority portrayals in relation to violence and crime is a well-researched topic in media studies. In the US, where most of the literature originates, there is a large body of media studies that date back to 1953 systematically reported underrepresentation of minorities and many cases of overrepresentation in crime-related media (Fiske & Hartley, 2001), indicating an overall under-representation coupled with an over-representation in crime and violence depictions. Martindale (1990a; 1990b) concluded the depictions of African-Americans in the US media are generally low across the 50's, 60's and the 70's. However, media coverage of Black crime during the 50's constituted 41 percent of the entire coverage of Blacks in a Chicago newspaper, even though the Black population of the city was a mere 14 percent of the total population. Gilliam and Lyengar (2000) found minorities in general are more likely to be depicted as crime suspects in many US media outlets and genres, African-Americans comprising the largest group of minority suspects regardless of the type of crime.

Martindale (1990a) found that 50 percent of the depictions of blacks in the American press to be generally stereotypical coverage during the 1970's centering on Blacks in entertainment and sports. She concluded "the old stereotypes of black Americans are beginning to lose their sway," while new stereotypes are being introduced (Martindale, 1990b, p. 48-49). Shifting the stereotypical coverage of blacks from crime and violence to a more "friendly" and less threatening stereotype of an athlete or entertainer could indicate how prevalent stereotyping

is in media portrayals. Media studies have steady reported an association in the media between Blacks on crime or sports and entertainment in US traditional media (Readership Institute, 2004) and even outside the realm of major US media corporations (Edwards, 2007).

Dixon et al and others produced a considerable amount of literature on the topic and found evidence of the long-term effects of news viewing and that racialized crime news leads viewers to perceive crimes as a black activity (Dixon et al., 2007). Black and Latino portrayals are found to be not in line with real world figures in many occasions (Dixon & Linz, 2000a; 2000b). Media portrayals of African Americans don't only affect whites, the out-group, it can play a role in lowering self esteem for black adolescent, the in-group, (Ward, 2004).

Johnson, Adams, Hall, and Ashburn (1997) studied the effects of printed crime stories and reported that when violence was included in a news story, Blacks were subjected to more dispositional explanations indicating the power of media in activating prejudice and revealing how audience interpret crimes when committed by the "other". Oliver et al. (2012) investigated the effect of Afro-centric features in crime news on the memory of the audience and found that readers' memories of Afro-centric features are significantly more pronounced when the news stories concerning crime, particularly violent crime, than when they are non-stereotyped or stereotypical but not crime-related. Arendt (2010) examined a major Austrian newspaper and found that 65.3 percent of all those reported as suspects were labeled as foreigners, while the official statistics show that only 27.2 percent criminals were actually foreigners.

Coogan (2012) used framing theory to examine how radio and television depicted two crime cases in which the suspect is an athlete, one White and the other Black and argues that portrayal of the two athletes could emphasize racial stereotypes. Entman (2000) found that almost 50 percent of prime time TV portrayals of African Americans have been as either acting

in politics or as involved somehow in crime. He also found that there is more media focus on violent crimes when covering black crime as opposed to white crime.

Research has almost always found evidence that blacks are overrepresented as criminals (Dixon & Linz, 2000a; Entman, 1992, 1994; Gilliam, Iyengar, Simon, & Wright, 1996; Jamieson, & de Coteau, 1998; Romer, Jamieson, & de Coteau, 1998). Whites are never found to be portrayed more negatively that the other ethnic groups in crime portrayals except in rare cases such as Dixon et al (2003). Even today, black portrayals are noticeably different than white. A recent study (Wilson & Henderson, 2014) found black police officers to be predominantly portrayed in a comedic light, not a serious one in cop films. Even in comedies, Blacks can be seen as more verbally aggressive (Glascock, 2003). Other than Blacks, different minority groups have been studied in relation to crime and media depictions in the US include Asian Americans (Dalisay & Tan, 2009), and Latinos (Behm-Morawitz, Mastro, & Ortiz, 2007; Castanon, 2003) who are currently the largest US minority and are portrayed as criminals in crime news more than whites (Dixon & Linz, 2000a).

Similar studies have covered other forms of media such as TV drama (Eschholz et al., 2004), music (Johnson, Trawalter & Dovidio, 2000; LaMarre et al., 2012), music videos (Beullens et al., 2012; Rich et al., 1998;; Thaller & Messing, 2014), newspaper comics (Glascock & Preston-Schreck, 2004), video games (Williams, 2006), video games magazines (Burgess, Dill, Stermer, Burgess, & Brown, 2011), advertisement and marketing (Bailey, 2006; Hazell & Clarke, 2008; Humphrey & Schuman, 1984; ;Knobloch-Westerwick, & Coates, 2006; Mastro & Stern, 2003) and children animated cartoons (Klein & Shiffman, 2009).

An experiment comparing the effects of printed crime stories found that when violence was included in a news story, Blacks were subjected to more dispositional explanations

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(Johnson et al., 1997) indicating the power of media in activating prejudice and revealing how an audience interprets crimes when committed by the "other". Another study found that watching TV news on Black crime will boost Black suspect's score on a likelihood of guilt scale (Peffley, Shields, & Williams, 1996), as well as the estimated appropriate jail time, a result that bares resemblance to second order cultivation effects.

A content analysis of German news magazine articles covering a 15-year period, from 1999 to 2013, studied how the media portrays ethnic groups when it comes to organized crimes and concluded that German media is possibly fueling stereotypes, serving populists aims in exploiting the issue of migrants and organized crime and even criminalizing entire ethnic groups in the eyes of the public and some policy-makers (Pruss, 2014). Even in a society frequently praised for its multiculturalism and tolerance like Switzerland, radio and TV were found to under-represent migrants and sometimes associate them with crime (Signer et al., 2011).

Valentino (1999) expanded such researches into the evaluation of president candidates and found evidence that crime news, particularly when containing minority suspects, will prime racial attitudes that in turn affect how politicians are viewed.

Cultivation theory and Minorities

Cultivation studies have traditionally centered on television. This focus on TV is due to the assertion that television is the main medium in the American society. However, scholars question the validity of this across other nations where TV might not play the major role it plays in the American culture.

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The print press is of more importance in some countries. In a study on cultivation effects of an Austrian newspaper, Arendt (2010) notes that "Although the original formulation of the cultivation hypothesis and much of the subsequent research focused on television, several studies have investigated the cultivation effect of newspapers … The focus on television is due to the assertion that television is the "central cultural arm of American society" (Gerbner & Gross, 1976, p. 175). No claim has been made regarding the validity of this statement outside of the American context". This is crucial to understand why this study, as well as many others recently, is breaking from the classic US- centric model of cultivation studies. Arendt argues that the specific media structure of a country and the context that is being studied is of crucial importance. He gives the example of Austria where more than 75 percent of the total population reads a newspaper on a daily basis, but only 63 percent watches TV daily, and therefore the omission of newspapers from cultivation studies would be absurd in such a case. This is closely related to a Saudi Arabian context, where local crime is usually reported in the print press and absent from local TV channels.

It is noteworthy that even in the U.S. newspapers may have a greater role than usually assumed. In a 1990 study McManus found that many local TV stations in the U.S. "depended largely on second-hand news, particularly the newspaper" and many of the stories were picked up by daily scanning of the local press.

Cultivation analysis has been traditionally identified with violence and crime (Morgan & Shanahan, 1997). Two decades of cultivation research produced a consistent, theoretically predicted relationship between television exposure and perceptions about the existing world (Dixon & Maddox, 2005; Morgan & Shanahan, 1999).

There are a number of research studies that have utilized cultivation theory and have focused on violence in the media finding supportive results by surveying populations (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980; Gross & Aday, 2003; Nabi & Sullivan, 2001; Romer, Jamieson, & Aday, 2003) .

However, Cultivation research has continuously expanded to cover new topics making it among the most commonly used theories in media studies. Cultivation now covers a variety of areas including sex-role stereotype, health believes, political orientation, aging, religion, mental illness, substance abuse, homosexuality, environment issues (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010; Potter, 2014), economic expectations (Hetsroni et al, 2014) and other areas. Researchers combined cultivation with health studies and found supportive results (Hammermeister et al., 2005). In addition, cultivation literature expanded to cover many countries such as Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, England, Hungary, the Netherlands, Russia, South Korea, Sweden, Taiwan and Trinidad among others. (Morgan & Shanahan, 1999, p. 4).

In addition, cultivation research has shifted from studying general media messages and into studying cultivation effects of a genre or specific type of news programs and even a single TV show or a video game (Potter, 2014) as opposed to the early studies which focused only on the overall media messages. Morgan and Shanahan (2010) noted a shift towards genre-specific research, and despite being cautious about whether or not it should be classified under cultivation or not, they did list them under the current development in cultivation. Genres that have been studied include local news programs, romantic shows, talk shows, medical dramas, make over programs and reality dating shows (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010; Potter, 2014) as well as competition-based reality programs (Barton, 2007).

Bilandzic & Rössler (2004) designed a new model for understanding TV effects based on their analysis of cultivation effects for three different TV genres. Their model was examined by another study (Sarapin, & Sparks, 2015)

When it comes to cultivation beyond TV, Arendt (2010) argued that cultivation effects for the print press are found in countries like Austria where print consumption is very high. Singer, et al., (2011) found that each medium, print, television or radio, can produce different coverage of issues such as minorities, therefore can generate different effects. Another attempt to compare TV and newspaper's cultivation effects found no difference between both (Reber & Chang, 2000). A pan-European study (Bauer, 2005) found some evidence of cultivation effects of the print press in six out of twelve countries. Despite the fact the Bauer did not focus on crime in this study, he does however make a strong argument on why the print press should be incorporated in cultivation studies. He suggests that increased redundancy of newspapers, the in-depth processing and the pervasive coverage can cause stronger cultivation effects.

Another example of cultivation in the print press is a research that intended to examine how the media affects women's stereotypes on tanning and on tanning attitudes (Cho, Lee & Wilson, 2010). In doing so they applied cultivation theory to magazines instead of TV, and argued that they expanded the literature to magazine because magazines are a major source of information on beauty, health and lifestyle for female readers. The results were consistent with cultivation literature and found initial evidence of a relationship between magazine exposure and beliefs about tanned females. Rasinger (2001) found evidence of negative coverage of migrants in the Dutch regional newspapers while a longitudinal study of Dutch newspapers cultivation effects found some support to cultivation (Lubbers, Scheepers, & Vergeer, 2000).

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Researchers have been trying to form a clearer understanding of how cultivation effects take place, and how the way in which respondents are asked can influence the ability to detect cultivation effects. This is seen in the works of Shrum (2001; 2009) and others. For example, Shurm found that systematic thinking can moderate cultivation effects. Various scholars suggested new theoretical approached to cultivation (Bilandzic, 2006).

A longitudinal study investigated cultivation effects of online games (Williams, 2006) and found supportive evidence. However, the results also indicate that cultivation effects of online gaming work in a mechanism different from the one originally proposed by Gerbner. Another longitudinal study on cultivation effects examined a violent video game and found support for first order cultivation, but found that second-order cultivation was functioning in the opposite direction, indicating a potential counter-mechanism (Chong et al., 2012).

A number of studies, including a recent one, (Ellithorpe, Brookes & Ewoldsen, 2016) have capitalized on this and attempted to investigate if mental construal levels can moderate cultivation effects. Bradley (2007) did the same and found supportive results.

It has been theorized that cultivation effects are related to the way memory functions too. Supportive results were found in a number of studies including Riddle (2010) and Riddle et al. (2011) by studying the effect of memory vividness, frequency and recency on cultivation. This is memory effect is why telephone surveys were found to be more effective in detecting cultivation effects than surveys, as respondents have less time to think and re-evaluate their opinions (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010). The role of memory in media effect has also been discussed in priming studies. The relation between cultivation and priming (mentioned by Gorham, 2006) can be an important area of future studies.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

Overview

In the literature on cultivation, surveys are predominantly the method used by researchers examining the cultivation effects. Surveys are an effective way to establish quantitative data that can be subjected to statistical analysis, allowing the examination of a hypothesized relationship between two or more variables. Morgan and Shanahan (1999) found that cultivation typically uses surveys. Therefore, the quantitative methodology of survey research was the method utilized in this research study.

SPSS was used to analyze the data collected. Different statistical techniques were used; including: the frequencies, the means, and the percentages. Chi square, Kruskal Wallis test and the logistic regression test were used to examine level of significance of the results based on the threshold of P value of .05.

This study utilized a non-probability convenience sample using the online survey service Survey Monkey. A convenience sample can explore cultivation effects on the general population and how it may differ based on gender, age group, nationality and level of education. Many cultivation studies applied surveys after identifying the recurrent messages of the studied medium, usually by using a content analysis. However, cultivation studies have also been conducted without a content analysis, substituting it with other evidence and secondary evidence without applying content analysis (Barton, 2007; Lee & Niederdeppe, 2010; ; 2011; Liu, 2006; Reber & Chang, 2000; Martins & Jensen, 2014; Sparks & Miller, 2001; Williams, 2006;, Vu & Lee, 2013;). This was also applied in cultivation studies specifically concerned with crime and minorities (Grabe & Drew, 2007) as well as cultivating causes of crime (Stroman & Seltzer, 1985). This trend has been noticed by Potter (2014) who examined 37

newly published cultivation-related articles and found that only 8 of these studies based their cultivation indicators in a message system analysis by conducting their content analysis or using a previously existing one.

The survey was divided into four sections. The first section measures newspaper readership (heavy/medium/light/non-readers) and reading habits, the second section measures perceptions about expat crimes, the third section measures further judgments on expat crimes and personal victimization, while the fourth section deals with demographics such as age, nationality and education.

Operational Definitions

Level of newspaper readership

The level of newspaper readership was divided into four categories as listed below.

Heavy	Medium	Light	Non-readers
Reads newspapers on a daily basis or 2-3 times a week or once a week	Reads newspapers once every 2 or 3 weeks	Reads newspapers once every month or reports reading newspapers rarely	Respondents who report never reading newspapers

Crimes

It is suitable for this study to consider major law-breaking incidents including felonies and misdemeanors while excluding the less serious law-breaking acts such as crossing a red traffic light. It is noteworthy that until now there is no Saudi penal code.

Expatriates

The term expats in this study covers all of the expatriate population in Saudi Arabia,

Defining the universe:

The population of interest in this study are residence of the city of Jeddah who are 16 years old or more. The survey targets both genders and both citizens and expats. The

city of Jeddah was chosen due to the strong presence of different expat nationalities in it, thus providing more relevant respondents when it comes to measuring in-group bias. Running this survey in cities with a small expat community might produce a small number of expat respondents and thus weakening the ability of the survey to measure in-group bias. Similarly, the existence of a large expat community in Jeddah helps measure resonance, as experience with expat crimes will increase in such a city. Lastly, the direct contact with expats is expected to reduce cultivation effects (Schnauber & Meltzer, 2015) and Jeddah offers this more than most Saudi cities.

The survey was designed and published online using the survey website Surveymonkey. It was then distributed to friends and family who were also asked to forward it to their contacts.

An approval for this survey was received by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the American University in Cairo on the 2nd of May 2015 (Appendix B).

A total of 688 surveys were collected between 20th October 2015 and 11th November 2015. After collecting the data, a total of 162 invalid surveys were excluded, thus the total was 526 valid surveys. The excluded surveys were excluded for the following reasons:

A) Incomplete survey.

B) Wrong answers (e.g. answering with a number in the question 15 which inquires about which city do you live in).

C) Respondents who reported living in a city other than Jeddah (the research focuses solely on Jeddah).

D) Contradictory respondents that ranked one group as more criminal than the other in Q5 (Nationals/migrants) but gave more percentage to the other group in Q6.

The sample

Of the respondents 48.47 percent were male respondents and 51.52 percent female. In regards to nationality, the sample had 84.2 percent Saudi nationals and 15.8 percent expats. Respondents' education level was mostly university graduates (52.9 percent), followed by high school graduates (37.3 percent) and higher education graduates (8.7 percent). Respondents who reported their education level at elementary school or middle school were very small (.4 percent and .8 percent respectively). As for age groups, the sample was mostly youth. The 20-29 years old respondents were the largest population (68.8 percent) followed by 30-39 (14.8 percent) and 19 or younger (12.9 percent). Respondents 40-49 and 50 or above were 2.3 percent and 1.1 percent respectively.

Statics from the Saudi Bureau of Investigation and Public Prosecution (BIP) and published by Alsharq newspaper indicate that 60 percent of crimes are committed by Saudi nationals and 40 percent are committed by expats (Alahmad, 2012[*]). This research uses the 40 percent as a benchmark to determine over and under estimation of expatriate crime levels amongst the surveyed sample.

The Hypotheses of this study

This research investigated the following three hypotheses:

H1: There is a positive relationship between level of newspaper readership and an overestimation to migrant crimes in Saudi Arabia (first level cultivation)

H2: Saudi respondents will overestimate crime rates of expats and expat respondents will overestimate crime rates of Saudis (in-group bias).

H3: There is a positive relationship between level of newspaper readership and harsher attitudes towards how to combat such crimes in terms of place of residence, deportations and harsher punishments for migrant criminals (second level cultivation).

H4: Cultivation effects about expats and crime will be greater in respondents who were victims of migrant crimes (resonance).

Study variables

H1:

- Independent variable: Newspaper readership
- Dependent variable: expat crime estimations

H2:

- Independent variable: nationality of respondent
- Dependent variable: Level of cultivation effects

H3:

- Independent variable: Newspaper readership
- Dependent variable: attitude towards combating expat crime.

H4:

- Independent variable: Reporting being a victim of an expat crime
- Dependent variable: Level of cultivation effects

The first four questions of the survey explored readership habits. Q1 is to measure frequency of reading, which is then used to determine the respondent's level of readership (heavy/medium/light or non-reader). Q2 inquires about the most frequently read newspaper while Q3 measures readership by number of pages and Q4 determines the respondents areas of interest in reading a newspaper.

The following three questions measure perceptions on expats and crime. Q5 offers a basic measurement for expat crime estimates by asking the respondent to state which group in his/her estimation commits more crimes: citizens or expats? Q6 provides a more nuanced look into such estimations by asking the respondent to translate the previous answer into a percentage. Q7 asks respondents to name the nationalities that they think commit more crimes in Saudi Arabia.

By determining newspaper readership levels and expat crime estimation, the assumed relation between both can be measured (first order cultivation).

Questions 8-10 measure attitudes towards combating expat crimes in terms of place of residency, deportation policy and legal punishments respectively. This allows the adding of second order cultivation to the analysis.

Question 11 asks the respondent if he, or someone he lives with, was ever a victim of a crime committed by an expat. This is the question that investigates resonance. This question does not inquire about direct crime experience for the respondent alone, but also for people living with him/her due to the big effect of such victimization even if the victim was not the respondent but someone within the household. This wording has been used in previous research to measure fear of crime (e.g. Gross, 2003 & Zhao; Lawton & Longmire, 2010).

Finally, questions 12-16 inquire about the basic demographics of nationality, gender, age, city of residence and level of education. This is to see if some demographic variables have a statistically significant correlation with readership levels and crime estimations.

Chapter Five: Results and discussion

In this chapter, I present and discuss the results of this survey research through a presentation of the characteristics of the sample and results of the data analysis in relation to the research hypotheses.

Initial Observations: Participants' Reading Habits

Findings provide insight into participants' newspaper reading habits. In this sample, 42 percent (N=221) were heavy readers, 36.6 percent (N=193) were light readers and 4.6 percent (N=24) were in the medium readers category. Non-readers composed 16.7 percent (N=88) of the sample.

Saudi respondents were more likely to be heavy readers (42.4 percent) than expats (39.8 percent) and males were more likely to be heavy readers (50.2 percent) that females (34.3 percent). Females were also more likely to be non-readers (19.9 percent) than males (13.3 percent).

Regarding the most read newspaper, *Okaz* outnumbered all other newspapers indicating more than 66 percent of the participants reported this as the newspaper of their choice. *Okaz* is popular with Saudi and non-Saudi readers as illustrated in Figure 1. This is consistent with the findings published by the Dubai Press Club (2012[*]) that found *Okaz* to be the most read newspaper in Saudi.
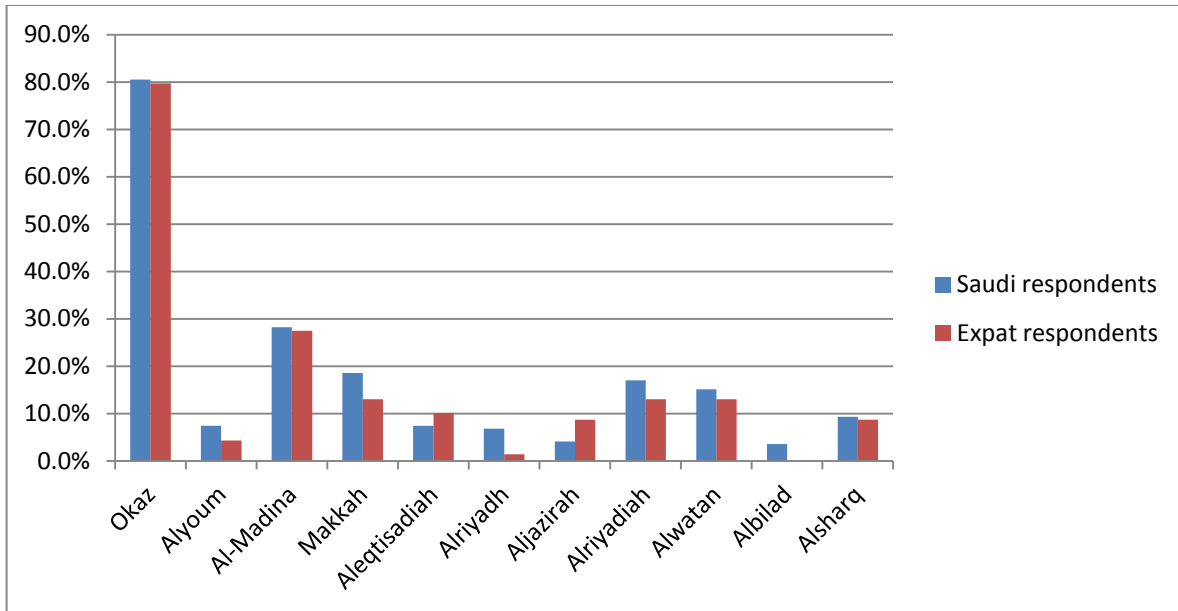
Figure 1: Saudi and expat Readers' Newspaper Preference

Participants' areas of interest in a newspaper varied. Saudi readers indicated that local news was the most important item for them followed by global and Saudi politics. Expats reported that their favorite sections were sports, followed by local news and then art and culture.

Table 1

Areas of Interest in Newspapers Based on Nationality

	Citizen Number (%)	Expat Number (%)
Global politics	106 (28.9)	18 (25.4)
Arab politics	76 (20.7)	19 (26.8)
Saudi politics	106 (28.9)	16 (22.5)
Economics	49 (13.4)	12 (16.9)
Sports	103 (28.1)	34 (47.9)
Local news	148 (40.3)	29 (40.8)
Art and culture	103 (28.1)	21 (29.6)
Technology	81 (22.1)	10 (14.1)
Opinion columns	94 (25.6)	8 (11.3)

Similarly, areas of interest vary when counting for gender. Sports were the most favorite section for male respondents followed by local politics and local news, while female

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respondents favored local news followed by art and culture then opinion columns. These findings indicate a potential area to explore in future studies.

Table 2

Areas of Interest in Newspapers Based on Gender

	Male Number (%)	Female Number (%)
Global politics	65 (29.4)	59 (27.2)
Arab politics	40 (18.1)	55 (25.3)
Saudi politics	73 (33.0)	49 (22.6)
Economics	47 (21.3)	14 (6.5)
Sports	113 (51.1)	24 (11.1)
Local news	73 (33.0)	104 (47.9)
Art and culture	35 (15.8)	89 (41.0)
Technology	41 (18.6)	50 (23.0)
Opinion columns	39 (17.6)	63 (29.0)

Findings Regarding Crime and Nationality

The findings related to media portrayal and fear of crime indicated both Saudi and expat respondents view Ethiopians (72.8 percent) and Bangladeshis (45.9 percent) as the two biggest nationalities contributing to crime. This is consistent with the fact that both nationalities received negative media attention followed by government decisions to stop accepting workers from both nationalities. It also a demonstrates a potential form of in-group bias, as all respondents in this survey are Arab speakers and the top two nationalities associated with crime were non-Arab speakers. This bias is consistent with H2 as well as the findings of Abdulkader (2014*).

Table 3

Nationalities perceived as more crime-generating

Country	Number (%)
Indonesia	115 (22.2)

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Bangladesh	238 (45.9)	
Yemen	153 (29.5)	
India	88 (17)	
Pakistan	116 (22.4)	
Philippines	24 (4.6)	
Sri Lanka	23 (4.4)	
Egypt	48 (9.2)	
Ethiopia	378 (72.8)	
Somalia	141 (27.2)	
Syria	10 (1.9%)	

Testing the hypotheses

Testing of Hypothesis One

The first hypothesis of this study expected a relationship between level of readership and estimations of expat crimes, or first order cultivation effects. Chi Square test was used in this table.

Table 4

Level of Newspaper Readership and Estimations of Expat Crime levels

Newspaper Readership	Citizens Commit More Crimes Number (%)	Expats Commit More Crimes Number (%)	P. Value
Heavy	108 (48.9)	113 (51.1)	.598
Medium	10 (41.7)	14 (58.3)	
Light	104 (53.9)	89 (46.1)	
Non-reader	44 (50.0)	44 (50.0)	
Total	266 (50.6)	260 (49.4)	

This hypothesis was not supported. There was no statistical significance between the level of readership and an overestimation of expat crimes, and thus no first order cultivation effects. This lack of statistical significance is persistent when accounting for the nationality of the respondent as both citizens and expats show no cultivation effects, using Chi Square test:

Table 5

Level of Newspaper Readership and Estimations of Expat Crime Levels based on Nationality of Respondent

		Citizens commit more crimes Number (%)	Expats commit more crimes Number (%)	P. Value
Citizen respondents	Heavy readers	79 (42)	109 (58)	.887
	Medium readers	9 (40.9)	13 (59.1)	
	Light readers	72 (45.9)	85 (54.1)	
	Non-readers	32 (42.1)	44 (57.9)	
Non-citizen respondents	Heavy readers	29 (87.9)	4 (12.1)	
	Medium readers	1 (50)	1(50)	
	Light readers	32 (88.9)	4 (11.1)	
	Non-readers	12 (100)	0 (0)	

Consistent with these findings, number of pages read has no effect on overestimation of expat crimes, as shown below using Chi Square test. Reading Saudi newspapers does not cultivate overestimation of expat crime levels.

Table 6

Number of Pages and Estimations of Expat Crime Levels

	Citizens commit more crimes	Expats commit more crimes	P. Value
	Number (%)	Number (%)	.074
All pages	13 (33.3)	26 (66.7)	
Most pages	57 (53.3)	50 (46.7)	
About half pages	27 (42.9)	36 (57.1)	
Little pages	73 (52.5)	66 (47.5)	
One to two only	52 (57.8)	38 (42.2)	

Testing of Hypothesis Two

The second hypothesis examines in-group bias and whether group membership plays a role in shaping opinions about the "other" . The hypothesis suggests that Saudis will be more

likely to overestimate expat crime levels while expats are more likely to overestimate Saudi crime levels. This hypothesis was supported. Chi Square test was used in this table.

Table 7

Estimation of Expat Crime Levels Based on Nationality of Respondents

	Citizens commit more crimes Number (%)	Expats commit more crimes Number (%)	P. Value
Saudi respondent	192 (43.3)	251 (56.7)	.000
Non-Saudi respondent	74 (89.2)	9 (10.8)	

The statistical correlation proves group membership to be decisive in determining the trajectory of one's estimations of levels of criminality. The overestimation of crime levels committed by the "other" is notably stronger for expat respondents (89.2 percent) than citizen respondents (56.7 percent).

Testing of Hypothesis Three

The third hypothesis predicted a relationship between level of readership and further attitudes and judgments towards combating expat crimes, or second order cultivation. Generally speaking, first order is a more consistent finding than second order cultivation (Mastro, Beh,-Morawitz & Ortiz, 2007). This hypothesis was not supported. Kruskal Wallis test was used in the below table:

Table 8

Level of Newspaper Readership and Attitude Toward Combating Expat Crimes

		N	Mean Rank	p
Establishing residence zones for Expats separated from Saudi residency areas will reduce crime	Heavy reader	221	268.32	0.367
	Medium reader	24	244.15	
	Light reader	193	251.99	
	Non reader	88	281.90	

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	Heavy reader	221	270.20	
An expat should be deported if he/she committed a small violation of the law	Medium reader	24	304.44	0.301
	Light reader	193	251.13	
	Non reader	88	262.64	
	Heavy reader	221	274.57	
Expat criminals should receive harsher punishments than the current punishments	Medium reader	24	254.08	0.542
	Light reader	193	255.36	
	Non reader	88	256.12	

The lack of first and second order cultivation effects indicates that media in Saudi Arabia is not a fundamental variable in shaping opinions on crime and nationality.

Testing of Hypothesis Four

The fourth hypothesis predicted higher cultivation effects for heavier readers who reported being victims of expat crimes. This is known as the resonance hypothesis, which expects a "double dose" of cultivation when real world experience and media experience are in line with each other. The data lends no support to this hypothesis, which is consistent with the findings of H1 and H3. No cultivation effects were reported and therefore, a double dose cultivation is unlikely to take place. Chi Square test was used in the following table:

Table 9

Level of Newspaper Readership Combined with Previous Victimization and Personal Estimations of Expat Crime Levels

	Previous victimization	Citizens commit more crimes	Expats commit more crimes	P. Value
Heavy reader	Yes	20 (37.7)	33 (62.3)	.06
	No	88 (52.4)	80 (47.6)	
Medium reader	Yes	1 (25)	3 (75)	.459
	No	9 (45)	11 (55)	
Light reader	Yes	13 (34.2)	25 (65.8)	.007
	No	91 (58.7)	64 (41.3)	
Non-reader	Yes	6 (33.3)	12 (66.7)	.1132
	No	38 (54.3)	32 (45.7)	

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The only statistical significance detected here is for light readers, which contradicts the original concepts of cultivation as it shows cultivation effects to be reported when media consumption is reduced. A possible explanation of this unexpected result is take a closer look into those who formed the light readers in this sample. Examining the data closely revealed that light readers were mostly females (58.5 percent) and Saudi citizens (81.3 percent). This indicates that the light readers sample produced overestimation of expatriate crimes due to its formation. Nationality and gender, as shown in tables 7 and 11 are strongly correlated with overestimating expatriate crimes.

However, putting level of readership aside reveals that previous victimization is a strong predictor of overestimating expat criminality, as shown in the table below.

Table 10

Previous Victimization and Personal Estimations of Expat Crime Levels

	Citizens commit more crimes Number (%)	Expats commit more crimes Number (%)	P. Value
Previously a victim of expat crime	40 (35.4)	73 (64.6)	
Not previously a victim of expat crime	226 (54.7)	187 (54.3)	.000

Except for H3, all hypotheses were tested using the Chi Square test which is applied when investigating the relation between a nominal/categorical independent variable and a nominal/categorical dependent variable. H3 was tested using the Kruskal Wallis test which is used to examine if the medians of two or more groups differ when the data distribution is not symmetric. Chi Square is used when dealing with non-parametric categorical variables while Kruskal Wallis test is used when dealing with non-parametric ordinal variables.

Further Analysis

In order to gain a greater understanding of the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variable, logistic regression was used. Logistic regression was used given the dependent variable was dichotomous and also because regression allows for measuring the impact of a variable on the dependent variable while controlling for the other variables.

In order to fulfill this step, age, gender and education level were first examined in relation to estimations of expat crimes. Only gender proved to be a statistically significant variable.

Table 11

Relationship Between Gender and Estimations of Expat Crimes

	Citizens commit more crimes	Expats commit more crimes	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
	Number (%)	Number (%)	
Male	152 (59.6)	103 (40.4)	
Female	114 (42.1)	157 (57.9)	.000

Table 12

Relationship Between Education Level[2] and Estimations of Expat Crimes

	Citizens commit more crimes	Expats commit more crimes	
	Number (%)	Number (%)	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
High school and below	104 (51.5)	98 (48.5)	
University graduate	136 (48.9)	142 (51.1)	.600
Postgraduate	26 (56.5)	20 (43.5)	

Table 13

Relationship Between Age and Estimations of Expat Crimes

	Citizens commit more crimes	Expats commit more crimes	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Age (Binned)	Number (%)	Number (%)	

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[2] Respondents whose level of education is primary school or middle school were merged with the high school category. This was done due to the small numbers in both primary and middle school respondents (N= 2 and 4 respectively). When added to high school respondents (N= 196) the total becomes 202.

<= 19	36 (52.9)	32 (47.1)	
20 - 29	184 (50.8)	178 (49.2)	.832
30 - 39	37 (47.4)	41 (52.6)	
40 - 49	7 (58.3)	5 (41.7)	
50+	2 (33.3%)	4 (66.7)	

The gender variable was then combined in a logistic regression analysis with the only other variables with statistical significance (nationality, and previous victimization, as shown in Tables 7 and 10 respectively).

Table 14

Logistic regression Analysis of all Variables Affecting Estimation of Expat Crime Levels

		B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 4ª	Nationality	-2.223	.372	35.811	1	.000	.108
	Gender	.553	192	8.302	1	.004	1.739
	Previous victimization	-.847	.238	12.608	1	.000	.429
	Constant	3.145	.660	22.674	1	.000	23.209

The three variables put together have a significant correlation. Nationality, gender and previous victimization predict overestimating expat crime levels. The findings indicate that the three variables remain significant, while controlling for each other.

Disscussing the results:

This study has several key findings. First, the level of readership did not have an effect on perception of crimes and nationalities, thus not cultivation effects were detected here. The lack of cultivation effects have been identified for both first and second level cultivation. Resonance, which is another cultivation concept, was also not detected.

On the other hand, group membership had a statistically significant effect on perceptions of crime and nationality, regardless of level of readership. Among expats 10.8 percent ranked expats, the in-group, as more criminal than Saudi nationals, the out-group. While 56.7 percent

of Saudi respondents think expats, the out-group, commit more crimes than Saudi nationals, the in-group. Group identity has a strong influence on perceptions of crimes and is a stronger predictor than media exposure.

This in-group bias was higher in expat respondents. A possible explanation for this is that expats feel a stronger urge to defend themselves against negative perceptions, as they might feel more challenged in this area than citizens. Increased awareness of one's identity can raise the negative effects of media portrayals of one's own group (Rivadeneyra, Ward & Gordon, 2007).

The existence of restrictive legal framework for expats in Saudi Arabia, such as the Kafala laws, are likely to increase perceptions of injustice among expat communities and therefore produce a feeling of a need to give more positive images of themselves.

Interpreting the results:

The results demonstrated that there were no first or second order cultivation effects on readers of Saudi newspapers (H1 & H3) as well as no resonance (H4). This could be attributed to a number of factors.

One of these factors is the general decrease in newspaper readership in Saudi Arabia, which may have reduced the effect of print media on shaping the audience's opinions and attitudes. The challenges facing print media have been noted globally, regionally and locally. The Asda'a Burson-Marsteller survey of Arab youth (2016) shows that the top three sources of news for young Arabs are TV, online news and social media and that only 7 percent of Arab youth read newspapers on a daily bases. The 2015 and 2016 Burson-Marsteller surveys shows an increase in the youth consumption across all news sources except the print press, which witnessed a decline between the two years (Asda'a Burson-Marsteller survey of Arab youth,

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2016). Booz & Co (2016) provides evidence of the decline in print press consumption in the Saudi market and the Middle East as a whole.

This decline in newspaper readership is accompanied by an emergence of different new media outlets, especially the boom in online news websites (Dubai Press Club, 2012[*]) that have diversified the content being consumed and generated new voices. Saudi Arabia is a country witnessing a considerable increase in Internet usage, especially amongst the youth who compose the largest portion of the sample.

Evidence of this rise in online media includes data provided by Statista, the leading online statistics portal, which rated Saudi Arabia among the World's top three countries in smart phone penetration (Statista.com, 2013). More than 114 cell phones are owned among every 100 inhabitants in Saudi Arabia (Arab Thought Foundation, 2009, p. 24[*]). This high penetration leads to more online media consumption and less reliance on traditional outlets. Twitter usage provides a further confirmation as Saudi users were the fastest growing group on Twitter with a huge increase that reached up to 3,000 percent (Alarabiya, 2012[*]). This exposes Saudi audience to a different media diet, a lot of it being produced by individual users and "citizen journalists" who use the micro-blogging website.

This online boom in Saudi Arabia, especially among the youth who make up the majority of the survey respondents, produces a diverse media diet in which news are presented in ways that differ from the ways in which traditional media presents its content. Online users are exposed to a variety of opinions and discussions that are not available in a medium such as newspapers, thus diversifying the content. This effects the likelihood of cultivation effects to take place, as people who consume a wider variety of media are expected to show milder cultivation effects (Lubbers et al, 2000; Vu & Lee, 2013).

As mentioned at the outset of this study, living in Jeddah is expected to influence media effects when it comes to perceptions regarding expats. This produces an additional explanation and that is the personal experience of survey respondents who were all from the city of Jeddah. Statistics about Jeddah show that it is among the most diverse cities of Saudi Arabia, which means more real life contact with expats, an important factor in reducing cultivation effects. Jeddah is the largest and most populace city of the Makkah region that has the highest number of expats in all of Saudi Arabia as approximately 2.85 million non-Saudis living in the region, most of them in the city of Jeddah (1.76 million), according to the 2010 statistics of the Saudi Central Department of Statistics and Information (cdsi.gov.sa, 2010[*]). This is a significant number, unparalleled in any other Saudi city except the capital city of Riyadh.

Jeddah also scores high in intermarriages. According to recent statistics, the Makkah region, of which Jeddah is the largest city, is the dominant region in marriage of Saudi men to expat women (73.32 percent) as well as marriage of Saudi women to expat men (Aljafali, 2012[*]; Alarabiya.net 2012[*]). Therefore, real-life experience is abundant in Jeddah, and perceptions of expats are more likely to be shaped by actual interactions rather than media portrayals. Depending on media in shaping opinions about a group or a topic increases when there is little or no direct contact with this group or topic. Direct personal experiences are easier to access by the brain and are more salient especially in crime and victimization (Schnauber & Meltzer, 2015).

Previous research has shown the effect of real life contact on lowering levels of bias, discrimination and moderating cultivation effects, while lack of personal contact can increase negative perception about out-groups (Fujioka, 1999; Gilliam, et al., 2002). This has been the case in Saudi Arabia as shown in the extensive statistical study of AbdlKader (2014[*]).

It is also worth noting that previous cultivation research discussed how an individual's fear of crime is different when measured on the national level versus the local level (Morgan & Shanahan, 2010). The nation-wide orientation of the Saudi press may have played a role in reducing cultivation effects. The lack of city-specific newspapers in Jeddah and elsewhere hinders the process of cultivating fear of crime as local crime news produces more fear in comparison to national crime news (Chiricos et al., 2000; Weitzer & Kubrin 2004).

Heavy readers are exposed to a large number of expat crime stories from cities all around the Kingdom and it could be that personal fear levels are not necessarily increased, thus allowing non-media factors to play a larger role in shaping personal crime estimates.

When it comes to hypothesis four, resonance was also not detected. However, if level of readership was excluded, the data does demonstrate a significant statistical correlation between being a previous victim of expat crimes and overestimating expat crimes. This correlation demonstrates the role of personal experience in shaping perception of crime in Saudi Arabia.

Hypothesis two was supported and the findings were consistent with media research on in-group bias (Sanders & Ramasubramanian, 2010). Both citizens and expats showed in-group bias when asked about their perceptions on who commits more crimes. Of citizen respondents, more than 56.7 percent said expats were more responsible for crimes. In non-Saudi respondents the gap is much wider as only 10.8 percent said expats were more responsible for crimes than Saudis and nearly 90 percent of expat respondents attribute most crimes to Saudi citizens. Group identity is therefore a stronger predictor than media consumption. This is consistent with sociological and anthropological studies and also with media studies such as Lee & Thien's study on Singaporean media (2015). They also cited previous research that found that

individuals facing situations where their in-group identity becomes salient such as of crime-related news, are likely to seek to defend and enhance the in-group identity.

Another observation in the results is the correlation between gender and fear of expat crimes as females were more likely to express such fear than male respondents. These results are consistent with findings in other disciplines such as criminology (LaGrange, & Ferraro, 1989) and psychology (Sutton, Robinson & Farrall, 2011).

Media studies can also provide additional explanations to gender and fear of crime. For example, the substitution hypothesis predicts that people with less experience with crime and violence, such as females, are more likely to build their perception of crime from the media. Another possible media explanation is the vulnerability hypothesis that suggests an increase in fear of crime among groups that perceive themselves as more vulnerable. Finally, the affinity hypothesis that argues that people who see an abundance of their own group being victimized in the media are more likely to display fear of crime is also a potential explanation (Eschholz, Chiricos & Gertz, 2003). For example, Flemish women with high socioeconomic status and who have no direct experience with crime were found to be more susceptible to fear of sexual crimes (Custers & Van den Bulck, 2013).

Notably, the logistic regression analysis confirms that the perceptions of expats and crime were shaped not by media but rather group identity (nationality), gender and previous experience with expat crimes. This further confirms that group membership is a strong predictor for perceptions on crime. The nationality of the respondent created in-group bias regardless of level of readership. This strengthens the findings of other studies that real life experience can reduce cultivation effects.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This study demonstrates the declining influence of traditional media especially on the youth as newspaper readership had no effect on respondent's beliefs and attitudes towards expat crimes. This decline in consuming traditional media is coupled with an increase in consuming online media, thus diversifying the opinions and perspectives for media consumers and thus moderating the possibility of cultivation effects to take place.

These results have been further strengthened due to the diverse nature of the studied society, the city of Jeddah. All survey respondents were residents of Jeddah, where they are very likely to constantly interact with expats at school, university, work, the mosque and in other arenas of life. In addition, many residents of Jeddah will have expat family members as Jeddah enjoys a high level of inter-marriages between Saudis and non-Saudis. Individuals living in such a diverse environment are more likely to rely on their abundant real life experiences with expats rather than media portrayals.

Furthermore, the findings support the importance of studying media habits especially by incorporating survey questions that inquire about usages of online media. The vast and rapid expansion of the online services on different platforms has transformed the way media is received by the audience and has diversified media content, thus changing the level of effects expected from traditional media such as newspapers.

The study did prove the existence of bias against the "other" when it comes to estimates of crime, but this bias has no link to newspaper portrayals. Bias, discrimination and racism are complex and happen as a result of many intertwined variables and it is difficult to accurately

determine which factors were more influential in forming such bias. This complexity has been confirmed by earlier studies (e.g. Bissell & Parrott, 2013).

The study revealed that identity is a strong predictor for overestimating expat crime rates. Nationality, gender and personal experience with expat crimes have a significant effect on perceptions of expat crime rates regardless of level of newspaper readership. Such results emphasise the importance of accounting for demographics and the personal experiences of respondents. The power of identity was also demonstrated in the in-group bias shown in hypothesis two results. Such findings could be helpful for decision makers especially in more than one field, including when looking into combating crime. Decision makers need to be aware of any potential bias that may cloud their judgment. The results are also helpful for content creators and gate keepres in media outlets.

Limitations of the Study

One limitation of this study is that the studied sample was not a random probability sample and thus cannot be generalized to the larger population. However, findings from this study can be analyzed and compared for consistency with the theory and with findings from previous studies. The fact that all respondents were from the city of Jeddah is also another limitation, as it doesn't reflect the broader Saudi population.

Another limitation in this study has been the lack of data on online usage. If the survey inquired about the online habits of respondents, the results will be more reflective of media consumption. This in turn will enable us to statistically test if source diversity is correlated with reducing cultivation effects.

Finally, in such studies, there is an additional challenge mentioned by researchers such

as Sutton, et al. (2011). It has also been theorized that when it comes to gender and fear of crime, respondents who answer honestly differ from respondents who are trying to portray themselves in the best possible light. When a male respondent is trying to give the best possible picture of himself, he may downplay his fear of crime. This may have contributed to widening the gender gap seen in the survey results.

Recommendations for Future Research

Based on this research study, future studies should inquire about the media diet of respondents determining the amount of online media consumes. This will provide additional and detailed data. In a fast-paced media world, media habits are emerging, the effects of traditional media is changing and new theoretical models for media effects are needed that are based on sound research.

Second, future research must include a more diverse sample regarding age groups to be more informative. The sample in this research focused on youth who are less reliant on traditional media. More diversity in education levels is also important. In this sample, the number of respondent who reported low education levels was small and did not allow testing previous findings about the effect of education on cultivation effects (Lubbers et al., 2000). A recommendation to further advance this research would be to focus on less diverse cities providing the opportunity to compare the findings from Jeddah to support or refute the explanations provided in this study.

Future research should also account for local neighborhoods. Place of residence has been found to be an important variable in previous research, as crime-laden neighborhoods will generate different results than the neighborhoods will less crime. Nonetheless, it should be noted that this is not very easy in Saudi Arabia where data about crime is usually difficult to

obtain. This research demonstrated the high importance of identity issues and therefore a deeper look into the different identities in Saudi Arabia and how they are formed is critical to the advancement of expand the understanding of the complex relations of identity, politics, nationalities, media and ethnocentrism.

It was previously found that people who consume more race-specific media have less negative racial perceptions of their own race but more negative perceptions about other races (Lee & Thien, 2015). Such results can be pushed forward in a country like Saudi Arabia in future studies by focusing on race/language specific media. For example the Urdu-speaking newspaper and how it influences its Urdu audience.

In addition, future studies focusing on fear of crime in Saudi Arabia can benefit from the substitution hypothesis, the vulnerability hypothesis and the affinity hypothesis in exploring how different groups experience crime news.

Finally, it is crucial for future research to borrow concepts from other social science disciplines. Psychology, sociology, anthropology and other fields have discussed similar areas of study. Integrating such literature within media studies can inspire new questions and hypotheses that can tackle issues of media and identity formation at a deeper level. Studying media without looking at the broader context in which media operates under might hinder the ability to reach realistic conclusions. This is particularly true for cultivation as Gerbner and his colleagues saw it. In Gerbner's cultural indicators he decided to study three different elements, one of which is the "institutional process analysis." Unfortunately, this aspect was the least studied by cultivation theorists (Gross, 2012).

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The survey:
The survey is written in Arabic, the official language of Saudi and the language of the respondents.
An English translation is provided here.

Survey: English version
Please choose the answers you see fit to the following questions:

Note: this survey is only for those who reside in Saudi Arabia (citizens and expats).							
In your estimation, how frequently do you read from the Saudi newspapers (listed in question 2) whether in their print or online versions?							
Daily	2-3 times a week	Once a week	Once every 2 weeks	Once every 3 weeks	Once a month	Rarely	Never
If the answer is never, kindly move to question 5							
What local newspapers do you read the most? Choose 3 maximum							
Okaz	Alyum	Aleqtesadiah	Almadina		Makkah	Aleqtisadiyah	
Aljazirah	Alriyadya	Alwatan	Albilad		Alsharq		
Approximately, how many pages do you read when you read one of these newspapers?							
All pages		Most pages	Almost half of the pages		A few pages		1-2 pages
What topics do you usually look for in reading a newspaper? Choose 3 maximum							

International politics	Arab politics	Saudi politics (E.g.: news about the kind, the crown prince, the council of ministers…)			Economic news	Sports
Local incidents (E.g.: municipal projects, car accidents, health…)	Art and culture		Technology	Opinion articles		

Note: crimes here refers to major law-breaking actions, excluding small violations like a speeding ticket					
In your opinion who commits more crimes in Saudi?					
Citizens			Expats		
In your estimate, Expats commit approximately what percentage of overall crime in Saudi Arabia?					%
In your personal assessment, which of the following expat nationalities are more responsible for crimes in Saudi Arabia? Choose 3 maximum.					
Indonesia	Bangladesh	Yemen	India	Pakistan	Philippines
Sri Lanka	Egypt	Ethiopia	Somalia	Syria	Others? Please specify

3- Measuring attitudes in relation to Expats and crime

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?				
Establishing residence zones for Expats separated from Saudi residency areas will reduce crime				
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral/ don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree

An expat should be deported if he/she committed a small violation of the law				
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral/ don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree

Expat criminals should receive harsher punishments than the current punishments				
Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral/ don't know	Disagree	Strongly disagree

5- Identifying personal encounter with expat crimes to account for resonance

Have you, or someone you live with, ever been a victim of a crime in which the perpetrator or one of the perpetrators was an expat?	
Yes	No

4- Identifying basic demographics

Nationality	
Saudi citizen	Not a Saudi citizen

Gender	
Male	Female

Age:

Which city do you live in?

Education				
Primary education	Middle school	High school	Bachelor degree	Post graduate degree

Survey: Arabic version (this is the version which participants received)

اختر الاجابات التي تراها ملائمة عبر وضع دائرة حولها:

ملاحظة: هذا الاستبيان للقاطنين في المملكة العربية السعودية فقط، من مواطنين ومقيمين.

(تقريباً ما هو معدل اطلاعك على الصحف المحلية المذكورة في القائمة في السؤال الثاني، سواء النسخة الورقية أو الالكترونية؟

لا أقرأها أبداً	نادراً	مرة في الشهر	مرة كل ثلاث اسابيع	مرة كل اسبوعين	مرة في الاسبوع	مرتين إلى ثلاثة في الاسبوع	كل يوم

اذا كان جوابك هو : "لا أقرأها أبداً" انتقل مباشرة للمربع الثاني من الأسئلة.

(ما هي أكثر الصحف المحلية التي تقرأها؟ اختر ثلاثة كحد أقصى

الرياض	الاقتصادية	المدينة	اليوم	عكاظ
الشرق	البلاد	الوطن	الرياضية	الجزيرة

(تقريباً كم عدد الصفحات التي تقرأها في تصفحك لصحيفة ما؟

صفحة إلى صفحتين فقط	القليل من الصفحات	تقريباً نصف الصفحات	اغلب الصفحات	كل الصفحات

(ما هي اكثر المواد التي تبحث عنها عادة حين تقرأ الصحف؟ اختر ثلاثة كحد أقصى

الاخبار الرياضية	الاخبار الاقتصادية	الاخبار السياسية السعودية (شرح: أي تلك المتعلقة بالملك وولي العهد والديوان الملكي ومجلس الوزراء ومجلس الشورى والقوانين الجديدة)	الاخبار السياسية العربية	الاخبار السياسية العالمية
مقالات الرأي	أخبار التقنية	الأخبار الفنية والثقافية		الحوادث المحلية (شرح: مثل اخبار المشاريع البلدية وحوادث السير والجرائم

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			والأمراض وحالات التسمم إلخ)

2- Measuring estimates of expats and crime

ملاحظة: يقصد بالجرائم في هذا الاستبيان كل الجنايات والجنح الكبرى وبالتالي لا يشمل ذلك المخالفات القانونية الصغيرة.

في رأيك من هي أكثر فئة ترتكب الجرائم في السعودية؟	(
المقيمين	المواطنين

في تقديرك الشخصي ما هي النسبة المئوية تقريباً للجرائم التي يرتكبها مجرمون غير سعوديون؟	(
%	

في رأيك من هي أكثر الجنسيات ارتكاباً للجرائم في السعودية من بين الجنسيات التالية؟ اختر ثلاثة كحد أقصى	(

الفلبين	باكستان	الهند	اليمن	بنغلاديش	اندونيسيا
اخرى: حدد	سوريا	الصومال	اثيوبيا	مصر	سريلانكا

3- Measuring attitudes in relation to expats and crime

هل تؤيد تخصيص مواقع سكنية للمقيمين غير السعوديين (باستثناء العمالة المنزلية منهم) تكون منفصلة عن عموم الأحياء السكنية للسعوديين وذلك بهدف التقليل من الجرائم؟	(

لا أوافق بشدة	لا أوافق	محايد أو لا أعلم	أوافق	أوافق بشدة

هل تؤيد ترحيل المقيم غير السعودي إذا ارتكب مخالفة بسيطة للقانون؟	(

لا أوافق بشدة	لا أوافق	محايد أو لا أعلم	أوافق	أوافق بشدة

هل تؤيد تشديد العقاب على المقيم الذي يرتكب جريمة؟	1)

لا أوافق بشدة	لا أوافق	محايد أو لا أعلم	أوافق	أوافق بشدة

5- Identifying personal encounter with expat crimes to account for resonance

هل سبق أن كنت أنت أو أحد يسكن معك ضحية جريمة ارتكبها شخص غير سعودي؟	1)
لا	نعم

4- Identifying basic demographics

معلومات شخصية:

الجنسية:		1)
مقيم	مواطن	

الجنس:		1)
انثى	ذكر	

1) العمر:

1) المدينة التي تسكن بها:

1) المستوى التعليمي:

خريج دراسات عليا	خريج جامعة	خريج ثانوي	خريج متوسط	خريج ابتدائي

Explaining the reason behind the questions:

Q 1	Basic measurement of newspaper readership in terms of frequency

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Q 2	Determining most frequently read newspapers
Q 3	Basic measurement of newspaper readership in terms of amount of pages
Q 4	Determining genres of interest
Q 5	Basic measurement of expat crimes estimates in general
Q 6	More nuanced measurement of expat crime estimates in percentage
Q 7	Determining nationalities that produce more fear of crime
Q 8	Measuring attitude towards combating expat crimes in terms of place of residency
Q 9	Measuring attitude towards combating expat crimes in terms of deportation policy
Q 10	Measuring attitude towards combating expat crimes in terms of harsher punishments
Q 11	Measuring resonance effects by asking respondents to report if they were ever a victim of a crime committed by a non-Saudi
Q 12	Basic demographics
Q 13	Basic demographics
Q 14	Basic demographics
Q 15	Basic demographics
Q 16	Basic demographics

Appendix B

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY IN CAIRO
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

To: Ahmad Sabri

Cc: Nesrine Azmy

From: Atta Gebril, Chair of the IRB

Date: May 2 , 2015

Re: Approval of study

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This is to inform you that I reviewed your revised research proposal entitled "Cultivation Effects of Saudi Newspapers on Estimates of Expat Crimes" and determined that it required consultation with the IRB under the "expedited" heading. As you are aware, the members of the IRB suggested certain revisions to the original proposal, but your new version addresses these concerns successfully. The revised proposal used appropriate procedures to minimize risks to human subjects and that adequate provision was made for confidentiality and data anonymity of participants in any published record. I believe you will also make adequate provision for obtaining informed consent of the participants.

This approval letter was issued under the assumption that you have not started data collection for your research project. Any data collected before receiving this letter could not be used since this is a violation of the IRB policy.

Please note that IRB approval does not automatically ensure approval by CAPMAS, an Egyptian government agency responsible for approving some types of off-campus research. CAPMAS issues are handled at AUC by the office of the University Counsellor, Dr. Amr Salama. The IRB is not in a position to offer any opinion on CAPMAS issues, and takes no responsibility for obtaining CAPMAS approval.

This approval is valid for only one year. In case you have not finished data collection within a year, you need to apply for an extension.

Thank you and good luck.

Atta Gebril

Dr. Atta Gebril
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