



Major Trends of Media Development in Yemen

STUDY| Faker Mohammed Al-Emad

*Department of Theory and History of Journalism
Peoples' Friendship University of Russia
6 Miklukho-Maklaya St., Moscow, Russia 117198*

STUDY Major Trends of media development in Yemen since the realization of Yemeni unity on May 22, 1990. Yemeni media is one of the oldest media outlets that arose in the Arab region and the countries of the world, specifically in 1872, "the emergence of the press in Yemen," but it has gone through challenges and difficulties in various historical, political and economic stages. It limited its role, freedom, diversity and development.

The achievement of Yemeni unity ended the government's monopoly on media and the emergence of a group of new media outlets.

Since 1991, the media scene in Yemen has been in a state of continuous development in most of its components, as all developments have been positive for the media in Yemen.

However, the current media situation in Yemen is in its worst state: This study seeks to answer these questions by studying several criteria and factors that have affected the development of the media in general and the independent in particular. Consequently, some of the factors that were taken into consideration are the legislation and legal regulation of the media, economic conditions, the role of regulatory authorities, the structures and ownership of media institutions, the media market, freedom of expression, and the media landscape. Of course, all these factors were considered in terms of their impact - on the status and development of the media - and freedom of expression in Yemeni society.

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1. Media Legislation

One of the main tasks of the media is sensitivity and openness to events taking place in society and the state. However, the mass media, especially in underdeveloped societies, find it difficult to carry out their direct tasks in the face of prohibitions and legal restrictions imposed by the authorities. For a long time, Yemen was one of these countries.

The press operated under laws restricting public freedoms, in particular freedom of expression and publication.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Charter of the League of Arab States and universally recognized norms of international law . "a step forward in this constitutional document, although there are other principles for the application of international law in domestic legislation different from this constitutional text, this text is an important advantage for human rights, including the right to access information and thus international charters and declarations ratified by the Republic of Yemen is one of the rules governing the right to access to information and freedom of expression and information. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression¹ . This right includes freedom to hold one's own opinion without any interference, as well as to seek, receive, disseminate information and ideas using any media and regardless of state borders. "

Article 19, paragraph 2, of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights explicitly affirms this right: "Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This

right includes the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas to others, regardless of boundaries, whether written, printed or in any other way of their choice.”

The second principle is freedom of scientific research.

Article 27 of the Constitution of the Republic of Yemen states: "The state guarantees freedom of scientific research, literary, artistic and cultural achievements in accordance with the spirit and purposes of the Constitution"².

In this constitutional law, we find that it guarantees the right of access to information, obliging the state to guarantee freedom of scientific research, which is achieved only with a database for research and transparency in the dissemination of information and statistics; allows the researcher to obtain his information without placing obstacles and restrictions that restrict access to information, so that he can complete his research in full, and this is confirmed by an article in his obligation to the state to provide the means to achieve it. Therefore, we see a close relationship between freedom of scientific research and the right to information, which is necessary to achieve comprehensive human development for the advancement of the country. It is a logical and consistent fact that the development of any country depends on the level of scientific research.

The third principle is freedom of opinion and expression.

Article 42 states that “every citizen has the right to contribute to political, economic, social and cultural life. The state guarantees freedom of thought and expression through speech, writing and photography, within the framework of the law.”

This constitutional provision makes it clear that the contribution to political, economic, social and cultural life is the right of every citizen and is not limited to a specific category. This means creating a democratic society in which a spirit of initiative and a sense of responsibility prevails. The state guarantees freedom of thought and expression in speech, writing and photography. This guarantees freedom of opinion and expression. One of the most basic requirements of this constitutional right is to receive and receive information in a democratic environment where transparency prevails and an integrated database of government activities and the functioning of public institutions is provided. Freedom of opinion and expression is the source of a pluralistic political system that provides access to information, as it promotes the development of two effective types of control: popular control and press censorship, which are a safety valve for society.

But the legislator restricts this right by the inability of the article, speaking within the framework of the law, which makes a statement how to use this right within the limits of the restrictions established by the law.

Law No. 25 of 1990 on Press and Publications³, and its executive regulations issued by Presidential Decree No. 49 of 1993. Law No. 21 of 2002 “On documents and rules for its application”⁴.

Protection of the right to information

First: The Press Act No. 25 of 1990 regulates freedom of expression, information and the right to information. The most important part of this law is that the right to information is a fundamental right guaranteed by law to journalists, newspapers or citizens.

Article 2 defines the press as "the profession of finding facts, information, news, etc."

Chapter 2 underlined in general principles that the right to information is guaranteed to all citizens. Article 3 states that: “Freedom of knowledge, thought, press, expression, communication and access to information is the right of citizens to ensure that their ideas are expressed in oral, writing, painting or any other means of expression, and is guaranteed to all citizens in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and the provisions of the law.

This right is affirmed in Article 5: "The press can freely publish, freely receive news and information from its sources, and is responsible for what it publishes within the framework of the law."

In Chapter Two, Section 2, entitled “The Rights and Duties of Journalists” Article 13 states: “A journalist should not be held responsible for his published opinion or information published by him in the press, and this should not harm him if his actions do not contradict the law” ...

Article 14 guarantees the right of the journalist to receive information more broadly, stating that: “A journalist has the right to receive information, news, data and statistics from his sources, and has the right to publish them or not to publish them, and to maintain the confidentiality of his sources of information.

This is the law Article (16) reads: "The journalist has the right to access official communications, facts, information and data and obliges the competent authority to provide him with access and benefit from them."

In this text we find that he decided to have access to information in its various forms as a fundamental right guaranteed to the journalist, but in his report on this right he went further and emphasized that he obliges the body that possesses this information to enable him to see and benefit from it.

Article (49) confirms this right of the newspaper, stating that: "The newspaper has the right to receive information, news, data and statistics from its sources, and has the right to publish them or not to publish them."

Second: The Law on Documents No. 21 of 2002 and its Executive Order regulate the right to access information in Chapter 4 under the heading “Access to Documents”.

Article 33 states that: "Every natural, legal or private person, as well as other researchers, interested parties have access to documents." In accordance with the rules and procedures set out in this Law and Regulation.

Restrictions on access to information, laws governing freedom of expression and information allow certain restrictions on the right to freedom of expression and the right to information, provided that they are defined in the text of the law and respect the rights and reputations of others, and also to protect national security, public order, public health or morals. Previous to see if the legislator is within these restrictions or has exceeded a reasonable limit to make them a tool to suppress the right to access information from its content .

Republican Decree No. 12 (1994) "On Crimes and Punishments", section 6 of the Code is devoted to public crimes and publications in Articles 202 (192), and may also be governed by other legal provisions of the same law, including chapter six, chapter eleven, chapter three of part the first on crimes against state security, which can be punishable by death⁴ .

However, if some restrictions are necessary to protect society, it should be noted that in most of the provisions of this law they have gotten out of control and use words of uncontrolled terminology.

The Press and Publications Act No. 25 of 1990 and its executive provisions The Press Act relating to the right to information is considered superior to other laws in its report on the right to information, although it established a number of measures to monitor the exercise of this right. (24,23), which establishes an obligation to obtain information from reliable sources, and to transmit it honestly and in good faith, and also not to publish information that is not reliable, or to publish correct information, which is a positive control.

The Executive Order also expanded the scope of oversight to the extent of exceeding the provisions of the law, including the provision of Article (141), which provided that a journalist must disclose the source of his information when considering any defense or security issues, or coverage of local hostilities or events. which is a violation of the press law, which states that we must not force a journalist to disclose his sources of information.

"Law on Documents" No. 21 of 2002. This Law regulates the rules and restrictions regarding the possession of or access to documents from correspondence, editorials, documents and each information storage container and the law and executive regulations.

In 2012, Yemen completed a freedom of information law⁵, making it only the second Arab country after Jordan to adopt such legislation in 2013. But the institutional arrangements have not been adequately funded, and the bill-mandated news agency has yet to work.

As a result of the 2015 military conflict, transparency disappeared and government agencies stopped responding to requests for information. Thus, the few protections that the legal system provided for the rights of journalists were practically impracticable during 2015 and after, due to the disruption of government functions and the occupation of armed groups in various parts of the country.

Under current laws, Yemeni news agencies and journalists must obtain licenses annually from the Ministry of Information, and printers must maintain a register of printed materials and submit copies to the Ministry of Information. Thus, according to law and regulations, newspapers and magazines must be licensed by the state, and their content is limited.

High capital requirements for print creation can exclude new competitors from entering the market. There is no systematic regulation of broadcast media in Yemen, which creates legal uncertainties and leaves the media vulnerable to arbitrary interference.

2. Yemeni media in light of Yemeni unity

After the establishment of the national unity, the Yemeni audio-visual and print media have witnessed tangible development and radical transformations through the trend to modernize their basic structures and provide them with material and human capabilities, considering the media with its visual, audio and readable devices is the property of society and a human right, as included in the media policy project and the policy of news service for the media. Which was approved by the Council of Ministers in its meeting held on 22/11/1995, which affirms the commitment to freedom of expression and freedom of the press, and the creation of an enlightened national opinion that seeks to consolidate democratic practice and introduce the country's economic fundamentals, its history and civilization, the available investment potentials, and interest in educational, cultural and youth programs, population and environment issues, and attention By external media as an integral part of the internal media process, to reflect on the development and prosperity of Yemeni media, and to achieve a qualitative leap in various aspects of media work during the era of national unity.

The press in Yemen achieved a qualitative leap after the establishment of the unity between the two parts of Yemen on May 22, 1990, in particular. It was agreed on a system of government for the unity state, which is based on pluralism and democracy and allowing political parties to engage in public activity. The constitution and the political system for the state of unity allowed freedom of opinion and freedom of the press, so the Press and Publications Law No. 25 In the same year of the establishment of unity, specifically on December 23, 1990, it stipulates the right of any citizen to express his opinion and issue a newspaper, and the right of any party to publish its own publication or newspaper expressing its views and trends.

This freedom allowed the official, private, partisan, trade union and civil society media to play a pioneering and distinct role, which resulted in the flourishing of journalistic activity, in form, style and content, and the press work prevailed in diversity, renewal and more connection with the realities of social life and the availability of the greatest amount of truthfulness and real interaction left by the united state (The Republic of Yemen).

2.1 The Press

The beginning of the Yemen era with printing was in the year 1853 when the British occupation authorities introduced the first printing press to Aden in order to cover the needs of its administration in the colony, and also sent a number of imprisoned persons to India for training in the manual row process in order to operate the printing press, which was printed in Arabic and English.

As a result of the expansion of the printing presses in Aden and the emergence of many of them, the (Qahwaji Danshaw & Brothers Company) established a printing press in the year 1874, and the (Howard Company) opened another printing press in the year 1889 and it was publishing its publications in Arabic, English and Hebrew and its first newspaper was issued in Aden in the year 1900 under The name (The Aden Weekly Newspaper) under the direction of Captain Bell.

As of 1915, a number of different newspapers were issued as a result of the expansion in the establishment of printing presses. By the forties, the number reached 78 publications, the most prominent of which was the newspaper "Bint Al-Jazeera" (Girl of the Island) and "Sawt Al-Yaman" (Voice of Yemen), which was the first Yemeni party newspaper issued in the year 1946 , and (Al-Fadhul) newspaper was published in The year 1948 as the first Yemeni political newspaper following the failure of the Constitutional Revolution opposing the House of Hamid al-Din in northern Yemen, and this momentum continued throughout the decade of the fifties and until the declaration of the independence of the south from the occupation in 1967 until a republican decree was issued canceling all newspapers, magazines and bulletins that were issued before independence and only allowed By the publication of the newspapers speaking on behalf of the National Front ⁶.

Journalism was organized in southern Yemen with the issuance of Law No. (27) on July 3, 1939, which was known as the Law on Publishing and Books in the Colony of Aden, and the Press Law was issued in 1953 in what was called the Hadrami al-Qu`itiya State, and the two laws were enforced until the declaration of independence on November 30, 1967 and afterwards. The journalistic work is regulated in the south until the issuance of the (Press and Publications Law) No. (7) in March 1990.

In northern Yemen, the Ottomans introduced the first printing press to Sana'a in the year 1872 , which was printed in both Arabic and Turkish and printed official publications and was called (the Wilaya Press).

It also issued the first printed newspaper that appeared in the form of a leaflet, which is (Yemen) issued by the Ottoman governor Mukhtar Pasha in the language Turkish in four pages. Then the Sana'a newspaper was published in the year 1878, according to the directives of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, who directed that the state of Yemen have a newspaper similar to the rest of the states of the Ottoman Empire and it was published in the Turkish language and is considered the first newspaper published in the Arabian Peninsula on a weekly basis until 1882 , when it was published in Arabic and Turkish in Four equal pages, and with the evacuation of the Turks from Yemen in 1918 , the newspaper stopped publishing and the printing press remained closed until 1962 , and in 1938 «Al-Eman» (Faith) and « Al-Hikma » (wisdom) magazine were published during the reign of Imam Yahya Hamid al-Din until 1941, when the Imam decided to close the « Al-Hikma » magazine after he She asked him to reform his administration, and in 1950 Imam Ahmad issued an official newspaper in Taiz under the name (Al-Nasr)⁷.

On September 28, 1962, that is, two days after the revolution, « Al-Thawra » (revolution) newspaper was published in the city of Taiz under the supervision of the military leadership in the city as a voice expressing the new revolutionary situation. After that, various newspapers and magazines were published.

The journalistic work was organized in northern Yemen on November 18, 1968, with the promulgation of the Republic Covenant Publications Law No (24) for the year 1968 , according to which the journalistic work was organized, and in 1982, Law No (42) was issued regarding the organization of the press .

And the work of the partial laws continued until the establishment of the Yemeni unity and the issuance of Law No (25) of 1990 which abolished the work of the previous partial press laws, organized the press work and provided the opportunity for everyone (persons, bodies, parties) to issue publications and newspapers, which contributed to the prosperity of the press, the diversity of journalistic work and the renewal It was related more to reality, and on April 25, 1993, Republican Decree No 49 of 1993 was issued regarding the executive regulations of the Press and Publications Law in the field of journalism.

With regard to the Diaspora press, the number of newspapers published abroad reached about 13 newspapers between 1906 and 1939 and most of them - if not all - were issued in Indonesia, which was considered the largest gathering center for Yemeni immigrants.

As for the press in the English language, some newspapers were published in the English language, as their number reached in the year 2013 (6) newspapers: (The

Yemen Times - The Yemen Observer - The Yemen Post - Yemen Today - National Yemen - Yemen Fox)⁸.

The Print Media flourished in a prosperity that Yemen was unparalleled, and this prosperity is clearly demonstrated through the numerical increase of the press releases issued by government agencies, political parties, organizations and civil society organizations, as the number of newspaper publications exceeded (400) daily and weekly newspapers and magazines according to a published statistic For the Yemeni Ministry of Information⁹.

The year 2011 - The curtain fell on the activity, diversity and freedom of the press in Yemen, due to the blind oppression accompanying the so-called Arab Spring revolutions, and what Yemen has been witnessing since then, to the present day, from the oppression of groups, chaos, conflicts, which has ravaged Yemen a land a person and a state.

It led to the suspension of many newspapers, not to mention the extinction of the independent press and the absence of most of the pens, and many journalists were subjected to various arbitrary practices and arrests of this or that dominant group.

2.2 Radio

The history of radio in Yemen goes back to the stage before the unification between the two parts of Yemen - during the Imamate rule of the northern part of Yemen and the British occupation of the southern part of Yemen.

Radio in Yemen consisted of three phases, the first in 1940, when the British colonial authorities in Aden established a small radio station that worked on a short broadcast, broadcast, directed to the Yemenis residing in Aden it was called "Voice of the "aljazirat"(Island).

The first to speak on this radio were Abdullah Muhammad Hatim and Lotfi Aman and Al-Jarrada, the first contributing broadcasters. And the first official broadcaster Hussein Al-Safi, and Tawfiq Irani, its first director in 1954, Radio Aden is the second radio station in the Arab world, after Voice of the Arabs (Here Aden).

Sana'a Radio: The idea began to establish Radio Sana'a in 1946 when an American delegation from the Aramco company gave a guest to Imam Yahya a five-kilowatt wireless device to send telegrams and offered him the possibility of using it as a radio, and the imam agreed, and the car carrying the device was transferred from the guesthouse the Military Museum is currently to the current headquarters in the radio building, next to the Ministry of Information.

In the year 1947 the radio began broadcasting two days a week on Thursday evening and Sunday for an hour and a quarter, and it was supervised by Prince Al-Qassem bin Hamid al-Din, Minister of Transportation at the time, the radio was broadcasting the Holy Quran, talk and religious tawshihat, as well as some military

marches which were strum played by the army live because of the lack of recording devices, and it also paid attention to the news of the royal palace and the imam's orders for appointments in government positions.

Among the first employees of Radio Sana'a were Ahmad al-Marouni, Hussein al-Muqbili and Latif, al-Tuhami and the Lebanese journalist, Rashad Snow, and the radio was called "al-Tair Huwaa" (The bird- air), which is the Turkish name for any radio device¹⁰.

The status of the radio, broadcasting continued technically, administratively and programmatically in this manner until the establishment of the 1948 movement, as it was used by the leaders of the constitutional movement to explain its goals and constitutional principles. During this stage, the period of transmission of the radio was extended for longer hours for a period of 24 days. Come on, the age of that movement and a week after the victory of Imam Ahmad On the revolutionary movement the radio broadcast returned to two days a week and stopped broadcasting altogether.

In the year 1950, a new transmission station was opened, which is considered an important stage in the development of the radio in terms of the increase in the volume of programs, the beginning of the formation of program work and the emergence of cultural, literary and political programs. News sources were very limited in that period and were dependent on minors and what was contained in the external stations. Radio Cairo, London, Jakarta " which is being reformulated and presented.

Radio Aden is not much different from its counterpart in Sana'a in terms of the goal of its inception in order to strengthen the colonial presence in the south to confront the patriotism awakening and nationalism which was fueled by Arab radio stations, which prompted the British forces to establish Radio Aden in the year 1954 through which it aimed to present The justifications that defend the colonial presence and keep it as long as possible.

For this reason, the British administration linked the radio to it to remain under its supervision and under the management of the British High Representative's Office of Public Relations and Publishing and linked to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Nevertheless, the first generation worked in the radio In not recruiting its functions to serve the wishes of the British administration, it worked to diversify news sources by relying on the monitoring of its editors for many Arab and international radio stations, and also expanded in broadcasting local news by relying on field coverage of correspondents¹¹.

Sana'a Radio had a major role during the blessed revolution on September 26, 1962, when Yemen woke up to the sound of the declaration of the revolution, the beginning of a republican era, the announcement of the establishment of the Yemeni

Arab Republic and the announcement of its six goals. Since that date, the radio has witnessed a wide technical and program development in terms of variety of programs (cultural, political, artistic, news) It also expanded technically in terms of establishing many stations to strengthen the transmission and broadcasting, and after that other radio stations were established, specifically, the first local radio stations were established, in both Taiz and Hodeidah.

These radio stations had a great and effective role in the success of the October 14 Revolution and the independence of southern Yemen in the year 67 from British colonialism.

On May 22, 1990, the Yemeni unity between the two parts of Yemen was achieved - the broadcast media in Yemen received great care through the development of official radio stations in both Sana'a and Aden. (Sana'a Radio - Radio Aden) In 2005 the state went to establish many local radio stations in Many governorates are working to broadcast their programs at the governorate level and the neighboring regions as an expansionary step aimed at developing and expanding targeted media programs that serve various purposes of comprehensive development, so that in the year 2013 there were (12) radio stations in addition to Radio Sana'a and Radio Aden. The total hours of broadcasting for the same year were (48,549) hours.

The private sector also started moving towards the establishment of private radio stations, which reached (60) radio stations. After the radio stations were monopolized by the state only, but the radio stations have not witnessed since its establishment and spread with the year 2011, it did not find a state of stability in a country plagued by conflict, and many challenges, in addition to The suffocating economic crises - what made journalists strive more for the success of this experiment, especially since the "radio" media is a new media in Yemen. But it received a severe blow with the start of the war in 2015, when community radio stations witnessed a major setback, some of which were forced to stop or switch to commercial entertainment broadcasting due to the difficult economic situation created by the war.

However, the voice of community radio has gradually returned since mid-2016, when some radio stations resumed their activities, coinciding with the suspension of most newspapers. Among the most prominent community radio stations are Yemen Times Radio in Sana'a, Salamatak Radio in Hadramout, and Lana Radio in Aden¹².

2.3 Television

Yemen knew television broadcasting for the first time in 1964, when the British occupier in Aden - the southern part of Yemen - established a television broadcasting station that launched its work on September 11 of that year, and its broadcast was limited and restricted to the colony of Aden and some neighboring areas.

As for the northern part of Yemen did not known - television broadcasting until September 1975, when a television broadcasting station was opened in Sana'a its broadcast gradually expanded to cover most of the country, and it was called Sana'a Station.

After the Declaration of the establishment of the Republic of Yemen in 1990, the audiovisual media in Yemen received great care through the merging of the Radio and Television Corporation - which was - based in the southern part of Yemen with the Public Corporation for Radio and Television which was based in the northern part of Yemen, within A new institution called "the Yemeni Public Corporation for Radio and Television" which has gone a long way in modernizing the technical and engineering infrastructure and developing its technologies in the field of production, its means of communication, and in the field of training and qualification, the number of qualified cadres in the programmatic, technical, engineering and administrative fields and specialized university studies has reached more than two thousand individuals who have been trained externally and internally at the Radio and TV Training Institute in both Sana'a and Aden.

After the Declaration of the unit, the Foundation worked on completing television and radio coverage internally and externally by providing radio and television transmission equipment with its accessories and link networks to secure service delivery and providing radio and television studios with modern and advanced equipment to replace old devices for the purpose of developing and improving the performance of radio and television studios and services It has also worked on diversifying and developing local programs aimed at building the personality of the Yemeni citizen in various cultural, scientific, political, informational, technical, social, developmental, health, demographic, environmental and legislative aspects to create a public opinion supportive of public national issues in addition to allocating programs directed abroad to introduce the advantages of investing in Yemen and expanding public programs. Cultural, artistic and informatics and tourism that target Arab viewers within the scope of the Yemeni satellite channel. Correspondents have also been dealt with at home and abroad to cover the events as they happen¹³.

The channels are: (Channel 1) while it was called Aden Station (Channel Two). Channel One TV (Yemen Satellite Channel):

It was established on 26 September, 1975 and moved to color broadcasting on September 24, 1975. It covers its transmission on the terrestrial network - throughout the day - and satellite broadcasting as well.

The channel currently broadcasts on:

1. Arabsat Badr 4: It covers the Middle East and parts of Asia and Europe, while the Yemen Channel broadcasts as well as two radio programs (the general program and

the second program) on the following satellites besides the Arab satellite Arabsat Badr 4.

2. Nilesat: It covers the Arab region.
3. NSS7 covers Africa.
4. Policies 100.5 covers the continent of Asia.
5. Hot Bird covers Europe.
6. Galaxy 25 covers North America
7. Hispasat coverage South America.
8. Covering North America by cable

Channel Two TV (Yemeni):

It was founded on September 11, 1964 and moved to color broadcasting on March 8, 1981. Its terrestrial transmission covers a number of governorates of the Republic as well as satellite broadcasts via the Arab satellite Arabsat Badr 4

Saba Channel (Youth - Tourism - Educational):

It opened on March 19, 2008, as the first specialized Yemeni television channel, dealing with youth, tourism and education issues, and broadcasting its programs on the Arab satellite, Arabsat Badr 4.

Satellite broadcasting in Yemen:

Yemen Republic TV programs began broadcasting by satellite for the first time on December 20, 1995, via the American satellite (Intelsat 702).

The broadcast moved from September 15, 1996 to the satellite (Arabsat A2), and from March 6, 2003, the satellite broadcast moved to the satellite A3, and as of 2007 it moved to the satellite Arabsat Badr 4

Yemen today has a complete lunar package that was inaugurated on March 19, 2008 with a capacity of 34 MHz with compatible power on the satellite "Badr 4" in the (Q-BSS) beam at a frequency of 12181. There are plans for the future expansion of satellite broadcasting and the available capabilities to take advantage of the launch. Approximately 12 satellite channels via the satellite Arabsat Badr 4.

The day of the opening of the package for the Yemeni satellite channel was considered a holiday for the Yemeni media.

A religious television channel called Al-Iman Channel was established to produce and broadcast religious, directive and advisory programs, which began experimental broadcasting as of Sunday evening, 31/08/2008¹⁴.

In 2013, the number of official Yemeni satellite channels reached (4) channels, and these channels witnessed a significant expansion in television broadcast coverage, with the total broadcast hours reaching (35040) hours.

The private sector has also witnessed development in this aspect, as it launched many private satellite channels, reaching 22 satellite channels.

There are currently more than 30 government and private satellite TV channels in Yemen, some of which broadcast from inside Yemen and part of them from Beirut, Cairo, Istanbul and other countries.

Yemeni private satellite channels "directed to Yemen"

Al-Saeeda Satellite Channel - Founded in 2007, it is considered the first Yemeni channel owned by businessman Abdul-Ghani Al-Shamiri, which broadcasts from the Egyptian capital, Cairo. The channel mainly focuses on broadcasting entertainment programs, but it also broadcasts political discussions.

Suhail satellite channel - a private channel initially based in London, which was established in 2009 as a private channel affiliated with Sheikh Hamid Al-Ahmar and the Yemeni Rally for Islah Party in Yemen.

Al Masirah Satellite Channel - Founded in 2012 and broadcasts from Lebanon, as Al Masirah TV is owned by a company affiliated with the Houthis.

Al-Yaman Al-Youm satellite channel is a private channel affiliated with the General People's Congress Party. During the civil war, after the death of the leader of the Congress Party, Ali Abdullah Saleh, two channels appeared under this name, one from Cairo and the other broadcasting from Sana'a.

Al-Sahat satellite channel is a diverse political owned by Sheikh Sultan Al-Sama'i

The Azal satellite channel is a diverse political private owned by Sheikh Muhammad bin Naji Al-Shayef

Moein satellite channel is a private political channel owned by businessman Ahmed Al-Eisi

Aden Live satellite channel is a private political channel owned by Ali Salem Al-Baid

Al-Masir satellite channel is a private political channel owned by the southern opposition, Haidar Abu Bakr Al-Attas.

Osan satellite channel is a private, political, diversified channel owned by Jalal Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi.

Yaman Satellite Channel is a private, political, news-oriented channel that broadcasts from the Egyptian capital, Cairo, run by journalist Jamil Ezz El-Din and others, and is funded by the Yemeni Rally for Reform Party.

Al-Aqiq satellite channel is a political variety owned by Fares Al-Sanabani and others.

Voice of the South is a political satellite channel that covers the southern movement and is open to the people of the south. It was established, according to its claim, with pure funding from southern merchants abroad.

Belqis Satellite Channel is a private, diversified political channel that broadcasts from the Turkish capital Istanbul. It follows Tawakkol Karman and deals with women's affairs as well as political affairs.

Aden Satellite Channel a private political diversified channel owned by Jalal Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi.

Al Masirah Satellite Channel a private channel that follows the Houthis and is their satellite platform.

Yemen Shabab Satellite Channel - a private-political youth channel, affiliated with Dr. Wassim Al-Qurashi.

Hadramout satellite channel - (private) variety, affiliated to Sheikh Abdullah Ahmad Bugshan, broadcasting from the city of Mukalla, Hadramout.

Al-Ghad Al-Mashreq Satellite Channel - a private diversified channel broadcast from the UAE.

Yemen Sama Satellite Channel - An advertising and diversified channel broadcasting from Sana'a far from politics.

Yemen Satellite Channel political discussing issues of the legitimacy of the Yemeni government in Riyadh broadcasts from Riyadh, the capital of Saudi Arabia.

Al-Hawiyyah satellite channel - a socio-political variety broadcast from Sana'a owned by Muhammad Ali Al-Emad

Al-lahhda satellite channel is political, broadcasting from Sana'a, owned by Abed Al-Mahdhali.

Rushd Satellite Channel - a private, political, ideological, diversified, dialogue, interactive, and news programs owned by the Salafi Group Party in Yemen.

Sanaa satellite channel - a political diversified one - is funded by figures affiliated with the Islah party¹⁵.

2.4 Yemen News Agency (Saba)

Following the merging of “Aden News Agency” and “Saba News Agency” following the achievement of Yemeni unity in 1990 AD, the role and importance of the new agency, “The Yemeni News Agency Saba,” increased in line with the nature of the new phase, and the agency has since taken great steps to develop its news and technical activity.

The agency relies 100% on national cadres in all its journalistic, technical and administrative activities. The number of its employees reaches about 450 journalists, employees and technicians distributed over its main center and offices in the governorates of Aden, Taiz, Mukalla, Seiyun, Lahj, Hodeidah, Abyan, Shabwa, Al Bayda, Al Mahrah, in addition to For an office at Sana'a International Airport, the agency broadcasts, on an 18-hour basis, approximately 474 local and international news on an average, with an average of 103,794 words per month.

Statistics issued by the General Administration for News of the Yemeni News Agency (Saba) showed the remarkable growth in the rate of news production of the agency since its unification with one person in 1990, and until 2000, the total news

during the year 2000 rose to 14,862 news and reports, after the total number of news was And the reports in 1990, a year after the two agencies merged, 6554 news and reports.

The statistic also indicated that the agency prepared a hundred journalistic investigations in 2000, and in the same year 2000 prepared twenty publications and a special file devoted to monitoring and analysis and the news of the Yemeni News Agency (Saba) receives all the media outlets and broadcasts the agency through its website, which began work in May 1999 the most important news of Yemen via the Internet.

The agency had launched in 1993 a computer network system for receiving and broadcasting news and dispensing with old teleprint printers. The agency started in January 2000, using the "Nibras" press system instead of the "Merlin" computer system and updating its transmission network to work in an environment The news agency has a capacity of 64 reception channels, 48 distribution channels, and ten channels for remote communication with the agency's network.

The service of sending and receiving faxes and e-mail messages from the Internet directly and into the agency's network was introduced. In the year 2000 the agency launched its external transmission by satellite to the embassies of the Republic. The Yemeni government is abroad directly, and the agency receives the dispatch of a number of Arab agencies and international agencies, as well as the satellite television channels and audio radio stations that broadcast in the Arabic language, and relies on them as sources for its news, analyzes and reports that are included in the daily political bulletin in particular.

The agency provides many services, including: the daily "Saba" instant newsletter, the daily political newsletter in Arabic, news broadcasts around the clock, news broadcasts via the Internet, the economic magazine, which is bi-monthly in Arabic and English, the monthly "Saba" notebook, and the English newsletter.

Daily files and special publications, photo press investigations, various printing services, photography services.

Within the framework of the development measures that the agency is taking to keep pace with the updates of the information globalization era, in the year 2000, it opened a center for research and information, and established a special department for offset presses to print all its press, documentary and commercial publications.

The agency has a number of external correspondents who constantly provide it with the most prominent news in the world, and they are located in London, Washington, Moscow, Damascus, Baghdad, Amman, Cairo, the Horn of Africa (Ethiopia), and Saudi, and the accreditation of a number of other correspondents in the future in several Arab and international capitals.

Yemeni News Agency (Saba) is a member of the Federation of Arab News Agencies (FANA), the Union of Islamic News Agencies (INA), and the Association of Non-Aligned Countries News Agencies, and it has relations of cooperation and news and professional exchange with most Arab news agencies, and the most prominent international agencies such as the "Reuters" agency. And "France Press" "Xinhua", which is linked by direct lines of communication (duplexes) through the Yemeni Company for International Communications, with all of the news agencies: Jordan (Petra), the Emirates (WAM), Qatari (QNA), and Omani (Oman), Which in turn reflects the news of the Sheba Agency in its news.

The agency broadcasts its news on the two satellite satellites (Intersat - 63 degrees, and EutelSat - 7 degrees) and covers the Middle East, North Africa and Europe and (15) receiving stations distributed in the most important Arab and international capitals¹⁶.

In order to keep abreast of the accelerating media changes and with the expansion of the agency's functions and performance, Republican Decree No. (251) for the year 1997 was issued regarding the reorganization of the Yemeni News Agency (Saba) on November 3, 1997, affirmed that the agency has legal personality, and has an independent financial liability and is subject to the Minister of Information, as it is the official national agency and the main source of news in the Republic of Yemen, and aims to provide media services to the state and society, and it carries out its duties in accordance with the constitution and the laws in force and media politics for the state.

2.5 New media

Due to government control and high censorship of traditional media content, citizens have tended to use the Internet and social media platforms as an alternative means of communicating their voices to the largest domestic and international scale.

Months after the start of the Arab Spring, the rate of internet usage in Yemen jumped from 1.8% (420,000) of the total population in 2010 to 14.9% (3,691,000) in 2012.

In 2014, the number of Internet users reached 4.8 million, at a rate of 18% of the total population, of whom 1.56 million used social media. By the year 2016, the number of internet users in Yemen increased to 6.8 million, including 1.7 million users of social media, and in 2018 it reached 7.03 million internet users, including 2.3 million social media users¹⁷.

In 2011, while protesters were using social media platforms, especially Facebook, as their first option to upload photos and videos as coverage of the so-called Arab Spring events, many local and international TV stations began adopting this new practice and using the same content and rebroadcast it on television.

For example, and as the first experience in employing social media content on television in Yemen, "Suhail" channel began in 2012 to produce a television program - still broadcasting today - under the name ""The word is yours" for You" in which the audience is allowed to participate in the program directly through "communication." or commenting on the cartoon or image that the channel previously publishes on the program's Face book, page. Producers choose certain comments to be shown later during the program's live broadcast.

The new media has been able to break the dominance and monopoly of traditional media within a short period of time in light of digital technologies, and their advantages in the speed of transmission of information by sound and image, the power of spread and the ability of the audience to interact with news content.

It has become an important part of any TV channel's programming. The ease and speed of communication over the Internet has created more opportunities for viewers to work as recipients and contributors to the media content industry at the same time, which has made viewers more important in playing a more active role in the traditional media content industry. This is by helping traditional media producers to find new resources to develop new, more popular programs.

There is no doubt that the new media, which includes social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and the WhatsApp chat application, has made a huge leap in the field of media of all kinds.

It has made television more interactive and participatory, so users of social media platforms today can submit their own comments about any TV program, and sometimes those comments become part of the content displayed on the screen in special programs interested in transmitting the content of social media platforms, which have become one of the most important and fastest means used by communication officials in Governmental institutions and directors of government officials' offices in Yemen, as they create special groups on the Facebook or WhatsApp platform that include media professionals from various media outlets to inform them of the latest statements and media materials of their officials, and this guarantees them a faster and easier way to share and deliver media materials to the largest possible number of Media organizations that pass these materials to the public¹⁸.

Since social media platforms have many advantages, including the speed of transmission and coverage of events and broadcast them directly before television channels in some cases, the possibility of wide access to different groups in society and the ability to interact between the sender and the receiver, new media have become the first source for the public in many countries.

By virtue of the characteristics of each media, negatively or positively, and its ability to compete and improve the quality of content, it can maintain its audience and

gain more, and perhaps this is what the written press realizes, which faces the challenge of staying in light of weak advertising, declining support and investment in it, and low sales, as well as the digital challenge that it became the appropriate choice, and major international newspapers turned to it, while their counterparts in the Third World faced the fate of an immediate or future halt.

It is natural that the beneficiary of what threatens the press will be the visual media that has a multiple and long capacity to survive, compete and provide what meets the needs and interests of the viewer.

As for the broadcast media, it is fortunate to have worsening conditions in poor countries with great illiteracy, which also lack the electricity service that allows them to watch television or use the Internet, whose spread is limited to the urban population, which makes the radio audience remain until these factors that serve it change greatly.

But the fixed rule tells us that no media can take every audience another or before it in origin, and what it can do is take some of the audience.

The superiority that characterized the channels, such as the urgent transmission and the live broadcast of the event, was broken by the means of communication, with Facebook providing the live broadcast service to its users and providing the opportunity even for the average citizen who has an account to speak and broadcast from the event site in his own way.

From here appeared citizen journalism, which is summarized in a phone and a Twitter or Facebook account, which allows anyone to go beyond publishing breaking news, photos and videos to comment and analyze the event and the issue within the limits of his understanding and culture.

Apart from the many benefits and advantages of social media content, we have to be very careful of the steps that we take and know exactly where to look for the information. Social media users are very selective in posting, and this results in providing biased and inaccurate information.

3 The media market

Although there is a perception among the competent authorities in the state, or by the centers of special interest in the media in general, there is no accurate way to determine the most important and best of them to follow up, and there is no systematic study of the public or the market that can rank the popularity of the media, or what is acquired in the market.

All media themselves carry out market research and present this data to advertising customers, thus creating a very subjective overview of the market situation and measuring the audience. In fact, newspaper and website managers often have claims about distribution and audience, which cannot be verified by independent sources.

The main reason is the lack of legal mechanisms to provide documentation and analyze media popularity.

Moreover, newspaper print volume cannot be obtained from printers or distribution numbers from the Distribution Department, because it is considered classified, and in this context, while the media continues to grow in number and in some cases until the quality improves, there is still a way to find out the percentage. . For every media market, as there is no systematic and authoritative study of the media market.

Thus, the economic sustainability of the media, in this aspect, becomes more questionable and doubts.

3.1 Advertising in media

Governmental press and media institutions that are owned by the government depend on government funding sources. Commercial companies are also directed to support these government press institutions by publishing their advertisements and programs through these media.

While private press and media institutions depend on their owners, so do the partisan press and media outlets that rely on parties' funding sources for them, and all media outlets seek to attract and obtain subscriptions and advertisements that guarantee financial returns that contribute to operating expenses and the development process.

While the media market in Yemen and the press are heading for a severe contraction for several reasons, the most important of which is the lack of institutional support represented by advertising as a main tributary advertising in Yemen is still based on personalization, partisanship and favoritism, and this is one of the shortcomings that did not enable serious journalism to adopt clear programs.

In addition to the economic crisis and the political situation in Yemen, they resulted in the fact that the share or cake of advertisements very much decreased and it seems that it will take a long time to return again to its previous state.

As the market for media advertisements decreased dramatically, many newspapers, especially independent newspapers, were suspended.

So there is an objective crisis related to the lack of advertising funds, which is the artery for the continuation of any newspaper or channel, and then many other crises, and the fundamental point is that everyone who thinks about establishing a channel or publishing a newspaper, must think economically and according to a feasibility study first before anything else.

What has become known to all is that the media market in Yemen, from 2011 until now, has mixed in the professional with the political and the local and the regional, as a disastrous result par excellence.

Many have entered the field while they do not specialize in it or know its rules, in search of interests or influence, or to support this or that party, or to implement specific agendas.

Now things are different and the authorities want to contain the entire market, and the evidence for this is many and many, and it does not need much explanation.

It is also clear that prominent governmental and non-governmental media organizations and media professionals, who used to receive large financial contributions and financial donations, no longer receive these allocations. Perhaps these sums have decreased to almost less than half or have been cut off.

Young media professionals and journalists paid the price early by reducing their salaries, or not receiving salaries, and for some of them to sit in their homes without work.

The main indicators also say: All media professionals who are in a state of defiance with this or against this or who are affiliated with a party are likely to find themselves in a state of freezing. This will not be announced, of course, or via a published decision.

Many media outlets found themselves forced to search for areas other than politics to focus on, and translate this into practice on the ground that the media should not enter into bone-breaking battles with those in power or its apparatus. The topic is large and exciting and its implications are multiple. Its impact will not be limited only to the media, but also to many areas in Yemeni society.

4. Ownership of media organizations

Law No. (25) of 1990 regarding the press and publications was issued - Article 33 of it guarantees:

The right to publish and own newspapers and magazines is guaranteed to citizens and to the authorized political parties, to individuals and to public legal persons, to creative mass organizations, to ministries and government institutions, as stipulated in this law. In the year 1998 the number of newspapers and magazines reached nearly (186) newspapers and magazines, and Law 25 of 1990 is still in force until now, despite the shortcomings made by the owners of the profession and observers. However, this law has been amended, and confusion revolves around These amendments, and the most important thing in the amendments is the President's call, Ali Abdullah Saleh, to abolish prison sentences for journalists, and others feared that this punishment would be replaced by penalties they see as harsher, such as setting sums as fines outside the capacity of newspapers, especially those that are independent and qualified¹⁹.

Among the criticisms directed at the draft law amendment is that there are many prohibitions, as well as the need to obtain a license to practice the profession, and critics of the law demand that the license be replaced by notification.

5. Structures of media organizations

The right of ownership was not allowed for audiovisual media institutions, and it was satisfied with allowing the right to publish and own newspapers and magazines.

Although the printed press had prospered through the large number of publications, many difficulties made it lose institutional work.

Some publications collapsed and closed their doors and others disappeared from the square, and some became the press of events where they appear in seasons such as holidays, national occasions and elections to benefit from the support they receive, but they soon return to a deep slumber and the difficulties and obstacles faced by media institutions in Yemen can be summarized as follows:

First: Organizational problems, which include:

- A) Ambiguity of the objectives.
- B) Lack of strategic planning.
- C) Lack of technology.
- D) Weak information systems.
- E) Poor organizational communication.

Second: Human problems, mankind:

- A) Authoritarian traditional leaderships.
- B) Insufficient organizational creativity.
- C) The lack of experimental programs.
- D) Lack of objectivity in appointment.
- E) Wages and incentives mismatch with work.

Third: Environmental problems, including:

- A) Higher authorities intervene.
- B) Weak legislative oversight.
- C) Weak local competition.
- D) The weakness of the Syndicate of Journalists.

Partisan and independent press releases were no better than their official or party-supported counterparts, despite the fact that the second outperformed the first in terms of capabilities. Nevertheless, everyone remained under the aforementioned obstacles and as a whole were unable to establish a full experience of features and milestones.

Many political, legal, economic and social factors have played roles in weakening partisan and independent press releases, the most important of which are:

- 1- Non-reliance of the partisan and independent press on institutional work based on planning.
- 2- Low wages and material and moral incentives.
- 3- Lack of information sources.
- 4- Failure to strictly apply the conditions of journalistic work.

Perhaps the reference to a study published recently (Al-Tajeer website, Aref Al-Atam) confirms that the printed press suffers from many problems, as it included (40) official, party and independent newspapers that took place in the governorates (Amanat Al-Asimah, Aden, Taiz, Ibb, Al-Mukalla and Al-Hudaydah) over a period of three The most famous and implemented by the Public Relations Department at the Faculty of Media - Sana'a University.

Which focused on the poor and weak distribution outlets and ending with the small size of the numbers printed and the extent of their presence in the market .

The field study on (the size of Yemeni newspapers' distribution in sales outlets) aimed to know the actual distribution of local newspapers and their locations, their fading and the size of the audience of each newspaper. The study numbers did not include the size of the newspapers that are distributed through annual subscriptions or that are distributed for free. The study also did not pay attention to the numbers announced by a number of newspapers about the size of the issue's printing, and thus it was not affected by those announced figures.

The study clarified the problem which is that the majority of the published newspapers are concentrated in the Municipality of the capital at a large percentage, while they decrease significantly in the rest of the governorates at modest rates, and this explains the weakness of the spread process of these newspapers and the dwindling of their audience in the governorates due to the weak distribution outlets and the marketing process, which is reflected in the size and level The media message assigned to these newspapers.

The weakness and modesty of distribution applies to government newspapers, as it is noticed that the level of its distribution is low in the governorates where it is not published, with the exception of the October 14 newspaper, which is distributed more in Sana'a than in Aden (the place of its publication). It is also noticed that the official newspapers retreat from competing with the rest of the publications except for Al-Thawra newspaper, which took the lead in Al-Amana newspaper, while Al-Jumhuriya newspaper ranked ninth in Taiz city (its place of publication), as well as October 14 newspaper, which ranked seventh in Aden. Independent newspapers are led by Al-Ayyam newspaper, then Al-Nas newspaper, followed by Al-Wasat newspaper. It did not have a reasonable distribution rank, and it is at the end of the

least distributed newspapers. The same applies to party newspapers that suffer from weakness in the process of distribution and circulation more than others. Al-Thawri newspaper comes among the party newspapers with the highest circulation rate, most concentrated in the Capital Municipality The least of it is in Al-Mukalla, followed by Al-Sahwa newspaper, which is also concentrated above in Amanat Al-Asimah and the least in Al-Mukalla, followed by Al-Wahdawi newspaper - which speaks for the Nasserite Unionist Organization - then newspaper Al-Balagh - opposition - then May 22 newspaper - the General People's Congress - then Al-Mithaq newspaper - followed by the General People's Congress - and Al-Assema newspaper - followed by the Reform Party - is considered the lowest distribution of party newspapers in the provinces²⁰.

Although the study was limited to the volume of distribution of Yemeni newspapers in sales outlets, it did not include magazines, especially specialized ones, which are considered quarterly magazines. They are mainly issued by centers and institutions but are not regularly published.

6. Freedom of expression

Article (42) of the Yemeni constitution of 1991 states that “ The state guarantees freedom of thought and the expression of opinion in speech, writing and photography within the limits of the law.” These limits were imposed primarily by the 1990 Press and Publications Law, which sets fines and penalties of up to one year in prison for journalists who publish material contrary to national unity, Islam or the "goals" of the Yemeni revolution²⁰.

The Yemeni government also established the Special Court for Press and Publications in Sana'a in 2009, to pursue media cases in accordance with the country's penal code, although the court stopped operating following the government's expulsion from the city.

And although the country passed the Freedom of Information Act in 2012²², becoming the second Arab country to do so after Jordan, there are growing concerns that it is not being properly implemented.

The International Media Support Organization noted that self-censorship was widespread in Yemen in 2011, as a result of increased pressure from government authorities, as well as the closure of many prominent media outlets, and the prosecution of journalists.

In 2009, following the outbreak of conflict in southern Yemen, the government banned eight prominent daily and weekly newspapers²³.

After the Houthi uprising against the Yemeni government in 2014, and the Saudi-led air war against Yemeni and Houthi targets, which began in March 2015, the

media environment has become increasingly aggressive. The combination of airstrikes and urban fighting means that journalists and broadcasters are increasingly at risk when reporting the news.

All parties to the conflict in Yemen committed grave violations of journalists. All parties to the conflict resorted to suppressing freedom of expression, using arbitrary detention, enforced disappearances, torture and other ill-treatment. Journalists and human rights defenders were among those targeted by these practices. According to Freedom House in 2016, the press freedom situation in Yemen has not been good. Actually there is no freedom²⁴.

7. Summary of the media landscape in Yemen

The war that has been going on in Yemen for six years has changed the Yemeni media landscape for the worst in terms of the number of publications, independence and freedom of the media, press and distribution.

All rates related to the legal environment, the political environment and the economic environment are high, including been destroyed the destruction of the technical infrastructure of media institutions, by the bombing of the Saudi coalition aircraft, taking into account that the higher rates of Freedom House mean the worst situations (ranging from 0 to the best to 40 or 30 which means the worst). The end result of press freedom on the Yemeni scene is very close to the worst picture ever.

The Media Support Organization's 2012 report on the media in Yemen explains that before 2011 there were clear red lines that President Ali Abdullah Saleh considered inviolable. Journalists were largely able to understand the dangers of crossing.

But since Ali Abdullah Saleh abdicated his position as president after 33 years, under domestic and international pressure, a new threatening environment has emerged, as red lines have spread and whoever had the weapons to impose them.

After more than three decades of censorship, the Yemeni press was supposed to flourish after President Saleh announced his resignation in November 2011 in the face of months of mass protests.

The so-called revolution helped the emergence of many new media; Most of them belong to the Muslim Brotherhood's Islah Party. But as in many Arab countries after that period, hopes for greater freedom of the press were dashed.

In February 2013, Freedom Foundation, a Yemeni nongovernmental organization that monitors media freedom, reported that it documented 260 separate incidents in 2012 involving actions against journalists and media outlets ranging from threats and harassment to enforced disappearance and attempted murder.

Journalists also remained at risk of prosecution for criminal defamation, under which their writing could land them in prison.

In all the cases that Human Rights Watch investigated, those targeted submitted complaints to the relevant Yemeni authorities, either directly or through the Syndicate of Journalists, demanding an investigation and demanding justice and compensation. Yet the authorities either failed to conduct a serious investigation or, at best, responded slowly and without effect. No one has been successfully prosecuted for committing any of these crimes.

President Mansour Hadi's government has largely failed to conduct serious investigations, let alone bring those responsible to trial. This failure not only deprives victims of abuse of justice, it also makes the entire media fearful of further attacks and to a greater more danger.

This report focuses on 20 cases researched and documented by Human Rights Watch. It was documented, primarily during field visits to Yemen from February to April 2013. One case concerned the murder of a journalist in February 2013 for which authorities did not make arrests of defendants. Other cases involved physical assaults on journalists by alleged members of government security forces, by a member of parliament, and by various non-state actors. Among them are people associated with supporters of the Houthis, advocates of southern secession, and the Islamist Islah party.

The situation definitely collapsed in 2014 and the beginning of 2015, when the Houthis occupied the city of Sana'a and then expanded their presence, influence, and power from north to south. Some newspapers affiliated with the official government of the government and President Hadi were discouraged, or even banned; Especially the press that is close to the Muslim Brotherhood's vision, the suspension of the political opinion of the Islah party, the closure of offices, the release of journalists or even their arrest by the Houthis under the justification of security measures to limit disclosure of information and incitement in light of the Saudi coalition's aggression war on Yemen.

In fact, the only press available in the city of Sana'a is the one that owes allegiance to the Houthi group, the Sana'a government, and criticizes President Abd Rabbu Mansour Hadi and his government - residing in the Saudi capital - Riyadh, and condemns the aggression of the Saudi coalition against Yemen.

The media market did not develop as expected after the so-called 2011 revolution, but rather moved to a weak phase, completely dominated by the links between the media and political parties.

This is quite evident in the print media, followed by the television broadcast market and the circulation of websites, where with the presence of international and satellite

channels and sites that are not present in the country, it is possible to reach different and varied views about what is happening inside and outside Yemen.

The development of journalistic professionalism in Yemen has reached a minimum. The war destroyed any ambition. Journalists who are still working participate in a propaganda game, position themselves for or against the loyal government, and thus pay a price.

Most of them stopped working and changed their activity. Some have tried and are still trying to leave the country, seeking asylum abroad to save their lives, their dignity and their families.

The control of the Houthi-affiliated Sanaa government over journalists is strong and dangerous for them. Therefore, the interference of the two de facto states in the country (the official government of President Mansour Hadi, who has been resident and his government for six years in the Saudi capital, Riyadh, and the Houthi government, located in the Yemeni capital, Sana'a) control of the press and media in Yemen.

The Yemeni press is threatened from all sides and journalists are unable to report or even defend their colleagues without fear of prosecution, arrest, and retaliation.

And as for also the killing of over (14) journalists as a result of the bombing of the headquarters of the Saudi coalition on the headquarters and press and media facilities, including the bombing of television and radio facilities and the Ministry of Information building.

Besides the targeting of journalists by Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, this is the worst stage in the history of Yemen in terms of loss of journalists' lives.

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