THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

The Evolving Case for

Peace Journalism

A thesis in fulfilment of requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is the product of my own independent research. It contains no material which has been accepted for another degree or diploma, or any copy or paraphrase of another person's material except where due reference is made. It has been conducted according to the ethical standards and guidelines of the University of Sydney.

Annabel McGoldrick

29th of January 2014

Abstract

This thesis evaluates the evolution of a strengthening case for a kind of news reporting defined as 'Peace Journalism'. It explores the differences such journalism makes to television audiences. Additionally, by delving into the developing understanding of meaning-making and rationality, it combines interdisciplinary insights that add to the evolving case for Peace Journalism. It tests propositions that meaning is formed emotionally as well as cognitively, and that human nature is both cooperative and empathetic as well as competitive and violent. The mixed design study marks the first audience research, involving more than 450 participants from four countries, to indicate that television news framed as peace journalism prompts and enables viewers to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict.

Qualitative and quantitative data on audience responses were gathered in Australia, the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico. Two versions of a set of familiar stories from television news in each country were produced, coded as war journalism (WJ) and peace journalism (PJ) respectively. PJ was denoted by the presence of background and context; ideas for solutions; a broad range of views; challenges to propaganda, and images of peace. WJ was defined by the absence of such factors.

Two news bulletins, a WJ and a PJ, were created with professional media partners in each country. The bulletins were shown to groups of students and professionals filling in questionnaires or joining focus groups after viewing, with no participant aware of the distinctions between the bulletins or that a second version existed. The predominant conclusion was PJ viewers tended to respond with less anger and fear, and more hope and empathy. They were more likely than those who watched WJ to perceive structural and/or systemic explanations for problems, and more likely to see opportunities for therapeutic and/or cooperative remedies to be applied.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to acknowledge Professor Johan Galtung, for his leadership in educating the world about the principles of peace with justice. I should also thank him for acceding to my request to write out, on one sheet of paper, the peace journalism theory he introduced at the summer school in Taplow Court in 1997. Then to Associate Professor Jake Lynch, my partner in life and throughout my 15-year journey with peace journalism, for his tireless support and encouragement, I owe a huge debt of gratitude. He won the grant from the Australian Research Council to carry out a Linkage Project, entitled 'A Global Standard for Reporting Conflict', which provided for an Australian Postgraduate Award (Industry), the financial support for me to undertake this research. Some of the results have already been published in his book of the same name, by Routledge, in 2013. In it, they are considered with reference to a different set of theoretical models and harnessed to reach a different set of conclusions, than those in this thesis.

Throughout the research process, Jake put up with all my moans and complaints during the endless blocks, obstacles and delays laid in my path by the University of Sydney. The Dean of Arts, Professor Duncan Ivison, made an overly bureaucratic interpretation of the conflict of interests rule, and would not allow me to enrol in this degree with supervision in the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS) despite a decade of teaching in the department. This decision was, moreover, made without discussing helpful alternatives, in what I believe was effectively an abdication of responsibility. I do want to acknowledge Associate Professor Judith Keene from the Department of History, who agreed to supervise me to facilitate my enrolment to begin this project. That came about through the good offices of Professor Margaret Harris, the Faculty's Director of Research. Although Judith was kind, and interested, it rapidly became clear that we did not inhabit the same academic disciplines.

My other natural home would have been the Department for Media and Communication (MECO), but repeated attempts to find supervisory support

there were declined for a number of years until the arrival of Professor Gerard Goggin as Chair. I want to acknowledge his generosity in agreeing to be my Associate Supervisor through the final year of writing this thesis. But this only came about due to a creative plan by the Associate Dean for Postgraduate Research, Professor Rodney Smith, making use of a rule change allowing the Primary Supervisor for a PhD thesis to be from a department other than that in which the candidate is enrolled as a student. Finally, after three annual reviews, the Department of History withdrew their support in an attempt to force the University into action supportive of my candidacy. I want to thank Associate Professor Andrew Fitzmaurice, Chair of the Department of History, who was always most pleasant and complimentary in his repeated attempts to 'kick me out' of the History department. In fact he went as far as suggesting that my lack of institutional support was so bad that I should leave the University of Sydney and he could recommend media colleagues at other Universities who would in his words "snap me up".

Throughout this period, an outstanding academic, Senior Lecturer Dr Karen Gonsalkorale from the Department of Psychology, was a light in the darkness. As a social psychologist, Karen had an interest in the psychological implications of peace journalism and agreed to support me right from the outset, although her hard science discipline clashed, at times, with approaches from social sciences. But her clear boundaries, patience, efficiency and sharp intelligence meant that half an hour with Karen could resolve any issue on which my research was even slightly relevant to her interests. I also have Karen to thank for shepherding me through the shark-infested waters of the University Ethics procedures, plus preparing and processing the study questionnaires. She also sent the most useful feedback within a couple of days on the first drafts of the country data chapters.

Dr Antonio Castillo, now head of the journalism program at the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology, also merits my gratitude. Firstly for agreeing to be my supervisor at the start, though that was knocked back by a superior. He ultimately did become an Associate Supervisor for a year, offering great support, advice, encouragement and translations for Mexico.

Finally, a special thanks goes to Dr Wendy Lambourne, Senior Lecturer and Academic Coordinator of CPACS, who agreed to support me right from the outset and finally took up the role of lead supervisor in the last year. As mentioned earlier, this was another part of Rodney Smith's plan to allow me to be supervised in CPACS, whilst my departmental home would be MECO. Finally, an arrangement was in place that actually made sense, given the two main conceptual streams being combined in this research: peace and communications.

Up to then, this had been blocked due to the bureaucratic over-interpretation of the rules, as mentioned earlier. In darker moments I have connected this with the treatment CPACS has received over the years, including repeated attempts to dilute or undermine it. Like many, I am sure this is because it puts the wind up University authorities by speaking truth to power in the name of justice. Management have often seemed keener on the so-called 'Institute for Democracy and Human Rights' (now defunct), whose members – unlike those of CPACS – could apparently be relied upon, ultimately, to put expediency before principle. This became apparent during the fiasco of the invitation to the Dalai Lama that was first extended by Human Rights degree students, then withdrawn by academics from the Institute, in 2013. An attitude that would, if shared by historical actors, have deprived us of the legacy of human rights and democracy in the first place. Luckily CPACS and the Sydney Peace Foundation stepped in, to make sure His Holiness had a place to speak to students in Sydney after all.

Which brings me to Emeritus Professor Stuart Rees: friend, mentor and sailing chum, who directed the Foundation with such courage and integrity for many years. It was Stuart who first invited me to teach Peace Journalism at CPACS over a decade ago. Stuart was another to offer words of encouragement over the past four years particularly during the bureaucratic blockages, diagnosing the University as "constipated".

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Introduction

The Evolving Case for Peace Journalism

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to evaluate the evolution of any significant strengthening case for a kind of news reporting defined as 'Peace Journalism': defined as "when editors and reporters make choices, of what to report and how to report it, that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 5). This study builds on the growing academic literature arguing the case for peace journalism. It aims to test and validate some of those scholarly assumptions. This will include exploring what, if any, differences such journalism makes to television audiences. Additionally, by delving into the developing understanding of rationality, meaning-making and the mind, this thesis seeks to ascertain whether these interdisciplinary insights can add to any such evolving case for Peace Journalism. This Introduction explains my own heuristic experience and personal journey with peace journalism. A journey that evolved beyond a simple one page definition, which I requested, from a

leading contributor to Peace Research when he appeared as principal speaker at a residential Summer School for which I was Project Coordinator, in the UK in 1997[1]. That led me to write a book (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005); create training courses for journalists; devise and deliver units of study for Postgraduate Coursework programs; write scholarly articles for the academy and contribute to civil society campaigns for reform. These later evolved into a recognised academic sub-field; a method of reporting for journalists in the field; organisations of peace journalists and civil society campaigns to improve reporting standards.

Preamble

My personal questions emerge from the development of Peace Journalism since the late 1990s as not merely an area of scholarly research, but also a significant factor in civil society activity geared towards reforming the role of the media[2] in conflict, and in professional journalistic practice. For many including myself, pressure for reform[3] was boosted by the experience of media complicity in the 1991 Gulf War. This media complicity, and the means by which it was secured, have been described as "a breakthrough for modern propaganda techniques [which were] used by the Western powers and NATO in later conflicts" (Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2008: 2-3). In the process, the demonisation of Saddam Hussein "overshadowed many of the structural issues involved in the conflict, such as access to oil, religious and cultural issues, and the struggle for political and military hegemony over the entire region" (Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2008: 3). Intensive repetition of this pattern of coverage, notably via the newly prominent CNN International, played into the hands of those driving the political response

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[1] I am referring here to Professor Johan Galtung's (1998/2013) definition of peace & war journalism is in the form of table reproduced in Appendix A.
[2] The term 'media' is used here more generally to include all kinds of output about a conflict. This differs from the term 'journalism', which refers more specifically to the reporting, the written story in print, or broadcast on TV or radio.
[3] Reference needed, Columbia Study, MEAA study.

to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait who favoured the use of force. Journalism had become a handmaiden of the military (Knightley, 2000)[4].

Some years later, my journalistic career had led to a role helping Professor Johan Galtung to set up the first Peace Journalism training course, at Taplow Court in 1997[5]. Other keynote academic contributors were Rune Ottosen (quoted above) and Wilhelm Kempf, both of whom presented evidence that military terms and frames had dominated media coverage of Operation Desert Storm. One of the journalists who took part was Maggie O'Kane, who had recently made a documentary for Channel Four television titled *Riding the Storm: How to Tell Lies and Win Wars* (1996). It exposed propaganda used to swing public opinion in troop-supplying countries, including the claim that Iraqi troops had killed newborns by switching off incubators in the premature baby unit of Kuwait's main hospital. A Washington public relations firm, Hill and Knowlton, working for the Kuwaiti royal family, had in fact, invented this whole story.

Reflections on media roles in conflict arising from the Gulf War therefore played a major role in presenting and considering the Peace Journalism model from its first iteration. It supplied a rationale for journalism and an account of its purpose, at a time when confidence in these had been shaken among many including journalists themselves. At my request, Galtung condensed his description of war journalism and Peace Journalism to just one page[6]. This was what journalists were for, I thought. Subsequent years of writing, teaching, training and campaigning turned me into an ambassador-at-large for this challenging new idea of journalism's remit. But the new methodology, the Peace

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[4] A personal recollection is of wondering what listeners to BBC Radio Leeds would be able to do with the information supplied to them once the war was actually underway, dominated as it was by technical details of the weapons being deployed. What was the purpose of the extra bulletins I was asked to broadcast? Had I unwittingly become the mouthpiece of the military? I wondered, what were journalists for?

[5] Taplow Court is a large Victorian country house in the south of England, which by the time of the Summer School was the UK Cultural Centre of the Soka Gakkai International, a Japan-based lay Buddhist organisation.

[6] Professor Johan Galtung's definition of peace & war journalism table is reproduced in Appendix A.

Journalism blueprint, was only adopted chiefly in countries already immersed in violent conflict, like Indonesia in the early 2000s after the fall of the Suharto regime.

To increase the spread of Peace Journalism and expand the number of training courses that were being requested around the world from that point, including the emergence of a postgraduate Coursework unit in Peacebuilding Media, offered by the University of Sydney, a Peace Journalism training manual was written (2000). That was expanded into the first Peace Journalism book, aptly named *Peace Journalism*, written in collaboration with Jake Lynch and published by Hawthorn Press in 2005. The book gave rise to the conceptual basis for this thesis, and has been hailed as a 'seminal' publication (Keeble, 2010: 18), cited in more than 200 other publications including more than ten other books and special journal issues written directly on the topic. These include:

- *Peace Journalism, War and Conflict Resolution* (Eds) Richard Keeble, John Tulloch and Florian Zollmann (London: Peter Lang Inc., 2010)
- *Peace Journalism: the State of the Art*, (Eds) Wilhelm Kempf and Dov Shinar (Berlin, Regener, 2007)
- *The Peace Journalism Controversy*, (Eds) Wilhelm Kempf (Berlin: Regener, 2008)
- 'Peace Journalism in Times of War', *Peace and Policy* Volume 13, (Eds) Susan Dente Ross and Majid Tehranian, Transaction Publishers/Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research, 2008.
- *Democratizing Global Media*, (Eds) Robert A Hackett and Yuezhi Zhao, (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005).
- *Expanding Peace Journalism: Comparative and critical approaches*, (Eds) Ibrahim Seaga Shaw, Jake Lynch & Robert A Hackett (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2011).

Since the University of Sydney began its Peacebuilding Media unit in the year 2000, other peace journalism-related courses have evolved at the University of Lincoln, UK; Cardiff University, UK; the UN University of Peace, Costa Rica;

Orebro University, Sweden; Oslo University College, Norway, and the Global Center for Peace Journalism, which recently opened at Park University in the USA. All of these expansions of peace journalism give weight to the argument that there is already a case for peace journalism: hence the title of this study is 'The evolving case for peace journalism', building on what has already been established.

However, whilst the academic debate was flourishing, Peace Journalism did not appear in any media job description in UK media at that time. Even to date there has never been a peace correspondent: "equivalent", Spencer says, to "the war correspondent… extensive analysis about media and war… finds no comparative interest with the media and peace" (Spencer, 2005: 1).

Opportunities to further an interest in the subject therefore had to be fashioned and pursued along different lines of approach. I decided to pursue training in counselling and psychotherapy, and a complementary strand of research drawing on psychological theories, including Masters research using a research design similar, in embryonic form, to some of the same techniques used for the present study (McGoldrick, 2008).

In a sense my own journey as an activist, moving from the political to the personal chimed with the words of Carl Jung after the First World War who wrote:

> This war has pitilessly revealed to civilised man that he is still a barbarian... But the psychology of the individual corresponds to the psychology of the nation. What the nation does, is done also by each individual, and so long as the individual does it, the nation also does it. Only the change in the attitude of the individual is the beginning of the change in the psychology of the nation" (Jung, 1953: 4).

My aspiration with this thesis is to facilitate a connection between psychotherapy and journalism that draws on the insights of therapy to assist journalism in reasserting its role as a meaning-making vehicle for a planet in

crisis. A form of journalism based on nonviolent and cooperative values to provide societal resources for peace. In the words of Mark Brayne, a former BBC Foreign Correspondent and also now a psychotherapist: "I like to think that like therapists, journalists listen to people and construct meaning" (Brayne, 2006). But what form of meaning is it? Meaning that fuels war or meaning that supports peace?

As a psychotherapist working in addiction recovery for the past 12 years, I have witnessed, at first hand, violent, aggressive, drunk and drugged people transform into caring, compassionate individuals. Change in such cases is predicated on challenging addictive behaviour putting down drugs and alcohol, but that change is only maintained when they begin to see themselves and the world differently: to put on, in a metaphor favoured in the field, "a new pair of glasses" ("C", 2003/1955)[7]. They learn how to alter their perception of reality and become conscious of their own meaning-making process.

Part of that transition is for them to acquire – or the therapist to impart – the concept of reality as multi-perspectival: they can have a 'different reality' from someone else, and still stay in relationship. This is pivotal to the process of family reconciliations for those recovering from trauma and addictions, when families are at war by taking sides, blaming, shaming, judging, teaching, preaching, criticising. By appreciating the other person's version of reality, in other words, one person does not have to be wrong for another to be right: compassion, curiosity and empathy enter the equation. The protagonists stay in relationship to 'hear' each other's experience of reality, rather than sit in judgment over who is right or wrong (Wegscheider Cruse, 1989; Black, 2001)[8].

There are clear parallels between the work of a psychotherapist and that of a peace journalist:

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[7] The author of this book has chosen to be anonymous hence the reference "C" is correct as they are listed on the book's title as Chuck "C".
[8] Please note I am speaking here as a psychotherapist, a practitioner, not simply as a researcher so references here are from the field of addiction recovery not academe.

Peace Journalism embodies, and equips readers and audiences to apply, that same multi-perspectival approach, prompting and enabling us to connect empathically with events we are not personally participating in, and with actors apparently at far remove. We can, if supplied with the right cues and clues, imagine ourselves 'in the shoes' of people in the news, even when we cannot, by definition, be there in person (McGoldrick, 2011: 123).

There is still a need for limits, for boundaries, such as international law, standards of human rights observation and protection (and, to take another prominent example, the scientific consensus on human-induced climate change). These are touchstones of serious factual reporting. But conflictual relationships, whether between the split-off parts of a person's psyche between individuals in a family, sections of a community or even nations, do not improve solely through applying the rule of law: there is a growing literature on the need for other reconciliation and relationship building process as well (Saunders, 2005; Tint, 2010; Staub and Pearlman, 2009; MacNair, 2003; Volkan, 1990; Retzinger and Scheff, 2006). And the possibility of such relational dimensions can be jeopardised by the framing and language of war journalism.

As a psychotherapist, I can imagine being called on to 'treat' war journalism as a 'patient' whose relational behaviour has escalated a family conflict. Such a patient would probably present as a high-functioning professional man. Top war reporters are high achievers, although often addicted to alcohol and the adrenaline of war zones (Brayne, 2000; Loyd, 2000). The patient's personality might very well include some of the following elements: controlling, critical, judgmental and blaming. Such a client would be invited to look first of all at the harm to himself by self-medicating pain with alcohol and adrenaline. Then to explore the effects he was having on the family (the audiences), and teach some new communication skills: skills that contribute to de-escalating violence by demonstrating compassion and curiosity for the other.

The diagnosis would be to treat modern journalism[9] as an artefact of the discourse of violence, embedded in a belief system that violence is natural, inevitable, strong, rational and sometimes the best way of responding. The patient needs new, alternative ways to see and perhaps appreciate the science of empathy: that the subjugated aspects of our nature are those that enable us to function as empathic, caring, altruistic, compassionate, connected beings in need of new paradigms to perceive this multi-perspectival reality.

So my own personal experience of the news – as a newsmaker and a news-transformer – has driven my pursuit of this topic as a psychotherapist, a teacher and researcher, meaning these questions have gestated inside me for many years.

This narrative is offered with the intention of alerting the reader to the 'agenda' of the thesis: this study follows in the philosophical tradition of action research in that ultimately[10] my aspiration is for the audience responses garnered in the field research to contribute to advocacy and along with the ARC project book (Lynch, 2014) may become "a force for social change" (Brydon-Miller, Greenwood & Maguire, 2003: 10). For a shift in the way conflicts and crises are reported, to facilitate a shift in global consciousness, to promote planetary peace-enhancing processes – processes that draw some parallels from my other discipline of psychotherapy as it intersects with the psychology of peace and the science of peace as a discipline analogous to medicine (Woodhouse, 1998; MacNair, 2003).

Research for this thesis has been supported by an Australian Postgraduate Award (Industry), granted as part of a Linkage Project funded by the Australian Research Council with partnership by the International Federation of Journalists

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[9] By 'modern journalism' I am referring to the dominant western objectivity conventions that emerged in the late 19th century in the USA (Bagdikian, 2000). As will be discussed in the next chapter so called 'objective' news stories contain a bias towards war journalism (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 209; McGoldrick, 2006; Hackett, 2012).

[10] Advocacy is perceived here as a long term possible outcome of the research findings, not as part of the research methods themselves, i.e. it is not action research as described by Brydon-Miller, Greenwood and Maguire (2003).

and Act for Peace. The title of the project is A Global Standard for Reporting Conflict.

As the APA(I) holder, therefore, I joined a project on which a number of key strategic decisions had already been taken, such as audience-testing television news as opposed to other forms of media; conducting fieldwork in four countries and for gathering both qualitative and quantitative data. It meant, for example, that instead of training to calculate complex statistics for quantitative research, a professional statistician was employed to help ensure that an enormous quantity of data was rendered manageable.

While this thesis could have omitted huge tranches of data to narrow the focus in a more formal manner, it felt appropriate to include all data of interest, along with an elaborated explanation of the research process, for the purposes of integrity and authenticity.

Plan for thesis and rationale

As previously explained, this study has grown out of a 15-year history of working with Peace Journalism, meaning journalism that "makes audible and visible the subjugated aspects of reality" (J. Galtung, personal communication, March 21, 2003 cited in McGoldrick & Lynch, 2005: 224). Journalism that creates space for peace; space for "society at large to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 5); journalism that offers background, context, ideas for solutions; a range of voices; challenges to propaganda and images of peace. Journalism that resembles health reporting for society-at-large rather than the tug-of-war pattern of sports reporting, presenting two sides contesting the single goal of victory.

Most published Peace Journalism research to date has taken the form of studies in content analysis, so an audience study such as this will add to the case for Peace Journalism if it can demonstrate that such reporting alters the perceptions about some of the most pressing crises facing the planet, whether that be war,

climate change or mental health. But how are such perceptions formed? As will be explored in the opening chapter, it is emerging that our best cognitive capacities are not simply engaged through facts and information (Damasio, 1994). Debates over the nature of rationality suggest that we make meanings through embodied emotional engagement, and that our perceptions of today are largely 'constructed' with reference to experiences of yesterday (Damasio, 1994; Castells, 2009; Rifkin, 2009 & McGilchrist, 2010). Other research suggests that humans are not as innately violent and aggressive as some have previously suggested, but have strong natural tendencies for empathy, compassion and cooperation (Iacoboni, Molnar-Szakacs, Gallese, Buccino, Mazziotta & Rizzolatti, 2005; de Waal 2010 & Baron-Cohen, 2011). But those capacities need to be nurtured through experience and repetition, in contexts such as family and school but also in wider society, which includes the media (Lakoff, 2009). So if peace journalism, as a component of the media, can be shown to resonate to reinforce constructive emotions like empathy then that too will strengthen its case.

That is the work of this thesis: to map out new frontiers in debates about consciousness as it relates to representations of conflict, war and peace. In doing this work, it recounts the process of creating research material with conflicting representations about conflict and crisis then investigates the differing effects such contrasting representations have on audiences.

It is not within the scope of this study to 'prove' that Peace Journalism is better for you, or liked by everyone or makes the world a more peaceful place. But it will suggest that transformational stories of individuals with whom audiences can empathise, as they engage with problems, can open apparently closed questions and shift perceptions about appropriate treatments. And that the kinds of treatments that occur to audiences viewing such material, and which tend to be valued by them, are less punitive, more cooperative and less violent. In other words this thesis does strengthen and deepen a growing body of research into peace journalism. It also contributes to the growing debate on emotions in wider cultural and media studies.

To do this the thesis unfolds in three parts. Part I corresponds to a traditional Literature Review, which includes assessing those methods that were applied in similar audience testing projects and could inform the planning of this research. Part II relays the data gathered in each country visited during the study, written up in a case study format. Part III offers a discussion of the significance of all the reported results and a reflection on the effectiveness of the methods and procedures used before looking forward to offer ideas for future research.

As explained earlier, there is a strong heuristic perspective to my evolving personal journey with Peace Journalism, from a BBC radio newsreader to a peace activist, media trainer, author, psychotherapist and academic. Echoes of this personal journey are present throughout this study.

Chapter 1: introduces the opening philosophical concepts and explanation of the Peace Journalism theory, primarily that "Peace Journalism is when editors and reporters make choices, of what to report and how to report it, which create opportunities for society at large to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict" (Lynch & McGoldrick 2005: 5). It deals firstly with what Peace Journalism is, and what the case is so far for suggesting that it has greater social merit and utility than other forms of journalism. The thesis then delves into new theories about consciousness as they could strengthen the case for Peace Journalism, and points to diverse approaches for measuring media effects, specifically the effects of audiences watching news bulletins framed as either peace journalism or war journalism – and whether either of these lead or enable audiences to value nonviolent responses to conflict.

The theories of consciousness open the door into the mixed methodology chosen for this research as considered in **Chapter 2.** The Methodology forms a bridge between the theories explored in Chapter 1 and the central research question asking 'what is the evolving case for peace journalism'? This firstly involves a detailed analysis of previous media effects research relating to Peace Journalism and other studies that could assist in designing the present study. **Chapter 3** then lays out the specific methods utilised in this study: comparing the audience responses to watching television news bulletins framed as either War or Peace

Journalism in four countries. The process of how those methods emerged is discussed in detail.

Chapters 4-8, which make up Part II, deal specifically with an analysis of the data gathered from each country studied: Australia, the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico. Each country warrants a chapter or more for itself due to the quantity and complexity of the data gathered. Discussion of theoretical material has been deliberately left out of these chapters, as their purpose is to set out and categorise the empirical data. This process of categorisation, setting themes and sub-themes, is carried out with reference to key theoretical constructs, which are introduced and discussed in earlier chapters. The two primarily used are Entman's model of framing (Entman, 1993), which links treatment recommendation with moral evaluation and problem definition, and Shinar's five headings (Shinar, 2007), summarising the distinctions of representation applied in published research on peace journalism. These five headings refer to: the extent of background in a story; whether it gives the voice of all parties, presents ideas for solutions, challenges propaganda and supplies images of peace.

These headings were also used to compare and contrast some of the audience responses, to see whether people watching noticed the same distinctions that were used to produce the different versions.

These are the tools used to assess the questionnaires and the focus group discussions (FGDs) which are used in this study, to evaluate whether Peace Journalism prompts and equips audiences to value nonviolent responses to conflict. In other words, key concepts in the theory laid out in Chapters 1-3 will be applied to the large volume of data gathered, in Chapters 4-8, then the data from all countries is tied together in Chapter 9. Chapter 10 offers further concluding observations, and pointers for future directions in Peace Journalism research.

Chapters 4 and 5 deal with data analysis from Australia. As this was the beginning of the study, there was much pilot testing, refining and evolving of the methodology and methods that would be utilised in the next three countries.

Chapter 4 outlines the research materials, methods and results from qualitative and quantitative data gathered through questionnaires in Australia. Chapter 5 reports the highlights of qualitative data findings from Australian FGDs.

The following three chapters are more concentrated, using the same key theory applied in Chapters 4 and 5 to deal with both qualitative and quantitative data from the Philippines in Chapter 6; South Africa in Chapter 7, and Mexico in Chapter 8.

The final portion, Part III, compares and contrasts data from all four countries considering their implications and offering explanations for some of the results. Theoretical material outlined in the first part of the thesis is interwoven with key propositions from the experimental results in part II, to make an assessment of how far the case for Peace Journalism has evolved during the study. Tentative conclusions for the study are teased from these closing chapters 9 and 10. Broadly, the conclusion is that indeed – the case for Peace Journalism has evolved, developed and strengthened throughout this research. The concluding remarks also assess lessons learned, and consider directions for future research.

PART I
Literature Review

CHAPTER 1

Opening:

A philosophical overview of the evolving case for peace journalism

Introduction

This chapter sets out the conceptual framework for the study. It begins by explaining how peace journalism emerged and developed, and gives a summary of its main distinctions. Derived from concepts in Peace and Conflict Studies, these (theoretical concepts which go to make up Johan Galtung's peace journalism model (1998/2013), see Appendix A) describe how peace journalism is produced, but say nothing about how it is received, or its possible influence on audiences. Therefore, the next section considers key propositions from framing theory and neuroscience, and debates over the nature of rationality, to discuss how we make meanings in response to representations of conflict. It argues that journalists' traditional role-perception as detached, dispassionate observers is outmoded by evidence that choices of interpretation are unavoidably embodied and emotional. Cognitive responses are impossible to separate from affective and emotional responses, because the vast majority of brain activity is unconscious. This study critically engages with what is known as the 'Affective Turn' (Clough, 2008; Altieri, 2012; Massumi, 2002; Leys, 2011) in the social sciences. The concept of empathy is discussed and analysed, including multiple modes of

emotional engagement that may enable viewers to value nonviolent responses to conflict, which is the aim of peace journalism.

What is peace journalism?

Peace journalism[11] is a campaign for reform in reporting conflict[12], based on "the policy implications" (Lynch & Galtung, 2010: *xii*) of the influential essay by Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, 'The Structure of Foreign News' (1965). The latter identifies a set of conventions that lead journalism to "tune in" repeatedly to certain kinds of "signals". The kinds of signals are largely determined by the way the media are organised. The most important factor in deciding what gets reported is "frequency", with the regular deadlines of journalism promoting interest in events with a beginning, middle and end all contained in a short time-frame.

Something that happens, in the interval between editions, is a story, whereas something that merely continues to happen, overlapping intervals, is not. When it comes to reporting conflicts, this has significant consequences. As Galtung and Ruge put it:

> By the 'frequency' of an event we refer to the time-span needed for the event to unfold itself and acquire meaning. For a soldier to die during a battle this time-span is very short; for a development process in a country to take place the time-span may be very long (1965: 66).

[11] As stated earlier in the introduction Peace Journalism is journalism framed to create space for "society at large to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 5). It is a method of reporting conflicts according to Galtung's criteria articulated in his original table (1998/2013 and reproduced in Appendix A) - criteria he offered to trigger a campaign for reforming the reporting of conflict – campaigns for such reform grew out of journalism training courses for professionals (Lynch, 2007) and academic research and Master's programmes sparked by a number of publications including that by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005). For a fuller list of academic research on peace journalism see further on in this chapter page 29.
[12] See later section on the peace journalism model for definitions of key terms peace, conflict, nonviolence, violence, war.

Over time, the effect is to build up a picture of conflicts those foreground sudden, often violent events. Processes that lead up to the events are confined to the background. The "regularity, ubiquity and perseverance of news media… make them first-rate competitors for the number-one position as international image-former" (Galtung & Ruge, 1965: 64). If people "act on the image of reality" created by conflict coverage shaped by these conventions, they may form the impression that – since a conflict apparently consists only of violent events – more violence 'makes sense' as a response. Sending soldiers can come to feel more fitting, as a treatment recommendation, than investing in development.

The "mainstream" of media reporting therefore deserves to be called "war journalism" (WJ), Galtung later argued (1998/2013) as have other researchers (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 209; Lee & Maslog 2005 and Lee, Maslog & Kim 2006; Hackett & Schroeder, 2009). A recent study supported this diagnosis with respect to two of Australia's main broadcasters, Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) and Channel 9 News, and two leading newspapers, the *Sydney Morning Herald* and Sydney *Daily Telegraph* (Lynch, 2014). "Peace journalism" (PJ) is needed, to restore balance, Galtung said (1998/2013). Galtung's feeling that journalism needs reform, to give peace a chance to be heard and considered in public debates, has spurred the many peace journalism campaigns and initiatives that have taken place around the world. In the process, the case for reform has evolved in response to experience, criticism and local needs. On Jeannette Patindol's account, the journalists' network, Pecojon, for instance, was formed in the Philippines to train and encourage journalists "to report in such a way that opens spaces for alternative solutions to conflict other than violence and war in the course of more truthful and responsible reporting" (2010: 197).

If more editors and reporters had taken what Galtung called the "high road" (1998/2013) in their coverage then, he argued, "The conflict in and over Northern Ireland [an example prominent at the time] would have entered a more peaceful phase long ago". This statement rests on two key assumptions. One is put forward in the Galtung-Ruge essay – that people act on their image of reality.

That seems reasonable, but difficult to 'test'. Contained within it is another assumption that may be easier to access by empirical research: that if media reports of conflict could be changed to reflect more peace journalism, then the images (impressions or perceptions) formed by people reading, watching and listening to the news would change in response. *This thesis* will concentrate on examining this latter assumption, and answer the following research question: does peace journalism lead audiences to think and feel differently, compared with the dominant form of war journalism, about key conflict issues?

That question, in turn, contains many others. How do readers and audiences form their image of reality, generate impressions and perceptions and make meanings in response to particular stimuli in the form of media content, and to differences in framing (Entman, 1993) and coding[13] (Hall, 1980) (concepts discussed in the next Chapter)? Can some distinctions in presentation be identified as more influential than others, on the meaning-making that television viewers carry out? What makes them receptive to proposals for violent, or nonviolent responses to conflict, respectively? What induces tacit acceptance of ongoing injustices, or arouses concern over them, generating pressure for them to be tackled with substantive reforms? Galtung set out his original Peace Journalism schema, for a residential summer school in 1997, on a single side of A4 divided into two columns (at my suggestion, as the event organizer, as mentioned in the Introduction; see also Appendix A for Galtung's table). Can such a simple dualistic model capture the distinctions of representation likely to contribute, in whatever ways, to 'war' and 'peace' respectively?

Even that short list raises yet further questions of what is meant by conflict, violence, war and peace. Evidence from organisations that monitor wars, such as the Uppsala Conflict Data Project, show that conventional 'shooting wars', between countries, have decreased markedly since the end of the Cold War. Even civil wars have declined over the same period (Goldstein, 2011; Pinker 2011;

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[13] The research material created for this study took the form of bulletins of TV news coded according to an adapted version of the Peace Journalism model – see Chapter 2 for details.

Horgan, 2012). Instead, headlines raise alarm over harms and threats to human life and security from "a world increasingly defined by global crises", warns communications scholar Simon Cottle (2010):

> From climate change to the global war on terror, from financial meltdowns to forced migrations, from pandemics to world poverty, and from humanitarian disasters to the denial of human rights, global crises present the dark side of our 'negatively globalized planet' (Bauman, 2007: 25). Global crises are endemic to our globalized and globalizing world: they are *spawned* by it (Cottle, 2010: 473).

But the impacts on psychological wellbeing, of immersion in a world containing such factors – along with the social, economic and political relations shaping them – are less visible. One authoritative appraisal warns of an emerging "epidemic of depression"[14], anxiety, addiction and alienation, especially in wealthy countries apparently relatively well cushioned from the ills in Cottle's list of kinds of crisis, quoted above. British psychologist Oliver James refers to such ills in the Western world as symptoms of 'Affluenza' (James, 2007), a topic that generated a popular TV series in the US (de Graaf, Waan & Naylor, 2005). What is 'peace' in these contexts, and can peace journalism contribute to it? If so, what is the case for making such an assertion?

Peace Journalism is "when editors and reporters make choices – of what stories to report and how to report them – that create opportunities for society at large to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict"(Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 5). Coined in my previous research developing peace journalism, this is the most often-cited definition in scholarly research. Another one, by Spencer, bears important similarities: "Peace journalism… encourages us to think about the consequences of reporting and the human responsibility of trying to avert violent conflict wherever possible" (Spencer, 2005: 2).

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[14] The World Health Organization estimates that depression will be second in the International Burden of Disease ranking and affects around 15% of men and 24% of women in their lifetime (Mulder, 2005: 161).

So what leads people to *value* nonviolence? By nonviolence I mean "a conscious, deliberate restraint put upon one's desire for vengeance" (Gandhi in Jack, (Ed.) 1951/2005: 100) – but not only that. Active (rather than passive) nonviolence has been an effective method of transforming repressive regimes, recognised as such at least since the late twentieth century (Ackerman & DuVall, 2000; Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011 & Chenoweth & Cunningham, 2013). Active nonviolence "seeks to reach out and enhance or awaken the common humanity of all involved in a conflict, including one's opponents. It tries to increase the potential for truthful communication, while seeking also to stop or prevent destructive behaviours by everyone involved" (Fisher et al, 2000: 11). Active nonviolence includes coercion to change a situation by making it too costly – financially and/or psychologically – for an undesirable situation or relationship to be sustained. For example: Gandhi's campaigns in South Africa (against apartheid) and India (for independence); the people-power revolutions of the Philippines in 1986 and 2001, and the demonstrations in Eastern Europe that resulted in the fall of the Berlin Wall and collapse of the Soviet Union. In Burma, the long-imprisoned democracy leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, made regular clear statements to supporters that they should choose nonviolence because any attempts at the violent overthrow of the military regime, even if successful in immediate terms, would succeed only in replacing one form of repression with another (Kyi, 1995).

Several scholars of nonviolence see media as crucially implicated in the process of and prospects for nonviolent social change (Martin, 2005; Martin & Varney, 2003), and conversely the dominance in media of violent narratives of social change as a driver of further violence (Simon, 2013). States can apply nonviolence as a means to deal with social unrest and crime, with cooperative, creative, developmental policy options. Equally, nonviolence can be a pragmatic rebel group strategy (Sharp, 1973) or applied by outside nations and international organisations as cooperative, creative, developmental responses to resolve international conflicts. That is the terrain of this thesis: to evolve the case for peace journalism by exploring and collating evidence, from a range of

different fields, combined with experimental data, to consider claims that peace journalism, through its representations of a "world increasingly defined by global crises", can enhance the potential for those crises to be addressed without causing human harm, for conflicts to be resolved peacefully.

The case for peace journalism is remedial, as a way for peace to be given a chance in public debates over issues of common concern. The predominance of war journalism, predicated by the conventions identified in Galtung-Ruge, risks limiting such debates, thus strengthening existing relations of dominance, often backed by the implicit or actual threat of violence. As Manuel Castells has put it:

> A policy on war and peace - is a most important process that should be conducted in the full exercise of the best cognitive capacity available to us. But to reach the level of policy decision-making, democratic procedures have to be followed with the full understanding of the processes involved. And the processes are largely emotional, articulated around conscious feelings and connected to choices that elicit a complex array of responses dependent on the stimuli received from our communication environment. Because professional politicians or naturally born leaders know how to solicit the proper emotions to win the minds and hearts of the people, the process of actual power-making overlays the formal procedures of democracy, thus largely determining the outcome of the contest (Castells, 2009: 191).

To re-open this contest requires not only information, but also an understanding of how it is represented and processed – how that information comes to us, in society at large; what meanings are made of it, and how we value it, including a full consideration of the role played by emotions. To develop such an understanding will require, in this research, an interdisciplinary or even trans-disciplinary approach (Mitchell & Willetts, 2009). As Carl Jung observed: "you cannot solve a problem with the same level of consciousness that created it" Jung, 1957/2010: 4), which is similar to Einstein's aphorism: "We can't solve problems by using the same kind of thinking we used when we created them".

To explain how a society may come to value nonviolent responses to conflict leads us across disciplinary boundaries, to examine the case for peace journalism drawing on both those fields (peace and journalism) but also including psychology, neuroscience, linguistics, primatology, philosophy, politics, sociology and economics. Meaningful engagement with a world of multi-dimensional crises may require what Wilber calls "integral thinking", built on acknowledgement that "a little bit of wholeness is better than none at all, and an integral vision offers considerably more wholeness than the slice-and-dice alternatives" (Wilber, 2001: xii).

The Peace Journalism model

By putting forward a form of journalism as "conflict-and-peace oriented… people-oriented… truth-oriented [and] solution-oriented" Galtung launched a critique of mainstream journalism as "war journalism", with its dominant form "violence-oriented… elite-oriented… propaganda-oriented [and] victory-oriented" (see Appendix A).

Peace journalism is founded on concepts of conflict analysis derived from Peace Research, which is "value-explicit… with… a positive valuation of peace" (Stephenson, 1999: 810–11). Conflict is defined broadly, as "a relationship, between two or more parties… who have – or think they have – incompatible goals" (Fisher, Ibrahim, Ludin, Smith, Williams, & Williams, 2000: 4). Peace is therefore not the absence of conflict but the absence of violence, where violence is conceived as "an insult to human needs" (Galtung, 1990: 9) or a denial of "human… potential" (Galtung, 1969: 167). Based on precepts of human needs (Maslow, 1987) and potential, these are intended for application across different contexts. Such contexts refer to conventional warfare but also a range of others such as indicated by Cottle's "crises", also including internal crises like trauma, depression, anxiety, addiction and alienation, which are often exacerbated by war (Herman, 1992; Lerner, 1986) and violence. As for a definition of war, it has been said that finding an objective definition is fruitless (Greenwood, 1987). War, in this thesis, is taken to

mean overt and declared armed conflict, but it is Galtung's broader definition of violence (above) that is of greater salience to the vast majority of conflict situations considered and studied here. Galtung's orginial table used "war/violence journalism" as its title for the right hand column, so the terms war and violence will be interchanged in this thesis according to the context. The relevance of this designation, to various conflict scenarios more notable for structural or cultural violence than for outright war, will be considered as appropriate along the way.

If peace journalism is to "open space" (Patindol, 2010: 197) for peace, then it, too, must have things to say that are equally relevant to journalists and their audiences in different mediascapes, across different stories, hence this study will explore audience responses to peace journalism in four different countries – Australia, the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico – investigating how and whether such audiences consequently value peaceful responses to conflict. Chapter 2 offers further justification for the choice of countries, and each of the main data Chapters[15], dedicated to each country in the study, considers briefly their respective mediascapes as a propitious milieu for peace journalism, including notes on previous or existing efforts to promote it.

So, what does peace journalism mean, in practice? It is most easily explained when juxtaposed with its counterpart war journalism, the dominant strain according to Galtung.

War/Violence orientated versus Peace/Conflict Orientated

War journalism typically presents conflicts as being between just two parties in a zero-sum game (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 7). This is potentially escalatory, since "any new development immediately begs to be assessed in terms of whether it means a side is 'winning'. If so, the other side must, at the same time, be 'losing'" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 42-43). Each therefore has a "readymade incentive" to try harder to win – since the only alternative is to lose. Peace journalism on the other hand seeks ways to represent a conflict as involving

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[15] In this thesis the description of Chapters 4-8 will alternate between "data Chapters" and "country Chapters" these terms will be used interchangeably.

multiple parties and taking place in "open space, open time" (Galtung, see Appendix A) which means not only talking about a violent event here, today, but indicating its connections further afield in time and space, as an essential context for understanding what is going on, and why.

Take, for example, a sadly all too frequent violent event: a suicide bombing in Iraq in September 2010, one of the stories selected for the Sydney news study bulletin, from SBS Television's World News Australia. The broadcast version focussed on the event: the twelve dead and 30 injured; the battle between Iraqi troops and five 'militants'; US military riding to the rescue, suggesting that US withdrawal was leaving a "security vacuum". But the PJ story, re-versioned for the experiment, opened contexts of space and time. An Iraqi MP suggested that the US invasion had triggered chaos, creating space for a violent insurgency that at one point was killing a hundred people a day. Life was safer, he said, under Saddam Hussein. The PJ version took this and other steps towards giving "voice to all parties: empathy and understanding" (from Galtung's original table, see Appendix A) so the next speaker was an Assyrian Bishop who had fled Baghdad for Sydney in fear of his life. He talked of being held at gun-point and recalled having been referred to as "a dirty Christian", hinting perhaps that present-day events drew on transmitted narratives and traumas from the past, even as far back as the medieval Crusades.

By focussing on the drama of the suicide bombing, dwelling on images of the blood-spattered walls, the broadcast version added visual emphasis to its implicit message, that the Americans had been a necessary presence to keep order among the incorrigible locals, with the risk – now they were leaving – of lapsing into anarchy. This package omitted an alternative account, that Iraq – while labouring under a repressive regime – did at least offer more everyday security to its citizens before the invasion. The PJ version allowed for empathy with the victims of the sectarian civil war triggered by the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's regime, and opened a critical perspective on the dominant war journalism narrative that the US were the saviours rescuing the Iraqis.

Within this binary framework of war journalism and peace journalism, of course, there are many interim points. Content analysis studies, operationalising the PJ model to derive evaluative criteria, invariably show evidence of some peace journalism (see, in particular, the studies collected in Ross and Tehranian in 2008. Entitled 'Peace journalism In times of war', this was a Special Edition (Vol. 13) of Peace and Policy, the research journal published by the Toda Institute for Global Peace and Policy Research. Contributors had been gathered at conferences organised by the Toda Institute in Vancouver, in 2006 and by the University of Washington State in 2007). In practice, the territory mapped by the two poles has been conceived as being traversed along a "sliding scale" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 187), where elements of both forms occur side by side in the same story, publication or programme. No suggestion is made that actually-occurring journalism can be neatly divided into a straightforward dyad: there are invariably combinations of both, and points in between. However, peace journalism elements, where evident, are almost invariably in a minority. The dominant form is war journalism, which is reflected in journalists' choice of sources when covering conflict.

Truth versus Propaganda orientated

Pro-war sources dominated news coverage in the build-up to the invasion of Iraq, at least in the troop-supplying countries, where the reputation of journalism was damaged. Two of the most famous newspapers, the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, later issued front-page apologies for their lack of scrutiny applied to official claims about Saddam Hussein's 'weapons of mass destruction', particularly for Judith Miller's stories traced to CIA-funded sources like the exiled Iraqi politician, Ahmed Chalabi (Boyd-Barrett, 2010: 35). These are easy to identify, in retrospect, as propaganda: defined by Jowett and O'Donnell as "the deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions and direct behaviour to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist" (1999: 6).

To this, Galtung, in his original PJ model, counterposed an orientation towards "truth", which has caused more difficulties in definition and interpretation. In

later versions, it has been reconceived to allow for social constructionist approaches, embedded in the research design for this thesis with its focus on audience 'meaning-making'. Lynch (2008) argues that PJ can be recognised as providing "cues and clues" to prompt and equip readers and audiences to take issue with dominant narratives. Ideally, as George Lakoff suggests, this would be seen as one of the prime functions of journalism: "Journalists would be aware when they are using politically motivated frames, and would discuss the alternative framings of the issue" (Lakoff, 2009: 269). As well as telling "the way it is", peace journalism would shed light on how the state of affairs depicted in the news came to be that way – how certain material comes to occupy the foreground with other angles confined to the background or suppressed altogether. In other words it offers a form of 'transparency'.

The re-versioned Iraq story used in the research reversed the foregrounding pattern typical of so much coverage over the years, by including pictures of protesters calling for former UK Prime Minister Tony Blair, one of the chief political architects of the invasion, to face trial for an illegal act of aggression. They were shown shouting at Mr Blair as he arrived to launch his memoirs in London, to demonstrate their anger at the invasion of Iraq without UN approval.

Within the definition of propaganda put forward by Jowett and O'Donnell (1999), quoted above, are many different shades. White propaganda comes from sources that declare themselves openly as its authors, whereas black propaganda is disguised as something else. Because most variants of news present what appear to be facts – "the way it is"[16] – journalism has been a choice vehicle, since media are "often without their own knowledge representing the necessary link between the propaganda machinery and the audience. If they are not aware of this potential role themselves, the danger of playing a role as a catalyst for propaganda will be even greater" (Hoijer, Nohrstedt & Ottosen, 2002: 4).

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[16] On-air catchphrase of Walter Cronkite, former host of CBS Evening News, and Brian Henderson of Australia's National Nine News (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 213).

In other words, facts may be created in order to be reported, in a "feedback loop" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 217) responding to previous patterns of coverage, and acquiring a glaze of authenticity bestowed by the very journalistic ideology that insists it is 'just reporting the facts', as though the world around it is transparent, and available for retrieval "the way it is". Keenan gives examples of "fabricated terrorism incidents", which have generated "cut and paste news" to promote and "justify militarism" in the north African Sahel region (2010: 37) causing "repression, unrest and presenting an obstacle to peace and security" through a new US regional combat command, AFRICOM, set up by George W. Bush and expanded by President Obama. It was part of an "information war" carried out unknown to most Americans by "a host of shadowy disinformation or counter-propaganda units" such as the International Information Centre, "the Pentagon's lavishly endowed 1200-strong Psychological Operations group and the White House's Counter Terrorism Information Strategy Policy Coordinating Committee" (Gerth, 2005: np).

It is worth noting that the intention of such propaganda is to influence public opinion, not in the target countries for military action but usually in the countries taking such action. Castells points to the 2004 Waxman Report released by the US House Sub-Committee on Government Reform, which included a searchable database of 237 false or misleading statements about reasons for the Iraq war made by the members of the Bush Administration. Opinion polls conducted later that year showed the extent to which the propaganda had 'stuck' – long after the claims had been disproved. Fully 38% of Americans believed the US had actually found WMD in Iraq, following the overthrow of the Saddam Hussein regime, and 62% believed Iraq gave substantial support to Al Qaeda (Castells, 2009: 166).

At the least, peace journalism coverage, of the claims put forward to justify war, entails reminding people of such previous examples of propaganda, enabling them to apply some critical awareness by discussing the narrative of war –

where it has been shown to come from in the past, and suggesting how it might be underway in the present.

Elite versus People orientated

Participants in the original Peace Journalism Summer School, held at Taplow Court – the UK Buddhist Cultural Centre owned the SGI (as mentioned in the Introduction) – looked at examples of war journalism, as case studies for improvement. War journalism focuses "on 'our' suffering; on able-bodied elite males; being their mouth-piece" (Galtung table in Appendix A and, in Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 6).

One such example of news, presented as source material at the event, concerned the bombardment by US forces in 'Operation Desert Storm' during the Gulf war in 1990-1991. This bombing of a building in Baghdad was said by the Pentagon to be a "bunker" – a genuine military target. The attack happened on the 13th February 1991 and killed hundreds of women and children. Dick Cheney, then Secretary of Defense, appeared in one television news package, to make the specific claim that aerial surveillance missions reached this conclusion because its flat roof was covered in "camouflage paint". A TV report from the very next day, showing pictures of the roof – which was actually of plain grey concrete – left out any mention of the justifications given, thus failing to challenge propaganda.

In fact, the building never had any military purpose, and was in use as a civilian shelter. A report by the monitoring group, Human Rights Watch, criticised the US for having remained, after the war, "disturbingly silent about the steps taken to determine that the Ameriyya shelter was an appropriate target for attack. The silence has precluded independent assessment of whether these steps complied with US obligations. It is now well established, through interviews with neighborhood residents, that the Ameriyya structure was plainly marked as a public shelter and was used throughout the air war by large numbers of

civilians"[17]. It stood out as one of the few occasions from that war when objections were raised over targeting policy, as news reaching people in troop-supplying countries was based almost entirely on the military's point of view. Over the years, the journalistic resources devoted to showing the consequences when weapons land – especially when they harm innocent bystanders – have greatly increased. The lineage from the original event at Taplow carried on through to a later discussion I chaired, among senior UK journalists in mid-2003, reflecting on their coverage of the later Iraq war. Alan Rusbridger, Editor of the *Guardian* newspaper, reflected:

> In every war you try and de-personalise the enemy and dehumanise them but I think having someone like (*Guardian* correspondent) Suzanne Goldenberg's quality inside Baghdad talking to ordinary Iraqis and making them terribly human I think is a new element in war, and you can see why politicians don't like it. It also makes it extremely difficult to go to war on a nation when you are getting that kind of image, and I think the humanity of her reporting and Lindsey's (Hilsum, *Channel Four News*) was just of a different calibre and texture from the reporting we'd seen before, and I think that will in some way make fundamental changes in how war is seen (in *Reporting the World*, 2003: 15).[18]

Civilians are now more likely to appear on screen and in print to tell their stories about being on the receiving end of wars, in what has been called an emerging "civilianization framework of the media narrative" (Cherkaoui, 2012: 194), but they are still largely excluded from debates about how to respond to conflicts – which remain dominated, in most media most of the time, by politicians and military officers (serving or former). It means peace does not get the chance to be heard to the extent that it arguably should be. Soldiers are trained to reach for

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[17] Human Rights Watch, Needless Deaths in the Gulf War, 1991, http://www.hrw.org/reports/1991/gulfwar/INTRO.htm

[18] It could be suggested that this comment reads like PR for the Guardian newspaper however this statement is intended as indicative of a London newspaper editor engaging in a debate about the need for more people's perspectives in the news.

their guns, and leaders are often the last people who can afford to be seen talking about peace.

In any conflict, there are peace initiatives underway all the time – just often at lower levels. People are engaged in bridge-building; jointly working with those ostensibly on the other 'side', consulting and putting forward peace plans; or simply picking up the pieces of broken lives and communities, trying to insure against the future harms that could arise from psychological trauma, if left unaddressed. The rehabilitation and community centres of Ciudad Juarez, the Mexican border town at the centre of the 'war on drugs', are doing just that, as shown in the material gathered from there for this research (see Chapter 8).

The leading peace theorist and practitioner, John Paul Lederach, reflects:

> I have not experienced any situation of conflict, no matter how protracted or severe, from Central America to the Philippines to the Horn of Africa, where there have not been people who had a vision for peace, emerging often from their own experience of pain. Far too often, however, these same people are overlooked and disempowered either because they do not represent 'official' power, whether on the side of government or the various militias, or because they are written off as biased and too personally affected by the conflict (Lederach, 1997: 94).

Perhaps such ideas in the run-up to the invasion of Iraq in 2003 might have included the detailed 14-point peace plan released by Jan Oberg along with Hans von Sponeck, former UN Humanitarian Coordinator in Iraq, who resigned in 2000 in protest at the impact of sanctions on the Iraqi people. The pair suggested dialogue, investment and a new security regime for the whole region (von Sponeck & Oberg, 2003) [19]. London-based NGO, Peace Direct, recently identified

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[19] Peace initiatives – focus on that of Oberg and Sponeck – but many others – as for instance promoted by Russia (see http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200303/29/eng20030329_114182.shtml), or France or Germany…Or the millions who marched across the world in protest at the imminent war (http://www.peacenowar.net/Iraq/News/Feb%2015%2003--News.htm)

six areas central for peacebuilding in Iraq (Brand-Jacobson, 2012), to begin to reverse the damage to structure and culture from years of sanctions and war: Politics and governance; Security; Economics; Gender; Generation; and Society, culture and identity. Making progress in these areas would restore a condition of "positive peace", which entails "reveal[ing] and unmask[ing] the subtle mechanisms of structural violence and explor[ing] the conditions for their removal or neutralization" (Galtung, 1969: 190).

Solution versus Victory orientated

War journalism, by contrast, implicitly reproduces a concept of "negative peace" (Galtung, 1969: 190). In this, direct violence has paused, sometimes because one side appears to have 'won', at least for the time being, and the other side has 'lost'. "Victory – now win the peace", the *Times* front page said in London, in April 2003, at the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq. In a longer timeframe, this appears as a mere lull between episodes of violence, since the underlying conflict issues are left unresolved, parties unheard, grief unhealed and a cycle of violence is perpetuated that ultimately delivers a revenge attack (Elworthy & Rogers, 2002).

Peace journalism locates "causes [of a conflict] and exits [from it] anywhere", according to Galtung's original table (see Appendix A), which supports the concept of positive peace, recognising that "peace ultimately has to be obtained by changing social structures that are responsible for death, poverty and malnutrition" (Jeong, 2000: 23). The focus in peace journalism on the invisible effects of violence, and efforts at healing, both physical and psychological, plus reconstruction to interrupt the cycle that otherwise leads inevitably to another atrocity, comes from a recognition of the broad-based social origins of both violence and peace.

Galtung likens war journalism (WJ) to sports journalism (Galtung, 1998: 8 and Galtung, 2013: 96), and Peace Journalism (PJ) to health journalism (Galtung, 1998: 7 and Galtung, 2013: 95). So WJ reports on the game, the fight between

two teams, the score represents the death toll and casualties; there is a great deal of drama and description about the tactics, moves and confrontation on each side. PJ, meanwhile, is committed to revealing not merely the visible symptoms of disease but also the underlying causes, and cures to promote long-term healing. A story about the incidence of lung cancer, for instance, might also trace connections with unhealthy lifestyles, air pollution and laws governing the marketing of tobacco.

Tackling such problems would therefore require social reform, not violent intervention. Achieving 'victory' over cancer in one patient might have limited importance for anyone else – more meaningful would be a range of responses to address, resolve and transform the conditions in which such deadly problems keep recurring. Peace journalism is therefore solution-oriented rather than victory-oriented. This may involve giving space to proposals for peace agreements, perhaps to bring about an end to armed hostilities, but also to reforms and initiatives to create opportunities for more people to fulfil more of their potential. This is because peace is conceived as not merely negative, as in a ceasefire, but also positive, where the invisible barriers created by structural and cultural violence (Galtung, 1969) are exposed and problematised. 'Peace', in the context of Cottle's "global crises" that reach into human interiority, would include tackling issues like depression, anxiety, addiction and alienation, and perhaps creating more stable arrangements to govern international financial flows and economic relations, as well as the mere ending of shooting wars.

It is not within the scope of this thesis to explore how peace journalism relates to other developments in more socially conscious journalism such as public journalism (Rosen, 2000) or the recent phenomenon of citizen journalism (Allan, 2007; Allan & Thorsen, 2009), also known as user generated output (Lewis, Kaufhold & Lasorsa, 2010). Additionally, it is also beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse alternative media. This study concentrates on the prominence of peace journalism within mainstream television news, something the current author has been criticized for in the past: "Lynch and McGoldrick focus their study almost entirely on the mainstream media and thus fail to acknowledge the

contribution of compaigning, alternative media (such as those linked to radical left, feminist, environmental, human rights causes) to the promotion of peace journalism" (Keeble, 2009: 251). I am grateful to Professor Keeble for his own peace journalism research, particularly in this area of alternative media:

"For instance *Peace News* (edited by Milan Rai and Emily Johns) is an outstanding publication worth highlighting. Its international coverage is particularly impressive (see www.peacenews.info). So too websites such as www.medialens.org (media monitoring), www.lndymedia.org.uk (grassroots anti-war, environmental campaigns in the UK and globally), www.Counterpunch.org (investigative journalism site run by Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St Clair) Inter Press Service at http:// ipsnews.net (an alternative, Rome-based agency 'giving a voice to the voiceless' and backed by a network of journalists in more than 100 countries), www.warandmedia.org (a group bringing together academics, military and journalists to debate issues relating to war strategy and its coverage) and www.Dahrjamailiraq (showcasing the work of an outstanding freelance reporter in Iraq: see Moss 2008)" (Keeble, 2009: 251). But this is his research and not mine.

Human Consciousness

The previous section explains the model Galtung originally presented to an audience of mostly journalists. It was intended to guide their reporting and production of news stories about conflict, but it did not deal with the likely reception by readers, listeners and viewers. As mentioned in the Introduction, there is now a substantial literature in the Peace Journalism sub-field, including monographs, edited collections, special journal editions and articles. These have between them, applied Peace Journalism by operationalising the model to derive evaluative criteria for content analysis; examined theoretical and methodological problems and critiques; considered PJ as a potential contribution to various

broader media and journalism reform agendas, as well as exploring other themes. See, in particular (though by no means only) Galtung, 1998/2008; Lynch, 1998; Lynch, 1999; Tehranian, 2002; Galtung, 2003; Galtung, Lynch & McGoldrick & 2004; MacGregor, 2004; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005; Galtung, 2005; Hackett & Zhao, 2005; Lynch, 2006; McGoldrick, 2006; Schaefer, 2006; Hackett, 2006; Lynch 2007; Mandelzis, 2007; Ottosen, 2007; Kempf, 2007; Shinar, 2007; Ross, 2007; Hackett, 2007; Lynch, 2008; Ross & Tehranian, 2008; Ottosen, 2008; McGoldrick, 2008; Mandelzis & Peleg, 2009; Hackett & Schroeder, 2009; Keeble, 2010; Lynch & Galtung, 2010; Ottosen, 2010; McGoldrick, 2011; Mogekwu, 2011; Lynch, 2011; Ottosen, 2011; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2012; Lynch, McGoldrick & Russell, 2012; Kempf, 2012; Hackett, 2012 and Lynch, 2014. Many of these publications will be referred to throughout the thesis, which does not, therefore, take on the job of establishing and academically justifying Peace Journalism from first principles – as that work has, essentially, already been done. It can be said then that there is already a case for peace journalism – hence the title of this thesis is 'The evolving case for peace journalism', building on what has gone before. As will be explored in chapter 2, few studies have considered what difference, if at all, media framed as peace journalism actually makes to audiences. This has therefore been selected as the question ripe for exploration.

Thus, exploring the evolving case for peace journalism highlights the need to investigate whether it would make any difference, to individuals and therefore society at large, if journalists could and would do more of it. In the section that follows, I consider how various factors may bear upon the processes of meaning-making viewers carry out when they watch news. And I observe on occasions along the way the likely consequences for the core research technique of the present study, the creation of Peace Journalism versions of familiar news stories to play to audiences. **These observations, along with those of direct relevance for conceptual or methodological issues in the study as a whole, are bolded for ease of navigation and reference.**

Peace Journalism "is supported by framing theory", according to Lee and Maslog, who produced the first piece of published scholarly research in which the

distinctions in Galtung's original table, discussed above, were converted into criteria for content analysis (2005). As will be discussed further in Chapter 2, framing theory suggests a connection between the way problems are presented and defined, and what people come to understand as an appropriate "treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993: 52). But the word, "value", crucial to Lynch and McGoldrick's influential definition of peace journalism (2005: 5)[20], indicates the need for a more expansive view of how people make meanings in response to the experience of watching, hearing or reading news.

Some of the most influential television journalism took effect by first engaging audiences on an emotional level. Few who saw Michael Buerk's classic BBC reports of the famine in Ethiopia, in 1984, could forget the haunting images of starving children, with swollen bellies and bulging eyes (Moeller, 1999; Franks, 2010 & Sieb, 2012), which led to Live Aid and the outpouring of public engagement and sympathy for starving children? Michael Ignatieff argues that television "brought us face-to-face with human misery that was once beyond our ken, and therefore beyond the ambit of those emotions – guilt, shame, outrage, remorse – that lead us to make other people's trouble our business" (1999: 90).

Also, if audiences are to value nonviolent responses to conflict, then peace has to be more than a notional possibility, but something that can be brought to life in viewers' imagination. For that, they need to be able to form an attachment, a personal connection. Viewers need to meet something that moves them, and can therefore transform conceptions of interests and need-satisfiers in conflict, and might even move the positions and policies of parties involved. In short, peace journalism depends on invoking responses in what Barry Richards calls "the emotional public sphere" (2010: 301).

This takes us beyond the mere cognitive realm described by standard definitions of framing. Cognitive scientist George Lakoff criticises Democratic politicians and

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[20] "Peace Journalism is when editors and reporters make choices – of what stories to report and how to report them – that create opportunities for society at large to consider and **value** nonviolent responses to conflict" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 5). Emphasis in bold added.

strategists in the US for basing their campaigns on the assumption that people make meanings by using a disembodied form of "reason", which should be the same for everyone. They cannot understand why poor and middle-income Americans persistently vote Republican, even though the policies pursued by Republicans in government make them worse off – a point they (the Democrats) patiently explain, in their campaign materials. As suggested by Lakoff:

> Progressives have accepted an old view of reason, dating back to the Enlightenment, namely that reason is conscious, literal, logical, universal, unemotional, disembodied, and serves self-interest. As cognitive and brain sciences have been showing, this is a false view of reason (Lakoff, 2009: 1-2).

Research has found that political appeals to voters are made through the emotional level and conveyed through the media as communications that political science and communication theorist are beginning to explore (Marcus 2000, 2002; Marcus, MacKuen, & Neuman, 2011; Newhagen, 1998; Gross & Brewer, 2007; Uribe & Gunter, 2007; Castells 2007 & 2009). As Manuel Castells puts it:

> What does not exist in the media does not exist in the public mind, even if it could have a fragmented presence in individual minds. Therefore, a political message is necessarily a media message. And whenever a politically related message is conveyed through the media, it must be couched in the specific language of the media (Castells, 2007: 241).

To understand how mediated messages take effect **"we will need to embrace a deep rationality that can take account of, and advantage of, a mind that is largely unconscious, embodied, emotional, empathic, metaphorical, and only partly universal" (Lakoff, 2009: 13)[21].** This conception of reason, Lakoff

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[21] To consider in depth Lakoff's quote each term will be considered in turn in the course of rest of the chapter: unconscious, embodied, emotional, empathic, metaphorical, and universal will be analysed on its own.

argues, is an essential component of a "new enlightenment", drawing on the emerging "twenty-first-century view of the mind" (Lakoff, 2009: 13).

This concept of "deep rationality" is crucial to this thesis, which is enquiring into whether and how peace journalism audiences come to *value* nonviolent conflict responses. To be told we are making a 'value judgment' usually implies a failure to think rationally, instead indulging our sentimental preferences[22]. But experimental evidence from research in neuroscience implies that, without involvement by the emotional centres of the brain, we are incapable of discerning value, or discriminating between alternatives on the basis of value, at all (Damasio, 1994: 51). If we are to have any basis for rational choices between conflict responses, in other words, then we cannot 'do without' emotions. This insight is the common core of enquiries in different fields by Damasio (1994) and Lakoff (2009), but also in political science by such scholars as George Marcus; media effects by Dolf Zillmann (1982), and even economics by the Nobel laureate, psychologist Daniel Kahneman (2011), and fuller explanations of their work will follow later in this chapter.

To reflect the centrality to this thesis of the categories in Lakoff's list, quoted above, of the components of a New Enlightenment view of reason, I now go on to consider each in turn, to suggest its implications for the overarching research question, namely, what is the evolving case for peace journalism – a case that might assist in exercising the "best cognitive capacity" (Castells, 2009: 191) to respond to questions of war and peace.

The unconscious[23]

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[22] Value judgements have been seen by other scholars (Keeble, 2001/9 & Chrsitians, 2010) as a central part of the formation of ethics and ethical attitudes.
[23] The terms unconscious and subconscious will be used interchangeably throughout this thesis. They refer to the portion of our interiority that lies beyond, behind and below the conscious mind. Sigmund Freud is most associated with these terms, which he too used interchangeably. He took a highly deterministic view of the unconscious (Freud, 2005/1915) believing that psychoanalysis would reveal what was hidden there. His former student Carl Jung took a different view of the unconscious, relating it to wider society, naming

This view accords a growing importance to the unconscious, as a source of influence over the cognitive responses we make. These responses therefore originate elsewhere than in the conscious mind, where our reasoning faculties are located. The generative force behind them lies in our embodied, emotional engagement with the stimulus concerned. With this reassessment of the role of the unconscious mind in meaning-making have come further modifications – led by neuroscience research – to the concept of the unconscious first developed and promulgated by Sigmund Freud.

Freud emphasised aggressive "drives", including unquenchable sexual appetites, which must be restrained and constrained to fit the human subject for successful insertion into society. Affective responses, by themselves, were not to be trusted – an approach derived from "our knowledge of the neurotic illness of individuals" which had also "been of much assistance in our understanding of the great social institutions" (Freud, 1913/1955: 186). In other words, Freud offered the world a hydraulic view of violence: that aggressive urges build up under pressure that must be released. Whereas this thesis takes a view that violence is "facultative" (Pinker, 2013): generated primarily by environmental factors in that a response to a threat is shaped by the complex interaction of early life parenting; peer pressure; media and culture. Such factors will be considered further below in exploring the topic of empathy[24].

Freud's influence included the classic 'talking cure' form of psychoanalysis, but also the use of his ideas for emotional manipulation, through his nephew Edward

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it the 'collective unsconscious', meaning the sum of society's subconscious material. For Jung, the subconscious related to material in the individual beyond the control of the conscious mind, or pre-frontal cortex thinking brain that is most directly implicated in language. Others believe that the unconscious is related to our automatic physiological functions, whereas the subconscious relates more to repressed memories and associations that can be accessed using therapeutic techniques.

[24] This is not to reduce the origins of violence to Freud or Pinker but to situate the perspective of the author. However it is not within the scope of this thesis to cover the vast literature on the origins of violence to mention a few Staub (1989), Volkan (1990), Rapoport, A. (1994), Macnair (2003).

Bernays, renowned as a pioneer in public relations, propaganda and advertising. One of his early 'successes' was a campaign to persuade women to take up smoking, placing phallic objects in their hands and mouths and liberating them to act on their supposed unconscious desire to have their own penis. It was Bernays' own idea to market cigarettes to women as "torches of freedom" (Curtis, 2002). Later, he was credited with a key role in political communication in a campaign, promoted by a US banana company, to destabilise and overthrow the elected government of Guatemala (Curtis, 2002).

In paying close attention to "individual psychology, the psychology of the media text, and the ways in which the two interact in the process of media consumption" (Ott and Mack, 2009: 151), this research and this thesis can be seen as drawing on the tradition of psychoanalytic work in media studies. In emphasising the role of unconscious "human mental drives towards unity, pleasure and desire" (Ott and Mack, 2009: 151), work in this tradition tends to treat viewers' manifest cognitive responses as the 'tip of the iceberg', with the submerged portion consisting of embodied, emotional responses, and the two as indissociable from each other. This "Freudian perspective", Bennett and Iyengar note, "has long since been supplanted by information processing and cognitive perspectives" (2008: 710-711). And yet the underlying contention, that apparently rational choices or responses, made by human subjects in a range of settings, may not in fact be as purely 'rational' as they seem, but instead reflective of unconscious 'drives' that are not strictly under their control, has if anything grown in salience recently, across a range of fields to match.

Following on from the growing interest in political circles, in what causes people to make particular choices, psychologists by the 1970s were devising ever more ambitious experimental procedures to find out more about the causality of alternative choices. Julian Jaynes, in *The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind*, was among the first to argue, on the basis of human subject research, that very little brain activity is conscious. Later, Benjamin Libet postulated, and investigated through experiments, a claim that less than 5 per cent, and probably less than 1 per cent of brain action is conscious (1985). If he

is correct (though some believe the experiments to be too simplistic for such an interpretation – see Leys, 2011), then "it means that we take decisions, solve problems, make judgments, discriminate, reason and so on, without conscious involvement" (McGilchrist, 2009: 189).

Later, in 2002, psychologist Daniel Kahneman won a Nobel Prize for showing the consequences of these insights for economics, which in its orthodox form is based on the model of a rational actor maximising relative advantage by making conscious choices in response to market signals. Unconsciously, people make differential emotionally driven responses to the same information presented in different ways, Kahneman found. One early experiment offered people a choice of programs to minimize the impact of an outbreak of a killer disease resulting in 600 dead. Both choices had identical consequences but each was phrased differently. One option suggested that "200 people will be saved"; the other, that "400 will die". The results are literally reversed when the word "saved" was used, 72% chose that option but when the word was "die", only 22% chose that option (Tversky & Kahneman, 1984).

If the subjects had been choosing consciously, on the basis of pure rationality, then the results 'should' have been the same. The difference was accounted for by the influence of emotional connotations of the two key framing words, built up over time in other contexts. What goes on in our unconscious brain is constructed by repetition and framing, and the interaction of embodied emotional experiences establishing empathic wiring, notably through myths and narratives (Lakoff, 2009). Neuroscience is just at the beginning of embarking on unraveling some of this complexity. But complete answers are a long way off!

Embodied

Descartes' declaration, "I think therefore I am" (Mautner, 1997: 135) encapsulated one of the most influential ideas in Western philosophy, one which is reproduced in the assumptions shaping cultural production, political discourse, institutional design and many other domains – namely, the dichotomy

of mind and body. Modern Rationalism exalted "the authority of human reason" above mere "experience", since the latter threatened to distort "logical" thought (Mautner, 1997: 470). In the roughly contemporaneous and ostensibly antagonistic British Empiricist School, taking "hard evidence", available through sensory contact with the material world, as the basis for knowledge, was a way of guarding against "irrationality, false profundity, superstition and obscurantism" (Mautner, 1997: 166). Today, however, evidence is growing that our perceptions of and thoughts about the world around us are not formed in any one part of our physiology, sectioned off from the rest. Instead, a human being "interacts with the environment as an ensemble" (Damasio, 1994 xvii). We are in fact a mixture of biochemicals and a tangle of neural pathways made up of some 86 billion neurons (Azevedo et al., 2009). It means, "mental phenomena can be fully understood only in the context of an organism's interacting with an environment [as a whole]" (Damasio, 1994: xvii). In pursuing this approach, this thesis is also building on the phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty, who switched emphasis away from consciousness and towards perception, in the constitution of meaning in human experience and interaction with the world around us: "The body is our general medium for having a world" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2003: 169).

McGilchrist, too, explores Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology and builds on it by suggesting that: "Emotion and the body are the irreducible core of experience" and that perhaps Descartes should have written "I feel therefore I am" (McGilchrist, 2010: 185). A psychiatrist and literary scholar, McGilchrist explored the nature of consciousness from the perspective of the brain's two hemispheres. Cartesian dualism effectively sets each against the other, in a power struggle that "explains many aspects of contemporary Western culture" (McGilchrist, 2010: 3). The right hemisphere of the brain is fully embodied. This, he explains, is more important than the popular view that the left hemisphere deals with reason and the right with emotion. Each hemisphere is engaged with both processes. However each interprets the world, as encountered through the senses, in different ways. These interpretations present us with "two fundamentally opposed realities" (McGilchrist, 2010: 3): the right hemisphere

gives the context, sees the whole, the big picture, while the left supplies the narrow focus, the details, the language and sequence, being concerned with manipulation, possession, rivalry and power.

The different hemispheres, he suggests,

> are not equivalent, for example to the 'subjective' and 'objective' points of view, concepts which are themselves a product of, and already reflect a 'view' of the world... These are not different ways of *thinking about* the world: they are different ways of *being in* the world." (McGilchrist, 2010: 31, emphasis in the original).

McGilchrist is suggesting that by purporting to offer an objective view of the world, war journalism is primarily offering the left hemisphere's thinking. "It is like being the Berlusconi of the brain, a political heavyweight who has control of the media" (2010: 229). Hence, perhaps, the dominance of war journalism, with its narrow focus on the events of the violence taking place today – confining, generally to the background, the broader more contextualised picture offered by peace journalism that takes account of "open space – open time" (Galtung, see Appendix A).

The news values identified in the Galtung-Ruge essay built up into widespread conventions because of the commercial and political interests of media. News tends to stick to the non-controversial aspects of a conflict, as a series of events – the who, what, where, when and how – while offering only the most limited (if any) information about backgrounds and contexts. The question, 'Why?', is "the dark continent of American journalism", James W Carey remarked (1986). The resulting dominant strand of war journalism colludes in the suppression of the right-hemisphere portion of our meaning-making capacity.

The validating concept of journalistic objectivity further entrenches left-hemisphere dominance, since it privileges the present and tangible over the absent, the could-be and should-be, which we can imagine only by engaging

emotionally, perhaps through empathy. "Our mistake has been to see our eyes and brains as the equivalent of a camera lens downloading the snapshot of reality onto a computer hard drive of our brain", McGilchrist contends (2010: 162). This view neglects the "subconscious process of selecting where to direct our attention. This pre-attentional process is sub-conscious, and a function of the right hemisphere. We see what has been pre-selected or anticipated, so become prisoners of our own expectation" (McGilchrist, 2010: 163).

This formulation contains echoes of the key contention of structuralism – that observers, believing they are observing the world around them, may actually be observing their own preconceptions about it. Publication of the 'Structure of Foreign News', in 1965, applied this insight to the work of journalists shortly after Thomas Kuhn (1962) had applied it in the world of science, and Claude Levi-Strauss (1963) in ethnography. Simons and Chabris (1999) demonstrated this in their famous experiment where subjects are asked to watch a short video of a basketball game and to count how many times the ball is passed. Most people concentrate hard counting the ball being passed 15 times but fail to notice that a large person dressed as a gorilla wanders into the game and dances around! In this study, when the media fail to draw attention to peace, it is like the dancing gorilla wandering around being ignored when nobody sees it, because no one draws attention to it. It does not belong in the established paradigm.

Emotional

If the mainstream of news, being War Journalism, habitually presents an apparently logical, linear report of the facts, that does not mean that audience responses to it are therefore unemotional. As discussed above, there is no response that is not embodied and emotional. Daniel Goleman (1996) coined the term "limbic news" for journalism that offers a vicarious thrill by engaging the fright-flight-freeze mechanism, located in the limbic system of the brain. News of threats and tragedies from a world of crisis produce fear – soothed immediately by "relief in the fact that it happened there, not here" (Goleman, 1996: 4). The limbic system processes information much faster than the neo-cortex, where reasoning is brought to bear. It supports the idea that explanatory or investigative

journalism has first to win readers' and audiences' attention by offering opportunities to relate through emotions, before engaging them in logical argument. If there is nothing to inspire hope and happiness, then fear and the instinct for self-preservation may prevail by default. Dolf Zillmann points out that watching television, in general, impacts arousal states; but it was only in the 1980s that techniques and theories were available to test this. He also suggests that there are two separate emotional mechanisms in the brain, the cortical arousal and limbic or automatic arousal:

> It appears to be advantageous to explore the implications of cortical and autonomic arousal independently in the study of behavior... For television research, the realm of cortical arousal is attention, alertness, and vigilance, on the one hand, and information processing, information acquisition, and information retrieval, on the other (Zillmann, 1982: 106).

How can this cortical arousal be achieved? **This study assumes that cortical arousal, which takes place in the prefrontal cortex, is conscious and is the equivalent of cognitive emotional responses by participants. This will be the primary focus of this study: self-reported emotional responses.**

Scholarly attention to meaning-making, and the importance of symbolic domains, is not confined to studies explicitly examining the influence of media, of course. Similar preoccupations, concerning the role of emotions, have emerged in a number of disciplines; indeed McGilchrist's account traces the suppression of emotional responses, during and since the European Enlightenment, in a wide range of cultural, political and other fields. Patricia Clough was among the first to diagnose an "Affective Turn" in social sciences, taking place "as cultural criticism is near exhausted, faced with the analytic challenges of ongoing war, massacre, torture, trauma and counter/terrorism" (2008: 1) – thus rational discussion is not a sufficient analytical tool for social sciences to tackling the inter-related complexity of a world in crisis, as Cottle (2010) suggested (see discussion earlier in this chapter).

Even in Peace and Conflict Studies, affect was previously neglected. According to Retzinger and Schef (2006), "most current training for negotiation/mediation hardly mentions feelings and emotions... We propose that the lack of detailed attention to emotions and relationships is the biggest gap in our understanding of conflict" (Retzinger & Schef, 2006: 239). They proceed to issue a stark warning "that a denial of emotion and alienation lead to intractable conflict" (Retzinger & Schef, 2006: 245). **If peace journalism is to make any contribution beyond affirming the seeming intractability of conflict then it, too, must take account of the 'Affective Turn' (Clough, 2008; Altieri, 2012; Massumi, 2002; Leys, 2011), by paying close attention to the role of emotions in shaping audience responses to different framings of contested issues.**

Empathy

In *The Empathic Civilisation*, Jeremy Rifkin, like others (McGilchrist, 2010; Lakoff, 2009; Castells, 2009; Calloway-Thomas, 2010; Krznaric, 2014) subjects the inherited assumptions of rationalist and empiricist philosophies to critical examination, drawing on evidence from multiple sources. They all point to experiments by scientists at an Italian laboratory, who claim to have located connections in the brain they called "mirror neurons". Purely by accident, researchers found that when a monkey ate a peanut, the same parts of the monkey's brain lit up as when it watched a researcher eat a peanut (Iacoboni, 2009). What is most striking, is that "mirror neurons allow us to grasp the minds of others not through conceptual reasoning but through direct stimulation. By feeling not by thinking" Giacomo Rizzolatti told the press (in Blakeslee, 2006: np) when being interviewed about his research with Iacoboni (2005). We learn through mimicry – "monkey see, monkey do" – and we feel what others are feeling in the same way. Although the significance of such research is still contested, some have identified such mirror neurons as 'empathy neurons', or even 'Gandhi neurons', because their existence appears to validate claims that we humans – as individuals and, by extension, collectively – are capable of setting aside our own narrow self-interest, in order to put ourselves in others' shoes, utilising our emotions.

Empathy has lately become something of a "buzzword" (Rifkin 2009: 177) but the term itself emerged just over a hundred years ago "between roughly 1890 and 1920 work on Einfühlung – translated into English as 'empathy' by E. B. Titchener, the Cornell University psychologist" (Agosta, 2010: 6). According to Baron-Cohen (2011: 16), "empathy occurs when we suspend our single-minded focus of attention and instead adopt a double-minded focus of attention". A significant strand of research on empathy is aimed explicitly at restoring it to its 'rightful place' as part of our relational and meaning-making capacities. Some have even produced evidence that it is a part of our nature that we share with others in the animal kingdom including the traditional laboratory specimens, mice and rats (Bartal, Decety & Mason, 2011; de Waal: 2011: 70).

Primatologist Frans de Waal reflects on the decades-long record of researchers missing animals' capacity for conflict resolution[25]. "Aggression was my first topic of study," (de Waal, 2011: 44) he recalls, for 20 years ignoring the behaviours he first labelled as "consolation", or conflict resolution. Partly because, as suggested earlier, we see what we are looking for (Simons & Chabris, 1999) and also because:

> Until recently empathy was not taken seriously by science. Even with regard to our own species, it was considered an absurd, laughable topic classed with supernatural phenomena such as astrology and telepathy… seen as ill-defined, bleeding-heart kind of stuff, more suitable for women's magazines than hard-nosed science (de Waal, 2010: 90).

McGilchrist argues that empathy has been subjugated as a faculty exercised in the right hemisphere of the brain, with its "openness to the interconnectedness of things". The right hemisphere is the "mediator of empathic identification". As the left hemisphere has been so dominant in so many fields for so long, the potential for transforming dominant accounts and representations of contested

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[25] Conflict resolution is a "mediated dialogue process to deal with the cause of a conflict and build constructive relations between opposing parties" (Francis, 2002: 24). For a fuller description of the need for journalists to understand conflict analysis see (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: chapter 2 pages 33- 55).

social issues by approaching them empathically, has been neglected. Empathy – particularly with the enemy or "the other" was named in Galtung's original PJ table (Appendix A). This was an important dimension of the "subjugated aspects of reality" (J. Galtung, personal communication, March 21, 2003 cited in McGoldrick & Lynch, 2005: 224) mentioned in the Introduction, because the less empathy there was for the "other", the greater the potential for violence – "the worse the weapon" (Galtung table, Appendix A).

The formation of responses to complex social artefacts such as television news, about complex societal phenomena such as organised violent conflict, can seldom be so linear, of course. And the nature and content of empathy in such a context – how it is engaged and with what implications – will be teased out further in subsequent chapters. First, it is worth considering why empathy is not more apparent in social constructions of contested issues, such as in journalism. If we have empathy circuits in our brains, but these are suppressed in our process of meaning-making, what is suppressing them? Is it the 'fault' of the media? If so, how and why does it work? Are there any clues to be found in considering developmental influences on our responses to conflict?

British psychiatrist John Bowlby (1998) argued that the attachments formed in early childhood shape the relationships people form later in life. Deficiencies in attachment in the pre-verbal stage can lead to later maladjustments including obsession, addiction and general anti-social behaviour, he argued further. From studies of autism, psychologist Simon Baron-Cohen suggests, as a substitute for, "evil", the term "empathy erosion" because "unlike the concept of evil, empathy has explanatory power" (2011: 6). The primary source of empathy is attachment: "child abuse leads to damage to the empathy circuit in the borderline brain, smaller amygdala and shrunken hippocampus" (Baron-Cohen, 2011: 63).

According to Baron-Cohen, nurturing is central to a strong attachment, extended through a child's development by "giving praise, reassurance and a feeling of safety", and creating an "internal pot of gold" (Baron-Cohen, 2011: 71), carried through life to create an emotionally well-adjusted adulthood. As empathy is

such a "valuable resource", it appears "puzzling that in school or parenting curricula empathy figures hardly at all, and in politics, business, the courts, or policing it is rarely, if ever, on the agenda" (Baron-Cohen, 2011: 168). Given that these four latter fields are arguably the prime sources of news, for most journalists in most places, the effect of his comments could equally be applied to journalism.

Another piece of the puzzle here is that frames, modes of thinking, neural pathways and therefore cognitive responses are shaped in childhood and carried throughout our lives. Lakoff suggests that cognitive responses can be grouped under two headings, or "master frames", the "strict father" (2009: 77) or the "nurturant parent" (2009: 81). The strict father frame models the world as a field of risk and fear, in which we should prepare for the worst and punish the guilty, and in which competition builds discipline. The nurturing parent frame models a world of essential goodness, needing to be cultivated if it is to flourish. Problems can be overcome through cooperation and joint action, "the politics of empathy, protection, empowerment, and community" (2009: 81).

Again, there are close analogies with the dyadic set of distinctions in the Peace Journalism model, where WJ emphasizes harsh competitive violent responses and PJ cooperative, compassionate, creative, nurturing, collective, social nonviolent responses. Perez (n. d.) sets out the points of similarity between the world views evoked by Lakoff's master frames, and Galtung's "peace discourse" and "security discourse", which – she argues – underpin the Peace Journalism and War Journalism modes of representation:

> Galtung's and Lakoff's theories are analogous and complementary. Both see two basic worldviews which govern our relationships with others. The peace discourse shares many values and implications with the nurturant parent frame, while the security discourse runs parallel to the strict father frame (Perez, n. d.: 6).

Consequences for the present study

A clear suggestion emerges, then, that for readers and audiences to be brought to value nonviolent responses to conflict – such as peaceful conflict resolution – **a promising place to start would be for peace journalism to seek to engage their empathic responses, particularly towards those from whom it has been previously withheld or withdrawn**. In reviewing the literature on pro-social emotions, Thomas, McGarty and Mavor suggest that "empathy is about group cohesion, and merging advantaged and disadvantaged, it motivates action" (2009: 326). "Social change outcomes" are "productively shape[d]", they say, when empathy is deployed through "group processes" to stimulate "moral outrage" (Thomas et al., 2009: 311). Vignemont and Singer (2006) too argue that empathy plays a social role as the motivation for cooperative and social behaviours such as friendship, altruism and helpfulness – all essential building blocks in coming to value nonviolent responses to conflict. But Immordino-Yang believes more than empathy is needed for motivation. We also need to be inspired by others. Her fMRI (functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging) scans of people have shown that to feel inspired by another alters people's biology and sociology and touches the part of our brain that deals with our survival (Immordino-Yang, 2011).

If Peace Journalism is to prove itself, by prompting and enabling its audiences to consider and value creative, nonviolent responses to conflict, it must clearly inspire and engage their empathy. All the research material to be used in the experiments for this study would therefore have to contain some elements, at least, capable of doing this.

To sound a word of caution, it is important to emphasise that empathy is not regarded as a settled concept or category, or as one that bestows unequivocal endorsement, as it were, for any one particular approach to coding a complex discursive artefact such as a piece of television journalism. US psychologist Steven Pinker, making a case that social violence is in long-term decline as part of human evolution, argues that "empathy technologies" (Pinker, 2011: 478) have played a significant role in awakening a latent propensity for empathy and

compassion: "Journalism, memoir, fiction, history... have expanded our collective sense of sympathy and helped drive the Humanitarian Revolution, the Long Peace, the New Peace, and the Rights Revolutions" (Pinker, 2011: 583).

At the same time, though, he has criticized how "overhyped" the concept has become: "Empathy today is becoming what love was in the 1960s – a sentimental ideal" (Pinker 2011: 572). In conversation Pinker (2013) reflected that mirror neurons point more to a physiological response rather than a motivation for human cooperation and nonviolence; a criticism echoed by others "empathy won't save us" (Gray, 2010: np). In his book Pinker points to the "dark side" of empathy, including "schadenfreude" (2011: 589), defined as experiencing pleasure or gloating over the misfortunes of others.

For the purposes of this thesis, however, empathy is regarded as "a key part of our meaning-making and relational capacity" (McGoldrick, 2011: 126); one that is generally downplayed and marginalised when considering societal responses to issues of conflict. Psychologist Daniel Batson argues that empathic concern for others "is not a single discrete emotion but includes a whole constellation. It includes feelings of sympathy, compassion, softheartedness, tenderness, sorrow, sadness, upset, distress, concern and grief" (Batson, 2011: 11). Batson cites examples of empathy-induced altruism that can inhibit aggression (Batson, 2011: 165). Empathic concern is an important step in the forgiveness process and can improve cooperation in responding to conflict. Batson, like Pinker, sees a role for media-generated empathy as a potential first step towards reducing enmity between in-groups and out-groups (Paluck, 2009). However, immersion in a world of bad news overwhelms our empathic capacity:

> Confronted with the knowledge of dozens of apparently random disasters each day, what can a human heart do but slam its doors? No mortal can grieve that much. We didn't evolve to cope with tragedy on a global scale. Our defense is to pretend... that those lives are somehow not precious and real like our own. It's a practical strategy... but the loss of empathy is also a loss of humanity, and that's no small tradeoff (Batson, 2011: 189).

Compassion fatigue

Susan Moeller calls this "compassion fatigue" (1999) in her powerful critique of US news coverage of international crises. The photograph of a starving child, for example, provokes a tension in us because it is horrible to contemplate our own child dying. "The photograph stimulates a controlled emotive response – emotive because it acts on us *sub rosa*, under the level of our conscious intellectualizing; controlled because we retain the power of turning the page" (Moeller, 1999: 39).

The Galtung-Ruge news value of threshold has a bearing on our empathic responses. Repeat exposure to upsetting material raises our own personal threshold for engagement, triggering a "mechanism which prevents us getting quite so emotionally upset the next time we see something" (Dr Geoff Scobie in Moeller, 1999: 53). A task of peace journalism is to show the impact of war on women and children, specifically to generate empathy on all sides, particularly for out-groups. But the potential is for shutdown or audience withdrawal from such disturbing images as an emotional survival mechanism, which cuts off empathy. **Clearly, the research material for this study would have to avoid overloading audience capacity for empathic engagement.**

Moeller's concept of compassion fatigue has been criticised for lacking context, however. Stanley Cohen called it "over-used: vague as a description, and even vaguer as an explanation. At times getting used to bad news, at other times a reluctance or inability to respond to demands for help" (2001: 191). Secondly, he suggests that "any dimming of compassion" does not necessarily indicate "decreased concern about distant others" or "fatigue or sheer repetition of images". Instead, it may be a product of capitalism, and the helplessness engendered in consumers. This "is just what the individual spirit of the global market wants to encourage. The message is: get real, wise up and toughen up; the lesson is that nothing, nothing after all, can be done about problems like these or people like this" (Cohen, 2001: 195). Lynch, in an early peace journalism text, criticises the way problems are presented in the news without showing

viewers how they could be overcome: "Conscience, deprived of any practical correlative, eventually withers" (1999: np). **A way to overcome this, Cohen suggests, would be to show people who are taking effective action in their own communities to solve problems. Such solution-orientated coverage is considered to be a leading indicator of peace journalism.**

Philo and Berry showed television news reports of the Israel-Palestine conflict to focus groups, with the film director, Ken Loach, also invited to take part. In one, he raised the very issue of why war images lead some people to withhold empathy.

> What is it that stops you, stopping in front of the television saying: 'I absolutely understand what that person is going through', because if news is to work, that is what sharing a story is. What is it that stops you feeling that empathy? (Philo & Berry, 2004: 239).

In response, one of the participants describes the news as "emotionally exhausting". Then Loach asks: "Is it also to do with feeling you have no control, no say in it?" To which the female participant replies: "Oh yes, because there is a thing that nothing is going to change, there are so many of those images, it's depressing and futile". In earlier research I recorded similar findings, again from showing people television news about the Middle East (McGoldrick, 2008)[26].

Philo and Berry conclude: "One dimension in this sense of powerlessness is the lack of understanding about why the events are occurring" (2004: 239). The world can be made to appear to people as an "inexplicable mess". However, they too point to an element of peace journalism (although they do not name it as such) as holding the key to switching empathy back on: "To see events as having causes can be a first step towards understanding the possibilities for change" (Philo & Berry, 2004: 239).

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[26] This earlier study, conducted as part of my Masters research in the UK, involved showing individuals, in one to one interviews, two news stories about a suicide bombing in Jerusalem in August, 2003. Each TV news item was framed as either WJ or PJ. The full scripts reproduced in Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 21-26.

The CNN effect

Television news that makes viewers feel compassion for people suffering in conflict has not always been linked with calls for peaceful responses. Sometimes it has been used to justify violent military responses, and at others, to justify not intervening at all. The so-called CNN effect began to be considered in relation to the US/UK intervention in northern Iraq in 1991 (following the end of Operation Desert Storm). The formation then of the no-fly zone (in violation of international law or approval from the UN) set a dangerous precedent for subsequent US/UK/western imperialistic adventures (Livingston & Eachus, 1995; Shaw, 1996; Livingston, 1997; Robinson, 1999 & 2005; Gilboa, 2005), including when Western governments were being urged to launch military interventions in the break-up of Yugoslavia. Robinson compared coverage of and responses to two crises, concluding that when there is policy uncertainty then media coverage empathizing with the victims can trigger an intervention such as the US policy to defend the Gorazde 'safe area' in 1995. It was different with Kosovo in 1999 because there was policy certainty. "Despite critical and empathizing media coverage within the newspapers, the USA did not intervene on the ground to prevent the attacks on, and expulsion of, the Albanian Kosovar population" (2000: 631).

Significantly for this study, Robinson identified two forms of empathy coverage. "Empathy framing" (Robinson, 2000: 615) means the war coverage empathized with suffering people as the 'victims' (van der Gaag & Nash, 1987: 28–30) and included implicit or explicit criticism of governments opposed to intervention. "Empathy distance framing" (Robinson, 2000: 615) maintained an emotional distance; for example, classifying suffering people as members of warring 'tribes' (van der Gaag & Nash, 1987: 28–30). Distance framing is implicitly supportive of governments opposed to intervention.

Western media reporting of the 1994 Rwandan genocide, featuring horrific images of dead bodies floating down rivers and starving children in refugee

camps, was criticised as a notable example of distance framing, leading to "compassion without understanding" – in the words of BBC correspondent Fergal Keane (1995: 7). Another experienced British journalist who reported from Rwanda, Richard Dowden of the *Economist*, said the effect of the reporting was to build an "assumption… that the anarchy created by renewed fighting had allowed these 'ancient tribal hatreds' to burst forth and that they could only be suppressed by the establishment of a ceasefire" (2007: 253).

This "empathy distance" reporting provided unwitting support for a politically motivated campaign by the US and UK to avoid intervening to end the deliberately planned genocide (Melvern, 2007). However it must be pointed out that in contrast other theorists such as Chomsky and Herman (1973) and Herman and Peterson (2010) have highlighted the western media's essential function as propaganda tools for the military/industrial/political elite in their reporting of this genocide, and others such as Darfur. Sudan commentator Alex de Waal makes a stinging attack on John Prendergast's anti-genocide campaign: "'Save Darfur' isn't about Sudan, or indeed Darfur, at all – it's about an imagined empathy and generating a domestic American political agenda. Shame on you, Prendergast and your fellow 'activists,' shame, shame, shame" (in Herman & Peterson, 2010: 45). The "political agenda" referred to is one that Herman & Peterson argue promotes US financial interests as well as distracting attention from their own atrocities: "This channeling of interests and emotions toward Darfur is also a wonderful diversion from the more directly Western-controlled violence in Afghanistan, Iraq, the Gaza Strip, and elsewhere" (Herman & Peterson, 2010: 45).

So it is not enough to merely 'claim' empathy as a validating concept for peace journalism. It has to be seen as part of a set of distinctions that go together, and in context. Empathy in Galtung's original table goes with "giving voice to all parties", the "humanisation of all sides", and a "focus on suffering all over". These are all parts of a "remedial strategy" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 224) aimed at countering the effect of reporting conventions that favour violent responses, or breed indifference in the face of injustice.

Empathy in an interdependent world

In exploring the evolving case for peace journalism, it is terms such as "us" and "we" that must be redefined. According to Daniel Goleman's formula for "limbic news", the reassurance that bad things are "not happening here". Where is "here"? Stories high on news agendas can be presented as showing how connected "we" are, even with people who seem far away. Climate change and refugee movements are two obvious examples. Less obvious perhaps, a fall in the world market price for coffee in the late 1980s made it cheaper to buy a cappuccino in Sydney, but impacted on livelihoods and increased tensions in Rwanda, where it was the staple crop (Des Forges, 2007: 41).

Even with the Israel-Palestine conflict, which felt so remote to focus group participants in Philo and Berry's research (2004), what is happening on the ground could be traced back to the actions of our 'own' governments. Militarism[27] wins arguments in Israel[28] because there never seems to be a price to pay, either in diplomacy or in trade and economic ties, which reflects the failure or refusal of other states to impose such a price[29]. Peace groups who advocate talks with the Palestinians lose out because that seems difficult and risky in comparison. The tide may be turning, as the Palestinians begin to make diplomatic gains, in such arenas as the UN General Assembly and UNESCO, with votes for Palestinian membership in 2012, so violence by them seems less

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[27] Militarism is defined as the growing power of the military in Israel as documented by Kimmerling: "The military are increasingly involved in political affairs and the media. Israel always was a militarized society and the boundaries between the military and political spheres were blurred. Officers of high and even middle rank have enormous influence in most aspects of Israeli society and political culture" (2003: 6).

[28] Antony Lowenstein (2006); Ilan Pappe (2010) and Avagail Abarbanel (2013) along with other activists in the book she edited *Tribal Loyalties* write about the invisibility of Israeli militarism when they were growing up.

[29] This is the strategic logic of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaign, in response to a call by 170 Palestinian civil society groups in 2005. Among its effects have been a significant impact on businesses in the region, such as SodaStream, halving its share value in a year due to boycotts (Ziadah, 2014) and gaining support amongst Jews globally (Duffill & Skoff, 2014).

attractive, because their political voice is heard. Either way, the action or inaction of other countries has a strong influence on the lives of people in the conflict arena itself.

This global awareness may itself be symptomatic of an evolving human consciousness, which could reduce violence, as Pinker suggests. Clifford Christians argues, from a standpoint of "philosophical anthropology" (Christians 2010: 6) that peace journalism calls on the journalist's "liberal self", based on "social contract theory", transmitted from Hobbes through the work of such thinkers as Locke, Rousseau and Rawls, with substantial modifications along the way. But the nature of journalism, and its inescapable involvement with causes and consequences, demands revision of the concept of self at the heart of this theory: the "Robinson Crusoe" figure alone on an island (Christians, 2010: 17). Instead, Christians posits a "relational self", which fits much better with the new paradigm of empathy, based on the "golden rule" of do-as-you-would-be-done-by:

> Peace journalism must transform its philosophy of the human. Rather than presuming the liberal/contractual self, the foundation of the new thinking is holistic humanness where community is ontologically and axiologically prior to persons. When we start intellectually with humans-in-relation, the golden rule becomes a credible normative standard for both the general morality and professional journalism ethic in this contentious age (Christians, 2010: 18).

Rifkin proposes efforts to make a new myth or meme (Dawkins, 1976, see explanation to follow) out of empathy that "reality is something we make together" (Rifkin, 2009: 155), it is more connected, more relational and participatory. He draws on the philosophy of Mikhail Bakhtin, often seen as a forerunner of structuralism and semiotics, who articulated his own philosophy of human nature in explicitly empathetic terms:

> To *be* means to *communicate*... To be means to be for another, and through the other, for oneself. A person has no internal sovereign territory, he is

wholly and always on the boundary; looking inside himself, he looks into the eyes of another or with the eyes of another (Bakhtin 1984/1965: 287).

Philosopher Martin Buber also conceived of participatory phenomenology: the subjective I-thou, not the 'objective', I-it detached observer (Friedman, 1996: 16). But Buber did not just mean thou as you, another person, but thou as a spiritual encounter where empathic meanings were made in the space around and between individuals: "Spirit is not in the I but between I and You" (Buber 1970: 189). Heidegger too was pointing at the difference between observation and participation, in placing 'care', or *sorge* at the centre of his definition of human authenticity, our most fundamental stance in the world. He suggests there are two dimensions of care that focus respectively on the relationship to objects and our relationships with other people (Heidegger 1962: 156). Merleau-Ponty was another to ground communication in empathy, the reciprocity of communication: "it is as if the other person's intentions inhabited my body, and mine his" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945/2003: 215), as if intuitively anticipating Iacoboni and his Italian team who proposed the theory of mirror neurons.

Journalism may be not only enabling, but also being changed by, an evolving consciousness on the part of its readers, listeners and viewers, as these philosophical claims come to explain more and more of our interdependent world. The photographer Kevin Carter won a Pulitzer Prize for his picture of a starving girl in Sudan with a vulture crouching behind her (Carter, 1994). His editors at the *New York Times* saw it as just a good picture, but after it went in the paper they were overwhelmed by readers contacting them to ask what happened to the girl. According to an Editors' Note, published in the paper four days after the photo first appeared: "The photographer reports that she recovered enough to resume her trek after the vulture was chased away. It is not known whether she reached the [relief] center" (Moeller, 1999: 148).

Two months after receiving his Pulitzer, Carter would be dead of carbon-monoxide poisoning in Johannesburg, a suicide at 33. Did he lack the empathy to

put down his camera and help her? Or perhaps he felt so much empathy but was unable to act on it and help the child because of the dominant professional conception of his role as a journalist mandated a "detachment" from his own feelings, to detach from his own feelings of empathy, his own instinct to pick up the child. Did the guilt of that contribute to his death? He told a friend: "I'm really, really sorry I didn't pick up the child" (in Moeller 1999: 40)[30].

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is much more likely if people are unable to make sense, and a meaningful outcome, from a horrific incident. If you witness an atrocity and feel empathy for someone, then if you can somehow involve yourself in helping them – saving their lives, as in the case of the Sudanese girl, or joining in, however vicariously, efforts to prevent a repetition of such incidents – you are much less likely to develop PTSD, because the event thereby acquires more meaning. A clue, perhaps, as to how journalism about a 'negatively globalized' planet can help to alleviate the psychological harm the WHO warned about (see footnote 2, above). **Again, the case is reinforced that empathy-inducing content in Peace Journalism, perhaps created by reaching out to non-elite sources, must be accompanied by analytical material to prompt creative thinking about solutions, or treatment recommendations, if it is to influence overall audience responses.**

At other times, "crises" can become "global focusing events", according to Simon Cottle (2010: 474). He produced a diagram showing that the usual "flow" of news from rich countries to poor can even be reversed when this happens. NGOs and civil society groups on the ground in an emergency can intersect with mainstream media from developed countries, influencing agenda-setting and framing. Galtung and Ruge argued that a key news value was "consonance" (1965: 84) – making a foreign story seem to have something to identify it with the country of the person reading it, such as Australian travelers caught up in a

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[30] Any suicide involves a complex interlocking set of circumstances, including the individuals own life history of trauma. Kevin Carter had already covered years of extreme violence in his own home country of apartheid South Africa. See also http://www.fanpop.com/clubs/photography/articles/2845/title/kevin-carterconsequences-photojournalism)

faraway crisis. In global focusing events, the 'something' could simply be our common humanity. People on the ground appear on the news to speak for themselves, in "an expanded array of views and voices" (Cottle, 2010: 483), which create a "global public sphere".

This permits an interaction of the right hemisphere consciousness with embodied emotional experience, which connects us to a human community. "That does not mean that truth is purely subjective or that there is no stable truth. Rather, our common embodiment allows for common, stable truths" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999: 6). Journalism can both engage our empathic meaning-making capacity, and stay true to its remit of factual reporting, as long as it is not based on the assumption that we can relate to the world in a disembodied, neutral, unemotional way, using only the left hemisphere of the brain.

Meaning, metaphor and narrative

If the meaning-making we carry out in response to any new stimulus is between 95% and 99% unconscious, as mentioned earlier, how then does the process work? Barbara Hardy made the bold assertion that our subjectivity is made of stories: "We dream in narrative, day-dream in narrative, remember, anticipate, hope, despair, believe, doubt, plan, revise, criticize, construct, gossip, learn, hate, and love by narrative" (1968: 5). Psychologist and political researcher Drew Westen said, "political persuasion is about networks and narratives" (Westen, 2007:12). Between mothers and children there are on average 8.5 narratives every hour, or one every 7 minutes, according to one study in a working-class area of Baltimore. All the narratives involved an event, a victim and a perpetrator; were told in a linear fashion, and had a resolution (Rifkin, 2009: 185)[31].

Current psychological understanding suggests that this is how children learn

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[31] The term 'narrative' mentioned here has different theoretical meanings and usage in each discipline from Barabara Hardy's English Literature to Drew Westen's psychology, and is used not to compare these in parallel but indicate the centrality of narrative to the way meanings are formed in brains and our culture as the following sections goes on to explore further.

language, become self-aware, make meaning and how brains come to be shaped. The brain is made up of neural pathways, the tiny electrical circuits between the 86 billion or so neurons in our brain. From childhood, pathways are formed according to the experiences we have, so the stories children are told are imprinted on their brain circuitry. Such narratives form "frames" or "scripts" that are among the cognitive structures with which we think (Lakoff, 2009: 22). In other words stories and narratives shape the way our brains work, through neural binding, connections that form networks between the neurons "between 1,000 and 10,000 incoming connections from other neurons and another 1,000 to 10,000 outgoing connections" (Lakoff, 2009: 26). Moreover, 'neurons that fire together wire together', a well-known saying in psychotherapy. Past experience of responding to a certain kind of stimulus largely predicates our responses the next time we meet it, or a similar stimulus. This phenomenon of 'neural binding' is crucial to the time structure of narratives with a beginning, middle and end:

- Preconditions – the prior context required for the narrative;
- The Buildup – the events leading up to the main, or central, event;
- The Main Event – what the narrative is mainly about;
- The Purpose – what is achieved…
- The Wind-Down – the events that end the narrative;
- The Result – the final context right afterward; and
- The Later consequences (Lakoff, 2009: 26).

Neural binding also creates emotional experiences due to the connection with the limbic system, so positive emotions like happiness and satisfaction trigger the dopamine pleasure circuit, and negative emotions like fear, anxiety and anger activate the norepinephrine circuit. The two pathways go some way to provide validation for the dyadic model of peace and war journalism. Then, "somatic markers" neurally bind emotions to event sequences in a narrative. "You feel fear when the heroine is threatened and satisfaction or joy when the hero rescues her" (Lakoff, 2009: 28). The ways in which a piece of news interlinks, with the construction of traditional narrative roles of victim, rescuer/helper and perpetrator, affect how we feel about the parties presented in it.

As well as narratives, with their typical structure as set out above, another way in which we think "unconscious[ly]… and automatical[ly]" (Lakoff, 2009: 83) is through metaphor. "Metaphors are mental structures that are independent of language but that can be expressed through language" (Lakoff, 2009: 83). Something tangible is linked to something intangible – affection expressed as warmth, for instance. If the neural circuits required to make these two meanings are repeatedly activated together, then over time they will fuse, in a process called neural recruitment.

In an age of information overload, it is the metaphorical quality of any new idea that may be most influential in making it 'stick'. Richard Dawkins (1976) dubbed these "memes" – packages of information with a contagious quality, being imbued with metaphor. The concept is well represented by successful advertising and branding – itself a metaphor, originating in penal systems where criminals had markings representing their crimes burned onto their flesh. "Modern branding metaphorically burns emotional and narrative qualities into a thing so as to create [a particular associative response] in the customer" (Canning & Reinsborough, 2009: 11). Very much like the earlier example of Bernays' 'torches of freedom' metaphor for cigarettes, created at the advent of modern advertising.

In coverage of Hurricane Katrina, one of the metaphorical strands was of a "war zone", which helped to perpetuate several damaging disaster myths such as widespread looting, lawlessness and civil unrest, "ideas that have long been shown to be false in actual empirical research on disasters" (Tierney, Bevc & Kuligowski, 2006: 60). Empirical evidence suggests that during natural disasters people tend rather to help each other, as empathy triggers proactive, prosocial behaviour, with the public forming "therapeutic communities". However the myth and metaphor of a "war zone" served to justify a military response with the deployment of some 72,000 troops. Tierney et al. and others are concerned that media collude with ideology "to place more faith in military solutions for a wider range of social problems than ever before" (Tierney et al., 2006: 78).

This is not to say that the effects on meaning-making, and influence on the political climate, of particular aspects of representation, are always as linear or predictable as this example may suggest. But it does indicate a general relationship between narrative, metaphor and frame, and the understanding conveyed to readers and audiences. As Castells puts it:

> Frames are effective by finding resonance and increasing the magnitude of their repetition. The greater the resonance and magnitude, the more likely the framing is to evoke similar thoughts and feelings in a larger audience. Framing operates by leaving gaps in the information that the audience fills with their preconceived schemas: these are interpretive processes in the human mind based on connected ideas and feelings stored in the memory (Castells, 2009: 158).

It is in this general sense that Lakoff's 'master frames', the strict father and nurturant parent, can be useful as diagnostic and predictive tools. I know from my own experience as a psychotherapist that family dynamics are not always linear or predictable, but that is not to downplay the salience of either a punitive, rule-based parenting style, on the one hand, or one based on empathy and cooperation on the other, as a strong influence on the meanings we are likely to make in response to particular stimuli.

So these master frames have been taken as a useful starting point to pull together elements of the stories in this study that linked empathic engagement with ideas of how the world could be made better, if met with the right kind of treatment. Human improvement is possible, according to the nurturant parent frame, and that can offer a basis of hope for social improvement in response to conflict. **The clearer those connections could be made in any piece of peace journalism, it could be hypothesised, the more effective it would be in influencing viewer responses. And, if constructed with reference to key metaphors and narratives, its effectiveness would likely gain from the unconscious processes of meaning-making already built into the stories,**

which pave the way for our cognitive grasp of what is at stake, the problem diagnosis and treatment recommendation.

Peace Journalism more realistic?

One of the claims of Peace Journalism is to represent a more realistic version of conflict. As noted above, John Paul Lederach (1997: 94) found grassroots peacemakers at work wherever he went to meet people caught up in conflict, but they seldom appear in the news. Often, as with Hurricane Katrina, the mainstream of war journalism misses people's cooperative responses.

The social psychologist Jonathan Haidt takes issue with the commonly understood dualistic split between our selfish and altruistic sides, arguing that human nature is ultimately about "groupishness", a Darwinian form of empathy, geared to the survival of the group. Like bees, we have a "hive switch", he suggests, waiting to be turned on. "Human societies are complex; their needs and challenges are variable. Our minds contain a toolbox of psychological systems… which can be used to meet those challenges and construct effective moral communities" (Haidt, 2012: 316). Such communities, he believes, collect around the liberal and conservative politics of right and left, or in Lakoff's terms the nurturant parent and strict father frames. In the early stages of writing this thesis I became so fascinated by this duality in all areas of life, from the personal to the political that, to me represented a shift in paradigms from the old rational view for the world to a more relational interconnected, cooperative view, that I compiled my own table of competitive versus cooperative ways of seeing and being in the world that mapped on to the PJ-WJ dyad (see Appendix B).

Journalistic objectivity – described by Deuze as the "ideological cornerstone of journalism" (2005: 448) – evolved as way of appearing to avoid siding with any one group or perspective. It emerged "in the pursuit of advertising" (Bagdikian, 2000: 176) as part of the advent of mass media in the first half of the 20th century. "From 1900 to 1950 the American population doubled and the number of urban places almost tripled, to 4,700. But the number of daily newspapers dropped from 2,226 to 1,900" (Bagdikian, 2000: 176). Commercial newspapers

in consumer societies developed the distinctive concepts of the 'voice from nowhere':

> An independent, universalizing stance that looked at the world and the body politic from the viewpoint of the ideal citizen: a prudent, rational, fair-minded individual, committed to individual rights, political democracy, a market economy, and progress through science and education (Hackett & Zhao, 1998: 18).

But the conventions of journalistic objectivity have been criticised for instilling an inbuilt bias towards War Journalism, by leading journalists to favour reporting events over process; seek out elite sources, and frame conflicts of all kinds in dualistic mode (see Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005).

The emphasis on the individual misses what Christians calls the "holistic [sense of] humanness, where community is ontologically and axiologically prior to persons" (2010: 28), and forecloses empathy if I-thou feeling originates around and between individuals, as Buber suggests. So, a Budget announcement by a government finance minister is likely to be reported on the basis of "what's in it for me?" and crime, not as the symptom of a social problem but by "naming and shaming the guilty". The disembodied (because idealized) subject is cut off from embodied, emotionally led responses in meaning-making which draw on right-hemisphere faculties such as empathy.

The stance that journalists are taught as objectivity was a way to apply, in everyday life and language, the insights of the Enlightenment: preferable, as Hackett and Zhao (1998) point out, to the previous system of having to accept the pronouncements of monarchs as the last word on any issue of common concern. Peace Journalism perhaps represents the equivalent useful everyday application of insights from a 'New Enlightenment' to use Lakoff's (2009) concept.

In Lakoff's terms, this means a "new philosophy – a new understanding of what it means to be a human being" (2009: 14), starting from what Christians (2010) calls "humans-in-relation". It also means "a deep rationality", acknowledging the embodied, emotional, empathetic ways in which we make sense of the world around us. As Richards suggests, "news is by far the largest single influence on the shaping and strength of emotion in the political public sphere" (2010: 300). It can activate either one of two distinct circuits in the brain, which link our feelings, by neural recruitment, to our cognitive responses.

As explored earlier, cognitive responses can be grouped under the "strict father" or the "nurturant parent" frame (Lakoff, 2009: 77-81), mapping neatly onto war journalism and peace journalism respectively. The dominance of the strict father frame, especially as war looms, encourages a violent response whereas the nurturing parent frame values nonviolence, cooperation and creativity. For example, back in 2003 before the invasion of Iraq, George Bush depicted himself as the 'strict-father', the rescuer against dangerous evil Saddam Hussein.

Peace Journalism calls for journalism to allow for empathy and understanding, to show not only the way things are but how they came to be that way, and to show people trying to make things different. As explained in this chapter, Peace Journalism alerts readers and viewers to the possibilities of change, and the human capacity to apply solutions. This will mean that: "News can take the lead in educating publics towards a more actively compassionate and more inquiring awareness of suffering" (Richards 2010: 309). Validated by key propositions from neuroscience and with its own ethical and epistemological underpinnings, Peace Journalism can emerge as a distinctive New Enlightenment discourse, evolving in parallel with the consciousness of global publics. As long as the distinctions it contains can be applied to real stories, suitable for real journalism, and are noticed and appreciated by real audiences. That is the proposition to be tested in this research.

Conclusion

Peace Journalism is a set of distinctions in the journalistic representation of conflict. In practical application, it represents a remedial strategy in the face of research findings that news reports are structured by dominant conventions, to produce images and narratives that instil receptiveness to violent responses. Its aim is to enable readers and audiences to value nonviolent responses, but studies of responses as such, have been relatively few and far between.

This thesis will deploy a range of empirical and analytical methods to examine processes of meaning-making, among subjects responding to PJ, with close attention to their affective, as well as cognitive responses. In this, it will engage critically with an 'Affective Turn', now influencing many disciplines in the social sciences, with the specific aim of disclosing empathic responses, which – it is suggested – may prove crucial in choices (of treatment recommendation) based on value judgments.

It will draw heavily on propositions about human rationality that are informed by emerging propositions in neuroscience, about the way we receive and process information, and come to form understandings about the world around us and our place and part in it. Methods for the study, and the rationale for their adoption, will be discussed in the next two chapters. These methods have been chosen in order to permit comparison and correlation between emotional and cognitive responses, to news coded to exhibit characteristics of Peace Journalism. The results should therefore indicate which, if any of these characteristics are capable of influencing the meanings audiences might make, and how any such influence works.

The Methodology

The map, the meaning, and the materials used to explore the evolving case for peace journalism

Introduction

This Chapter forms a bridge between the account of the conceptual background for the study, set out in the previous Chapter, and the account of specific procedures for gathering results in the next Chapter. The task here is to outline the methodological considerations involved in establishing whether and how peace journalism can be encoded into a wide range of stories about conflict, in different media from different countries; and whether, how and how far audiences make different meanings in response. Published audience response studies, examining emotional and cognitive responses to news, in research where differential framings were built in, are discussed. Factors taken into account in choosing the countries in which the study was conducted are also explained, along with the process of evolving the methodology and the study materials. This process is described as a precursor to Chapter 3, which deals specifically with The Methods.

Mapping a Methodology

Going where other studies have gone before - review of previous studies

"Peace journalism made a leap from theory to practice", Lee and Maslog wrote, "without the benefit of research" (2005: 312). They went on to operationalise the Peace Journalism model – originally put forward by Johan Galtung (see Appendix A) as discussed previously in Chapter 1 – into a set of evaluative criteria, which they used for the comparative content analysis of conflict coverage in ten Asian newspapers. The research deficit they identified has since been filled, with a large number of published studies in peace journalism taking similar approaches (see, in particular, the collection of articles in Ross and Tehranian, 2008, one of which I contributed).

But these studies, analysing the manifest content of news, represent only one side of the coin – the other side being audiences, the members of society who make meanings, the implicit content, in response to that news. What difference does peace journalism make to them? Schaefer (2006) and Kempf (2007) explored this question by gauging differential responses among newspaper readers in studies with students in the UK and Germany respectively.. Kempf adjusted the content of newspaper articles about episodes of conflict in Southeast Europe to exhibit characteristics of "escalation-oriented framing"; "moderately de-escalation oriented framing" and "more strongly de-escalation oriented framing", thus producing four versions (also including the original, taken in each case from a German newspaper). The differently framed versions were presented to interview subjects, who then proffered cognitive responses by answering questions[32].

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[32] For a fuller discussion of the measures used by both Schaefer (2006) and Kempf (2007) see chapter 3: Methods.

The results "speak in favour" of peace journalism, since "the de-escalation oriented text versions were accepted to a greater degree and resulted in less polarized mental models of the events" (Kempf, 2007: 142) depicted in the stories. Schaefer, who produced two versions of each text (escalation-orientated and de-escalation orientated respectively), recorded similar findings, with respondents preferring the peace journalism version: "de-escalation-oriented texts were judged to be better than escalation-orientated ones". After reading war journalism, participants proved receptive to violent responses to conflict, with a "higher degree of acceptance of military measures than did [the readers of the] de-escalation-oriented texts" (Schaefer, 2006: 1). This study attempts to find out whether the reverse is also the case – that exposure to peace journalism leads audiences to value nonviolent responses.

A more directly positive indicator comes from a US study in which subjects read crime stories reported as public health issues (instead of the usual approach of 'naming and shaming the guilty'). Public health framing is analogous to Peace Journalism as it deals with the underlying causes and solutions. Readers of such stories showed greater receptiveness to 'peaceful' policy prescriptions. In their cognitive responses, death from violent crime was seen as preventable if the underlying causes, such as poor educational opportunities and racial discrimination, were investigated and reformed. Researchers found that readers of crime stories framed with this public health model were inclined to be less blaming of the perpetrators, and more likely to look to societal causes, such as high unemployment and exposure to violence in the media, thus preferring holistic social/political initiatives to address those causes (Thorson, Dorfman & Stevens, 2003: 53).

These findings need to be seen in the context of the developing research consensus about the nature and extent of media effects on attitude formation by audiences. Back in the 1920s, news was seen as having a strong effect in determining our cognitive map of the world (Lippmann, 1922 in Allan 2010). Later, in the 1960s, "personal influence was considered to be the main influence on attitude change" (Scheufele, 1999: 105), with media effects seen as relatively weak. Then, later still, media and audience frames were conceived as potentially

mutually reinforcing: "Media discourse is part of the process by which individuals construct meaning, and public opinion is part of the process by which journalists… develop and crystallize meaning in public discourse" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989: 2).

Many researchers have linked media effects with influence on perceptions of group status and esteem. Examples include the 1992 Los Angeles race riots, where TV news showed repeated images of Rodney King being beaten by police officers – officers who were later acquitted in court. More recently, studies on the radicalisation of militants in Iraq have linked such media effects to the humiliating images of prisoners in Abu Ghraib, being mistreated by US soldiers (Sirseloudi, 2006: 51).

Similar findings were repeated in laboratory conditions, when 240 people in Boston watched violent vignettes:

> First, subjects were more likely to report a desire to retaliate against the perpetrator when their friend was the injured party than when they themselves were slighted or harmed. This finding was strongest for men, and strongest for subjects under age 30. Second, females were more likely to report that the perpetrator deserved to have retribution meted upon him when a group member was the injured party than when they themselves were (Argo, Idriss & Fancy, 2009: 28) [33].

Is it possible that these responses might now be more widespread and more rapid because of intensified media coverage? Here's the view of a young Palestinian in the Occupied Territories:

> The difference between the first intifada and the second is television. Before, I knew when we were attacked here, or in a nearby camp, but the

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[33] Gender was not considered in manner discussed by Argo, Idriss and Fancy (2009) because this would have been a distraction from the task of exploring whether audience members – irrespective of gender – could detect the differences in framing between WJ and PJ and if so, what effects if any that difference had. Differential male and female responses would only be considered for further research.

reality of the attacks everywhere else was not so clear. Now, I cannot get away from Israel – the TV brings them into my living room… And you can't turn the TV off. How could you live with yourself? At the same time, you can't ignore the problem – what are you doing to protect your people? We live with an internal struggle. Whether you choose to fight or not, every day is this internal struggle (Argo et al., 2009: 8).

Significant in this context is evidence that group information is processed in emotional centres of the brain. "That is, group-related reasoning and perception may well be implicit, emotional, and untouchable via traditional cognitive and rational approaches" (Argo et al., 2009: 33). This holds profound implications for considerations of media influence on the meanings audiences may make in response to news that affects the status of, or opportunities for, what they perceive as 'their' group. It suggests, as did the arguments laid out in Chapter 1, that we need to attend to emotional viewer responses as a lead indicator of their differential cognitive responses to news about social conflict, in particular.

The 1994 Rwandan genocide has been seen as exemplifying the dangers posed by media-fuelled violence between ethnic groups. The radio station, Radio Mille des Collines (RTLM) escalated from propaganda by the ruling Hutus against the largely exiled Tutsis (Melvern, 2007; Dowden, 2007). Ultimately the radio station gave out direct instructions to kill, with an RTLM director and journalist subsequently convicted of incitement to genocide and crimes against humanity.

It is quite clear that such emotional responses were part of this devastating escalatory process. But could it work the other way? The impact of radio in Rwanda to shift prejudice and improve empathy between rival groups involved in the genocide was explored in a longitudinal study on listeners to a reconciliation-based radio soap opera (Paluck, 2009). Over 450 subjects listened in groups, as is common in this part of Africa, to either the reconciliation programme or a health radio soap opera. They listened over a one-year period then took part in role-plays, one-on-one interviews and semi-structured focus group discussions. Paluck found that, while people's own stated views did not change about such issues as inter-ethnic marriage, cooperation or trauma

healing, their "perceptions of social norms" did (Paluck & Green, 2009: 624). This altered the "the perceived acceptability of dissent," linked with the presentation of dissenting characters in radio scenes.

The researchers "observed an increase in willingness to collectively provide for hungry refugees among the reconciliation listeners" (Paluck, 2009: 583). Large numbers of Hutus participated in the violence in Rwanda because they were led to believe – partly through RTLM's hate radio broadcasts – that such killing was normal, and what everyone else was doing, so dissent was unacceptable and risky. "The nuanced and sobering suggestion raised by these analyses is that normative pressure – applied in a targeted manner through the media and other sources – can promote or restrain ethnic violence" (Paluck, 2009: 583).

The strength of media effects varies between individuals, and the explosion of media and choice through web browsing may now multiply opportunities to steer clear of "attitude-discrepant" images and stories (Holbert, Garrett & Gleason, 2010). In the 2004 US presidential election, psychologist Drew Westen studied the responses of political partisans (15 Democrats and 15 Republicans), scanning their brains as they read a series of slides. The goal was to present them with reasoning tasks that would lead a "dispassionate" observer to a "logical" conclusion:

> When confronted with potentially troubling political information, a network of neurons becomes active that produce distress. Whether this distress is conscious, unconscious, or some combination of the two we don't know. The brain registers the conflict between data and desire and begins to search for ways to turn off the spigot of unpleasant emotion (Westen, 2008: xiii).

But Holbert et al. (2010) suggest this does not necessarily mean people's general media consumption patterns lead them away from anything they do not already agree with. And the news most people consume can still exert a considerable influence on their perceptions of contested issues. A much larger UK study showed the influence of media frames in shaping audience understanding of a conflict, involving over 800 participants who were invited to discuss all news

previously consumed about the Israel-Palestine conflict (Philo & Berry, 2004) – the study mentioned in Chapter 1.

At the same time, the researchers carried out a parallel study, analysing the content of news coverage about the Middle East conflict in mainstream British media. They concluded that most news coverage offered little background, context or ideas for solutions, instead providing "dust-storms of propaganda" (Philo & Berry, 2004: 260). "News frameworks and presentational structures were most likely to highlight the Israeli perspective" (Philo & Berry 2004: 258). They found that mainstream media coverage of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict displays predominant characteristics of war journalism – although they do not use the terms 'war journalism' or 'peace journalism' themselves.

Where viewers had formed perceptions of the conflict from the coverage they had seen, these were a close match for the way it had been reported, even when it was at odds with the facts. Most believed the Israelis had suffered the most casualties, although the ratio even at that point, early in the so-called 'Al-Aqsa Intifada', was 3:1 Palestinian to Israeli deaths (with the same ratio climbing much higher in subsequent episodes of violence such as Israel's 'Operation Cast Lead' in 2008-9 (Mason, 2011)). Many thought it was not the Israelis but the Palestinians who were occupying the Occupied Territories, meaning simply that they were there, which Philo compared with a bathroom being 'occupied' (in Lynch & McGoldrick, 2004: np). Viewers had heard the word, 'occupied' but it was seldom if ever explained to them.

The superficial nature of the coverage deprived viewers of the opportunity to form a deeper understanding, and that led to a disengagement from the story: "Incomprehension led to detachment and increased the sense of powerlessness some people felt when watching terrible events with which they could not engage" (Philo & Berry, 2004: 257). One participant from a low-income group in Glasgow proffered the solution that Palestinian parents should keep their children inside to stop them throwing stones. When she heard that Palestinians had, in fact, lost their homes, she said, "If you knew that, you'd be flinging bricks

yourself" (Philo & Berry, 2004: 259). The way the problem was presented shaped the kind of treatment recommendation perceived as appropriate.

Priming and framing

Research on the effects of media on the understandings people form of the issues presented, often concentrates on priming, or framing, or sometimes both. A priming effect (Berkowitz & Rogers, 1986) is the unintended influence of prior experience on judgment, thought, or behaviour. In psychology, priming is an unconscious form of human memory, which is concerned with perceptual identification of words and objects. It refers to activating particular representations or associations in memory just before carrying out an action or task. For example, a person who sees the word 'yellow' will be slightly faster to recognize the word 'banana'. This happens because the words yellow and banana are closely associated in memory. Priming can also refer to a technique in psychology used to train a person's memory in both positive and negative ways (Meyer & Schvaneveldt, 1971; Neely, 1977).

Scheufele argued that framing and priming are based on "two distinctively different assumptions" (Scheufele, 2000: 308). In political communication, priming leads to "evaluations of political actors" whereas framing leads to "attributions of causal/treatment responsibility". In other words, "framing influences how audiences think about issues… by invoking interpretive schemas that influence the interpretation of incoming information" (Scheufele, 2000: 309). Gamson & Modigliani defined media frames as:

> A central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them. The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue.
>
> A frame generally implies a policy direction of implicit answer to what should be done about the issue (1987: 143).

Later Entman described frames shaping psychological processing as "mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing of information" (Entman, 1993: 53).

In this study, therefore, the central research question will be addressed by investigating how media frames interact with audience frames, in a process led by emotional activation. In this, it will also build on the relatively few studies that have examined affective responses to the experience of watching television news, particularly any attribution of emotional responses to media frames similar to those described, in Galtung's model (1998), as war or peace journalism.

Coding and Decoding

In Chapter 1 the term 'coding' was introduced as a way to indicate the difference between meanings intended by (in this context) television journalists, and the meanings viewers may make out of them, on reception. The latter process inevitably involves the operation of codes – an insight often attributed to the pioneering Cultural Studies scholar, Stuart Hall. We can only 'make sense' of a message by slotting it into meaning structures we have built up through experience: "There is no intelligible discourse without the operation of a code" (1980: 128).

In his oft-cited essay, *Encoding/Decoding*, Hall goes on to postulate three categories of decoding that viewers (or readers, or listeners) may carry out. A "dominant reading" reproduces much of the meaning structure built into the item (by the journalist, in the case of a news report). A "negotiated reading" or even "oppositional reading" may take place when something causes the viewer to contest the dominant reading. The likelihood of different groups of viewers making different, even opposite meanings from the same text may, for example, arise from their respective positions in the socio-economic structure. So a report on the evening news about an industrial dispute may be 'read' entirely differently in the boardroom, and on the shop floor.

At stake in the present experiment was a question as yet largely unresolved by previous published research on peace journalism, or the large amount of campaigning, training courses and other activities built around PJ ideas. These

generally concentrate on what is encoded in journalism, with a few studies looking at what happens when written forms of PJ are presented to readers. For that reason this thesis is chiefly concerned with the process of decoding. Putting Peace Journalism on television might, for all as yet established in the field, make little or no difference to viewers' process of decoding.

Media and Emotions studies

For many years, media effects research paid relatively little attention to the role of emotions, except for a few studies in the 1970s (Osborn & Endsley, 1971; Cline, Croft & Courier, 1973; Dorr, 1982) – this "despite the fact that psychological research has shown long ago that 'learning' and 'unlearning' are closely related to emotional factors" (Sturm & Grewe-Partsch, 1987: 25). Then came Sturm and Grewe-Partsch's 1980s study on the emotional effects on 9-year-old children watching a strange television vignette of a snowman melting. This latter study anticipated the 'Affective Turn' (Clough, 2008; Altieri, 2012; Massumi, 2002; Leys, 2011) in the Humanities[34].

Crucially for this research, Sturm and Grewe-Partsch used both cognitive questions and the self-reporting of emotions as complementary forms of measurement. The present study, as will be outlined in the next Chapter 3, also used both cognitive questions and self-reporting of emotions in tandem.

It has been suggested in some studies (such as that by Reeves, Lang, Thorson & Rothschild, 1989) that the processing of emotion in response to material on television is hemispherically asymmetric. "Negative material produced greater cortical arousal in the right hemisphere and positive material greater arousal in the left" (Reeves et al. 1989: 502), using EEG measures. Whilst consideration of the right and left hemispheres was discussed in Chapter 1, Reeves et al. did not set out their results with sufficient complexity for this to be an approach worth trying to emulate.

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[34] See Chapter 2 p. 65 for a fuller discussion of the 'Affective Turn' and the affect theorists Clough, 2008; Altieri, 2012; Massumi, 2002; Leys, 2011.

It did, however, validate the approach proposed here of a Mixed Methods (MM) approach, combining both quantitative and qualitative data – an approach which, once adopted, has philosophical as well as methodological implications. As Johnson & Gray explain:

> Generally speaking, QUAN partners with the philosophical paradigm of post-positivism, and QUAL partners with the philosophical paradigm of constructivism. We recommend dialectical pragmatism as a partner for MM. We believe it can operate effectively as a "middle philosophy" that emphasizes continual interaction with multiple philosophical standpoints. Dialectical pragmatism is both a philosophy and an anti philosophy because it rejects dualisms and philosophical quagmires. It can free researchers to creatively construct new research approaches and designs and sets of working assumptions that can help answer many research questions (Johnson & Gray, 2010: 88-89).

In strategic terms, the desired outcome of the research was to be able to reveal what differences in viewers' emotional and cognitive responses can be attributed to differentials in the Peace Journalism model, when encoded in television news, thus requiring the use of quantitative methods. But those differentials would be constructed, under a set of general headings, to reflect particular distinctions of representation, relevant to particular stories dealing with a wide range of conflict issues in different contexts. That inescapably discursive process, along with the need to probe more deeply and find out *why* any differences in viewer responses had occurred, also necessitated the use of qualitative methods. Such a stance allows for what Denzin called "triangulation", broadly defined as "the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" (Denzin, 1978: 291), with the avowed aim of obtaining a more accurate picture of the true position.

Other studies on the emotional impact of TV news specifically, such as the one by Potts and Sanchez (1994) found that, while depressed people appeared to use TV to ameliorate their mood, instead, news broadcasts often intensified depressive

moods. Johnston and Davey (1997), working with subjects who were not already depressed, found that watching a predominantly negatively-biased news programme raised anxiety and sadness, which increased the subjects' emotional responses to their own, unrelated personal problems. Comparing the effects of watching positive versus negative news items, or a combination of the two, Harrell (2000) found that people who viewed only negative news items experienced anxiety and negative mood change – "while positive news viewers showed decreases in anxiety and negative affect" and watching a combined bulletin resulted in no mood changes.

Szabo and Hopkinson (2007) suggested that such negative changes do not pass straight away. They found that active coping – something like a relaxation technique – was needed to overcome negative emotions triggered by the news. A group of 173 students described their mood changes before and after watching a recently broadcast 15-minute news bulletin but not a bulletin specifically coded according to criteria such as "positive" and "negative"`. Half the group then went into a 15-minute relaxation class, while the other half entered a power-point lecture. The results showed that a distraction activity, like a lecture, did not clear away the anxiety and mood disturbance generated by watching the news.

> It may be pretentious to prescribe an episode of relaxation after watching a newscast, but the results of this research demonstrate quite clearly that engaging in an attention-demanding activity is not sufficient to buffer the negative psychological effects (Szabo & Hopkinson, 2007: 61).

Unz et al. (2008) showed that violence in TV news elicits primarily negative emotions. On the whole, fear is neither the only nor the most prominent emotion; rather, viewers seem to react to violence with "other-critical" moral emotions, including anger and contempt, reflecting a concern for the integrity of the social order and the disapproval of others. Emotions shown in reaction to the suffering of others, like sadness and fear, occur much more rarely. The results largely showed a complex web of relations between media variables, viewer characteristics, and emotional processes. In other words, emotional responses could lead viewers to value either violent or nonviolent responses to conflict.

A qualitative study of sufferers from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (Serlin, 2006) charted the experience of three Vietnam War veterans, who suffered worsening PTSD symptoms as they watched the 2003 invasion of Iraq unfold on 24-hour television news. The men were interviewed twice, once at the beginning of the war and again a year later. Using a narrative/archival research method, Serlin interwove therapy themes with corresponding parallel media reports.

The men were angered by various ways in which the war was spun, and by the apparent meaninglessness of Iraqi deaths in news representations of the conflict; how President Bush said the US and allies were "winning"; how actors were used to interview senior officials to help sell the war and how journalists did not challenge the spin. In other words, the men were reacting to war journalism. One veteran commented:

> Every time I read in the paper that someone was killed, I feel a pain in my stomach. I think that's desensitization. All this stuff around 9/11-CNN, the creation of Homeland Security, orange alerts – doesn't feel real. Feels like a political smokescreen… I think my fear is that the people in power are using this in such a cynical way for their own goals… when did the word 'spin' come into our lexicon? Is it not 'lying' any more?" (in Serlin, 2006: 154).

This existential perspective exposed and interrogated the constructedness of war journalism – the way meaning was created, generating "arbitrary realities" which Serlin (2006: 148) attributed to "post-modern media [which] distort our most fundamental sense of what it means to be human", including values of security, identity, truth, integrity and meaning. "The experience of dehumanisation from created reality may present psychological symptoms of anxiety, depression, loss of identity, de-realization and depersonalisation" (Serlin, 2006: 149).

My own previous research (McGoldrick, 2008), pioneering the application of psychological theories to disclose and explore audience responses to TV news, suggested that war journalism triggered more pronounced negative psychological feelings than peace journalism. The study also showed differentials

in reported responses by interview subjects having watched two versions – one framed as war journalism, the other as peace journalism – of a story about a Palestinian suicide bombing in Jerusalem. Of 11 participants, the only two who did not generally prefer the latter were the two who had previously worked as professional journalists. Subjects reported strong emotional responses. The experience of watching news triggered "lingering feelings of depression, helplessness, hopelessness and alienation" (McGoldrick, 2008: 94).

A few studies have explored the emotional impact of differential framings of newspaper articles and are worth mentioning here as further validation for this methodology. Gross and Brewer (2007) found that emotional responses were influenced by framing, but the extent was contingent on subjects' own pre-existing beliefs. The more 'their side' was portrayed as 'losing', in a politics story for instance, the more anger and disgust the subjects felt.

Gross and Brewer took an ostensibly uncontroversial set of articles about a 2001 congressional debate on finance reform. One set of articles selected was framed similarly to war journalism, or in the researchers' terms as a 'conflict frame'. "This version described the 'bruising, hardball maneuvering' over the rules of debate and noted that each side accused the other of 'torpedo[ing] the bill for political advantage'" (Gross & Brewer, 2007: 127). The alternative version was closer to peace journalism in that it was more geared towards substantive frames, contained in the story, "Supporters and Opponents Continue to Debate the Merits of Reform", which emphasised "the pros and cons of the bill" (Gross & Brewer, 2007: 127). The researchers found that the more an audience member favoured campaign finance reform, the more anger and disgust they experienced (Gross & Brewer, 2007: 128). The pair do go on to suggest that the emotional impact might be greater for more contentious issues, like those tackled in this study such as the asylum issue in Australia or the gang rape in South Africa.

Finally, John Newhagen's 1998 study explored the emotions of fear, anger and disgust. Such emotions were frequently evoked in participants in the present study, as Chapters 4 onwards will reveal. Newhagen suggested that emotionally laden news images that induce fear, anger, and disgust evoke an approach-

avoidance response in viewers, regardless of the narrative or discursive content of the story. This, he suggests, "goes to the heart of McLuhan's (1964/1994) insight into television; that the medium itself is an important component of the message" (Newhagen 1998: 266). In other words, he is referring to testing the behavioural response that Goleman dubbed "limbic news" (see Chapter 1). Newhagen showed that anger-inducing images receive the highest approach score, followed by those that induce fear, whilst those that induce disgust generate the greatest avoidance ratings. Secondly, he showed that anger-evoking images show the best memory scores, followed by images that evoke fear, then images that evoke disgust (Newhagen, 1998: 274).

The Methodology Theory

Mapping the theory behind the methods

The studies quoted here draw on a wide range of different methods, including: content analysis; archival research; focus groups; questionnaires, and narrative analysis. Subjects were exposed, in some, to research material either in the form of newspaper articles or television news bulletins compiled to exhibit different media frames, as an extra independent variable. Many such methods have been deployed in this research, generating both quantitative and qualitative data. As Creswell & Plano Clark suggest, this can strengthen the conclusions by "merging or converging the two datasets by having one build on the other… so that one type of data provides a supportive role for the other dataset" (2007: 7).

The overarching aim of this research is not directly to contribute to the campaign for peace journalism, but rather to test and validate some of its assumptions, to explore the strengthening case. The philosophical approach therefore does not involve an "advocacy and participatory" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007: 24) world-view but rather one of "pragmatism". This is an approach that locates the most practical way to carry out a study that can speak to a wide range of audiences, by shaping questions in ways helpful to discussions over the responsibilities and potentialities of journalism in conflict. It both tests

hypotheses and provides multiple perspectives, and occupies multiple stances, including both biased and unbiased perspectives.

In locating the study as "pragmatism" I aspire to follow the example of the late John W Burton. From being one of Australia's leading public servants in the years bracketing World War II, Burton went on to become an academic founder of peace research and more specifically conflict resolution (Burton, 1972 & 1990a). His writings are regarded as having developed and validated important theoretical propositions, in particular about the role of human needs in conflict (Burton, 1990b & 2001), but they were always formulated and discussed in a pragmatic frame, concerned with resolving the most pressing problems facing the world (Dunn, 1995 & 2004). He was not working in academe solely for the sake of the academy. Whilst I would not purport to have the same status as Burton, I echo his concerns for the world as someone who has, like him, faced them in different professional roles as a reflective practitioner: journalist and latterly psychotherapist. Following the tradition of Burton's works, the overarching aspiration of this study is to use the intellectual space of the academy to come up with practical, pragmatic research that will contribute to solving global crises.

As the first exploratory research of its kind, this study uses a mixed design to evaluate any strengthening case for peace journalism, by exploring what differences if any such journalism makes to television audiences. To do this, qualitative and quantitative data was gathered from a variety of groups watching either war journalism or peace journalism. The aim was to approach the research from several different angles, in other words, while keeping methods and assumptions under constant review. To give an indicative snapshot of this evolving process I will include some samples from my study journal in the following chapter.

> Researchers must be flexible in the evaluation of their methods. Every action in the field provides new definitions, suggests new strategies, and leads to continuous modifications of initial research designs. Like other forms of interaction, sociological research reflects the emergent, novel,

and unpredictable features of ongoing activity; this is the fourth principle: no investigation should be viewed in a static fashion. Researchers must be ready to alter lines of action, change methods, reconceptualize problems, and even start over if necessary. They must continually evaluate their methods, assess the quality of the incoming data, and note the relevance of the data to theory (Denzin, 1978: 304).

This thesis therefore sets out and considers the results of a "holistic" form of research that is "rare in journalism and communication research", in linking "producers, the content… [and] its effect on audiences" – while "most studies have specifically examined [only] one of the[m]" (Hanusch, 2010: 6). It will include assessments of the content of the news, at least implicitly, so as to produce its own versions to test their effects on audiences. The holistic perspective means that any single element is studied as part of an overall structure. Thus the structure becomes more important than the separate elements. "The whole is more than the sum of the parts" (Lie, 2003: 45).

As already stated, the methodology is mixed, drawing on qualitative and quantitative data drawn from questionnaires and focus groups. Some of the questionnaire answers were analysed statistically; others produced narrative data, which are explored utilising approaches based on comparative discourse analysis. A positivist critical inquiry theoretical perspective is adopted, broadly in the traditions of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967); critical discourse analysis (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) and Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith, Jarman & Osborn, 1999).

The weakness of using a mixed-methods approach is that it does not permit the classic parsimony and perspicuity considered as essential, in nomothetic social science research, to *explain* observable effects by attributing them to a single causal factor or group of factors (Richards, 2006: 5). I have been aware throughout that I will not be in a position, after this research, to isolate any one independent variable, in any one portion of the experiment, which – if set at point *a* – will always lead to effect (dependent variable) *x*, and if set at point *b*, will lead to effect *y*. Rather, it is the embedding of quantitative results, where

they are produced using particular data-gathering techniques, in layers of idiographic material, that reveals how meanings are made in response to stimuli – stimuli that can then be tentatively grouped together, under general headings, in a retrospective merging exercise which is set out in Chapter 9. Only by using such a mixed-methods approach can a meaningful understanding of audience interaction, with a complex social artefact such as a television news item, be *understood* with sufficient depth and nuance to be useful in light of the overarching aspiration of the study (Lie, 2003).

Indeed, the nature of the present study could be seen as locating the research at the intersection of debates in grounded theory that originate in a well known disagreement between the two co-authors of the prime iterative text in the field, Glaser and Strauss. While not following a strict grounded theory methodology, I was attracted to the conceptual framework of not "starting with a prediction, a theory, or a hypothesis to be tested, the researcher is encouraged not to review the literature in any depth, but to approach the research question with an open mind, and allow the theory to emerge from the data that is being collected" (Hiles, 2002: 3). In terms of analysing the data, however, grounded theory opens multiple pathways, which divided the field from the outset. According to Kelle:

> The controversy between Glaser and Strauss boils down to the question whether the researcher uses a well defined 'coding paradigm' and always looks systematically for 'causal conditions', 'phenomena/context, intervening conditions, action strategies' and 'consequences' in the data, or whether theoretical codes are employed as they emerge in the same way as substantive codes emerge, but drawing on a huge fund of 'coding families' (2005: 14).

Instead, IPA offered a more practical approach because it is phenomenological – it freed me to interpret meanings embedded in the text; but it is worth stressing that hermeneutics is applied rather than textual discourse analysis. The method of IPA will be elaborated further in the following Chapter 3: dealing specifically with the methods.

In selecting theoretical and methodological approaches, I have been guided throughout by the overall aim, to evaluate the evolving case for PJ, testing and validating the assumptions of Galtung's original theory by finding out whether it makes any differences – and, if so what differences – to audience responses and (therefore, indirectly and by implication) to the influence of news discourse on public spheres and extra-linguistic social/sociological variables. Evaluating the evolving case for peace journalism involves asking a number of questions: does PJ create space for viewers of television news to consider cooperative, developmental, transformative responses to conflict? Does PJ enhance the plausibility of nonviolent, relational, solution-based approaches to conflict, rather than instilling receptiveness to punitive or violent proposals?

To assess the effects of PJ, a 'New Enlightenment' view of the mind, a deep rationality, will be allowed for, taking account of key propositions in neuroscicence, psychology, linguistics, primatology, philosophy, sociology and economics (explored in Chapter 1). These offer a view of the mind that is primarily *unconscious, embodied, emotional, empathic, metaphorical, and only partly universal.* This will necessitate choosing qualitative and quantitative psychological measures – media effects testing instruments – to detect both cognitive and emotional responses[35].

The view that human cognition is potentially empathic (Rifkin, 2009; Lakoff, 2009; Baron-Cohen, 2011; de Waal, 2010) raises the question of whether certain types of news framing make empathic engagement more likely, or less. So, in assessing the evolving case for peace journalism, it must also be asked: does PJ enhance empathic human responses towards communities and individuals featured in the news, thus prompting and equipping viewers to value nonviolence via an empathic connection? The measuring techniques employed must be sensitive enough to discern and distinguish empathy from among other emotional responses.

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[35] To clarify: cognitive and emotional responses are seen in deep rationality as complementary, in that emotions inform thoughts. However participants may not always be conscious of the emotions they are feeling or be able to name them, which is one of the limitations of this study.

The exploration of psychological testing methods for this study (set out in Chapter 3) will be judged in this light. It means the study will add to the growing body of knowledge about peace journalism. So far, most studies have investigated the manifest content of news, mainly in print, with relatively few based on investigating audience effects, and those have been concerned with cognitive effects. This study will explore both PJ's cognitive and emotional audience effects, and it will add to the emerging interdisciplinary debate about the role of emotions in shaping and influencing the public sphere (Richards, 2010; Karatzogianni & Kuntsman, 2012) and politics (Marcus, 2000; Castells, 2009; Westen, 2007; Lakoff, 2009).

In doing so, it proceeds on assumptions about subjects' emotional and cognitive responses, which have recently been the focus of increasing scholarly debate. Leys detects the emergence of a group of "new affect theorists" who ally themselves with "neuroscientists [in a] *shared anti-intentionalism*… the belief that affect is independent of signification and meaning" (Leys, 2011: 443, emphasis in original). The category of "affect" is sometimes proposed, in the work of such writers, as "non-intentional", Leys argues – separate from feelings or emotions, instead taking the form of "a nonconscious experience of intensity [which] is the body's way of preparing itself for action in a given circumstance by adding a quantitative dimension of intensity to the quality of an experience" (Shouse, 2005: np). Leys contends:

> The term *intentionality* carries with it the idea that thoughts and feelings are directed to conceptually and cognitively appraised and meaningful objects in the world… affective neuroscientists and the new affect theorists are thus making a mistake when they suggest that emotion or affect can be defined in non-conceptual or non-intentional terms (Leys, 2011: 802).

Others have suggested, in essence, that Leys is setting up a 'straw man', making an argument where none exists. Even Eric Shouse, in the passage quoted above, which proposes "affect" as separate from feelings or emotions, acknowledges that we become intense, as a way of preparing for action, in response to the

experience of "infold[ing] contexts". What is actually at stake, according to one of Leys' critics, Charles Altieri, is not disconnection from cognition in the setting of affective responses but our awareness of them. He nominates "moods" as an affective condition influencing our responses, of which we may be unaware – or may become aware, with different consequences: "One can simply be aware of the world as filtered through the mood. Or one can be aware of oneself as being shaped by the mood" (2012: 879).

This matches some of the responses witnessed during the course of fieldwork for the present thesis, as participants in focus groups reported entering the room in a cheerful mood, then – typically in response to the experience of watching war journalism – undergoing an unexpected and unintentional downswing in their emotional state. And the response matches my own impressions from countless interactions with psychotherapy clients. Clients can be encouraged to grow an awareness of previously unconscious, unintentional emotional reactions – and ultimately contain, moderate and even transform such reactions.

Another relevant account of the relationship between cognitive and emotional responses to stimuli such as exposure to television news, is provided by Stanley Schachter (1964). He showed that cognitive processes had to be considered alongside excitatory reactions. It became known as the "two-factor theory of affect", which aided understanding viewers' reactions to television at a time when media effects research measured viewers' arousal rates (Zillmann, 1982).

> Depending on the viewers' cognitive appraisal of the events on the screen, they will be annoyed, angry, furious, sad, apprehensive, fearful, scared, terrified, satisfied, jubilant, joyous, repulsed, disgusted, amused, and so on… the intensity of the feeling state is determined by the viewers' feedback from their concomitant excitatory reaction (Zillmann, 1982: 114).

It does not seem necessary, for the purposes of this study, to posit a category that is logically prior to any cognitive appraisal – merely to insist that our cognitive responses are shaped by our emotions, and that these emotional responses have built up over time through our experiences of meaning-making shaped by our belief systems, as we are exposed to a given set of stimuli.

Assumptions about the role of emotions, in shaping the cognitive responses of viewers, will be explored through testing mechanisms, explained next in Chapter 3. First, in this chapter, the methodology behind selecting which four countries to run the study is set out. Later the methodology behind the creation of the research material, the PJ and WJ versions of television news bulletins, will be explored.

The Map - where to go to run the study?

Australia, the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico were selected[36] as study destinations initially on the heuristic basis of providing a spread of both geographical locations and stages of conflict. They cover four of the world's five inhabited continents. (The fifth, Europe, is 'represented' by building on the methods in my previous study (McGoldrick, 2008), utilising UK media). News agendas in the four countries contained, between them, stories about different stages of conflict as outlined by Lynch and myself, and presented as "scenarios and dilemmas", as experienced by journalists covering conflict, in the text that launched the Peace Journalism field of research.

These scenarios and dilemmas are:

1. Tension is rising – before direct violence;
2. The beginnings of violence;
3. Parties not communicating;
4. What if you can only report on one party?
5. Reporting on massacres;
6. Reporting on refugees;
7. Stalemate;
8. Peace proposals;
9. A facility with the 'men of violence' (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 125).

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[36] As mentioned in the introduction the strategic decision to visit these countries was taken prior as part of the ARC grant application process which occurred well before the PhD began.

Bläsi followed up on this lead by urging peace journalism research to make good on a failure to explore further "the so far neglected role of different stages of conflict" (Bläsi, 2009: 1) arguing that the most effective time for peace journalism is during nonviolent stages, when tensions are on the rise and "when peace journalism could and should be most reasonably implemented" (Bläsi, 2009: 1). The point is further amplified by Mogekwu, in a study of the deteriorating conflict situation in the Niger Delta: "The application of peace journalism at the level of latent conflict will more effectively help prevent the conflagration that manifest conflict usually exemplifies" (Mogekwu, 2011: 246). Latent conflict is the stage where:

> Emotions have not peaked, and where attitudes and contradictions have not congealed into behaviours that are difficult to break, resolution is relatively easier to achieve. At Galtung's 'attitude' and 'contradiction' levels, ideas can still be suggested and considered and stand a better chance of preventing behaviours that translate into violence or manifest conflict (Mogekwu, 2011: 243).

Australia, as well as being home to the study, was in the process of reassessing the role of news and media plurality in an official inquiry tasked with considering "the impact of technological change on the business model that has supported the investment by traditional media organisations in quality journalism and the production of news, and how such activities can be supported" (in Thompson, 2011: np).

Additionally, the Australian military and security apparatus were or had recently been involved in several overseas conflicts, namely Iraq, Afghanistan and the so-called 'war on terror', thus giving Australia a stake in these conflicts. Australia's own "tensions rising" scenario (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 125) involved asylum seekers in the political battle over how to treat and process claims by 'boat people' fleeing persecution in their own lands.

The Philippines was first choice in Asia initially because of its long relationship with Peace Journalism, as will be discussed further in Chapter 6. Many journalists from Mindanews, an online news agency based on peace journalism,

had trained at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies with Director Jake Lynch and myself, and the country is home to the Pecojon network of editors and reporters committed to "conflict-sensitive reporting". Its biggest newspaper, the *Philippine Daily Inquirer* (*PDI*) emerged from at least three separate studies (Lee & Maslog, 2005; Lee, Maslog & Kim, 2006; Lynch, 2008) as the purveyor of significant amounts of peace journalism, when content analysis was carried out using evaluative criteria derived from the Peace Journalism model[37]. Journalists and audiences are already accustomed, whether consciously or not, to elements of peace journalism, even through another media format, the newspaper. Secondly, its colonial past meant most people spoke English due to the dominion by the United States in the first half of the last century, thus adding to ease of study and comparison.

Additionally, the colonial history contributes to long-running conflict issues involving low-level violent insurgency, making the Philippines the ideal choice to study media effects in a country in conflict. At the time of the field research, two sets of peace talks were underway, representing a chance to reproduce ideas proposed in covering peace proposals (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 156) as well as a further scenario – "a facility with the men of violence". I have argued that "talking to killers" offers an ideal opportunity for the peace journalist to explore the structural and cultural factors motivating some to pick up a gun (Lynch & McGoldrick 2005: 150).

Post-apartheid South Africa represented a post-conflict nation. Known for having one of the freest presses in Africa, and high standards of investigative reporting, its media were facing a struggle, at the time when fieldwork for this study was conducted, in fending off government attempts at more obtrusive regulation. Different branches of media had either sustained and supported, or challenged and subverted minority white rule in the transition to democracy. Like Australia, South Africa fitted the "tension is rising" scenario as the nation remained one of

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[37] Lee and Maslog compared *PDI* coverage of both local and global conflicts with equivalent coverage offered by peer newspapers in other Asian countries. Lynch compared *PDI* coverage with international media coverage of the announcement, by Philippines President Gloria Arroyo, of "all-out war" against the Communist guerrilla group, the New People's Army, in 2006.

the most unequal nations on earth (World Bank, 2009), mirroring the symptoms listed by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005: 126).

Mexico, like the Philippines, was embroiled in a civil conflict, not against independence fighters but drug cartels. Following the US declaring its own 'war on drugs', violence in Mexico escalated sharply as militarized police units were turned on the cartels, and the latter attempted to exert their power by terrifying the population, thus fitting the beginnings of violence category (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 140). All the conflict issues were sharply brought into focus as the nation prepared to go to the polls to elect the next President. Tensions escalated with the media as students took to the streets accusing a leading TV station of biased coverage in favour of one of the candidates.

In conclusion, both the Philippines and South Africa were in the aftermath of violent conflict, in Bläsi's terms, when "the preconditions for news production appear comparatively auspicious regarding the implementation of solution-orientated conflict coverage" (Bläsi, 2009: 6). Australia in relation to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan could also be seen as being in the aftermath of conflict considering the troops were either back 'at home', or destined to be pulled out shortly. However, in relation to asylum seekers and Iran, tension was rising, albeit in an essentially nonviolent stage, when:

> The chances are good for a kind of conflict coverage that humanizes all sides, focuses on the suffering and harmful effects of war for all sides, reports on all sides, reports on peace initiatives and reconciliation perspectives and points out the benefits of a jointly created future (Bläsi, 2009: 6).

Mexico, though not in full-scale war, was closer to violent conflict, with the 'war on drugs' giving rise to a seemingly escalating spiral of violent incidents. "Journalists have to work harder to do peace journalism within a war discourse than within a peace discourse" Bläsi remarks (2009: 8). Likewise, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict equally was in a low-level war and when reported from Australia should, according to Bläsi, facilitate more peace journalism because Australia is not directly involved. However, "the social psychological mechanisms

incline most recipients to war discourse" (Bläsi, 2009: 4), perhaps because of past war journalism and because of the influence of powerful pro-Israel lobby groups (Lynch, 2011).

Several other critical dimensions to the research context of these countries pertain to the political economy of their media; the state of the television industry and each nation's history of engagement with peace journalism. These national mediascapes are briefly recounted in Chapters 4, 6, 7 and 8 along with the analysed data gathered in Australia, the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico respectively. All but Mexico have a significant track record of peace journalism, particularly the Philippines as mentioned earlier.

The Meaning framed into the study materials

The reader may ask why television news was selected for the study research materials, given the proliferation of net-based, even mobile digital media? Firstly because the decision had already been taken, as mentioned in the Introduction; secondly because that is my background as a former professional TV reporter; thirdly because other peace journalism audience studies (Schaefer, 2006 & Kempf 2007) have focussed on the print media but more importantly, as many media commentators attest mainstream television is still the most influential single source of news: "In all six countries - Britain, France, Germany, Italy, United States and Japan – surveyed in 2010, more respondents said that they relied on television rather than the internet as the main source of news about their country" (Ofcom 2010b in Curran, 2012a and Curran, 2012b: 19).

Curran echoes several other studies in concluding that "there has been a tendency to mythologise the role of the web in 'mainstreaming' minority journalism" (Curran, 2011: 118). A UK study found that "no alternative news sites were returned in the first page of search results" (Redden & Witschge, 2010: 184) for all five sample news stories (chosen to represent a diversity of issues: Prince Harry in Afghanistan; Tibet protests; knife crime; Sichuan

earthquake and the Northern Rock building society crisis) on either of the search engines Google or Yahoo. These aggregators tended to privilege the best-known new providers, with the BBC, along with Britain's main tabloid and broadsheet newspapers (*Mail*, *Mirror*, *Star*, *Express*, *News of the World*, *People*, *Sun*, *Guardian*, *Independent*, *Telegraph* and *Times*) reproducing their ascendancy. "More generally, social networking sites are strongly influenced by the news agendas set by dominant media" (Curran, 2011: 118). Hence the focus of his study is on mainstream media and television news in particular.

Preparing the research materials for each of the four countries meant utilising television news bulletins from each country to be included in the same research project, to permit comparative analysis. Decisions were made about which aspects of peace journalism would prove most ideational, in different stories in different places. At the same time, the concepts of peace, conflict and violence in peace journalism are derived from peace research, as explained in Chapter 1. The ontological statements in peace research, about human needs and potential, are intended to hold good across different contexts. If peace journalism is to "open space" (Patindol, 2010: 197) for peace, then it must have things to say that are equally relevant to journalists in different contexts. So the particular ideational distinctions in each individual story were grouped under a set of headings, intended to apply across all the different stories and countries.

Shinar's Five Headings

Researchers set out to operationalise the PJ model to derive evaluative criteria for content analysis of existing media – usually newspapers. Different studies examined the reporting of a wide range of conflicts, where conflict is defined as "a relationship, between two or more parties… who have – or think they have – incompatible goals" (Fisher et al., 2000: 4). So, some research concentrated on war reporting (see, for instance, the studies collected in Dente Ross and Tehranian, 2008), while others looked at the reporting of conflict issues in other social milieux (such as tensions over Iran's nuclear programme, in Lynch, 2006, or urban community conflict, in Sparre, 1998). Israeli researcher Dov Shinar published an

overview of research in the field, finding that, when researchers refer to peace journalism, they mean journalism that is:

1. Exploring *backgrounds* and contexts of conflict formation, and presenting causes and options on every side so as to portray conflict in realistic terms, transparent to the audience;

2. Giving voice to the *views* of all rival parties, not merely the leaders of two antagonistic 'sides';

3. Airing creative *ideas*, from any source, for conflict resolution, development, peacemaking and peacekeeping;

4. Exposing lies, cover-up attempts and culprits on all sides, and revealing excesses committed by, and suffering inflicted on, peoples of all parties;

5. Paying attention to *peace stories* and post-war developments (Shinar, 2007: 200).

These characteristics describe the key distinctions between war and peace journalism as different frames:

> To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation (Entman, 1993: 52).

It is the link, between the way problems are presented, and what people will conceive in response as a fitting and effective solution, that is key to the influence of journalism in creating a constituency, among news audiences, for violent or nonviolent responses to conflict. To reframe a communicating text, like a television news package, requires more than simple negation of its original elements. A story saying, for instance, 'this conflict is not about defending civilisation against terrorism', may inadvertently cause viewers to perceive the reality through the same lens, since the same mentally stored cluster of ideas is activated to tell them what the controversy is about. Even negating a frame evokes a frame, and evoking a frame reinforces it, Lakoff has suggested: "Negating a frame activates the frame in the brains of listeners" (Lakoff, 2010: np).

Hence, new material was gathered, to reframe familiar war journalism stories from television news in each of the four countries, to create potential for viewers to make different meanings: to make different moral judgments and evaluations, to define problems and interpret causes differently, and perhaps come to consider and value different, nonviolent treatment recommendations. The new material, and the process of reframing each story, was designed so as to permit the stories to be rewritten, repackaged, and coded to exhibit peace journalism characteristics as denoted by Shinar's list of five criteria, headings or framing categories as listed above. These will, from now on, be denoted in a more shorthand form, as: background; views; ideas; challenges to propaganda and peace stories. These broadly-defined criteria were used to select stories of war journalism and to create and code the corresponding peace journalism items in each country. The criteria were then used to assess the effects of such media. Were audiences in Australian, Filipino, South African and Mexican focus groups able to decode the content along these lines – to spot such background; views; ideas; challenges to propaganda and peace stories? This will form the substance of data analysis in forthcoming Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Research materials – the TV news bulletins

The research material in each country consisted of two television news bulletins of between 15 and 25 minutes. The first war journalism bulletin was compiled from material already broadcast by a television news programme, where items were selected[38] to represent WJ. The second bulletin consisted of the same stories, repackaged with the new material, to represent and reframe them as peace journalism. To establish the contrast between the two, each bulletin was coded according to Shinar's five framing categories outlined above. Using these as headings, the two versions were produced in such a way as to articulate with key contested issues in the conflicts depicted, thus retaining the basis for general comparison while allowing for the particular distinctions in each story and each country. The presence of material conforming to any one heading would 'score' 1 point. Following Lee and Maslog (2005), three negative indicators were added, with half a point to be deducted for partisanship, and the use of demonising and emotive language respectively. So the maximum score for any one package was +5.0 and the minimum, -1.5. This rationale will be outlined further below when applying these criteria to examples of the research material.

Full descriptions of each story and their scores[39] will follow in the data Chapters 4, 6, 7 and 8 as the praxis of research in each country is laid out and analysed. For the present purpose, of offering a general explanation of the methodology for the study, selected examples from the research material are used to illustrate the process. As total of 21 stories were carefully selected from previous broadcasts as strong examples of war journalism, then converted into peace journalism across the four countries in which the field research was carried out (see

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[38] As will be explained later in this chapter, the WJ bulletins were compiled by watching several weeks' worth of news output, then selecting items that displayed the clearest WJ characteristics, according to Shinar's 5 headings. So the research bulletins were an artificial creation for the study but each contained news stories broadcast over a two week period prior to when the bulletins were compiled. For clarity original broadcast dates will be included.

[39] Tables will be given in these forthcoming chapters with the scores as outlined above. These were checked and validated by myself and a research team colleague who tested the codings against the criteria as outlined above . Thus the tables will be described as "inter-coded scores for Australian/Filipino/South African/Mexican TV news bulletins".

Appendix H for bulletin scripts). A fuller discussion of why these particular stories were chosen to reflect war journalism in the news of that country at that time, is conducted in the data chapters 4-8. It is worth dwelling on those distinctions, first here and again in the country chapters when each story is analysed again. The table below details the stories selected, from each broadcaster, in each country, giving the original broadcast date, the running duration of each item selected as an example of war journalism and the corresponding duration of the counterpart peace journalism version. Several of these stories will be used illustrative material to elaborate the components of Shinar's Five Headings.

Story WJ and PJ title (Full scripts in Appendix G)	Date of broadcast	TV Station	WJ Length	PJ
Remember 9/11	12/9/10	SBS World News Australia	2:50	3:05
Afghanistan soldiers funeral	08/09/10	SBS World News Australia & extra material from other broadcast stories	2:44	2:46
Asylum claims	16/09/10	SBS World News Australia	2:33	2:44
Israel/Palestinian peace talks	15/09/10	SBS World News Australia	2:47	3:10
Iran missile launch	21/08/10	SBS World News Australia	2:06	2:37
Iraq bombing	06/09/10	SBS World News Australia	1:57	2:54
The Philippines				
NPA landmine	25/03/11	ABS-CBN Davao	2:06	3:08
Floods Santa Cruz	19/01/11	ABS-CBN Davao	2:34	2:56
MILF breakaway group	11/02/11	ABS-CBN Davao	3:53	4:14
Shooting – Maguindano massacre update	02/11/10	ABS-CBN Davao	2:14	2:20
Coal plant row	12/01/11	ABS-CBN Davao	1:56	2:16

South Africa				
Gang Rape	18/04/12	Soweto TV	1:13	2:25
Dagga Bust	17/04/12	Soweto TV	1:06	1:42
ANC Youth League	08/01/12	Soweto TV	1:48	1:50
Meadowlands settlement	15/03/12	Soweto TV	1:47	2.22
Pedestrian deaths	19/03/12	Soweto TV	2:00	1:56
Mexico				
Presidential debate	07/05/12	KW TV (packages from news agency IJS)	2:21	3:30
Arrest of El Loco	21/05/12		1:26	3:02
Crackdown on Cartel violence	08/05/12		1:53	4:37
Pena Nieto mother's day speech	10/05/12		2:32	3:19

Table 2.1 Overview of research material, stories selected for each bulletin, original broadcast dates & duration.

Background: "Exploring backgrounds and contexts of conflict formation, and presenting causes and options on every side so as to portray conflict in realistic terms, transparent to the audience" (Shinar, 2007: 200). Material registering a score under this heading would usually open up the question, 'why', as it pertains to the observable behaviours of actors in the story. It could come from a reporter's script, adding contextual information, or from 'actuality' – pictures and interviews. In light of Galtung's original description of war and peace journalism (see Appendix A), it usually denotes indications that there is 'more to' the conflict being represented than the standard superficial portrayal of two parties contesting the single goal of victory. It might prompt and enable viewers to see through the surface statements and positions the parties adopt, to focus on their needs and interests (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 44). It would often create potential to appreciate the structural and processual explanations for a sequence of events.

So, while the WJ version of a story about the Israeli/Palestinian peace talks in the Australian bulletin referred to a "settlement freeze" in the occupied West Bank, it did not qualify for a point under this heading. The so-called "settlement freeze" was agreed between the Government of Israel and the Obama Administration in Washington, as a confidence-building measure to create a more propitious atmosphere for "peace talks", with the most contentious issue – Israel's illegal colonisation of occupied land – thus held at its pre-existing extent rather than being exacerbated still further during any process of negotiation. In the WJ version, however, there was no such explanation of what this meant, of its significance in terms of international humanitarian law or why it has been such a core issue in the conflict. There was nothing to equip viewers to move beyond the state of confusion over such matters revealed in the Philo and Berry research (2004), referenced above. Instead, rival brief statements from an Israeli and a Palestinian political spokesperson respectively, covered the question.

For the PJ version, new material was added, which did register a score for this story under this heading. There was a map showing "disappearing Palestine" (Cook, 2008), which offered a pictorial image of how Jewish settlements have encroached for decades on the territory legally regarded as Palestinian. The reporter's script made clear that the settlements were "seen as illegal under international law".

Views: "Giving voice to the views of all rival parties" (Shinar, 2007: 200). To gain a point under this heading, it was insufficient to simply present opposing leaders or politicians, e.g. Labor on the one hand and Coalition on the other, in the classic "indexing" pattern (Bennett, 1990), which confines the extent of contestation to the span of discord between elite factions – usually parties seeking to form a government. And – as explained in Chapter 1 – a groundswell of peace perspectives often begins at a lower level, so coverage that concentrates only on the stated views of elites may in effect be suppressing them. In peace journalism, therefore, "rival parties" includes non-elite groups, usually peace activists or people who are taking their own action or forming their own perspective on conflict issues.

The WJ peace talks story featured Israeli and Palestinian politicians, as well as the US peace envoy, Senator George Mitchell and a political analyst from Bar Ilan University. By going a little further, at least, than the minimal he-said-she-said pattern of the dominant strain of war journalism, it scored 0.5 under this heading. The PJ version included a Palestinian refugee, now living in Sydney, who described life under occupation in terms accessible to Australians. He invited viewers to imagine travelling a few miles from Marrickville to Glebe (two Sydney suburbs separated by a few kilometres) and having to pass through "fourteen checkpoints", as they waited for soldiers to decide "whimsically" whether to let them pass – or not.

Ideas: "Offering creative ideas for conflict resolution, development, peacemaking and peacekeeping" (Shinar, 2007: 200). These would include nonviolent ways to improve physical, political or psychological security (Rogers & Elworthy, 2002) or longer-term suggestions to resolve the conflict or transform the issues at stake into sources of a new, shared reality. In context, and bearing in mind that peace journalism is conceived as a remedial strategy, a story would gain a point under this heading if it drew attention to alternatives to further violence as a treatment recommendation. In the South African branch of the present study, one of the stories was about a horrific incident in which a group of teenagers had raped an intellectually disabled[40] young woman. The incident took place in Soweto in April 2012, whereupon the youths then pictured themselves with a mobile phone to create a video that they later posted on the internet, sparking "global outrage" (de Wet, 2010). The WJ version concentrated solely on an arrest of one of the suspects, and a dry recitation of legal protocol, registering no score for Ideas.

For the PJ version, the essentials of this development were given, then came a "corner-turn" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 167) to an interview with a man from a Gender Justice group who was running courses for men and boys to encourage them to address discriminatory attitudes towards women. He called for such work to be extended in a "national strategy", uniting all South Africans in a

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[40] Intellectually disabled is also known as a learning disability or mental retardation.

struggle against gender violence. This gave the story a score of 1 for Ideas, and begins to show how the elements of PJ fit together. Such a treatment recommendation appears appropriate and reasonable only once it is accepted that the problem has to be defined more broadly than in simple terms of individual perpetrator guilt. And it is voices below leadership level that are usually the first to come out with such ideas and start trying to implement them.

Propaganda: "Exposing lies, cover-up attempts and culprits on all sides, and revealing excesses committed by, and suffering inflicted on, peoples of all parties" (Shinar, 2007: 200). This refers to propaganda and is intended to register a score for stories that go beyond official accounts and versions of events, particularly from their "own" side – the authorities in the country in which the media in which they appear, are based. Herman and Chomsky put forward a model in which journalism about conflict was seen as a form of propaganda, whose function was "to inculcate and defend the economic, social and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state" (Herman & Chomsky 2002: 298). As discussed in Chapter 1, PJ is supposed to be "truth-oriented", in opposition to propaganda, in Galtung's model (see Appendix A). But propaganda can take effect by drawing attention repeatedly to particular parts of the truth, so PJ now is defined as prompting and enabling readers and audiences to form their own perspectives on dominant claims and accounts. Equally, peace journalism could be drawn into simply being 'propaganda for peace', so to avoid that the goal is make any propaganda more transparent, "ask yourself – why is this person telling me this? What is their interest?" suggested veteran BBC correspondent Allan Little[41] (in McGoldrick & Lynch, 2005: 108), who covered both Iraq wars in 1991 and 2003 and advocates the power of eye-witness journalism as an antidote to propaganda (Little, 2010: 10).

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[41] Please note that BBC correspondent Allan Little is not being presented here as a spokesman for peace journalism or the BBC but as a journalist concerned about the prominence of propaganda, and the dominance of certain narratives, see Little 2010.

A story in the Philippines research material featured a landmine laid by a rebel group, killing two civilians travelling in a military vehicle. The WJ version framed the military as protecting the civilians returning from a "peace rally". The item scored 0 under this heading, for reproducing the military narrative that they were goodies, fighting the 'war on terror' against the 'baddies', the rebels. In challenging this perspective the PJ version scored 1 for pointing out that the rally was actually organised by the military specifically to condemn the rebel group. According to a human rights monitoring group[42], hundreds of government-sponsored killings had taken place under the cloak of the so-called 'war on terror' rhetoric. This included some of the rebels and left-wing activists allegedly connected with the rebels.

Peace: "Paying attention to peace stories and post-war developments" (Shinar, 2007: 200). This means stories 'after' a violent incident (or violent phase), often referring to tracking some success in rebuilding the life of an individual or a community after they have escaped a situation of violence. It can take the form of highlighting something that works, such as former enemies now creating value together by producing community media or playing sport, or asylum seekers now successfully settled into the host society.

In the Mexican research material, a WJ story reported on an increased security measures by a joint operation between police and military against the drug cartels in Morelos state, entitled: 'crackdown on cartel violence'. The story featured men with guns, riding in military vehicles and politicians talking tough about a crackdown on the 'bad guys', the narco-traffickers – so clearly there was no image of peace. However the PJ version also featured a community centre rescuing former gang members. Many of school age, with parents employed in low-paid jobs, frequently returned to empty homes. Pointing out such elements gave this story 1 for background, and another 1 for the Idea of offering them after-school care, a meal and creative outlets for such youngsters. The image of peace: the personal story of a University student studying music reflecting on his

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[42] A spokesperson for Amnesty International makes this point in the PJ version of this story in the Philippines research material and will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

former life and how, had he remained a drug addict and gang member, he would now be dead!

In addition to the five headings from Shinar outlined above, the following criteria were adopted to include passive or "less interventionist" (Lee and Maslog, 2005: 324) peace journalism elements, for the avoidance of: emotive language; "labelling" of conflict parties as good and bad, and partisan reporting. To recognise the lesser importance of these indicators, compared with the main framing characteristics, the incidence of each resulted in the score for that particular item to be reduced by 0.5.

Emotive: Emotive language, also known as sensationalist language. If the language is moderate then the score under this heading is 0, whereas if the language or picture content is such as to shock or inflame readers and audiences then 0.5 is deducted. In the Australian TV news bulletin created for the research, the war journalism package on the ninth anniversary commemoration of the 9/11 attacks included archive footage of the planes flying into the Twin Towers – footage no longer used by many TV stations because it is regarded as disturbing and sensationalist, and unnecessary to tell the story. Hence the WJ version of this story lost 0.5 for being emotive.

Labelling: 'Labelling' of conflict parties as 'goodies' and 'baddies'. Another Mexican story from the 'war on drugs' led with the arrest of an alleged leader in the Zetas cartel boss, a man known as 'El Loco'. He was paraded in front of the cameras as a trophy, thus labelling him as guilty and bad without a trial or presumption of innocence. This would result in the story losing 0.5 for labelling. On the other hand the PJ version carefully referred to the arrested man as a suspect, so no deduction of 0.5.

Partisan: Partisan reporting refers to the journalist using '*we*' language, aligning themselves and the viewer with a party to a conflict. The Australian bulletins included an item on a suicide bombing in Iraq just as American troops were preparing to withdraw. The partisanship was revealed in the words: "How is Iraq going to survive when the Americans leave?" implying that the Iraqis themselves were helpless and incapable of "plugging" any "security gap". Then turning this

partisan tone up a notch with the line: "The beleaguered fort called for help from Uncle Sam", reveals how the Australian journalist internalised and reproduced the official US military view of the situation, thus scoring -0.5.

Producing research material in different countries

The television news bulletins compiled and played to viewers in Australia contained seven stories; in the Philippines, five; South Africa five and Mexico, four stories. A professional broadcast newsroom in each country was engaged as a partner and host to compile the pairs of bulletins. The aim was to 'pitch' the peace journalism versions within reach of the "existing idiom and range" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2012: 1044) of the medium[43]. This was in keeping with – and intended to further enable – the pattern of peace journalism practice, of prompting and supporting "immanent critique" (Hackett, 2011: 59), harnessing the legitimating norms of professional journalism to call for self-directed reforms within reach of journalistic agency, in keeping with the imperatives of pragmatic research geared towards practical application.

War journalism stories were generally selected from recent archive material in each newsroom. Creating peace journalism involved recording fresh picture sequences and interviews, then re-scripting, meaning re-writing the stories to add as many elements as possible from Shinar's list: background and context; ideas for solutions; a broader range of views; challenges to propaganda and images of peace. In the Philippines and Mexico, the WJ stories firstly had to be translated from the native languages, Cebuano and Spanish respectively, into English for the PJ scripts to be written then translated back into the original languages. This procedure was carried out in close consultation with experienced local journalists. Pragmatically, it enabled conversations about peace journalism among local journalists while the material was being compiled.

Reporters in each newsroom were recorded reading, or 'voicing', the new scripts, so that their new narration could be edited together with the pictures. This ensured that both the original WJ voicing and the corresponding fresh PJ voicing

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[43] Please note this is not the same a preparing research material for a psychology study, where 'objective' criteria would be used to generate research bulletins. As has been extensively explored in other scholarly texts, so called 'objective' news stories contain a bias towards war journalism (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 209; McGoldrick, 2006; Hackett, 2012). So I acknowledge that my role as the researcher, one who was a former professional journalist, and a psychotherapist influenced the editing of the news bulletins and interpretation of the data.

were similar both in look, sound and feel. This was important to remove the variable that audiences were simply reacting to differences in journalists' intonation and manner of presentation. In my previous study (McGoldrick, 2007), a male reporter recorded the war journalism script whilst a woman (myself) had voiced the peace journalism. Some audiences reacted to such differences, describing the peace journalism reporter's voice easier to listen to: "Your voice was of an explanatory kind of tone. Which wasn't trying to shut down thought but was trying to open out and give as much information as you possibly could in such a short period of time" (McGoldrick, 2008: 92).

But with the same journalist voicing both scripts, differences in viewer responses could be more confidently attributed to distinctions in the framing, as represented by the use of words, pictures and interviewees for the respective versions. The items were then re-edited to compile pairs of matching news bulletins. Most were recorded afresh in the studio, with both WJ and PJ bulletins introduced and presented by a familiar face of that particular local TV station (see Appendix H for bulletin scripts). Variations in the procedures will be explained in subsequent country chapters detailing the fieldwork in Australia, the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the pragmatic mixed methods methodology used to triangulate and compare datasets from four countries: Australia, the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico. It has explained how this selection of countries could enable a comparison of peace journalism responses from populations experiencing different stages of conflict. The independent variable for the experiment came in the form of adjusting the manifest content of the television news reporting in each country. The dependent variable – the audience responses – would supply the implicit content, the store of encoded meanings that viewers would bring to bear in their own framing of the events depicted in the material. These would depend on the incidence of what Scheufele (2000:

299) calls "activation tags" for processing new stimuli, which are embedded in metaphor and myth; embodied through neural recruitment in long experience of meaning-making; largely unconscious, and led, in value-based choices such as between different problem diagnoses and treatment recommendations, by viewers' emotional and empathic engagement.

The following Chapter 3, Methods, explains the experimental process, whereby a broad range of techniques was used to gather such responses. These yielded data in the forms of self-reported emotional states; responses to standardized framing questions, and more expansive, narrative artefacts from free-writing by participants, and focus group discussions. In this exploratory research, some of these data sources inevitably proved more illuminating than others, so the protocols evolved accordingly as data gathering was carried out in each country, since methods and assumptions were kept under constant review throughout the study (Denzin, 1978: 304).

The Methods

The process, the plan and the praxis used to explore the evolving case for peace journalism

Introduction

The research material was created in the form of two bulletins showing different versions of the same television news stories – one coded as war journalism, the other peace journalism – as outlined in the previous chapter. In later chapters, more detailed descriptions of the material, and the coding process in each country case, are set out. This chapter deals specifically with the methods used to gather audience response data. It details the process by which those methods were chosen and designed, the plan drawn up for the journey of the study and praxis of executing that plan, with its peaks and pitfalls. A journal written throughout the study reveals the reflective practice behind the evolution of the methods as they were refined and improved along the way.

The methods for gathering data on audience responses included questionnaires, with a number of prompts to viewers to record both their own emotional state – before the test, and after each individual story – and their responses to a number of questions designed to elicit information about the way they were framing key conflict issues in response to their viewing experience. Another method for gathering data in textual form was to allow participants to write down, in their own words, any thoughts or feelings that occurred to them whilst watching either the peace journalism or war journalism bulletin. And a third method was

to watch a bulletin with focus groups of participants, with membership drawn from a range of socio-economic backgrounds. These groups were engaged in a loosely structured discussion after watching either a PJ or a WJ bulletin, thus allowing further exploration of and reflection on the issues that emerged during their viewing.

The Plan

Writing the Questionnaires

The process of planning the questionnaires and focus groups involved reviewing the studies mentioned in Chapter 2, as the source for possible methods to measure cognitive and emotional responses to TV news, in particular War and Peace Journalism. Attention was also paid to prejudice studies in case it became feasible to test whether peace journalism could alter attitudes towards outgroups. The rationale for this will be discussed later in this chapter. Research on empathic responses was another area of investigation, particularly studies involving media. These findings fed into the writing of questionnaires to gather quantitative data from large groups of participants.

Initially one-on-one interviews were planned for qualitative data-gathering, following McGoldrick (2008). However, eventually focus groups were selected as an alternative method, to permit simultaneous harvesting of other data forms from a greater number of participating subjects. Before data gathering began, the original studies were reviewed once again to assess whether these were the best tests to yield the information needed, and why. The potential and the limits of each test were considered, along with constructive suggestions. What follows is a summary of that process as an indication of the examination each component part of this holistic multi-faceted method underwent along the way, beginning first with the assessment of each psychometric test to be used in the questionnaires.

Spielberger's State Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) is a simple, popular and

robust stress test, widely applied in clinical and research situations. Used in three psychological studies assessing the impact of watching TV news with quantitative methods (Szabo & Hopkinson, 2007; Harrell, 2000; Johnson & Davey, 1997) each demonstrated a stress response in viewers of TV news. This test was chosen to assess any difference in stress responses between viewers watching either peace journalism or war journalism. Each participant in each field experiment was given two STAIs to fill in, one before and one after watching either of the bulletins.

The test was initially created to measure emotional responses by students sitting exams and focused specifically on fear and anxiety because historically these emotions were recognised as significant determinants of human behaviour, even surfacing in documents from classical antiquity (Spielberger & Vagg, 1995). The test is designed to measure situational anxiety. Participants were asked to rate the appropriateness of 20 statements pertaining to feelings of fear and anxiety, for them right now, at this moment. A Likert rating scale of 1 to 4 was provided where 1 represented "not at all" to 4 "very much so". Statements included "I feel upset"; "I feel frightened"; "I feel pleasant" and "I feel calm". The limits of the STAI were that it was long, and copyrighted – meaning it could not be abridged or adapted. Additionally, only one score was produced as a measure of anxiety, so no assessment could be made of any changes in individual items before and after watching the news bulletins.

The Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) was used by Harrell (2000) and Johnson and Davey (1997). The test consists of 21 groups of statements pertaining to an individuals state of mind such as:

> "Sadness: 0 = 'I do not feel sad'. 1 – 'I feel sad much of the time.' 2 = 'I am sad all the time.' 3 = 'I am so sad or unhappy that I can't stand it." And "4. Loss of Pleasure: 0 = 'I get as much pleasure as I ever did from the things I enjoy.' 1 = 'I don't enjoy things as much as I used to.' 2 = 'I get very little pleasure from the things I used to enjoy.' 3 = 'I can't get any pleasure from the things I used to enjoy."

There was a suspicion that the measure would not yield results about the emotional impact of news itself as Harrell had noted that while his "investigation detected changes in anxiety ratings, it did not detect changes in depression levels as a result of watching negative news" (Harrell, 2000: 77). However a clinical colleague recommended that several measures be used to assess the mood of the participants walking into the study. At the first pilot testing in Sydney in October 2010 the BDI was used along with Penn State Worry Questionnaire (16 items) and the Depression, Anxiety, Stress subscale (DASS with 21 items). Each measure is commonly used by clinical psychologists, both with clients and in clinical testing. However these were subsequently dropped from the questionnaire bundle due to time constraints and because the STAI results appeared insufficiently significant to warrant further assessment of viewers' state of mind before watching the bulletins.

The Positive Affect Negative Affect Scale (PANAS) was used by Szabo and Hopkinson (2007) and Harrell (2000). Harrell had commented that anxiety and negative affect showed similar patterns (2000: 77), and this correlated with Szabo and Hopkinson's research suggesting that perhaps the PANAS was not necessary as it simply tracked the STAI. Johnson and Davey (1997) did not use the PANAS. The benefits of the PANAS are that it is short and a simple listing of 10 negative feelings such as "nervous", "distressed" and "irritable" randomly scattered between 10 positive feelings such as "interested", "excited" and "proud". Participants are asked to rate how much they feel that emotion right now, on a Likert-scale of 1 (*very slightly)* to 5 (*extremely*). The other benefit of the scale was that the items could be scored individually as well as collectively. The PANAS was used in the first pilot testing in Sydney in October 2010, when two PANAS's were included, before and after watching. Subsequently the PANAS was dropped from the questionnaire bundle after the procedure was changed to measure emotions after each item, rather than before and after the whole bulletin.

The Differential Emotion Scale (DES) was used in the only study specifically exploring the emotional impacts of violence in TV news. Unz, Schwab and Winterhoff-Spurk (2008) used Izard's Differential Emotion Scale (1977) which:

> Captures 10 fundamental emotions: interest, enjoyment, surprise, distress/sadness, anger, disgust, contempt, fear, shame/shyness, and guilt. Each emotion is assessed with three items (e.g., for enjoyment: delighted, happy, joyful; for fear: scared, fearful, afraid) that are rated on a 5-point Likert scale" (Unz et al., 2008: 144).

This seemed to be a more subtle way of measuring specific emotions and their relative changes before and after viewing each item. The scale was not copyrighted – so could be adapted if appropriate – and there appeared to be a direct link with violence. Was it possible that the emotion of contempt could be manipulated, to "lead us or leave us" to "over-value violent responses [to conflict, by]… dehumanizing the other" – an important critique, in the peace journalism literature, of the mainstream of war journalism (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 5)? There was a strong case to use the DES; however, it did not include the other emotion of interest in this study, namely empathy. Feelings of empathy, concerned, compassionate were added instead of Shame/shyness - sheepish, bashful, shy. The Unz et al. study also reported a reliability in the measures as indicated by the internal consistency (Cronbach's α over .70).

The Emotional Response Questionnaire (ERQ) was of interest as a possible measure of empathic responses to the experience of watching TV. Dovidio et al. (2004) studied prejudice reduction among participants watching TV videos depicting racial discrimination. Modelled on Batson's 1991 test, the measure was intended to assess how much participants experienced from 1 ("not at all") to 7 ("extremely"): "A range of emotions reflecting empathic concern (e.g., sympathetic, touched) and personal distress (e.g., disturbed, upset). We also included items designed to address feelings of injustice (e.g., angered, alarmed)" (Dovidio et al., 2004: 1540).

The terms were outlined further.

1. *Empathic concern:* sympathetic, soft-hearted, tender, and touched.
2. *Personal distress:* distressed, disturbed, upset, and grieved.
3. *Feelings of injustice*: angered, annoyed, alarmed and bothered.

Myers (2009) asked similar questions and referred specifically to empathy in his study of the self-other overlap and perspective-taking. Participants answered these items on a 9-point scale from 1 ("not at all") to 9 ("extremely"). Finally, participants indicated how much they had experienced 20 specific emotions from 1 ("not at all") to 9 ("extremely") while watching the video.

> This list included 6 items (moved, tender, warm, soft-hearted, sympathetic, and compassionate) found by previous research to load on an 'empathic concern' factor (Batson 1987, 1991). The other emotions were as follows: annoyed, happy, sad, delighted, sorrowful, joyful, disgusted, acceptance, angry, relaxed, bored, excited, tense, and calm (Myers, 2009: 67).

At stake in all these studies was a specific category of empathy – the concept of "merging", inviting participants to put themselves in the shoes of the character on screen. One problem for this study was the number of different news items in each bulletin, each featuring several characters. Therefore it was difficult to invite viewers to merge with one person in one story, not to mention the whole bulletin.

At the outset, in the Australia branch of the study (the first to be attempted), two PJ stories were obvious and jumped out as clearly providing participants with the opportunity to merge with an individual character on screen: the asylum story and the Israeli-Palestinian peace talks. The PJ version included several interview 'grabs'[44], and a picture sequence, showing an Afghan refugee who had obtained asylum after coming to Australia by boat. Effectively, this said: 'put yourself in their shoes, imagine you have fled for your life', so there would be an

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[44] Television news parlance for a short section of a recorded interview, usually between ten and 25 seconds in length, inserted into an edited story.

oblique reference to merging to go some way to replicating the instructions given in the previous studies. The Israeli-Palestinian peace talks PJ story offered participants the opportunity merge, with a Palestinian refugee living in Sydney, who implicitly invited viewers to put themselves in the shoes of Palestinians living under occupation with his statement, "imagine you are travelling from Marrickville to Glebe and you have to pass through 14 army checkpoints".

After some reflection it was decided that the ERQ could be confusing when applied to political stories, and narratives with several characters, so it was dropped from the main questionnaire bundles. However, it is potentially useful when participants have a chance to consider only one or two stories with a specific individual character.

Prejudice tests were of interest due to their close correlation with empathy, explored in detail in Chapter 1. Increased empathy is part of the process of reducing prejudice: a possible outcome of, and thus a route to, valuing nonviolence.

> When the primary emotion elicited by another person's situation is empathic sympathy and compassion, empathic concern may be the primary mediator of improved intergroup attitudes; when the situation highlights injustice and the predominant emotions elicited relate to anger and annoyance, feelings of injustice may primarily mediate the effect of perspective-taking on reductions in prejudice (Dovidio et al., 2004: 1543).

The following prejudice tests were used in this study:

Group Thermometer Tests (GTT) are a common prejudice measure (Correll, Park & Smith, 2008; Dovidio et al., 2004). In one study of intergroup biases, the questionnaires "included a group warmth thermometer, on which participants rated how *warmly* (100) or coolly (0) they felt towards a member of a group e.g whites; Hispanics; blacks; native Americans; Asian Americans" (Correll et al. 2008: 475). In another study (Gonsalkorale, Sherman & Klauer, 2010) the picture of a temperature thermometer was included as a visual metaphor for feelings. Assessing the test, it appeared simple and quick to fill in and was included in

questionnaires for participants in Australia and the Philippines, then subsequently dropped in the later studies in South Africa and Mexico, due to weak results.

Peasbody Sets Tests (PST) were also part of Correll et al.'s intergroup biases study. These consisted of two polarised semantic scales, which assessed the same conceptual aspects of judgement but varied in their evaluative connotations, meaning desirable qualities lay at one end of the scale and undesirable qualities lay at the other of a 6-inch line. In the study by Correll and colleagues:

> Participants first rated Hispanics on these items, and then Whites, in each case marking with an X to indicate the point between the two adjectives that best characterized the group. Additional sets included lax–rigorous/lenient–strict, reckless–cautious/daring–fearful, selective–undiscriminating/picky–broadminded, conceited–modest/self-confident insecure, sociable–reclusive/ chatty–reserved, unreflective–intelligent/commonsensical–bookish, and insolent–respectful/free-spirited–conventional (Correll et al., 2008: 475).

This test again appeared simple, quick and visual, with a straight line on which to mark an X, potentially providing a more subliminal means of picking up off-the-cuff responses to any attitudinal shift towards an outgroup. The test was adapted to include the following adjectives: good - evil / hardworking – lazy / trustworthy – dishonest / safe – dangerous / similar – different / familiar – strange / peaceful – warlike / passive – aggressive. In Australia and the Philippines, participants rated both the ingroup and outgroup. For example, in Sydney they were asked first to "put a cross in the box closest to the adjective that best describes Muslims", then white Australians and asylum seekers. A set of 1 cm boxes replaced the line, so the gap between the words was 10 centimetres rather than 6 inches as this was more easily converted into a number.

The problem with both the feeling thermometer and the Peasbody sets was that they are measures of *explicit* bias and not measures of *implicit* bias. Equally, the study did not run any pre-test measures of prejudice. The aim was to assess any

difference between the war journalism and peace journalism groups rather than any change in those specific individuals, also as indicative of something to explore further. However neither of these measures yielded any useful results when used in this manner, and were dropped from the questionnaire bundle in South Africa and Mexico.

Evaluation of Military Measures Test and Opinion (EMMTO)

Two previous peace journalism studies discussed in Chapter 2 (Kempf, 2007; Schaefer, 2006) assessed changes in readers' attitude to the use of violence. As the focus of this study was simply the other side of the same coin, namely to assess changes in viewers' attitude to the use of nonviolence, that meant the development of these questions for this study largely followed methods used in Kempf's and Schaefer's studies. Schaefer found that indeed "readers of escalation-orientated texts will accept military measures to a greater extent than readers of de-escalation-orientated texts" (2006: 13), where escalation-orientated texts are equivalent to war journalism, and de-escalation-orientated texts to peace journalism.

In Schaefer's study, participants were asked to rate the appropriateness of military responses to one of three conflicts, including Indonesia versus East Timor:

- air strikes on camps for training terrorists and/or soldiers
- the risk of killing a person during 'police action' linked to an act of terrorism or the massacre in East Timor, respectively
- the attempt to kill a person with an air strike
- the attempt to destroy Al-Qaida or the Aum [Shinrikyo] cult by military measures, or the attempt to end human rights abuses in East Timor (2006: 8).

A similar set of questions was written for each story in the present study, in each version of the bulletins in all four countries. For example, after watching

the Middle East Peace talks story in Australia, viewers of both versions were asked to rate the following statements from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*):

1. I found the story interesting and wanted to find out more.
2. There will never be peace in the Middle East.
3. The way the story was told was biased.
4. Israel is entitled to build more settlements in the West Bank.
5. There can be peace if Israel ends its military occupation of Palestinian land.
6. The way the story was told was balanced.
7. Israel should pull back to internationally recognised borders.
8. The story was boring.

Extra questions pertaining to whether the story was boring, biased, interesting or balanced were added, following Kempf (2007) to assess opinions on the story. However it was not possible in each of the four countries to follow Schaefer's helpful suggestion for future studies to "examine the initial levels of subjects [opinions] before they are influenced, in order to determine whether escalation or de-escalation-orientated texts or both chiefly produce differences" (Schaefer, 2006: 13).

In assessing the effectiveness of the EMMTO, one complication with the current study was that participants would be hearing about several different conflicts in the news bulletin rather than focusing on one as they did in Kempf and Schaefer's research. It was suspected that this would dilute the results and as these measures generated few results in this study, it is highly likely that it was the cause: too many stories.

Thought Listing Protocols (TLP) are a procedure commonly utilised in advertising and framing studies: "individual-level frames have mostly been measured by post-hoc coding answers to open-ended survey questions or post-test questionnaires in experimental designs" (Scheufele, 2000: 312). Such "open-ended survey questions", also known as "thought listing protocols" were adapted by Coleman and Thorson, as discussed in Chapter 2, to assess the differential

framing of news stories about violent crime. In response to, either the individual-blaming or public-health-reporting framing, readers were instructed to write down "all thoughts and feelings" experienced while reading "including thoughts and feelings that are not necessarily relevant" (2002: 408). The test offered the chance of picking up subliminal cognitions by "gathering observations of the knowledge activated by people during message processing" (Shapiro, 1994: 1), preserving their responses to information as it passed through their short-term-memory (STM). Ericsson and Simon warned against using 'why' questions as these could potentially interfere with the process: "One shouldn't ask subjects why, but should simply use verbalization instructions to discover what information is attended to or is stored" (1980: 228). "Proper protocols ask subjects to report their thoughts, not to explain them" (Russo, Johnson & Stephens, 1989: 759). Coleman and Thorson were careful not to interfere with the act of reading itself, so "the procedure used a nondirective probe, soliciting reports immediately after reading was completed" (2002: 408).

The dilemma for this research was, whether to arrange for TLPs to be written while watching the news bulletin or after watching? Shapiro suggested that concurrent procedures would yield a "full and accurate reporting of the contents of STM" (Shapiro, 1994: 6). However, he issued a warning that such a procedure might be "unnatural or so mentally burdensome that reporting interferes with the natural performance of the task" (Shapiro, 1994: 6). Not surprisingly, viewing television was placed into that category. Both approaches were pilot-tested, with participants initially asked to write their TLPs *during* the television news bulletin. The questionnaire requested that viewers "please jot down ***all*** thoughts and feelings you have while watching this television news bulletin, including thoughts and feelings that are not necessarily relevant to what you are watching. It does not matter how you phrase it, there are no marks for writing more or less, just do your best." This was subsequently altered to pause the bulletin after each story, allowing participants up to five minutes to write their TLPs and answer the EMMTO questions pertaining to the story they had just watched. This procedure will be further elaborated in subsequent Chapters, as it unfolded country by country.

The other consideration for this task was handwritten questionnaires – as questionnaires were not filled in by computer there was the risk of losing data due to illegible handwriting. One suggestion from Shapiro was segmentation to break up the cognitive responses "to provide the subject with a series of boxes and ask the subject to write only one thought in each box. Subjects vary a great deal in how well they follow such instructions" (1994: 9). For this study, then, a total of 16 small boxes (each sized the equivalent of a 1.5 spaced line, divided by the half page) per story were provided for participants in all the field studies. A variety of responses ensued from one word in each box to several complex narratives scrawled across all the boxes. Surprisingly, few were totally illegible!

The second challenge after transcribing the TLPs was analyzing and interpreting the responses, setting themes and sub-themes to organise the data. This process will be recounted later in this chapter.

The TLP procedure proved highly effective, and it offered the added bonus of providing mixed methods to the testing of large numbers of students. Initially the participants answering questionnaires were intended to yield purely quantitative data, but adding the TLPs to their bundle offered the prospect of gathering additional qualitative data at the same time. In hindsight the TLPs were a welcome addition to the experimental design, as they proved to be an effective analysis tool for quantitative responses that at times appeared weak or contradictory, thus requiring further interpretation.

Additionally, requesting focus group participants write TLPs as they watched offered them a useful record of their thoughts whilst viewing; a record that would prove useful during the subsequent group discussions.

All participants filled in the **demographic profiles** based on the format used by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, requesting individuals specify their age; sex; education status; marital status; employment and income. As the content of both bulletin versions would be political in nature, a question regarding participants' political preference was included: "If there were an election today how would you vote?" This was followed by the option to tick one of the main political parties in that country, for example in South Africa the options included African

National Congress; Democratic Alliance; Congress of the People; Inkatha Freedom Party; Independent Democrats; United Democratic Movement; Freedom Front Plus African Christian Democratic Party; United Christian Democratic Party; Pan Africanist Congress; Minority Front; Azapo; African People's Convention; South African Communist Party; Other, and no political preference.

Similarly, assessing any possible shift in prejudice against members of such outgroups as Muslims necessitated enquiring into participants' perceptions of their own group status, which includes religion, enquiring whether they were: Christian; Muslim; Jewish; Hindu; Sikh; Buddhist; Other or no religion. Binder et al.'s (2009) assessment of group status, which suggested that group status was not just about country of birth but whether one felt native to that country, was also added to the demographic questions:

> Respondents were first asked to decide between two options, one being, 'My family has always lived in Belgium/England/Germany and I feel mainly 'native,' and the other being, 'My family came to Belgium/England/Germany from another country and I am not a 'native Belgian/white English/German' (2009: 847).

This approach was adapted to relate to the specific countries in this study, so for example: "Family background: please tick the appropriate statement for you: My family has always lived in Australia and I feel 'Australian'; My family came to Australia and I do not feel 'Australian'; My family came to Australia and I do feel 'Australian'; My family live overseas and I do not feel 'Australian'". When the prejudice tests were dropped from the questionnaires in South Africa and Mexico, this was changed to simply ask the country of birth.

One additional set of questions about news consumption was asked, on the last page of the pack: whether newspapers, radio, television, or online news was consumed on a daily, weekly, rarely or never at all basis; and what source of news was *most* trusted and the source of news *least* trusted.

Initially the demographic and news consumption questions were called the pre-test questionnaire (PTQ) but were subsequently placed at the back to allow people to fill them in once they had finished answering the other questions and/or writing their TLPs.

Every participant answered such questions, in every focus group and all the larger testings where groups of up to 50 students filled in qestionnaires. This allowed individual profiles to be compiled on everyone who took part (see **Appendix G**). Demographic information on all participants in the study is summarised in a table at **Appendix F**, and has been woven judiciously into the following data analysis, where it is informative to appreciate someone's political or religious affiliation to interpret their responses. Volunteers participated on the basis that the study was confidential, that their names would not be used in any publications. This means all the indentifying information has been stored without names but each questionnaire was numbered and that unique number remained alongside each TLP and focus group quote until the final write-up of the thesis. It meant at any point in the processing of the data, a participant's demographic details could be retrieved to cross-reference their views with their political allegiances, religion, country of origin, income, educational background or pattern of media consumption.

Planning the Focus Groups

The plan for recruiting and conducting focus groups drew on the research by the Glasgow University Media Group on UK audience perceptions of the Israel-Palestine conflict, and the links with media frames. The Glasgow team utilised both survey questions and focus groups (Philo & Berry 2004, 2011) to examine how public knowledge was shaped by news reporting on the topic. As suggested in the previous Chapter, there were some parallels with this study in extrapolating audience understanding in the form of beliefs and perceptions, not to just one but a number of conflicts; not from the news reporting in general but to differential framings of news reporting in the prepared research material, and

whether these lead audiences to value developmental, nonviolent, cooperative responses to conflict. Philo and Berry selected from different demographic and income groups to control for these factors. As far as possible they selected "'normally occurring' groups, that is people who would meet and speak with each other in the normal course of their lives" (Philo & Berry, 2004: 200). This included low-income male and female cleaners/janitors; middle-class female office workers; young male and female students.

This study attempted to replicate such sampling across the field research, yielding the following groups:

1. Low-income male building attendants, Sydney, Australia.
2. Low-income male and female cleaners, and local stall-holders, Davao, the Philippines.
3. Low-income male and female secretaries, Mexico City, Mexico[45].
4. Working and middle-class male and female Muslim residents, Auburn, Sydney, Australia.
5. Working and middle-class male and female office workers, Sydney, Australia.
6. Middle-class male and female bankers, Sydney, Australia.
7. Middle-class male and female office workers, Johannesburg, South Africa.
8. Middle-class male and female data processing workers, Johannesburg, South Africa.
9. Middle-class male and female lecturers, Davao, the Philippines.
10. Middle-class male and female lecturers, Mexico City, Mexico.
11. Young male and female students, Sydney, Australia.
12. Young male and female students, Johannesburg, South Africa.
13. Young male and female students, Mexico City, Mexico.

Two focus groups were organised with each demographic, so one group could

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[45] As will be detailed in the forthcoming country data chapters, those low income groups where English was not the participants first language required a professional interpreter to assist with focus group discussions 2. and 3. in the Philippines and Mexico. The middle-class participants in both countries were fluent in English.

watch peace journalism and the other war journalism, making a total of 26 focus groups. It is worth noting that while the demographics of such groups contained both students and members of the general public it has been shown in previous studies that students' psychological responses to different framings of news are similar to those of the general public (e.g., Nelson, Clawson & Oxley, 1997).

Philo and Berry put forward some helpful benefits of focus groups: firstly the moderator can check that participants have really understood the questions, and second, "it allows a rapport or level of trust to develop between those taking part and the moderator, so that people become less guarded and more prepared to say what they really believe" (2004: 205).

Morgan (1996) reviewed the re-emerging popularity of focus groups, over the previous decade, in a wide range of exploratory and applied research. As a note of validation in this mixed methods design, others in social research have followed a similar path: "over 60% of the empirical research using focus groups during the past decade combined them with other research methods" (Morgan, 1996: 130). He also suggested there was a synergy to be achieved from such groups: "(w)hat makes the discussion in focus groups more than the sum of separate individual interviews is the fact that the participants both query each other and explain themselves to each other" (Morgan, 1996: 139).

While focus groups have strengths, there are also weaknesses, one being the power of the group to influence how individuals respond; quietening dissent and demand characteristics. Another being that what people say in public is different from what their behaviours in private suggest. Media anthropologist Mica Madianou, in her ethnographic studies of media consumers, noted "differences between discourse and practices" (Madianou, 2010:432). These are all points that are worth reflecting on in the final analysis of all the results in Chapter 9, the discussion Chapter. There was potential for the emergence in results of demand characterstics (Orne, 1962) in Australia, where my multiple positioning as a PhD researcher, lecturer, student and service user of the library and buildings, could have prevented honest and open discussion in the groups. However as the participants did not know what version of news they were watching, whether it was war journalism or

peace journalism, they did not know what response I wanted. As is clear in Chapter 5, there were some very critical comments about peace journalism, that I am known to have written about.

But at this point back to the practical matter of organizing the groups. Morgan raised several crucial issues for this research such as the number and type of groups; moderator involvement; how many questions; the type of questions and standardized versus emergent questions.

This resulted in the writing of a moderator script complete with a full set of questions, part of which is reproduced below. But while the script was a useful prompt to welcome participants to the group, briefly explain the research, the ground rules and procedure, it included more preconceived questions than could be put in practice, since emergent questions then tended to take up the allotted time:

> **Focus Group script written October 28, 2010**
>
> **Thank you** for taking the time to help with our research about the power of television news. You're one of several different groups who're sharing their perceptions of TV news.
>
> PAUSE TO WATCH THE BULLETIN
>
> **.....Feelings:** How are you feeling *now*? How *were* you feeling while watching the bulletin?
>
> **"Go through each story**, this is not a memory test, there are no right or wrong answers here, I'm going to run through each story and just ask you a few questions about what you took from them:
>
> > o   When you were watching the story **what was going on for you**?
> >
> > o   Why – was there enough explanation and context in those stories?

o Who did you identify with most ...empathise with... want to help...?

o What was interesting? What did you want to find out more about?

o What moments did you turn away or switch off?

o What happens when the politicians appear?

o Which story impacted you the most and why?" ENDS.

On this issue of questions, Morgan alluded to a great discrepancy of assessments as to what constitutes a 'structured' or 'unstructured' group protocol: "Lederman (1990:123) characterized a guide that contained five broad questions as 'quite structured', while Byers & Wilcox (1991:65) termed a guide with 17 specific questions 'relatively unstructured'" (Morgan 1997:145). In this case, seven questions, devised as prompts to elicit the participants' responses to their experience, were adopted as a guide but freely adapted as necessary to respond to the discussion, meaning that the focus groups in this study belong at the loosely structured end of the spectrum.

Other focus group **protocols were considered and dropped** such as the inclusion of a writing task. Both Kempf (2007) and Philo and Berry asked participants to write their own versions of news stories. The Glasgow Media Group gave participants a selection of photographs and asked them to:

Imagine that they were journalists and to write a brief news story using the pictures as a stimulus. The purpose of this was to examine whether they were able to reproduce news language and the explanations of the conflict which were most prominent in news accounts (Philo & Berry, 2004: 203).

While this held the potential as a subliminal tool to elicit perceptions shaped by the news, it was ruled out of this study because of the number of different stories people were watching. In a separate subliminal test, a longitudinal study of Rwandans listening to a radio soap opera invited subjects to participate in role-plays designed to ascertain more unconscious shifting attitudes towards the outgoup (Paluck, 2009). Again, the problem with utilising such creative ideas in

this study was that participants were watching stories about numerous different conflicts and outgroups.

After reviewing all the tests, procedures and protocols, a number of issues remained unresolved such as the length of the video to be played, and whether to provide for a "buffer" (Szabo and Hopkinson 2007), some intervention to lift people's mood if they were left depressed by the news. As mentioned in the previous chapter, a relaxation tape was used in two TV news studies Johnson and Davey (1997) and Szabo and Hopkinson (2007); however Harrell (2000) showed that any mood effects passed after three hours, so exposure would not result in any lasting ill effects. Approval to conduct the experiment was obtained, from the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Sydney, with a statement that a relaxation tape would be available just in case any participants watching the war journalism appeared disturbed. However this did not prove to be necessary.

Length and type of video: All of the studies assessed here showed TV news videos of between 10 and 15 minutes in length: Unz et al. (2008); Szabo and Hopkinson (2007), Johnson and Davey (1997) used slightly longer at around 15 minutes, Harrell (2000) played a 10-minute video. This justified later decisions to cut the bulletin time down from 25 minutes for the Australian PJ video to a subsequent 13 minutes for the Mexican WJ bulletin, the final branch of the study. Interim branches, in the Philippines then South Africa, showed a gradual decrease in overall duration, from the longest in Australia to the shortest in Mexico. Previous studies used selections of three types of news (Harrell, Johnson & Davey), which were shown to three different groups of participants, coded as "positive", "negative" and "neutral" news. Unz et al. created five grades of violence and in their experiment the video was stopped after each story to measure emotional responses using the DES. None of the studies varied the framing of the same television stories. It is only the print studies that altered the framing: Coleman and Thorson (2002), Schaefer (2006), Kempf (2007) and Dunn (2005). So this is the first study to measure responses to television news, using two differently framed versions of the same stories.

The bulletins: Creating the bulletins in professional news organisations meant the study came close to Paluck & Green's prescription of using elements:

> that are often recommended but seldom used in concert: the use of random assignment to create treatment and control groups, the study of real world media interventions in naturalistic settings, and the development and implementation of a variety of qualitative and quantitative approaches to the measurement of outcomes (2009: 638).

The groups were randomly assigned but the major difference between this and the Rwanda study was the measurement of media effects after participants had listened to a series of radio programmes for a year. In this study, the measurements were being taken minutes after watching only one news bulletin, rather than viewing over a longer period.

Although not applied in a naturalistic setting, since people were sitting in classrooms rather than their own home, "real world media" interventions were used in the study. War journalism was taken from existing previously broadcast TV news items and peace journalism was created to meet specific coding criteria. As explained in the Methodology Chapter, each story selected, for each bulletin, in each country was coded by awarding points for the absence or presence of material conforming to Shinar's criteria (2007) and subtracting for the incidence of Lee and Maslog's (2005) "less interventionist" or passive indicators.

The subsequent country chapters, analysing the data gathered in Australia, the Philippines; South Africa and Mexico respectively, show how stories were coded as war journalism when content categorised under most of Shinar's five headings was absent (Shinar, 2007: 200). They also present and discuss results from applying both qualitative and quantitative data gathering techniques to show any significant differentials in audience response after watching PJ and WJ respectively as recommended by Paluck & Green (2009).

Peace journalism was created by adding new elements corresponding to Shinar's headings, typically interview 'grabs' and picture sequences gathered within reasonable travelling distance of the newsroom and built into packages produced to similar durations and in similar style to the original, thus ensuring that the peace journalism versions were within reach of the existing "idiom and range" (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2012: 1044) of the medium. Being in working newsrooms did facilitate small informal conversations about changes being made to the news. Those reporters who voiced both the war journalism and the peace journalism versions were often curious about the differences. In the Philippines, the News Editor of ABS-CBN Davao requested a presentation of the final peace journalism versions to explain such ideas to his team of journalists and camera crews.

The Process of organising the study

After reviewing all the previous relevant studies, a draft outline procedure emerged, involving qualitative and quantitative measures, to assess whether and how far the experience of watching peace journalism prompts and enables audiences to *value* developmental, nonviolent, cooperative responses to conflict; and whether and how far, in comparison, watching war journalism leads them to value violent and/or punitive responses.

Ethics approval was obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) at the University of Sydney (see Appendix C). This included outlining the testing procedures, recruitment protocols and the provision of participant information sheets and consent forms (see Appendix D). While overall ethics permission was granted for the study, modification requests were required for each field trip overseas, these involved outlining partnership arrangements with universities in the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico. University partners assisted with student participant recruitment, the translation of participant

information sheets and consent forms into local languages in the Philippines and Mexico, and safety protocols for each location[46].

A personal methodology journal, maintained throughout the process to enable reflective practice (as recommended by Denzin (1978)), explored evolving ideas and procedures for what worked and did not work, starting with the pilot testing done in Sydney. One typical early entry read as follows:

> **October 7, 2010** tried a pilot focus group, realised that I hadn't stressed the need to be on time and a couple arrived 15 minutes late and half an hour late. I was nervous about going through my whole introduction because I knew the people, so need to take another look at that in relation to the group. They looked rather puzzled when they were filling in their psychometric tests, so need to perhaps put more reassurance in about that.

A few days later the first screening of the two bulletins took place as part of an undergraduate Peace and Conflict Studies class, with reflections captured in the following journal entry:

> **October 11, 2010.** Ran the first student testing with potentially 120 participants and only 41 turned up. The whole process was a panicky scramble, partly because we did not give ourselves enough preparation time that day. I was still tweaking the questionnaires two hours before the session. I panicked because the students had been given the wrong room number, an error picked up in an email from Judith [A/Prof Judith Keene, who was the lecturer for the class]. This was a correction to discovering a fortnight before that there was only one room booked for the session. Judith booked another but anticipated all the students would meet in the old room and we'd redirect them to another. We decide to email them and allocate them that way. It all felt like a muddle.

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[46] Specific details outlined in the Ethics process such as how participants were recruited; whether participants were paid for their participation;
how and when research material was translated into different languages, are all dealt with on a country-by-country basis and detailed in the forthcoming data chapters: 4,5,6,7,8 pertaining to each point on the map.

Why were numbers so low? There was no incentive for students to attend. It was after a semester break, they were into deadline time for essays and we suspect many decided to cut their losses and not attend a non-essential subject. They'd all already chosen essay topics that perhaps didn't include peace journalism[47].

Much later in the study while running focus groups in Mexico the following journal entry was made:

> **30th May, 2012.** So we're in the middle of the focus groups and I'm struck by the strength of the results… the PJ viewers are interested, happy and hopeful. They keep commenting on how good it is to hear about the 'real' Mexico. Whilst the WJ viewers are angry, hostile, negative, cynical, bored. I believe its because I put a lot more PJ into these versions, each story has a really powerful example of a grassroots solution as well as further evidence of the real problems in Mexico.

This gives a taste of the self-reflection that continued throughout the study, resulting in evolving procedures for each stage. These gradual changes will be outlined in the subsequent country Chapters.

In total 468 individuals took part in the study, answering some 110, 611 questions; writing 2,501 Thought Listing Protocols (TLPs) in larger rooms filling in questionnaires or in one of the 26 Focus Groups. Table 3.1 below gives a breakdown of the numbers participating in each aspect of the research.

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[47] Please note this is an honest verbatim extract from my journal intended to reveal a transparency of my process and authentic attempt to learn, develop and evolve the process throughout the study, to follow Denzin's edict, quoted in chapter 2, that "researchers must be flexible in the evaluation of their methods. Every action in the field provides new definitions, suggests new strategies, and leads to continuous modifications of initial research designs" (Denzin, 1978: 304).

Country	Number of participants	Quantitative Questions	TLPs	FGs	FG Quan. Questions	FG TLPs
Australia	112	384 = 43,008	672	66	120 = 7,920	462
Philippines	99	308 = 30,492	495	24	120 = 2,880	568
South Africa	65	275 = 17,875	325	33	0	165
Mexico	36	241 = 8,676	144	35	0	297
Subtotal	**314**	**100,051**	**1,636**	**158**	**10,800**	**1,492**
Totals	**People Quan** **314**	**Quan. questions** **110,611**	**TLPs** **2,501**	**FGs** **158**	**Total participants** **468**	**No. of FGs** **26**

Table 3.1 Overview of research groups, questions and participants

The Bulletins: Working in professional newsrooms enabled high quality material to be generated, and bulletins to be produced to professional standards, so most viewers believed they were watching 'real' news even when it was peace journalism. Being a former professional TV reporter made a huge difference to appreciating the pressure and demands of a working newsroom. In Australia, being a former staff member of SBS News (which hosted the Australian branch of the research) made accessing library material and viewing facilities straightforward.

However, in countries where English was not the first language, all the procedures proved more challenging. In the Philippines, it meant depending on the news editor to access the material and a professional translator to translate the scripts. In Mexico, the challenge was exacerbated further by mainstream news organisations failing to confirm partnership arrangements until the last minute when an independent company stepped forward to support the research. Just prior to that breakthrough this entry was made in the study journal:

> **17th May 2012**
>
> Mexico has felt so hostile, people seem aloof, suspicious and distant, the city is so packed, congested and alien like cold. It doesn't help that I'm staying on the moon [inadvertently booked into hotel in outlying business district].
>
> I've struggled to find a host TV company as they were all too busy or suspicious to invite us in. So I'm going with a promise from Milenio TV, the new station on the block, pitching itself at being first to every story. That means most of their stories are reads over pictures and very few packages. I feel nervous about the process. So I've altered the procedure and begun with stories I'm shooting the PJ elements for and hoping I can get the WJ versions. I've also decided to do the video editing myself, that way I can film on our camera with no need to worry about NTSC [the standard video format used in Mexico, while our VT camera operates on PAL] or the time it takes to get the WJ versions or the scripts translated. I

> will edit, then it looks like I'll hire a freelance presenter to read the links in the University studio.

These and other challenges are outlined further in the subsequent data chapters, which discuss the methods followed for each country more fully.

The Praxis

Praxis Analysis of results

Data analysis began as soon as the first questionnaires were handed in and focus group recorded. Again this was to track the most effective methods and to keep on top of what rapidly grew into an enormous data-bank.

With all participants filling in the questionnaires by pen on paper, I had more than a hundred thousand numbers to be typed up by hand. A professional statistician was employed to calculate the results once the numbers had been transcribed. Although this is a mixed-methods study, the primary data was qualitative, that is data from the TLPs and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were both greater in volume and scope for Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). The huge volume of written and spoken words required a more sophisticated method of analysis, one that could process the meaning of the words themselves as well as the context they were spoken in, what follows in the reasoning in selecting such analysis tools.

Praxis Analysis - Thought Listing Protocols (TLPs)

To analyse the TLPs, as a subjective approach Shapiro suggested, "simply read the protocols and try to find common elements that illuminate the mental processes subjects tend to use" (1994: 9). Coleman and Thorson used trained coders to categorize the thoughts into topics of "world view (justworld, fatalism, and comprehensibility) broken into causes, consequences, prevention, and generalizations; attribution of responsibility (individual or societal);

believability; and journalistic criticism" (2002: 409). These were then counted: "These frequency counts are then used to predict some dependent variable - usually attitude change or behavior" (Shapiro, 1994: 9). By counting their groups of thoughts, Coleman and Thorson were able to conclude that the "public health information in crime and violence news stories appears to help shift people's attitudes so they become more critical of society's role in crime and violence" (2002: 410).

This study followed Coleman and Thorson's approach but adapted it to utilize a theoretical model that is key to this study: Entman's influential description of framing. In other words, the TLPs became an ideal opportunity to test a chief theoretical underpinning of this research, where framing is defined thus:

> To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to *promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation* [emphasis in original] (Entman, 1993: 52).

What he is suggesting is that altering the framing of a story, in this case as either war journalism or peace journalism, alters viewers' "consciousness" (Entman, 1993 51) about key issues. If correct, then which version they watch should alter how people define problems, understand the causes, make moral evaluations and come up with treatment recommendations. Ultimately, it should help to disclose whether they value violent or nonviolent responses to conflict.

To ascertain whether such shifts in consciousness were occurring amongst viewers of war or peace journalism, a slightly simplified version of Entman's framing schema was used[48] to categorise and code each individual sentence within the TLPs around the main three headings: moral evaluation, problem definition and treatment recommendation. Each story in each country generated

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[48] The simplification occurred organically, evolving in a "continuous modifications of initial research designs" (Denzin, 1978: 304). In coding participant TLPs about the stories, it was difficult to distinguish meaningfully between their problem definition and causal interpretation, so these two categories were merged under the heading of "causes", then as is next explained other sub-themes emerged.

its own original subthemes. A grounded theory approach, broadly in the tradition of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), allowed these story sub-themes to emerge organically under headings pertaining to that specific issue. To utilize such an organic approach it was necessary to draw on a phenomenological tool broadly in the tradition of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA).

IPA is a method of conducting qualitative research with an ideographic focus, aiming to offer insights into how a given person, in a given context, makes sense of a given phenomenon. IPA seeks to recover, from a body of data such as the textual artefacts generated in this study by TLPs and FGDs, "an insider's perspective" (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006: 103). It does this by going beyond "a first-order analysis... which summarises participants' concerns" (Larkin, Watts and Clifton, 2006: 103), to detect and consider "patterns of meaning [which] are developed, and then reported in a thematic form" (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006: 104). In this study, such an approach is essential to trace and analyse the transition between the coded content – built in to the stories in the respective bulletins – and the implicit content, created by viewers with reference to the layered and interlocking meaning structures built up in their previous viewing (and other) experience.

Such an approach is practical and pragmatic because it frees the researcher to interpret meanings embedded in the text; but note that hermeneutics is applied rather than a strict textual discourse analysis.

> Discourse analysis regards verbal reports as behaviours in their own right which should be the focus of functional analysis. IPA by contrast is concerned with cognitions, that is, with understanding what the particular respondent thinks or believes about the topic under discussion (Smith, Jarman & Osborn 1999: 219).

How IPA was used in this study can be illustrated using an example from the Mexican branch of the study. An item about a joint police and military security crackdown on the drug cartels generated three problem definitions: individual perpetrators, and two 'systemic' problems – a shared problem of security and a

shared problem of poverty, or deprivation. Analysis revealed that Peace journalism viewers tended to define the problem as the system – a shared problem of poverty, writing 12 sentences under this heading. They also named the shared problem of security, writing 14 sentences under this heading.

 War journalism watchers on the other hand only defined the problem as security, writing 31 sentences, but they wrote no sentences defining the problem as 'individual perpetrators' or 'poverty'. Moral evaluation also provided the scope for sub-headings pertaining to the news itself, as participants frequently wrote about moments when they 'switched off'; thoughts about the presenter's style, and whether they liked or disliked the PJ or WJ story elements.

In this example of cartel violence from Mexico, WJ watchers indicated 5 times that they switched off but there was no such response from peace journalism viewers. Instead they made 20 positive statements about the news calling it "balanced"; "fair" and "interesting". Equally war journalism watchers talked of feeling "bored"; "not enough background" and "not objective". There were also a small number of negative evaluations from PJ viewers, a total of 12 sentences disliking the inclusion of a background story about young men (former cartel gang members) learning music and one going to university: "full of sentimentalism" and "not enough background", wrote one such peace journalism viewer. Such negative statements have been assiduously included throughout the study for accuracy purposes and to demonstrate that not everyone's consciousness is malleable or altered by watching what they evidently experienced as "attitude-discrepant" (Holbert et al., 2010: 20) material.

Sub-theme headings were suggested by the emotional measures picked up in the Differential Emotional Scale (DES) statistics. The numbers of TLP sentences relating to each particular subheading were then counted. These numbers for the war journalism and peace journalism versions offered a direct comparison of the ideational impacts of each respective story, and a more sensitive measure than the psychometric questionnaires alone. For accuracy purposes the coding reliability of the number of sentences under each TLP subheading was checked by a colleague. A full analysis of these headings, how they emerged and examples

of the sentences they reflected are covered in the country chapters that follow. Between them, they offer a considerable body of evidence to support the differential effects of watching peace journalism.

Praxis analysis – the Focus Groups Discussions (FGDs)

A total of 26 focus group discussions, lasting between 35 and 90 minutes, generated approaching 500 pages of transcript. I decided to transcribe all the audio myself, to maintain a familiarity with the content and to facilitate a means of processing the material from the outset.

Summaries of each focus group discussion were written up in the journal as the transcripts were produced, such as this extract written immediately after finishing the Muslim focus group transcript in Auburn Sydney in December 2010:

> **Overview:** they seemed quite angry with the news, B. filled much of the time with generalisations about everything but the news. He seemed to be seeking attention, he lacked containment. S. made the most useful comments about what's happening. M. and A. were the most positive. Struck by how much decoding is done through past experience and how much people don't listen or reflect on what they're seeing.

And this in May 2012 summarising the responses of a FGD of general office workers in South Africa, to peace journalism:

> Summary: so there's a lot of harshness, punitive blaming views in this group, who hardly seemed to notice the PJ. Several dismiss Dumisani [the PJ interviewee, a reformed rapist now working to transform a misogynist culture of violence amongst some South African men] as another story... not about the girl who was raped, when drawn on it they say it 'scraping the barrel' to find a positive story. They all seem very angry about rape,

angry that culture should be considered a factor, 'culture is used as a scapegoat', then when drawn on it... admit it is but they want justice. Then they go on to complain that Dumisani is not treating the symptoms properly. I feel I had to work very hard to say this is important and it's working in small ways – they wanted to knock it straight down. Finally they said it was wrong to link the two aspects because the rape was so emotionally charged.

On **3 June 2011** a journal entry flagged the way forward with processing the enormous volume of focus group transcripts. The entry read[49]:

FGDs – Idea = two kinds of methodologies for themes for each FG.

1. EMOTIONS – Grounded theory approach to the transcript as I've done it already combing for the themes that emerge themselves. Primarily what emerges is emotional responses like 'compassion fatigue'.

2. COGNITIONS – Hypothesis testing of the peace journalism. This is deductive and draws on the PJ content discourse analysis (Shinar see also bulletin coding notes):

- BKD – background on the story present;
- VIEWS – all views covered;
- PROP – propaganda challenged;
- IDEA – creative ideas and recommendations for how to achieve peace;
- PEACE – images and examples of peace.

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[49] This journal entry has been added to illuminate an honest verbatim extract from my journal intended to reveal a transparency of my process and authentic attempt to learn, develop and evolve the process throughout the study, to follow Denzin's edict, quoted in chapter 2, that "researchers must be flexible in the evaluation of their methods. Every action in the field provides new definitions, suggests new strategies, and leads to continuous modifications of initial research designs" (Denzin, 1978: 304).

These are ideational distinctions that will mean people are thinking and talking about these five headings in different ways depending on whether they've watched PJ or WJ so theme the FG a second time according to these headings as well as emotions.

In processing data from the FGD transcripts, every mention of backgrounds and contexts; ideas for solutions; a broad range of views; challenges to propaganda, and images of peace (Shinar, 2007) were coded under these five headings of cognitive response. Lee and Maslog's (2005) "less interventionist" or passive peace journalism elements, for the avoidance of: emotive language; "labelling" of conflict parties with variants of 'good' and 'bad', and partisan reporting were also added to the list. What was immediately striking was that the peace journalism groups primarily discussed the presence of Shinar's five dimensions in the stories they watched compared with war journalism viewers, many of whom lamented their absence and complained about the presence of Lee and Maslog's passive war journalism factors, outlined as emotive, labelling and partisan.

During the same coding process, the following fundamental emotional responses were named spontaneously by at least some members of all the groups:

- Fear – terrified, worried, afraid, scary, shocked
- Anger – angry, frustrated, irksome
- Mistrust – manipulated, suspicious, cynicism
- Sad – hopeless, depressed, distressed, despair
- Turned off – desensitised, switched off
- Hopeful - encouraged, happy, reassured
- Empathy- touched, sympathy, concerned/solutions
- Surprised – (astonished)
- Interested – Impressed, enjoyment
- Guilt
- Shame – ashamed, shameful
- Tension – divergent views between participants

Exploring where, when and why they experienced these emotional reactions, initially attempts were made to identify every moment; then it was decided that this was unnecessary, so a simplified theming protocol was adopted, concentrating on points when those feelings were evidently at their most intense. This produced summaries, in the journal, of emotional responses such as this on the Australian focus groups (for the demographics of the participants in these focus groups see Appendix G):

> To summarize, the clerical workers[50] appeared more emotional than the bankers[51], who were more analytical than emotional but still expressed similar feelings. The main distinction was the greater time devoted to discussing 'hope' by the bankers. The building attendants[52] hardly expressed any emotions at all, certainly in name, they showed irritation at some points and described which stories they found the most interesting but there was a tension perhaps of intellectual inferiority. The university students[53] were emotionally triggered into a lot of past memories – again, there was one person who initiated the change in discussion of the PJ, by referring to windows of hope: "This little kind of window that would open where you could see maybe if the story went on in that direction it might be suggestions for change", she led the group in being able to see what unusual material was really there.

> The Muslims[54] seemed quite angry with news in general and with the bulletin. The FG opened with a positive tone from the younger ones, who seemed to be shouted down the whole of the way through particularly by angry B. He seemed to be seeking attention, he lacked containment. S. made

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[50] Please note 'clerical workers' is a shorthand reference to focus group 5. Working and middle class office workers, Sydney, Australia.

[51] Please note 'bankers' is a shorthand reference to focus group 6. Middle class male and female bankers, Sydney, Australia.

[52] Please note building attendants is a shorthand reference to focus group 1. Low income male building attendants, Sydney, Australia.

[53] Please note this is a shorthand reference to focus group 11. Young male and female students, Sydney, Australia.

[54] Please note 'Muslims' is a shorthand reference to focus group 4. Working and middle class male and female Muslim residents, Auburn, Sydney, Australia.

the most useful analytical comments about what's happening. Whilst they did not speak much about their own emotion, I have tried to identify the emotional moments.

Summaries of the analysis of emotional themes emerging across the FGDs in each country were written as eight separate documents, one each for war journalism and another for peace journalism in Australia, the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico respectively. However, it was decided to integrate these findings into the summary of themes arranged according to Shinar's five headings. This seemed the most effective way to ascertain whether story codings could be decoded spontaneously by each groups and what emotional impact such codings were having.

Theming both the FGDs and the TLPs in Australia and the Philippines was carried out using the Microsoft Word software by simply cutting and pasting selected sentences under the relevant headings. For the TLPs, these were then checked and counted. For the FGDs they were analysed and summarised. To eliminate double counting of responses, every participant was given a unique number, as mentioned earlier, and that number remained attached to every sentence made by that person in their TLPs or FGDs comments. It meant if necessary every comment could be traced back to the person who made it and their specific demographic.

Focus group transcripts and TLPs from Mexico and South Africa were themed using the Nvivo software system. The journal entry for 4th August 2012 read: "Nvivo – it is proving to be more useful than I realised... I am finding it easier to check coding and change it".

The primary benefit of Nvivo is the invisible electronic 'threads' connecting the transcript source and subsequent coding or theming. At any time a themed sentence can be clicked to link straight through to the original source transcript from which it was plucked, thus placing it in its original context. The other advantage of the software is its ability to immediately eliminate any duplicate items. The disadvantage is that it is slow, and on an Apple Macintosh it requires its own separate PC environment that is somewhat detached from the main research content. The Australian and Philippines FGDs and the TLPs were not

recoded using Nvivo since that would have required starting from scratch if the themes were to stay connected with their original transcripts, and it was decided that would be too time consuming to justify given the marginal prospective benefits. Subsequently all the Mexican and South African Nvivo themes had to be exported to Microsoft Word anyway for counting and analysis. Once the Australian and Philippines material was checked by a colleague to ensure reliability, this was deemed sufficient.

Relationship between the TLPs and the FGDs Data

The primary distinction between the data from the TLPs and FGDs was that the former were written, while the latter were oral. The TLPs were written privately and spontaneously whilst watching the TV news bulletins whilst the FGDs were conversations generated in a group setting after watching the TV bulletins. Each data artefact had its own relative advantages and disadvantages as already considered in the planning above. Whilst the TLPs offered a more unconscious window on the impact of framing and feelings, the responses were often fragmented, short and hard to distinguish. The FGDs generated lengthy, complex dialogues about the news bulletins but frequently meandered off topic, transforming into a polemic about politics. They were, on occasion, dictated by a dominant voice who hijacked the discourse. The argument here is that both were useful and necessary primarily to achieve different outcomes in the triangulation process. The TLPs were too fragmentary to be a reliable indicator that content encoded or framed into study material was being successfully decoded by participants. Hence the FGDs transcripts were themed according to Shinar's five headings (2007).

Conclusion

In each country in the study, two bulletins were produced, each comprising a selection of stories about conflict familiar from that country's own television

news. One bulletin contained War Journalism versions of these stories, while the other contained Peace Journalism versions. The coding was based on five headings derived from a study of published research in which the PJ model was operationalised to derive evaluative criteria for content analysis.

Once the bulletins had been created, they were then played to audiences. Participants were recruited in large groups (N = 25+) to fill in questionnaires, reporting both their emotional state and their responses to questions designed to elicit their cognitive process, and to write in their own words any thoughts or impressions that occurred to them along the way, in a Thought-Listing Protocol. Others were recruited into smaller focus groups, to watch the bulletins and discuss them afterwards in a loosely structured discussion. The responses to questionnaires yielded quantitative data, and provided clues as to where to investigate particular effects in the qualitative data, the TLPs and the transcripts of FGDs. These textual artefacts were analysed using an approach based on Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis, searching for evidence of understanding, that is, hermeneutic effects rather than discourse analysis.

What comes next is a change of pace – a direct reporting of the research results. Each chapter follows a similar pattern, charting the evolving methods drawn on first in Australia, the Philippines, then South Africa and finally Mexico. Each chapter begins with an overview of the country's discursive framework, its relevance to the stories in the bulletins, the history of Peace Journalism in that country and how the WJ and PJ versions were coded according to Shinar's (2007) headings. Each chapter outlines the methodology for both the qualitative and quantitative data. Each chapter offers a detailed analysis of the results along with the limits of that particular portion of field research. As mentioned in the Introduction, discussion of theoretical material has been deliberately omitted to allow for the analysis of the empirical data with theoretical tools. Theoretical material is woven back into the thesis in the final two Chapters 9 and 10 where the data from each country is compared and contrasted.

PART II
Data Gathering

CHAPTER 4

Australian Questionnaires

Testing the evolving case for peace journalism

Introduction

An overview of some significant social and political issues in Australia's recent history sets the context for this portion of the field research and the backdrop for the test TV news items. The research bulletins were produced in the professional newsroom of SBS World News Australia to create "real world media interventions in naturalistic settings" (Paluck & Green, 2009: 638). A detailed description of how each item was framed according to Shinar's five headings (2007) demonstrates the ideational distinctions between the war and peace TV news. This will be followed by an account of the specific methods used to gather both the qualitative and quantitative data by participants who completed questionnaires in Australia. The focus group methods and results have been remitted to Chapter 5. In this Chapter, a fully elaborated analysis of the data gathered in step 1 of the Australian research reveals participants' cognitive and emotional reactions to each bulletin, adding an assessment of whether peace journalism prompted and enabled audiences to consider and value developmental, nonviolent, cooperative responses to conflict.

Australian Research Context, 2010

Australia at the time of the study defined itself as a multi-ethnic population of over 20 million people. A Labor Government held a wafer-thin majority formed out of a hung Parliament. A long-established pattern, in which a fear of outsiders is provoked and exploited for political purposes, had assumed a central importance in Australian politics under Prime Minister John Howard, since 2001, with supposed 'threats' from both asylum seekers and 'terrorism' being commonly presented as evidence for the need to strengthen the country's 'border protection'.

The relations between Australian journalism and public opinion, in the development of meaning in public discourse about asylum issues, can therefore be conceptualized using Edelman's model of political spectacle (1988). This model offers to explain how political control is exerted by triggering "aroused" or "quiescent" responses to mediated dramas in which "psychological distancing" plays a key role. For this effect to work, the 'other' must be an empty signifier: a vessel into which a range of meanings – otherwise capable of being brought to bear on ambivalent socio-economic issues, to the disadvantage of the author of the drama – can therefore be safely decanted. As Edelman states: "To personify an issue by identifying it with an enemy wins support for a political stand while masking the material advantages the perception provides" (1988: 68).

Journalism in Australian mainstream media has often proved a receptive vehicle for this form of political control. Manning (2004: 12) shows that, of newspaper articles published in Sydney, in a two-year period after '9/11', of those referring to refugees or asylum-seekers, fully 37% also contained references to 'terrorism'. Newspaper coverage is dominated by two conglomerates, the Fairfax group – which controls most papers in rural and regional Australia – and News Ltd, the Australian arm of Rupert Murdoch's global media operation, which accounts for 71% of all newspapers sold in capital cities. The latter, along with popular news and early-evening 'current affairs' shows on commercial broadcasters Channel Seven and Channel Nine, typically take a lead in splashing with 'shock, horror'

stories about asylum seekers – focusing on such themes as their supposed responsibility for crime, or excessive 'generosity' towards them by the state – with other media following up. Public broadcasters, the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and Special Broadcasting Service, often take a more balanced approach, with more scope for Peace Journalism. Latterly, a growing independent sector – mostly online, and typified by such small-scale operations as *New Matilda* and *Crikey* – has taken a more interrogative approach to asylum seeker policy.

The effect of psychological distancing in news about asylum seekers is to spread an exaggerated view among Australians of the 'threat' posed by the arrival of people seeking asylum, and of the range of responses to this conflict that Australia – its government, chiefly, but also the community at large – should adopt. Crucial in sustaining this view is for media to distance "us" psychologically from "them" by ensuring that the pair never "meet" (Lynch, McGoldrick & Russell, 2012: 275). They can then be represented – explicitly or, more usually, implicitly – as "harbingers of all things dreadful" (Crock, 2010: 26).

Asylum seekers and refugees themselves have maintained a notably low level of visibility in news about policy responses, which is usually dominated by party politicians (Klocker & Dunn, 2003). Were they to appear more regularly to speak in their own right, then asylum seekers, as signifiers, would begin to 'fill up', with their own meanings, which would squeeze out the space for other meanings, dreadful and otherwise, to be loaded on to them.

As a close ally of former US President George W. Bush, Howard had backed the US in the so-called 'war on terrorism' since the 9/11 attacks, sending Australian troops to both Iraq and Afghanistan. Such overseas military involvement and the political battle to welcome – or deter and punish – those fleeing violence in their own lands meant Australia fitted the scenario described by Lynch and McGoldrick as "tension is rising – before direct violence" (2005: 125). Equally, Australia itself could be described as being in a nonviolent conflict stage according to Blasi (2009), with the wars in which Australian troops were or had been involved – Afghanistan and Iraq – both being far away.

Much of the world news in Australian mainstream media is US-centric, as many items are purchased from American agencies and rebroadcast on Australian television, or printed in the foreign pages of newspapers. This contributes to a Washington-centred view of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict – to take one example where the effect is amplified by a strong pro-Israeli government Jewish lobby campaigning for a dominant framing of news with Israel both as a victim and a defender of 'liberal western values'.

A national survey on the Australian public's understandings and opinions concerning the Israel–Palestine conflict found "the largest plurality (37%) selected 'Ancient hostility between Jews and Arabs' as the main cause of the conflict… which is the dominant narrative in popular culture including films and television programs but devoid of historical evidence [to support it]" (Han & Rane, 2011: 3). This is the explanation that tends to "prevail by default", Lynch and McGoldrick observe (2005: 63), without the provision, through media such as television news, of any explicit contextualizing material.

As earlier stated, most Australian media are in the hands of a small number of corporate owners, with a small but growing influence now attributed to independent and public service media. Bruns (2012) created an Australian Twitter News Influence method to show how articles on sites such as *New Matilda* (reader-funded), *The Conversation* (university-funded) and *The Global Mail* (donor-funded) were competing effectively for reach and influence with established media. Coupled with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation and Special Broadcasting Service (both in receipt of public funding) Australia therefore had, at the time of the study, an arguably growing media sector that could be defined as non-commercial in its purpose and orientation.

The intensive course in Conflict-resolving Media (formerly Peace-building Media) offered by the University of Sydney (see Chapter 1) has run at least once per year since the turn of the century, and fed a steady trickle of graduates, equipped with peace journalism skills and awareness, into Australian and international media. While there has been no large-scale, concerted effort to establish and spread PJ to compare with those in some of the other countries in

this study (see Chapters 5 and 6), there are, however, multiple strands and layers that could prove potentially receptive to some of its points and perspectives.

Research Materials - The TV news bulletins in Australia

The following research material was compiled in September 2010 in the SBS newsroom, Sydney Australia. SBS is a public service broadcaster with a minority remit producing an hour of domestic and international news each evening. Having full library access to all the past broadcast news stories meant I could ensure the study material was authentic television news. Dozens of items from the previous two weeks were viewed to select those with a high quotient of war journalism, meaning each would attain a score of 0 or less according to Shinar's five headings (2007). A couple of these scripts were tweaked to turn up the war journalism aspects and further resemble commercial television news in Australia. These 'version one' scripts were then converted to create a second version, resembling peace journalism, by adding new interviewees and picture elements to portray background, ideas, views, challenges to propaganda and images of peace. Some new elements were taken from the SBS library while others were filmed by me. The language was altered to remove the emotive, labelling and partisan tone of the scripts. The aim was always to keep both versions within the idiom and range of Australian television news so that participants would assume they were watching 'real' news. SBS journalists volunteered to voice a pair of stories, both version one and two, without being aware of the peace and war labels. All the stories were then reedited by an SBS video tape editor to ensure high production values. Finally the bulletins were presented in the main studio by SBS newsreader Anton Enus, a familiar face to many viewers in Australia.

The following are scores allotted by applying evaluative criteria for content analysis derived from the peace journalism model to such stories following Hackett and Schroeder (2008); Shinar (2007); Lynch & McGoldrick (2005). For this branch of the present study a research team colleague tested the codings. These codings are given in table 4.1, which is followed by a description of the stories to illustrate and justify their scores. This is not intended as an analysis of the stories. For the full story scripts see Appendix H; for original story lengths and broadcast dates see table 2.1, p 95.

STORY Version 1 War journalism	BKGD	VIEWS	IDEAS	PROP	PEACE	EMOT	LABEL	PART	TOTAL
9/11		0.5	0.5			-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-0.5
Afghanistan						-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-1.5
Asylum						-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-1.5
Is/Pal peace		0.5				-0.5			0
Iran						-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-1.5
Iraq						-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-1.5
STORY Version 2 Peace journalism	BKGD	VIEWS	IDEAS	PROP	PEACE	EMOT	LABEL	PART	TOTAL
9/11	1	1		1					3
Afghanistan	1	1	1	1		-0.5			3.5
Asylum	1	1		1	1				4
Is/Pal peace	1	1		1					3
Iran	1	1		1					3
Iraq	1	1		1					3

Table 4.1 Inter-coded scores for research material according to Shinar's five headings as applied to the Australian research material news bulletins.

Remembering 9/11 the anniversary: Both versions covered the 9th anniversary of the terror attacks on the Twin Towers in New York, which caused three thousand deaths. An additional element portrayed demonstrators opposed to the building of a multi-faith Centre, including space for Muslim worship, near the memorial site. The biggest framing difference between the stories was the *war journalism* inclusion of archive footage of the planes flying into the Twin Towers; footage no longer used by many TV stations like the BBC and SBS because it is regarded as disturbing and sensationalist. Hence the WJ story lost 0.5 for being emotive and another 0.5 for being partisan by appearing to take sides with US

foreign policy, particularly with the script line: "The fight against Al Qaeda has seen Australia stand shoulder to shoulder with the US in the War on Terrorism". The war journalism version also referred inaccurately to a 'Mosque' being built near the site of the attack and included the Dutch anti-Islam politician Geert Wilders hence half point deduction for labelling Muslims as 'bad'. Both versions included the roll call of the dead, President Obama saying it was Al Qaeda not Islam that attacked the US that day and an anti-bigotry rally. The WJ version receives 0.5 each for this inclusion of Obama's message and the views of those at the rally thus scoring -0.5 overall.

The *peace journalism* tone was moderate and began with singing on the anniversary at Ground Zero as opposed to the archive of the planes hitting the Towers. There was no Geert Wilders and it specifically referred to a "recent surge of anti-Muslim sentiment" not over a Mosque but an Islamic community centre, with prayer rooms for Christians and Jews, intended to promote mutual understanding between religions. This provided valuable background, awarding the story 1 point. A member of the group, Peaceful Tomorrows, Terry Rockefeller complained that the death of her sister in the Twin Towers was used to justify the war in Iraq. In other words her views challenged the propaganda about the 'war on terror' and thus scored 1 for that and another for presenting an alternative view: giving the PJ version an overall score of 3.

Australian soldier's funeral: The *WJ story* began at the funeral of an Australian soldier killed in Afghanistan with shots of Julia Gillard and Tony Abbott alongside the pregnant weeping wife of Lance Corporal Jared MacKinney. A "corner-turn" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 167) was then made to a meeting between Australia's new foreign minister, the former Prime Minister Kevin Rudd and the US Ambassador. The WJ version lost 0.5 for partisan language referring to the USA as "our chief Afghan ally". Another 0.5 was lost for emotive language like Kevin Rudd "dumped from the leadership". The WJ package dwelt on Canberra insider politics, the poisonous atmosphere in the Labor Party, with advice from former Prime Minister John Howard recommending the new cabinet

"swim together – or sink". In other words, there was a lot of political hot air with no real background, ideas for solutions or alternative views on the issues affecting Australians and Afghan people in a lethal war. In Entman's (2003) terms, the failure of this package to examine any of three "substantive" framing elements – moral evaluation, problem diagnosis and treatment recommendation – means it should be interpreted as confined solely to "procedural frames" (2003: 429). The propaganda stepped up a notch when retired Major General Jim Molan called for more troops to be sent to Afghanistan to 'win' the war. Included was dramatic video footage accessed from YouTube depicting the battle of Derapet in which Lance Corporal MacKinney (Australia Department of Defence, 2010) was killed, which contributed to the emotive nature of the story. By using the words "this soldier's video shows the intensity of the fire fight against the Taliban" the WJ script lumped all Afghans in with the Taliban labelling them as 'bad' and thus losing another 0.5, bringing the total score to -1.5.

The *PJ version* used the same basic elements but primarily challenged the war propaganda thus gaining 1. In the studio introduction read by the presenter viewers were told: "The government has already come under pressure to rethink its commitment to the war in Afghanistan." The same funeral shots were used; the same footage of Kevin Rudd with the US ambassador but partisan language was removed like "our" chief ally. The selection of words spoken by Kevin Rudd was different, instead of quizzed about poisonous Canberra politics, as he was by the reporter in version one, he was asked about the war itself, raising both problem diagnosis and treatment recommendation (Entman, 1993), at least in embryonic form. As background, viewers were reminded that Labor came to office thanks to the support of the Greens, thus legitimising their challenge to the war itself. Greens senator Lee Rhiannon offered ideas for peace by recommending Australia gave development aid to Afghans rather than waging war. A brief shot of Afghan civilians reminded viewers of "people like these" being killed in the war. Whilst the same YouTube footage was used, and arguably 0.5 could be lost for that, there were disaggregating words in the script: "The Australians are training local forces to defeat the Taliban and take over security in a new Afghanistan." Which meant not all Afghans were the same or lumped

together with the Taliban thus Afghans as a people were not all labelled as 'bad'. Expanding the range of views yet further, the story included an unlikely 'anti-war' voice, a UK-based military think tank, the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS). In the characteristic clipped tones of the British officer class, Director John Chipman called for coalition forces to pull back, offering another idea for a solution. The same view was repeated from a more likely source: an Afghan refugee in Sydney who called for Australian troops to come home because for him their presence placed his people in danger. The closing line of the story offered yet more background from a recent public opinion survey where the majority of people stated Australian troops should come home bring the total score to 3.5.

There were several technical problems with PJ elements in this story: firstly low light made it hard to see the IISS Director, who spoke with a lisp and his head down at a podium. The Afghan refugee struggled with English; appeared slightly tense and over bright lighting rendered him slightly indistinct on the screen. Perhaps this explained why there were fewer comments on this story than some of the other PJ versions. Also the story remained polarised around a 'troops in' or 'troops out' debate and failed to offer more creative solutions or more unusual elements. Overall the story provided a significant challenge to the propaganda of 'we must win' this war but that dimension appeared to be lost on quite a few of the focus group participants who saw the story as complicated and confusing.

Asylum more staff needed to process claims: The *WJ story* took a very sensationalist approach to the issue of asylum seekers using water metaphors such as "rising tide", "waves" and "floods" of "new arrivals". The library images appeared to 'criminalise' asylum seekers with pictures displaying lots of police surrounding a sit down protest by male asylum seekers. The images were distancing and demonising with no humanising element of asylum seekers speaking for themselves. The highly politicized story was a classic journalistic follow up to an earlier government announcement to use a military base as a temporary detention facility to process asylum claims. The news of the day was

an urgent immigration department request for extra staff, evidence of which came in the form of a leaked memo from within the public service. The story was partisan in tone, "50 million dollars in taxpayers money to provide accommodation for asylum seekers," implying that 'our' money was to be spent on 'them' so the story score was - 1.5. The narrative here closely paralleled a WJ story considered by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005: 131-133) from UK media coverage of asylum issues. Both the example in the book and the research material excluded and dehumanised asylum seekers, and exemplified a case study of the "tension is rising" scenario.

In contrast, the *PJ version* used less demonising and more humanising images of the refugees by including shots of women and children. The language was neutral in tone even from the politicians who themselves were less polarized, showing some concern for quicker processing of asylum claims. The biggest distinction being inclusion of an archive SBS interview with Ali Jafaari, an Afghan Hazara. Fleeing the Taliban for fear of his life he arrived in Sydney by boat but subsequently carved out a successful life for himself, informing viewers "I would like Australia to be proud of me." This post conflict image of peace a scored 1. Crucial background embedded in the script described how "seven-thousand arrivals over the past two years only about 250 have been - or will be - be sent back". In other words factually dismissing the myth and challenging the propaganda that asylum seekers are illegal immigrants. The range of views and challenges to propaganda was expanded further in the story by stating that 52% of Australians[55] were supportive of asylum seekers this was validated by pictures of a Sydney demonstration in favour of welcoming asylum seekers. By lacking specific ideas for solutions the story score remained at 4. This version, too, drew on the distinctions highlighted by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005: 136-138), in their PJ rendition of the asylum seeker story where asylum seekers were also given a voice – the opportunity to speak for themselves - to resist the dehumanisation of the original.

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[55] Figures quoted by Michele Levine of Roy Morgan Research, a commercial firm of opinion pollsters.

Israeli/Palestinian peace talks: The studio graphic with the words "talks doomed" epitomised the tone of the *WJ version* of the peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians. The story opened with the latest violent incident resulting in three Palestinians dead. Much of the focus was on the US as a 'neutral' peace broker and both versions included a rather comic moment where US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was caught between Binyamin Netanyahu and Mahmoud Abbas as a photographer shouted for them to shake hands. Several times the story referred to the "housing freeze" in the West Bank but what this was or why the settlements have been a core issue in the conflict was never explained. Instead the settlements issue was presented as a bipolar 'tug of war' so no points were given for background, ideas, challenging propaganda or peace. As both Israeli and Palestinian politicians spoke, there was justification for awarding the story 0.5 for views but that would again be deducted for emotive language, focusing on the violence and being pessimistic about the talks. The story did not label or demonize anyone, and nor was it partisan towards the Israelis or Americans, so the overall score was 0.

Clearly this story mirrored the scenarios laid out in by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005: 156), which referred to earlier rounds at Camp David in 2000, then misreported as "peace in our time". It meant I took a cautious balanced approach to assess "to what extent is the plan acceptable to all parties?" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 157). The *PJ version* was much more optimistic than the WJ, introducing story background even in the presenter's studio link: "Palestinians have been resisting Israeli occupation of their territory for more than forty years". This context was expanded further with inclusion of maps of "the amazing disappearing Palestine" (Cook, 2008), which offered a pictorial image of how Jewish settlements, regarded as illegal under international humanitarian law, have gradually encroached for decades over the 1948 UN-designated Israeli border known as the 'Green Line'. Whist offering background, the element gained 1 for challenging Israeli propaganda. To hear from all voices, Bishara Costandi, a Palestinian living in Sydney, explained daily life under occupation: "You cannot go from Marrickville to Glebe without passing through fourteen checkpoints and people have to stand in line under the heat of the sun or the cold of the winter

weather waiting for an Israeli soldier to decide whimsically if he or she can pass". In so many words he invited viewers to empathise - to put themselves in his shoes: the shoes of Palestinians. His few words conveyed a perspective often omitted from television news about this conflict so it gained 1 for views; it also offered background and a challenge to Israeli propaganda that they are the victims, by casting a light on the Palestinian struggle for existence. The line: "The settlements are considered illegal under international law, and the majority of world opinion wants to see Israel pull back to its recognized borders, leaving these streets and houses under Palestinian control," thus challenging the dominant propagandistic narrative is that these are two equal sides fighting this out. However by not offer specific ideas for solutions or images of the peace the story score was 3.

Iran nuclear threat: This story covered Iran's latest twist in its pursuit of nuclear development. The *WJ version* was demonising and escalatory by referring directly to "the Islamic regime...secretly developing nuclear weapons" and twice reminded viewers that Iran's "hard line" President Ahmedinejad, "called on the Palestinians to step up attacks against Israel" thus loosing the story 0.5 for labelling, and for being partisan in favour of Israel. The story was emotive in its references to Iran building a nuclear bomb that could "fire deep into western Europe". Arguably the piece contained some background but this was war-enhancing context rather than peace promoting. The speakers, an Iranian General and President Ahmedinejad, were both subtitled and sounded aggressive. There was no contextualising material to remind viewers that, under international law, Iran is entitled to develop civil nuclear power thus scoring -1.5.

The *PJ script* on the other hand did this - reminding viewers that Iran had the legal right to develop nuclear energy and under the Non-Proliferation Treaty other countries are required to disarm too, but have not. There was an expansion of views offered with the perspective that Iran felt under threat from all the US military bases situated around its shores. This came from Paul Ingram, Director

of a nuclear monitoring group (BASIC), a peace activist and regular visitor to Iran who personally encouraged President Ahmedinejad to focus on solar energy instead of nuclear. Mr Ingram challenged the propaganda that Iran was the aggressor thus implying that the US is perhaps not such an innocent party. President Obama also appeared in this item spelling out that America was using the threat of war with Israel as a way to put pressure on Tehran. There were no specific ideas for peace in this story so the overall score was 3.

Iraq suicide bombing: Emotive language opened the *WJ story* on the latest suicide bombing in Iraq, referring to the country being "plunged back into *chaos* tonight". The partisanship present in the script words, "how is Iraq going to survive when the Americans leave?" due to US combat operations having officially ended. The partisan tone was turned this up a notch with the line, "the beleaguered fort called for help from Uncle Sam." Referring to the military base having to ask for help from the former occupying forces. 'Labelling' was apparent in the words, "a security vacuum" being left by the departing Americans, implying that the Iraqis were useless and incapable of "plugging" any "security gap". Nor was there any reference to the suggestion that the American presence could just be making things worse. A total of -1.5 for those 'passive' elements of WJ piece. There was no background contextualising information to the incident of violence that resulted in 12 dead and 30 injured; instead just a descriptive comment from the Iraqi Defence Minister, so no extra points for views, ideas or challenging propaganda.

In contrast the *PJ script* avoided emotive language; the labelling of conflict parties as 'good' and 'bad' and partisan reporting (the three negative indicators used by Lee and Maslog (2005) and discussed in Chapter 3) by using neutral descriptions like "suicide bombers have targeted an army base in the Iraqi capital Baghdad" thus avoiding, as the WJ had done, cosying up to the Americans as the 'good' guys, or the saviours of Iraq. The neutral tone referred to US troops having "pulled back to what's supposed to be a training role" and that Iraqi commanders "called for help in the shape of American helicopters and drones as

well as ground forces". As background, a Iraqi Sunni MP Alaa Makki suggested the country was now worse off than before the invasion, thus challenging head-on the propaganda that this was a 'just' war to 'protect' people from Saddam Hussein. Mar Meelis Zaia, Assyrian Bishop, now in Sydney, who escaped the Iraqi insurgency violence, many see as triggered by the invasion, also inverted any sense that the Americans had protected people, in fact, he suggested they have been put in greater danger. The story went even further in challenging the propaganda by referring to recent protests in Europe calling for Tony Blair, the former British Prime Minister, to be put on trial for an illegal act of aggression because protestors said the war "went ahead without UN approval". As with other PJ items there were no specific ideas for solutions or images of peace but this was implied by closing pictures of ordinary people looking relaxed on the streets of Baghdad, suggesting they could heal once the Americans left. This PJ version scored 3.

Australia's indigenous issues: A final story was included to deal with indigenous Australia, however these were not rewritten as a contrasting pair as with the others. As an experiment; war journalism and peace journalism framings of indigenous issues were selected from the SBS library but each was on a different topic, and from a different time. The *WJ story* featured a political row over the Northern Territory intervention and the *PJ story* an art piece about an indigenous memorabilia collection in need of a home because the warehouse storing it was closing. As these items were not a matching pair, as all the others had been, it was not possible to compare responses on a 'like with like' basis. In other words it was rapidly realised in the testing stage that this was attempting to compare 'apples with oranges' and thus the results have been omitted because the findings do not represent useable data.

All except the story about Indigenous Australians are related, directly or indirectly, to what Cottle names as the "terror war", on his list of "global crises", characterised by being more than "exceptional or aberrant events" and with impacts and ramifications "across 'sovereign' national territories" (2010: 473).

The first, the anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, exemplifies Cottle's observation that such crises are "*constituted within* the news media*"* (Cottle, 2010: 474). Remembering Castells' remarks, quoted in Chapter 1, clearly the anniversary of the death of a loved one – from whatever cause – could assume "a fragmented presence in individual minds", but the political meaning of the event is indissociably bound up with the media coverage of it, and the form of the commemorations clearly bears out his remark of having to "be couched in the specific language of the media" (Castells, 2007: 241).

The Bush Administration responded to the attacks by launching the 'war on terrorism', which led directly to the invasion of Afghanistan, weeks later. The death of the Australian corporal was one of thousands of US and allied military personnel, along with an uncounted number of Afghan citizens.

The story of the suicide bombing in Baghdad was part of a context in which the political architects of the invasion were attempting to disavow any causal connection between the removal of the Saddam Hussein regime and the ensuing chaos in Iraq. The PJ version emphasised this connection. The invasion was itself justified with reference to the 9/11 attacks, with President Bush referring repeatedly to Iraq's alleged connections with "al-Qaeda-type terrorists".

The WJ versions of 9/11, and the soldiers' death and Iraq were "reported through blood-flecked glasses tinted by national interests and returning coffins draped with national flag" (Cottle, 2010: 483).

Fourthly, the Iran nuclear story ramps up the war rhetoric against a country dubbed as being part of the "axis of evil", in Bush's State of the Nation address in 2002, along with Iraq and North Korea.

Conversely, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was named by Osama Bin Laden, in early speeches after 9/11, as one motivating factor for the attacks because of US military and diplomatic backing for the 'enemy' Israel. Even the Asylum story may potentially activate audience frames, in Sydney in particular, connected with the 'war on terrorism'. Manning showed that, of all stories published in a selection of Sydney newspapers in the years following the 9/11 attacks, which

mentioned asylum seekers, fully 37% also mentioned terrorism or related terms (2004: 12). While this connection is not spelt out in the war journalism version, asylum seekers are dehumanised and framed – not least, through a series of inundation metaphors – as threats from outside Australia's borders.

Conversely peace journalism items "constituted" such crises through a different prism. The stories about asylum, Iraq and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict were considered more as global crises of "denial of human rights" (Cottle, 2010: 473). Viewers were able to see the denial of Palestinian rights to land, movement and economic freedom, and the violation of international humanitarian law brought about by settlement activity was clearly labelled as illegal in the eyes of the international community. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan triggered "forced migration" (Cottle, 2010: 473) for the Afghan Hazara man featured in the asylum story and the Assyrian Bishop fleeing in the second version of the bombing in Iraq.

Questionnaire Methods in Australia

Participants

112 students studying a diverse range of degrees at the University of Sydney comprised of 66 women and 46 men, with an average age of 25, ranging from 18 to 53 years. The majority (68) were born in Australia, 37 described themselves as not feeling Australian. Politically 48 held no political preference; 25 voted Green; 17 Labor and 15 were Coalition voters. Religiously 45 defined themselves as Christians; 5 Muslims; 3 Jews; 8 Buddhists and 47 believing in other religions. For a full breakdown of demographic data, political preferences and religious affiliations among participants across the study, see table in Appendix F.

These data were gathered and kept, though they are not used in any systematic sense through this thesis. Instead, particular instances are referred to when they enable an interesting comparison or connection with participant responses, either in TLPs or FGDs. For example, viewers who professed a preference for the

Coalition – which was, at that time, making news with its outspoken line on asylum seekers – proved receptive, in some cases, to content in the PJ version of that story that prompted them to an empathic response. For further discussion, see Chapter 5.

Procedure

Recruitment took place through University advertisements for paid participants to watch TV news bulletins. The bulletins were screened three times over a one-month period, in October 2010. Arriving participants were randomly allocated to watch either the WJ bulletin or PJ bulletin. At no stage was any participant made aware that a second, different bulletin existed.

As in other countries, all participants began by filling in a consent form and reading the participant information sheet (see Appendix D). The questionnaire bundle started with various affect measures such as the State Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI), and the Differential Emotional Scale (DES). Such measures were taken before the bulletin was screened then again after watching the bulletin. This was based on other studies, discussed in Chapter 3, that suggested people's emotional responses differed after watching TV news (Unz, 2008; Szabo & Hopkinson, 2007; Harrell, 2000; Johnson & Davey, 1997). But this study wanted to know whether the emotional changes varied according to the type of news, i.e. WJ or PJ news.

Participants also jotted down their thoughts and feelings, in boxes provided for TLPs, on each story in the bulletin. Most of the groups made such notes during a continuous screening of the whole bulletin, while the others wrote as the bulletin was paused for up to five minutes at the end of each item.

As Sydney was used to pilot the study, the first few sets of results were statistically processed, but little difference was found between the pre and post-test emotional measures. Closer reading of the previous studies being followed revealed that Unz et al. (2008) had stopped the news videos at regular intervals to take emotional measures. It was decided to pause the bulletin for up to five minutes between stories whilst the emotional measures were taken, giving

participants the chance to express their feelings about a specific story. This also served to give participants longer to write down their thoughts (TLPs) and fill in the other questionnaires. This proved to be effective and was used as the protocol for the rest of the Sydney study and duplicated in the subsequent three field studies overseas.

As a key assessment of the merits of peace journalism is whether participants come to value nonviolent responses to conflict (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005) a set of statements was created relating to cooperative or punitive policy responses to each story. Following Schaefer (2006) these sentences were titled ways to 'evaluate responses to military measures tests of opinion', (EMMTO) and included statements such as: "We need more navy patrols to stop boats of asylum seekers coming to Australia" and, "asylum seekers make a valuable contribution to life in Australia". Statements about balance and interest or boredom were also added with each measured by a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree;* 7 = *strongly agree*).

Two prejudice tests were also added to compare any resultant difference in prejudice, between the groups, after watching the alternative framings of outgroups featured in the news bulletin. The first of these invited participants to look at a Feeling Thermometer (Gonsalkorale, Sherman, & Klauer, 2010), and rate between 1 and 100 their feelings towards Muslim people; European people; Asylum seekers; immigrants and several other groups like students and politicians, which were added as distracter items. The second measure consisted of three Peasbody sets (Correll et al., 2008) asking participants to mark in the box closest to the adjective that best described Muslims; white Australians and Asylum Seekers: good – evil; hardworking – lazy; trustworthy – dishonest; safe – dangerous; similar – different; familiar – strange; peaceful – warlike; Passive – Aggressive. Neither of these prejudice tests showed any statistical difference between the groups.

Finally, at the end of the questionnaire bundle, participants were asked a set of demographic questions including their political and religious affiliations plus

what media they consumed regularly and those they most and least trusted. See Appendix E for the full questionnaires used in the study.

Questionnaire Results from Australia

A professional statistician was employed to calculate the results once the numbers on hand written questionnaires were transcribed. Both the individual items and the total DES scores were calculated to assess what was happening in each group. After some mathematical experimentation it was concluded that any trends could best be revealed by comparing the DES scores after each story to baseline measures for both the condensed and the individual DES items. As the results from the total DES, as used by Unz et al. (2008), were slightly weaker than for the individual items, the later are displayed below, for illustrative purposes. Table 4.3 shows that there was a significant *interaction* between bulletin type and time of measurement for some of the DES items. That is, the extent to which participants' self reported emotional states changed after watching a certain story (compared to baseline) depended on which bulletin they viewed. Whilst most of these results did not reach conventional levels of statistical significance, they are significant for this exploratory social research to reveal the effects that may occur for some people. They are illustrative of some way in which one group had a stronger or weaker affective response to watching war journalism as opposed to peace journalism or vice versa.

The two groups did not differ significantly in any of the baseline measures of the DES scales. The table shows the statistical emotional variance between war and peace journalism viewers after certain stories compared with baseline measures, only the interaction scores have been included for clarity. The means of the group score are displayed on the top line and the standard deviation shown in parentheses.

	Pre-test Baseline		Post-test 9/11		Post-test Afghan'		Post-test Asylum		Post-test Is/Pal		Post-test Iran		Post-test Iraq	
	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace
Hopeless	1.29	1.24					2.64	1.41	**3.14**	**1.63**	2.57	1.54		
	(0.61)	(0.54)					(1.01)	(0.73)	**(1.17)**	**(0.95)**	(1.22)	(0.67)		
Astonished	1.14	1.2					2.79	1.77					2.57	1.59
	(0.53)	(0.52)					(1.12)	(1.23)					(1.22)	(0.95)
Revulsion	1.29	1.10	2.64	1.59			2.79	1.64	2.64	1.36	2.9	1.36		
	(0.61)	(0.31)	(1.08)	(0.85)			(1.19)	(1.09)	(1.15)	(0.66)	(1.44)	(0.58)		
Surprised	1.5	1.57											1.93	1.27
	(1.09)	(0.87)											(1.21)	(0.79)
Contemptuous	1.43	1.35	2.43	1.41			2.64	1.41	2.21	1.54	2.71	1.36	2.21	1.32
	(0.94)	(0.67)	(0.76)	(0.80)			(1.01)	(0.66)	(0.89)	(0.74)	(1.33)	(0.58)	(1.19)	(0.48)
Distaste	1.21	1.29					3.14	1.91			2.93	1.68		
	(0.80)	(0.56)					(1.10)	(1.23)			(1.38)	(0.99)		
Frustrated	1.43	1.29									3.23	2.09	3.50	2.59
	(0.85)	(0.56)									(1.33)	(1.15)	(0.94)	(1.18)
Angry	1.21	1.38	2.86	1.95	2.5	1.77	2.86	1.91	2.79	1.77	3.00	1.50	3.00	2.00
	(0.8)	(0.8)	(1.29)	(0.78)	(1.22)	(1.07)	(1.23)	(1.11)	(1.05)	(0.87)	(1.24)	(0.80)	(1.78)	(1.15)
Scared	1.29	1.28							2.07	1.23	2.5	1.5	2.28	1.43
	(0.82)	(0.72)							(1.27)	(0.53)	(1.22)	(0.74)	(1.27)	(0.85)
Disdainful	1.29	1.26					2.43	1.59			2.29	1.41		
	(0.83)	(0.56)					(1.16)	(0.96)			(0.99)	(0.50)		
Compassionate	2.42	3.10	3.14	2.41										
	(1.29)	(1.45)	(1.03)	(1.26)										
Alarmed	1.36	1.38							2.29	1.45	3.07	1.91		
	(0.84)	(0.74)							(1.14)	(0.86)	(1.49)	(1.06)		
Enraged	1.36	1.11							2.57	1.52	2.93	1.33	2.71	1.57
	(0.93)	(0.46)							(1.22)	(0.68)	(1.68)	(0.80)	(1.27)	(0.87)
Scornful	1.21	1.11	2.36	1.48			2.43	1.48			2.64	1.38	2.42	1.33
	(0.42)	(0.46)	(1.22)	(0.51)			(1.22)	(0.60)			(1.39)	(0.74)	(1.16)	(0.58)
Disgusted	1.14	1.14							2.43	1.59	2.93	1.55		
	(0.53)	(0.48)							(0.94)	(0.73)	(1.27)	(0.91)		
Downhearted	1.43	1.5					2.57	1.64	2.57	1.72	2.57	1.81	2.93	2.00
	(1.09)	(0.76)					(0.94)	(0.72)	(1.22)	(0.77)	(1.22)	(0.91)	(0.83)	(1.07)

Table 4.2 Emotional responses to watching WJ or PJ in Australia

Note: Means and standard deviation (in parentheses) for DES items at baseline and after watching each story. Participants reported the extent to which they felt each emotion on a 5-point Likert scale *(1 = very slightly, not at all; 5 = extremely) (***Strongest measures in bold).**

The headlines from the individual DES items are that the WJ version of the *Iran nuclear story* produced the strongest responses, the most anger, frustration, rage (enraged), fear (scared), contempt, distaste, disgust revulsion and scorn. PJ viewers felt less hopeless after watching the *Asylum story*. WJ watchers were left feeling the most hopeless by the story on peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians. WJ watchers were more astonished than the PJ group by the *Asylum story* and the Iraq nuclear threat. In general, PJ viewers felt less revulsion, contempt, distaste, frustration, anger, fear, disdain, alarm, scorn, disgust, downheartedness and surprise than WJ watchers and significantly so (see table 4.3). The *funeral of the soldier in Afghanistan* generated the weakest results, with PJ viewers being slightly less angry. After watching the *9/11 story*, PJ viewers felt less revulsion, contempt, anger, scorn and compassion than WJ viewers.

In this exploratory research, the statistics will be used as a guiding tool to suggest where to drill down into the Thought Listing Protocols (TLPs) for explanations as to why people felt the way they did.

Thought Listing Protocols (TLPs)

The TLPs from various procedures including the FGDs were initially coded separately. When it was noticed that the tone and content of the comments were similar, however, all written comments were combined to generate a total of 1, 056 TLPs from 176 people. This included 76 student participants and 64 FGDs members who watched and wrote TLPs while the bulletin video played continuously whilst a further 36 student participants followed a slower procedure where the bulletin video was paused after each story. It is worth noting that the FGDs members did not participant in any pre-test discussion instead followed a similar pre-test procedure to the students by filling in consent forms and pre-test emotional questionnaires before watching the bulletins. Some participants wrote nothing leaving 31 blank boxes amounting to approximately 2.3% of the TLPs. The remaining 97.7% of written comments were transcribed

and coded, for use as a triangulation tool assisting the interpretation of differential emotional and cognitive responses, between the groups.

A slightly simplified version of Entman's framing schema (1993) was used to categorise and theme each individual sentence within the TLPs around the main three headings of moral evaluation; problem definition and treatment recommendation. As discussed in Chapter 3 subthemes emerged organically under each of these headings, at times suggested by the DES statistics, to enable the following tables and numbers to be compiled. The coding reliability of these numbers was checked by a colleague.

The following analysis has been ordered according to the strength of results in the DES and the TLPs. The stories that produced the strongest interactions are presented first: that is, Israel and the Palestinians, followed by the Asylum seekers story second and Iran nuclear third. Remembering 9/11; the soldier's funeral and the Iraq suicide bombing all generated weaker results so these have been further summarised and the tables omitted.

For each of these stories a summary of the statistical results will be outlined initially as the guiding tool, as the navigating radar to suggest where to delve deeper into the TLPs for insights into the causality of people's feelings. Tables have been produced to allow for the number of TLP sentences pertaining to each theme. To be understood at a glance the strongest numbers have been featured in bold. Less space is given to those stories with a weaker TLP response, so the numbers of sentences written by participants have been summarised in brackets rather than a table. For example (3 WJ to 10 PJ) denotes the number of TLP comments by watchers in each group to make it as easy to read at a glance as the previous tables.

Statistics and TLP Results Story by Story

Israel/Palestinian peace talks: Statistics and TLPs

In the individual emotional measures, the strongest interaction was revealed in the *hopelessness* measure, which rose significantly by almost two full points for war journalism viewers but just edged up by a fraction of a point for peace journalism viewers. That meant, compared with similar baseline measures, those who watched the WJ version had elevated emotions compared with the PJ group. WJ viewers also displayed greater revulsion, contempt, anger, fear (scared), alarm, rage (enraged), disgust and sadness (downhearted). What understandings were they forming, of the issues portrayed in the news stories with the distinctive WJ framings, while experiencing these emotional reactions? The TLPs will be used to shed some light on this question.

MORAL EVALUATION	War Journalism	Peace Journalism
Disconnected	7	3
News, comments on	21	32
Peace hopelessness	**91**	**47**
Peace hopeful	10	20
Politicians fake	45	44
Empathy for Palestinians	2	43

Table 4.3 Moral evaluations in viewer responses to Israel/Palestine peace talks

Initially the TLPs were subdivided into themes of peace, violence and conflict. Then, when the statistical increase in hopelessness amongst the WJ viewers was acknowledged, these categories were reassessed. What stood out was that each contained aspects of hopelessness, so when combined the effect was dramatic, bringing the total number of hopelessness statements for WJ watchers to 91, compared with a mere 47 for the PJ viewers. The war journalism group made

numerous repetitions of "pessimistic": a word used in the WJ script to describe scepticism about finding a solution. Several referred to feeling 'sad' because there was "a never-ending problem"; "endless cycle" and another was "losing faith in humankind". The word "pessimistic" was also used by PJ viewers even though it was not in the script. There was "annoyance & sadness that this conflict is taking place", and that "the whole issue just seems impossible." But the very pronounced difference was in the number of WJ viewers' comments suffused with a sense of hopelessness.

Hopeful comments about the peace process itself denoted another discrepancy between the groups, as PJ viewers made twice as many as WJ viewers. Several peace journalism viewers called it a "hopeful story"; "raises my hopes of a new successful peace process". The war journalism group leaned more towards praising the US President for his encouraging words about the peace talks, "proud of Obama" and "happy that sides agreeing there will be peace" and these made up the 10 hopeful comments from war journalism watchers.

The anger, contempt and disgust were perhaps discernible among both groups in their similar amounts of frustration at 'fake' politicians, which included critical comments about a forced handshake, where US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was caught between Binyamin Netanyahu and Mahmoud Abbas as a journalist shouted from off camera for the leaders to shake hands.

Several of the WJ watchers complained that the story is "one-sided", "emotional", one said the story "attempt(s) to appear unbiased" but another praised hearing the "opinions of both sides." There was a similar combination of views amongst the PJ group, though they wrote more about the news itself, with one referring to a "very accurate report"; another wrote "balanced sources"; but clearly not all peace journalism viewers welcomed the additional material, with several negative comments, "pro-Palestine" and, "lack of objectivity".

The other stark contrast was the empathy displayed for the Palestinians, with 43 such comments from PJ viewers after the Palestinian man made the analogy of travelling between Marrickville and Glebe and having to pass through 14 checkpoints: "Excellent putting the occupation into an Australian context of free

movement"; "educational… oh my god…. such strict borders and tolls". One PJ viewer suggested to story could have a great impact in contributing to positive social change, writing that it "would raise (a) huge outcry if screened", but another felt frustrated by the information asking, "what am I supposed to do…what was the point of putting the onus on the viewer to empathise with them"?

PROBLEM DEFINITION	War Journalism	Peace Journalism
Israel	16	32
Palestinians	0	0
Both	13	14

Table 4.4 Problem definition in viewer responses to Israel/Palestine talks

The problem definition coding revealed more anger came from PJ watchers, anger not picked up in the DES. These angry comments were directed towards Israel's illegal behaviours, defining these as the problem: "angry at Israeli expansion"; "load of crap. THEY'RE ILLEGAL!" and "disgust and mortified at Israel expansion"; "Israeli settlement illegal under int. law"; "Angry at lame justification settlers now need schools built."

None of the viewers in either group saw the Palestinians as the problem.

SOLUTIONS	War Journalism	Peace Journalism
Punitive or one sided	7	6
Cooperative	0	11
Total solutions	7	17

Table 4.5 Treatment recommendations in viewer responses to Israel/Palestine

There was some difference in the number of solutions, or treatment recommendations (Entman, 1993) offered by each group though not surprising that the numbers were relatively low given the story did not contain any specific ideas for solutions. PJ viewers primarily offered cooperative, nonviolent suggestions: "U.S and Australia should give lands to Jewish for settlements"; "I wish everyone just got on + accepted one another's beliefs"; but there were many punitive one-sided solutions too: "Israel should stop building houses in Palestine". WJ viewers called exclusively for punitive or one-sided solutions: "need to hold Israelis to account" with one going as far as suggesting: "Israel should pull back to internationally (recognised) border."

Asylum more staff needed to process claims: Statistics and TLP

After the Asylum story, the WJ group showed higher levels of anger, hopelessness, distaste, revulsion, scorn, contempt, sadness (downhearted), surprise and astonishment compared with their baseline measures than peace journalism viewers'.

MORAL EVALUATION	War Journalism	Peace Journalism
Anger towards politicians	**52**	**11**
Empathy towards asylum seekers	**31**	**72**
Antipathy towards asylum seekers	9	12
Neutral	26	21
Opinion on the news	29	19
Disconnected	2	3

Table 4.6 Moral evaluations in viewer responses to the Asylum story

The stronger anger and contempt was apparent as directed by WJ viewers towards politicians. There were almost five times as many sentiments of this

nature expressed by WJ watchers than written by PJ viewers. The war journalism group comments also contained some strong language and indicated evidence of the disgust and contempt some felt towards the politicians, "furious – bastards"; "fuck off Tony Abbott"; "I personally found the repetitive use of 'boat people' in news and politician words offensive"; "disgusted about political lies". Peace journalism viewers were much less antagonistic towards the politicians, instead demonstrating much more concern about the asylum seekers themselves with more than double the number of empathic comments, "feel sorry for those asylum seekers"; "compassionate over the situation of the asylum seekers"; "empathy for arrivals seeking our support". A small number from both groups showed antipathy towards asylum seekers and neutral comments were also similar in number.

WJ watchers expressed slightly more views about the news itself, with a significant number concerned about several specific war journalism elements like the use of military imagery with one stating this was "not an issue of security." Also, that the story focussed "majorly on the fiscal aspects of the issue but not the side of the asylum seekers." Others noticed the inundation metaphors: "Interesting words!: flows of people, floods of people,"; "where are the a/seekers in this report?" and that the story was "biased because only reported from settled Australian's perspective." There was only one positive comment "this story is interesting."

One PJ viewer also thought that framing was "biased but I totally agree. Right wing racists didn't get a look-in with this story which suits my stance!" There were some opposing views with one writing, "exploitative segment – one sided."

PROBLEM DEFINITION	War Journalism	Peace Journalism
Asylum seekers	6	0
Racism	6	10
Bureaucracy	2	1
Politicization	28	14

Table 4.7 Problem definitions in viewer responses to the Asylum story

The problem definition showed some group distinctions in the naming of polarization as the problem. This differed from the moral evaluation in that the WJ comments about politicians were less emotional and more analytical, "fearmongering"; "politicians using helpless people for their own benefit to get votes"; "drama in politics", wrote twice as many WJ watchers. There were some similar comments from PJ viewers, but fewer in number: "politicisation of issue"; "politicising immigrants".

SOLUTIONS	War Journalism	Peace Journalism
Total	24	36
Help them	11	20
More security	15	6
More staff	0	9

Table 4.8 Treatment recommendations in viewer responses to the Asylum story

Whilst the number of solutions offered was not radically different, there was a sense that the PJ viewers favoured cooperative, nonviolent treatment recommendations as denoted by double the number of comments from the peace journalism group involving helping the asylum seekers. Examples: "immigrants should be made to live in rural areas & spread out" and "greater tolerance & compassion needed". WJ watchers sought double the number of security measures: "There should be stricter policies"; "Australians should sent seekers back." So whilst these treatment recommendations do not involve direct violence, such punitive suggestions would, if implemented, constitute "an insult to human needs" (Galtung, 1990: 9) or a denial of "human... potential" (Galtung, 1969: 167) of the asylum seekers and in that sense can be regarded as violent action.

Iran nuclear threat: Statistics and TLPs

The individual DES measures showed greater alarm, hopelessness, revulsion, contempt, distaste, frustration, anger, fear (scared), disdain, rage (enraged), scorn, disgust and sadness (downhearted). Most by one point, some by over a point and a half with anger double for WJ watchers. As with the Israel-Palestine peace talks story, war journalism viewers recorded higher measures of hopelessness after the Iran story than baseline and in contrast peace journalism viewers registered only fractionally higher than baseline levels of hopelessness after watching the Iran story. Why?

MORAL EVALUATION	War Journalism	Peace Journalism
Nuclear/war/ fear	**73**	**26**
Nuclear power ok	**5**	**32**
Iran under threat	0	12
US comments	1	27
News	34	32
Disconnected	2	10

Table 4.9 Moral evaluations in viewer responses to the Iran story

WJ watchers expressed overwhelmingly fearful thoughts. Some 73 of them in their moral evaluation of nuclear power equating it with war making statements such as: "The Third World War may happen"; "powerless in this foreign crisis"; "fears of nuclear attacks"; "scared, unknown threat – fear". In stark contrast, peace journalism watchers wrote only a third of the number of fearful comments: only 26. Consistent with the script, many in the peace journalism group clearly distinguished between nuclear weapons and power, one writing "understanding of Tehran wanting to be nuclear", with some 12 observations that Iran felt under threat. Only five war journalism viewers offered the perspective that "Iran deserves to have nuclear energy".

Although both groups offered a similar number of perspectives about the production of the story, their tone differed significantly. Six peace journalism viewers called the version "balanced" writing: it was, "rare" and "interesting". Another appreciated the absence of sensationalism, "normal feeling, no emotional techniques used." But others were clearly made uncomfortable by the Iranian perspective, suggesting it was a "pro-peace bias" another "very biased".

It is worth touching on why the peace journalism viewers reported a higher sense of disconnection, that could have been about those people as individuals as they wrote "boring" and "didn't concentrate as much during this story, sorry."

PROBLEM DEFINITION	War Journalism	Peace Journalism
Iran the problem	**52**	**12**
Islam the problem	1	0
Jews the problem	1	2
International community	21	25

Table 4.10 Problem definitions in viewer responses to the Iran story

The other marked difference was in problem definition, with a clear demonization of Iran by those watching war journalism with a total of 17 comments like "Iran is uncontrollable" and "hate them" but when added to the comments about President Ahmedinejad that figure jumped to 52 with statements like "Iran President is crazy" and "absurd leader is horrible". These reflected the anger, disgust, contempt and fear as well as a sense of 'blaming' Iran as the problem. Though it is worth teasing out the remark made by an Iranian participant: "ANGRY wanted to cry especially when it showed Ahmedinejad (got the same feeling when I watch it at home). Shaking", alluding to the heightened emotional content of this version. In stark contrast, thoughts of the PJ viewers were much more moderate talking about "Iran is scary" and whilst the President was not featured in their story, two comments were still written about him, one which disaggregated him from the people "Iran might be

led by an idiot but this does not mean Iranians are also idiots, or agree with him." The PJ viewers expressed a much stronger sense of a shared problem "annoyed by U.S. double standards" and "NDF treaty not fully abided by, by developed nations", evidence of much more nuanced and less polarised thinking.

SOLUTIONS	War Journalism	Peace Journalism
	13	14

Table 4.11 Treatment recommendations in viewer responses to the Iran story

This was not matched with treatment recommendations, there were not significantly more offered from peace journalism viewers and they were fairly similar in tone and content with 13 from war journalism watchers and 14 from those seeing peace journalism. While there was, therefore, no direct correlation between watching peace journalism and valuing nonviolent responses to conflict, the moral evaluations signify a more latent conflict interpretation by the peace journalism group, where attitudes were less fearful and contradictions are less polarized because there was awareness that Iran has to right to develop nuclear power. Whereas war journalism watchers, reacting primarily from fear, show potential to be brought to see the bombing of Iran as a justified response.

Remembering 9/11: Statistics and TLPs

The DES results show that PJ viewers of 9/11 were less angry, less contemptuous, scornful, revolted (revulsion) and slightly less compassionate. At the first glance that seems obvious since they did not see the archive footage of the planes flying into the Twin Towers or the more extremist anti-Muslim views of Geert Wilders.

A closer look at the feelings suggests PJ viewers were less hostile, and they felt less revulsion, contempt, anger and scorn. The surprise here is that feelings of

empathy for the peace journalism group were down, but perhaps this was due to the story being more complicated so it is possible that resulted in less empathy because the story was less emotive.

Overall the statistics indicate that the WJ group expressed more revulsion, contempt, anger and scorn and this is reflected in the commentary on anti-mosque sentiments as part of the *moral evaluation.* The WJ viewers took on the dyadic conflict of opinion over the building of the mosque, whereas the PJ viewers expressed no opinion either way (25 WJ to 0 PJ). Instead, the PJ viewers identified the prevalence and exploitation of religious prejudice – rather than the mosque as such – as the problem[56]. They were also much more likely to make comments critical of the ceremony itself, or US policy in general (45 PJ to 17 WJ).

The majority of those in favour of the mosque expressed anger towards the Dutch Freedom Party with comments like "Geert Wilders is wrong."

While both groups equally reflected on personal memories of the time the tone of the WJ group commentary expressed much more shock and intensity most probably due to the archive pictures of event: "Shocking memories. Jittery, goose bumps when you see the plane"; "showing the blast footage again why ☹."

Comments about the loss of life (55 WJ to 50 PJ) were similar in tone, with numbers equally reflecting the sense of: "Despair. The death sound so real. Feeling angry." However the peace journalism viewers were much more critical of the remembrance ceremony itself, writing almost three times as many comments (66 PJ to 24 WJ). They criticised the continuing emphasis on the

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[56] One possible explanation for this difference in results can be constructed with reference to priming theory: "*Priming* is any means—even subliminal—of activating in our mind a script or story for a given situation" (Argo et al. 2009: 16). One person who was apparently *against* the Mosque expressed empathy for the demonstrators, writing: "I hate them as well", referring to Muslims, and another said: "Opposed to the building of a mosque. Empathic with the feelings of those people opposing this". This is an example of a priming effect becoming apparent in audience responses, as was mentioned in Chapter 3 (Methodology), it is likely that these participants already think this way or do not have strong pre-existing views and the story has activated this viewpoint, and "evaluations of political actors" (Scheufele, 2000: 308) where the political actors here are the demonstrators against the mosque and Muslims.

anniversary; the lack of attention on other war dead and aspects of US foreign policies as implicated in the initial attacks: "How about other anniversaries? Are American's the only people to have even lost anything?"; "does the roll call exacerbate the pain?"; "extended grief is not helpful or normal"; "exploiting memories"; "stupid Americans, should read the more than 100,000 Iraqi deaths." But there were similar strong comments from the war journalism group too, just fewer of them: "so many people are dying now in the Middle East in this 'redemption'".

There were slightly more PJ comments about the news itself (9 PJ to 7 WJ), with some praising the story because it "feels like a broad & comprehensive clip. Covers an array of topics & issues so takes the sad sting out of it." However another called it "a bit poorly structured to me." Equally, a WJ viewer was complimentary, writing: "the story was reflected was honest and balanced." Both sets of viewers criticised the "close-ups of mourning people."

Problem definition revealed little distinction between the groups with both commenting equally on religious ignorance and prejudice as the problem (46 WJ and 50 PJ). The story included few ideas for peace beyond Obama's call for tolerance (2 WJ to 12 PJ). These ranged from "Australia should pull out of Afghanistan" to "we need the cooperation of the whole world", hinting at an openness to nonviolent responses.

Soldier's funeral due to Afghanistan war: Statistics and TLPs

The statistical results for the soldier's funeral story were weak with only a slight difference in anger between groups. However the prominence of anger became more tangible in the TLP comments about the politicians (15 WJ to 6 PJ). Examples included expressions of "annoyance/frustration" at "political bickering". Another wrote: "Anger at connecting politics with sad event – manipulation weightless words", which also alluded to the propaganda. 13 hated the former Liberal Prime Minister John Howard. Another major difference emerged in the volume of comments about Afghan people with only one WJ

viewer referring to their absence "in no part of the story anything about people in Afghanistan." Many PJ viewers responded positively to the presence of an Afghan speaker in the story: "Interested in Afghan community rep's opinions"; "The afghan man makes a good point" but a couple were more critical: "Can't you pick a more eloquent Muslim" plus there was sympathy for the plight of people in the war: "Empathic to afghan civilians"; "Poor children. It's unfair."

Although there were fairly similar numbers of comments making a *moral evaluation* about the news (37 WJ to 22 PJ), they differed in tone with several positive comments about the peace journalism version. "Good use of differing sources, interview and YouTube." Another called it "balanced". The war journalism viewers were more negative one said the story was "dumbing down the news." But both groups referred to disliking the "strange juxtaposition of politics + military" and wrote that there "wasn't (a) clear overall point of the story," which could explain why the results were weaker for this story than for others.

There was an apparently strong outrage against the war as a way of *defining the problem* in this story, which several amongst the peace journalism group attributed to the so called 'war on terrorism' (45 PJ to 7 WJ). "'Global terrorism' is in many ways a myth and excuse to fight others", one wrote; "it's an ideological war", another wrote. Echoing the comments of the Afghan speaker, several wrote comments such as "think war is making it worse". Clearly there were some anti-war viewers observing the WJ version as seven expressed a clear abhorrence to violence writing "war is evil" and "violence is no way to settle disputes", only one from this group identified terrorism as the problem.

Again, there was a significant divergence in views about solutions (12 WJ and 30 PJ). The majority of peace journalism viewers called for "the troops should be withdrawn". Others expressed "uncertainty", or called for "open for debate in the public" and one called for "more Australian troops in Afghanistan". Whereas war journalism watchers we split between "bring troops home" and "sad but not reason to pull out". Again, peace journalism viewers tended to lean more towards valuing nonviolent responses to conflict.

Iraq suicide bombing: Statistics and TLPs

The statistical results pointed to the WJ group feeling more astonished, surprised, contemptuous, angry, scared, enraged, scornful and downhearted than the PJ viewers, who also had an increase in these emotions but to a much lesser degree than their war counterparts.

At first sight the numbers of *moral evaluation* comments do not offer a full explanation for the emotional differences. There were a third less peace journalism comments expressing disgust at the war and violence (88 WJ to 61 PJ comments), but the tone of the war journalism thoughts was darker, using words like "apocalyptic"; "very hopeless and chaotic". Given the war journalism script included: "Iraq has been plunged back into *chaos* tonight" it is not surprising that "chaos" appears four times in the TLPs. There was clearly more "anger" and disgust about the violence by "heartless killers". The peace journalism story also dwelt heavily on the violence, including the perspective of an Iraqi MP that life is worse than under former President Saddam Hussein. Although there were equal numbers of comments expressing disgust at the violence, there was a stronger sense of empathy for Iraqis from PJ viewers: "Feel for the children in those countries"; "empathy for victims of bombings". And this empathy was mirrored in concern for the Assyrians after the Bishop described his ordeal before fleeing Iraq: "Worry, empathy towards the Assyrian Christians in Sydney"; "again refugee voices – human stories – appreciated".

Some WJ viewers were frustrated with the emotive language: "Use of wording 'plunged into chaos' is really annoying"; "over the top – report is too sensational", and "revolted at images of destruction + blood splattered on walls". There were equivalent numbers of comments from the PJ viewers, several complained that it was another "war" story: "why no news about everlasting peace", and several questioned the closing hopeful tone of the script writing: "Seems to be a little propaganda". "Is it true – are the streets safer & calmer?", wrote a peace journalism watcher, noting the script line: "In Baghdad, in spite of this latest attack, the day-to-day security situation is calmer and the streets, safer."

Double the number of peace journalism viewers blamed the US invasion for the situation (23 WJ and 42 PJ) "a war no-one wanted"; "Iraq invasion was a great waste of time and money and an abuse of power".

There was no great difference in the number of treatment recommendations offered by peace or war journalism viewers but the content differed in with those seeing peace journalism suggesting, "Blair, Bush and Howard should be indicted", with the WJ group recommending better training for Iraqi troops, thus further – albeit more indirect – evidence that this item of PJ helped viewers value nonviolent responses.

Overall the results for these three stories were more occluded in that the distinctions between the groups were less apparent than the previous three items considered.

The STAI showed that the people tested did feel more stressed from watching television news but they did not feel more or less stressed depending on which version they watched. This was consistent with the findings of other studies.

Limitations of questionnaire study in Australia

This was the pilot testing stage of the study, where early experiments were carried out as the protocol was adapted from one testing to the next, for example using several of pre-test clinical questionnaires for depression and anxiety (DASS, BDI, Penn State Worry, STAI) even before the emotional measures (Panas and DES) and playing the bulletin without stopping at the end of each story. The use of clinical pre-test questionnaires was only done once, before these were dropped and subsequent screenings only used the DES and STAI as pre-test measures. Two screenings played the bulletin continuously, the third paused after each story to give participants more time to fill out their questionnaires. It did mean a smaller number of participants were able to give DES and EMMTO results for each story.

Towards the end of the continuous screening i.e. no pause between stories, students hinted at the personal toll of watching and writing. Two PJ viewers' wrote: "Hard to write when attention is focussed" and "thinking about going to the beach today & how I'll get there."

The statistical results from the DES only reveal figures for a small sample. They do not allow anything to be 'proven', so perhaps the DES was not a sensitive enough instrument to 'measure' people's emotions. But it is indicative and demonstrates changes in affect that do become further apparent in the TLPs so in that sense they succeeded in sending a signal as to where to delve down further into the qualitative data. Also, self-reporting emotional questionnaires, such as the Panas, DES and STAI, have their limits in that people are not always aware of feelings; conscious of what they are and what they are experiencing in their body. They may have disassociated from their feelings; lack the linguistic dexterity to express their emotions and/or use the adjectives in the tests differently to those intended. Whilst it is not surprising that the STAI results between the groups did not show differences in anxiety levels, it is interesting that the DES did not demonstrate particularly stronger interactions for individual emotions and there are issues of statistical reliability due to the number of questions and relatively small interactions.

The other limit perhaps was the apparent absence of ideas for peace in the PJ research material and could explain why there was no great difference in the number of solutions offered by PJ viewers.

For these reasons, future research could peer under the hood of the human mind - as perhaps as little of 1 % of brain activity is conscious (Libet, 1985) by using physiological measures such as Heart Rate Variability and skin conductance measures to explore affect and empathy.

Conclusion

What emerged from step 1 was a sense that some people felt more angry, hopeless and blaming as they watched war journalism and more hopeful, empathetic and cooperative watching peace journalism. This was particularly evidenced by the Middle East peace talks story, which evoked double the number of hopeless statements from WJ watchers and much greater empathy for Palestinians among PJ viewers. The asylum seekers WJ story generated almost five times the number of angry comments about politicians but the PJ version brought forth more than double the number of empathic comments. The Iran nuclear WJ instilled almost three times the amount of fearful reflections, and four times the number of comments blaming Iran as the problem, but PJ generated three times the number of statements saying nuclear power was OK.

So what of the question of the evolving case for Peace Journalism? How far did peace journalism viewers consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict, compared with war journalism watchers? In four out of the six stories there were significantly more cooperative, developmental, nonviolent responses from the peace journalism group. The Iran nuclear story and the Iraq suicide bombing showed no significant difference in the number of treatment recommendations, but those who watched the PJ version of Iran were so much less fearful and polarized that it seems reasonable to conclude that viewers of such material could ultimately prove less receptive to proposed violent responses, and more willing to invest hopes in negotiation and compromise.

These TLP findings will later be collated from those garnered from each of the subsequent countries, the Philippines, Mexico and South Africa where further research was undertaken. In Chapters 9 & 10, the discussion and concluding chapters, common threads will be identified, collated and analysed in relation to the literature outlined earlier. But first Chapter 5 will report the qualitative FGD data from Australia before the subsequent three chapters outline the study procedures and findings from the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico.

Australian Focus Groups

Do they strengthen the evolving case for peace journalism?

Introduction

This Chapter details both the methods and analysis of the data gathered for step 2 of the Australian research, the focus groups. As this was the first stage of running focus groups in this four-country study, a certain amount of refining of the group process and the analysis of the data took place. This contributed to assessing how some Australians responded cognitively and emotionally to each bulletin to assess whether peace journalism prompted and equipped audiences to consider and value developmental, nonviolent, cooperative responses to conflict.

Focus Groups Methods in Australia

Participants

Ten focus groups were recruited from five different demographic groups to represent a selection of low and high-income earners, a method similar to that employed by Philo & Berry (2004). In this case, there were groups of: bankers; clerical workers; building attendants; academic research staff and students and Muslims, making a total of 66 participants ranging in ages from 20 to 70 with a mean age of 39. The students and academic staff were recruited through adverts in the University newsletter and were financially compensated for their time. The community groups of bankers and Muslims were recruited through adverts for volunteers in their own organisations. All these focus group discussions (FGDs) took place over several weeks between October and December, 2010.

The demographics, political preferences and religious affiliations (if any) of members of these groups are reproduced in a table in Appendix F. Full descriptive profiles of each individual participant in are given in Appendix G, with care taken not to identify them. Where relevant, demographic details will be referred to in analysing audience responses. For example, the bankers groups contained all high-income participants, ranging from a managing director to junior analysts. The largest plurality of bankers to express a political preference, five, would vote for the Coalition. The other community pool of participants was drawn from Auburn, a suburb in the Outer West of Sydney, to create a mixed group of Muslims, most of whom were professionals (two with high-incomes), who expressed mostly left of centre views or no political preference. The clerical workers were drawn from Sydney University's administration and library staff, of whom three defined themselves as a high-income earners and most held left of centre views, with the rest expressing no political preference. The low-income groups included one of postgraduate students and staff researchers, all of whom held either left of centre political views or expressed no political preference. Two low-income groups included exclusively building attendants employed by Sydney University in manual work to open rooms and maintain equipment.

Politically the building attendants mostly held right of centre views, with a high proportion expressing no political preference.

Procedures

Each group[57] was randomly assigned peace journalism and war journalism viewings with no prior knowledge about the respective framings. Focus group participants also filled in a pre and post bulletin STAI, and the DES measures. No results from these pre and post-tests have been included in this chapter because they were not statistically significant. Participants were also invited to jot down any thoughts on the TLP boxes as they watched each news bulletin. Subsequent discussions lasting between 50 and 90 minutes were recorded on a two digital audio recorders, one as a back-up system.

The audio from the FGDs was transcribed and themed (coded) using Shinar's five headings: Exploring backgrounds and contexts; giving a voice to the views of all rival parties; offering creative ideas for conflict resolution; challenging propaganda by going beyond the official versions of events, and by paying attention to peace stories (from Shinar, 2007: 200). Lee and Maslog's three "non-interventionist" (2005) or passive peace journalism indicators, for the avoidance of emotive language; 'labelling' of conflict parties as good and bad, and partisan reporting, were added as heading guides to identify themes for the focus group comments. These themes correspond to the encoded content, in other words the stories in the PJ bulletin were produced to include content corresponding to the five headings, as far as practicable, and to avoid the three linguistic types. They were adopted as themes to organise the data from FGDs primarily to ascertain

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[57] Approximately 20% of the participants in these Australian focus groups were known to me personally as colleagues or students at the University of Sydney. To reduce the likelihood of demand characteristics (Orne, 1962), participants were randomly assigned to a group to ensure that they were not aware of the version of news they were watching, whether it was WJ or PJ. As is apparent in the following analysis, many critical comments were made about PJ stories: demonstrating, I believe, that they felt able to be honest about what they were viewing and were not demonstrating demand characteristics about peace journalism.

how far these distinctions, between the PJ and WJ versions, were successfully decoded (Hall, 1980), and in what form by participants unaware of the distinctions or that an alternative existed.

As emotion responses are of key interest to this study, FGDs comments were also themed for their emotional intensity. At each stage of processing, the data was reviewed several times, meaning the transcripts were checked before being coded under the five headings. The subsequent transcript codings were then reassessed numerous times whilst being summarized during the writing process. Emotional themes correlated significantly with Shinar's headings and thus were interwoven rather than reported as a separate category of emotional themes. Consistently throughout the groups the war journalism viewers complained about what was missing, which often triggered feelings of hopelessness and despair, whilst the peace journalism viewers noticed what was present and predominantly named a sense of "hope".

As with the quantitative data from questionnaire responses, and the TLPs, three peace stories, Israel and the Palestinians; Asylum seekers, and Iran nuclear, generated the most intense responses in FGDs, so responses to these stories will analysed in detail and the other three in summary. The discussion begins with participants' general responses to the bulletins overall.

Focus Group Results from Australia

General comments about the TV bulletins

Overall, the PJ distinctions encoded (Hall, 1980) in the bulletins at the production stage were indeed successfully identified by members of focus groups, whose comments, in response, therefore leant themselves to being themed according to Shinar's five headings. This pattern was more pronounced in general comments about each bulletin, but still discernible when comments were broken down and analysed story-by-story. At times, participants became distracted by their overall impressions of news rather than the version of news

they had just seen, in other words they responded with past experience rather than being able to process present information. What can be concluded is that, without being told 'this is WJ or this is PJ', people from various backgrounds of ethnicity, education and income identified some of the significant differences in how each version of news had been framed. On the whole they criticised the WJ and praised elements of PJ as "interesting" and "different to usual", spontaneously identifying background, views, ideas and solutions.

In emotional responses by FG members, there was significantly more anger expressed by the war journalism groups who made a total of eight pages' worth of angry references (when the results were transcribed and collated) compared with three pages of angry comments from peace journalism viewers. The findings were consistent with DES results indicating that WJ watchers not only expressed more anger, but were also apparently more distressed, referring to feelings of sadness and hopelessness. Peace journalism groups shared three pages of hopeful comments versus half a page from war journalism viewers. Empathy marked another major contrast with the war journalism viewers, who spoke mostly about the absence of empathy, whereas peace journalism viewers appreciated its presence. These observations as unique moments within the focus groups will be outlined under the following themes of Shinar's five headings.

In general, war journalism viewers complained about a lack of background, views, ideas, images of peace and challenges to propaganda. On the whole they noticed the sensationalist language, partisan one-sidedness and instances when stories were demonising and labelling parties as 'goodies and baddies'. Here are a smattering of first reactions from all five groups to having just watched the **war journalism bulletin**: "Makes people forget maybe the context"; "I think politicians get way too much air time"; "all about politics"; "you don't see the humanity"; "you could play them five years ago… it's just the same story day in day out nothing is getting better… neither side is really trying to get to achieve peace"; "they repeat certain lines to sell what they want to sell"; "be stupid and believe what they're telling me"; "I feel like it's a war on Muslims or Islam"; "America centric"; "lacking integrity"; "just politically played"; "I would have

walked out of the room";"pulling your emotional strings"; "frustration, anger"; "it's just that dumbing down"; "I'm a little bit fed up"; "depressing"; "painful to watch"; "almost helpless"; "totally powerless"; "betrayed";"I felt exhausted after watching all that"; "depressed and sad"; "I came in here in the best of moods… it leaves me frustrated and a little cynical"; "frustrated about the whole inflammatory language"; "sensationalised"; "frustrating with all the politics"; "I feel impotent when I watch the news"; "the same old story, there's no light because there's nothing new in it"; "I felt like I could have been sitting in a room ten years ago, 20 years ago, 30 years ago"; "a bit bored".

Here are the equivalent comments at the end of the **peace journalism bulletin**, initially they were negative as if expressing old responses to news: "Lack of context"; "depressed", "terrified"; "you do feel a sense of hopelessness"; "I felt really sad and hopeless"; "I just felt like I was looking at a lot of death"; "all the stories were underneath about governments not doing anything"; "like we saw grief and sorrow and hatred, despair and lack of harmony in the world"; "there's never any good news". But then, there was a clear distinct turn about five minutes into both the bankers' and research students' discussion when one person spoke out against the negative statements. In each of these groups, one person spoke up unprompted to share a different reality about the bulletin as a hopeful experience, thus spotting and perhaps validating the peace journalism framing: "I did think a lot of those stories actually had hope attached to them", said a male banker, as if to delineate some of the peace journalism distinctions spontaneously:

> Even when they were very cynical about that message of hope a lot of them were saying well there's people on both sides saying well could this be a different outcome from what's been a never ending problem for some of these things so I did think that not all but a lot of those stories did actually try to have a hope outcome.

A female colleague backed him up "I agree… somewhat hopeful end like the conclusion gave the impression that there was some hope." And similar from a university researcher:

There would be this little kind of window that would open where you could see maybe if the story went on in that direction it might be suggestions for change… but I want to hear more about well what do they suggest can be done.

From that point on, in each of these groups, the direction and character of discussion switched course, with participants apparently feeling enabled to comment on the positive, often unusal aspects of their viewing experience. **A central inquiry here is when did these 'windows of hope' open and did they happen across the groups?** The point is further considered in Chapter 9. Each peace journalism group certainly picked up on hope in different places and at different times. It was strongest in the asylum story with the interview of Ali Jafaari and the Israel/Palestine story on seeing the maps of disappearing Palestine on the news.

The 'passive' elements of the peace journalism avoidance of emotive language; labelling of conflict parties as good and bad, and partisan reporting showed stronger differences across the groups throughout the bulletin, which is not surprising given the WJ scores were minus half a point for each of these elements but no such deduction was made for each of the PJ versions.

There was a much stronger sense among peace journalism viewers that the bulletin was "fair and balanced" and not partisan. A young Muslim captured this sentiment in the opening minutes he identified the bulletin as "balanced… there wasn't a clear blatant agenda". He, and two other younger participants, responded in much the same way as the banker and research student mentioned above, in their focus groups, who steered the discussion to the positive with their intercessions. In the case of the Muslim group, however, this process was resisted by several older participants: "To me, I think it was biased and prejudiced and one sided", said an older man, clearly having formed a strong opinion before walking in the room: "the media here let's say, I call it a brain washing." One of the Muslim women, while admitting, in conversation with other participants, that the bulletin was different from the norm, said it was "not different enough… you'd have to hit us in the face with a wet fish I think".

Viewer Comments Story by Story

Israel/Palestine Peace Talks

This was the most intensely discussed story across the groups with most comments made about the PJ version's inclusion of background and a range of views, but there was also a great deal of anger expressed about the war journalism version that generated a sense of hopelessness."It made you feel frustrated, angry and useless" said a clerical worker; "angry, sad and helpless" said another repeating the word "helpless" several times. One man was moved to tears, "I guess I was surprised by how upset I was", said a male research student who had spent time on the Occupied West Bank.

Is/Pal Background: There was an overriding sense amongst the *war journalism* viewers that something was missing from the portrayal of the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians, with some of the most insightful comments coming from building attendants:

> You can't just portray these people as just being bloody minded or uncooperative because it's just not like that. There's an awful lot of history that has to be looked at to understand the depth of the problem in that region.

Such depth could come, suggested both a Muslim and a clerical worker, if the life of ordinary Palestinians was better understood:

> Can you imagine those people being in fear all the time and they can't cross borders and their families (are) living (on) the other side they have passes, security and all that checked before they can even cross and see their own families?

This Muslim woman was echoed by the clerical workers, "you just don't hear anything about the attacks on the refugee camps". A Muslim offered the explanation that he had heard whilst working for the ABC: "They are just aiming

for ratings, ratings is the reason why we can't go deeper into the issue so we have 20 seconds or less on the news of what's going on." One of the bankers complained that a lack of background meant he could not follow the story,"one second it's saying 'there's a building agreement' and I'm sitting there going, what's the building agreement and why would that be the deciding factor? And... I don't think anything was fully explained."

Peace journalism viewers, on the other hand, debated at length the welcome new background in this version that made the conflict much easier to understand and identified by one research student as including elements she had never seen on the news before. "I don't think I ever saw a map of Palestine like that until like the last few years, definitely not on the news... it makes it much easier to understand the conflict". Indeed, a banker who identified himself as "a bit biased... I am Jewish," pointed out just how "controversial" he thought the maps were:

> There's no right or wrong on this one, the facts are hazy on a lot of this stuff. Using 'military occupation' is the wording in that and if you spoke to an Israeli they might view it differently or might use different wording.

But several other bankers and clerical workers talked about "learning a little bit more" from this story and it seemed to really capture the imagination of one male banker:

> It gave me a tangible sense of... the fence moving and one country building in another country's property zone... Imagine if your next door neighbour moved his fence that's the nature of the issue, you wouldn't let it happen!

There were similar comments from building attendants and Muslims too, describing the maps as "it makes it more real." But another Muslim referred to it as tokenism:

The map is fine but it's very brief and a lot of the issues you'd have to have that emotional input like 'this was our land… now this is what we're all living on' sometimes the clue is there but if you reinforce it.

Is/Pal Views: Although small in number, some *war journalism* viewers did notice an absence of voices in the Israeli/Palestinian peace talks. One of the bankers was frustrated by the "armchair critics", another was concerned the story did not include ordinary people: "A genuine lack of focus on the impact to actual citizens the people, why they feel that way, why they probably continue to feel that way." There was something similar from a Muslim woman: "We don't get to hear any other sides, it's a little bit too wishy-washy there's not much investigation to it a little bit, tell us something new." A building attendant wanted to hear from moderate voices: "I was surprised to learn only recently that the orthodox Jews were defending the Palestinians and protesting against the blockade and this was news to me, this was a revelation."

As with the maps, *peace journalism* viewers spent much time discussing Bishara Costandi's Marrickville to Glebe analogy, more time than they spent considering any other speaker in the bulletin. Perhaps because he offered people a chance to walk in Palestinians' shoes, as several reflected, in a "clever", "smart" way "like painting a picture" that clearly inspired much empathy. No one spoke negatively about him in the focus groups: "He was speaking from the heart and it came across well… it seemed rare to me it seemed valuable", said a clerical worker. A building attendant reflected: "We are lucky we don't have to go through checkpoints." Several talked of making a connection with him "because he was just a regular bloke" and the "terrible" life for Palestinians "like suddenly his experience of larger policies expressed in terms that could be clearly understood here was really powerful," said a clerical worker. Many others called it "interesting". As if to demonstrate how much attention they were paying at that point, many recalled in detail aspects of Mr Costandi's comments: "I could relate to it… when he said Marrickville to Glebe like I ride that on a push bike in 15 minutes and instead 14 roadblocks and I like I wrote down it's insane." And another banker added "that really drove it home (lots of agreement in the background) saying it's based on the whim of a soldier whether he'll let you

through today or not." The Muslim peace journalism viewers included some who were less impressed as "we've seen it before", but others described it as "a brilliant example" and said "it makes it more real"; "it's good to see".

Two members of the Bankers group who identified as Jewish called for a balancing view, like an "Israeli woman in the north who says all the bombs keep coming down on me in this area and this one died" or an "Israeli in Australia."

Israel/Palestine Ideas: Most of the *war journalism* comments related to the absence of genuine solutions to the conflict, leaving people feeling a mixture of uninterested, bored, helpless, and angry. "If you took that newsreel and put it into 1993 it would be like almost nothing has changed 'oh another peace talks, another prime minister'", commented a banker sounding bored, who added that it caused her to "switch off". A Muslim said "I feel sad, really sad and I feel quite powerless", a view echoed by several of the bankers and research students: "So it felt like the stories from Israel/Palestine always seem to be, 'this is an impossible thing to solve', and I felt this was the same." The man who cried, complained that all the on-the-ground ideas for peace that he had personally witnessed were routinely subjugated by the media:

> There's so much grassroots stuff people are trying to do but it never gets any play... I was only there for two weeks... I was there as an educational consultant for a week for an NGO... it makes me really angry that... I'm sure journalists must know that there's stuff going on.

Although the peace journalism version hinted at solutions like Israel pulling back to the Green line, all the viewers missed this inference. One of the bankers seemed perplexed: "Fundamentally (you) have two cultures who feel equally entitled who believe it is their homeland – how do you ever resolve that? And I would love it to be fixed but how do you fix it?" But another felt the PJ story "end(ed) on a message of hope."

Is/Pal Propaganda*:* the building attendants made the strongest protest about propaganda in the *war journalism* version: "Every night you're fed these perspectives, I form my own opinions on it, no doubt everybody's vulnerable to

some form of manipulation, but I'm aware this is what they're doing and it's always the same every night." One Muslim likened the peace talks to a comedy show "because I know it's been repeated, who are they kidding? We all know what is the play and the counter play and it's only show, who are they trying to deceive?" Another added: "They repeat certain lines to sell what they want to sell, the perception that they're trying to bring to peace in Palestine. So you think 'oh they're trying to make peace', but you know they're not."

Some *Peace Journalism* viewers identified propaganda, such as the building attendant who spotted Hillary Clinton's awkward moment at the photo opportunity when she was caught between Binyamin Netanyahu and Mahmoud Abbas: "I thought it was a pity that somebody had to yell out 'shake hands'. I thought someone's prompting them to shake hands." And a tone of cynicism from another "we've heard it so many times in the past in regard to Israel/Palestine you go 'peace oh yeah I'll believe it when I see it', it's got to that stage." One clerical worker interpreted the story as US propaganda: "There's this constant, constant hammering that America does not want to fail".

Is/Pal Peace: While it was perhaps no surprise that war journalism viewers did not mention post-war success stories, a clerical worker watching PJ was heartened by the hints of peace in the last picture sequence:

> It evoked images of a Palestinian in a crowded street and in traditional gear and he looked at the camera and smiled, and we often remember the last shot but for me how rare that is to see… that last shot reminded me of that, it's just the humanity comes across.

Is/Pal Emotive: As for the negative peace journalism indicators, the *War Journalism* bankers noticed emotive content in the form of "gunfire"; it "makes it a bit emotive if people are trying to kill each other… more intensity… one of those little triggers for me, well no pun intended (laughter), that there is a serious issue." Another disagreed that gunfire indicated the importance of an issue, "I think sometimes it is a distraction."

In contrast the PJ bankers described their version as not being emotive:

The narrator was female I noticed, and she also spoke quite with a positive tone or with a nice comforting tone. I don't know, I just think I listened a little bit more. I was interested, it wasn't sensationalizing any of the issues, it was more informative.

Is/Pal Labelling: Although the *War Journalism* was coded as not demonizing either side, one banker felt it did demonize due to a lack of background: "I don't think anything was fully explained and they'd throw in these things in a way that painted one side or the other in a villainous way without explaining what was going on." A clerical worker felt the Palestinians were portrayed as illegitimate: "Israel's claims seem so much more legitimate as if there is just one legitimate power and one less authorized or less legitimate." And a Muslim found herself on the defensive in the world:

> One lady told me I will hate Islam if Islam is creating people to kill others with suicide bombing then I don't want anything to do with Islam. Then after talking to her for a while then she said she change her view altogether, and I said Islam is peace, these people are having a political problem that's why they are fighting.

Labelling was not mentioned by any of the peace journalism viewers.

Is/Pal Partisan: As discussed earlier, a clerical worker implied that the *War Journalism* story was partisan with American propaganda; another that the story was biased and one sided: "They say 'we're going to win', got that feeling that we're the winners... You see very few images of the Palestinian side."

And the Jewish banker expanded on how the *peace journalism* story in his view sided with the Palestinians:

> You said 'taking other people's land' so you immediately assume that was the right situation... I mean their choice of language was 'majority of world opinion' that the journalist used that phrase like how can she actually assume that?

Most participants, however, evinced at least some appreciation of some of the key background issues in any notion of peace involving Israel the Palestinians. No specific plan or blueprint was raised or discussed even in the PJ version of the story, but this did succeed in enabling viewers to think about what peace would entail. To that extent, they may be assumed to have been rendered more receptive to the notion that the conflict is not, as popular media representations would imply, a phenomenon arising from the atavistic enmity between races or followers of different religions, but a socially constructed set of relations that could, therefore, be reconstructed along more peaceful lines.

Asylum seekers

Background: There was a great deal of frustration amongst *war journalism* viewers at the lack of context in this story: "I felt there were a lot of assumptions that were not explored". One Muslim woman spoke extensively about her own experience of detention centres: "The picture we get on television is these people have recreation and food, have comfortable accommodation… I've seen the centres and I know it's a prison not a recreation centre and sometimes men are separated from their families in another section." She described this lack of background as "distressing… they don't go to the roots of it, why is it happening?"

But for some *peace journalism* viewers too there was something missing: "I would have liked it to have gone more into the exploitation of the UN with local workers", said a research student. A Muslim woman made a similar comment: "There's more conflict in Afghanistan because Sri Lanka still isn't sorted out. *Why* (emphasized) are they coming? Because there's a genuine need and no-one talks about that."

Another researcher however felt she saw uniquely new material in the story:

> Some of that footage like I say is the first time I've seen… like a lot of the time when it was really politicised there wasn't any media access to any

of those refugees, so there was no footage of people being transported or anything because they weren't even in the country and people couldn't fly there to interview them.

As a result of watching, she said, she wanted to find out more. There was a plethora of other comments reflecting a sense of engagement, interest and compassion with asylum seekers, as reflected in the following two statements from female bankers:

> I was imagining myself living in a country where I'm required to flee because of where I was born or how I speak or my religion or whatever which makes it more personal which improves empathy.

"For the most part these are people who are fleeing from horrible circumstances so I was very empathic", another added, but she was "shocked when she said 52% of Australians support it [the integration of asylum-seekers into Australian society as refugees] and I was kind of a little bit ashamed of that number," because in her view the number was too low. However several of the clerical workers were delighted to hear this: "I thought the stat. by Roy Morgan, a majority of Australians actually support immigrants, that blew me away" and this from another: "To hear that, that the majority are actually quite supportive of it really surprised me. It was a feel good story to a certain degree." A researcher described that fact as "reassuring**.**

Asylum Views: Research students, bankers and clerical workers felt the *war journalism* story was overly political and missing the human perspective of those at the other end of asylum policy. "We didn't really see the asylum seekers, they were noticeably absent," said a research student. One of the female bankers said she was "bored… it jumped to Chris Bowen's view what's his two cents' worth? What's Scott Morrison, what's his two cents' worth? It was just like a bit of a barrage of thoughts." Another commented that "you didn't see the sadness, you didn't see the desperation, you didn't see the poverty, you didn't see the mental illness, you didn't see the sense of absolute loss and fear."

It was mainly the bankers, clerical workers and research students who discussed the alternative views in the *peace journalism* version, again particularly for an empathic human connection, noted a male banker:

> A lot more sympathy evoked for that story compared to the second story when you actually heard some tangible reasons why this person was a refugee and you could relate to it you could understand it you had a lot more sympathy for it.

A male colleague agreed with him: "When you hear… an asylum seeker speaking you do relate to them and you are just much more empathic about it."

And very similar from a research student: "The story about the refugee, the asylum seeker, is very positive in the sense that it enables the viewer to empathise, so you feel you do feel sad and you feel engaged with that person." Another banker said it made her more interested in the story:

> If we're trying to build a multicultural, tolerant society here in Australia that you do personalize those stories and give the broader community an exposure to what the lives of these people actually might be and to bring to life why they come to this country in boats… So when the refugee story came on I was kind of like ok well here we go again this will be interesting I wonder, I was intellectually engaged and interested to see whether my view could be influenced in one way or another.

This observation is of particular interest for this study because this women identified in her questionnaire that she was a Coalition voter, in other words someone with right wing politics admitting how interested she was in hearing from an asylum seeker: "So when they actually started talking to him I was interested in his story."

Several researchers appreciated the novelty effect of hearing different voices: "How it actually changes the story when there are views like asylum seekers and I thought that's possibly the first time I've seen footage of asylum seekers like

that before". Another said: "I was very, very happy to hear the opinions of the Afghans in Oz, I've never heard that before on TV".

But one of the clerical workers felt that the story was "very biased and manipulative", and suspicious because the asylum seeker was portrayed as "successful". He seemed:

> A perfectly reasonable, normal nice guy but there are a lot of them who are not and we never get to see them, so it was obvious he was put in there, and I don't doubt he was genuine but he was put in there to persuade to make people change their minds about asylum seekers.

To her most asylum seekers are "horribly bigoted, who keep their wives under wraps at home and demand that." She offered a rare insight into how resistant people can be to having their minds changed. However her demographics revealed she had no political preference, a Christian high income earning administrator and herself an immigrant from Sweden. One of the bankers also felt concerned that the story was biased: "I'm actually pro-asylum seekers myself but I thought they had a polarized opinion… they could have taken another opinion of a more right wing Australian." And one of the building attendants said, "it doesn't really get my sympathy".

Asylum Ideas: Bankers and research students watching *war journalism* complained about a lack of solutions to the asylum issue. "It was very problem orientated rather than solution driven," said a young researcher who found the story "very depressing". One of the bankers described being "left with a sense of hopelessness… where is our compassion and our humanity and commitment to genuinely resolving these things?

The comments from *peace journalism* viewers about solutions were fairly similar to those already quoted in background and views, the sense of being interested and connected to the Afghan man who wanted to make Australia proud of him. "There were some tears in my eyes like 'finally there's one person'. The way he said 'I want Australia to realise that it did not do a mistake,' that looked really touching like they want a chance," said a research student.

Asylum Propaganda: All groups of *war journalism* viewers detected the propaganda in this story. The strongest comments came from Muslims: "No they are sending this message more illusion more disinformation to the average person." He said if he did know better then:

> I would have been confused and I would have thought these asylum seekers should not be here. If I'm watching it for me, my personal, I'm angry because I think it's a brainwashing agenda… and to mislead the community… and to create hatred amongst our community.

One of the building attendants signalled resistance to what he identified as a dominant form of framing: "Every night you're fed these perspectives, I form my own opinions on it, no doubt everybody's vulnerable to some form of manipulation but I'm aware this is what they're doing and its always the same every night." A woman banker said: "I just saw it as a military story almost and you don't actually understand how many people are coming in, like what the impact is, where do they come?" Another added that the political spin left her with a feeling of "hopelessness"; "I think they use the issue mainly in the election time so they use this to play with the vote," said a clerical worker. But a Muslim peace journalism viewer also thought the alternative version propagandistic: "it's all spin and hypocrisy and straight out lies and he (Scott Morrison) hasn't even bothered to find out the truth of the situation."

Asylum peace: One of the bankers watching *war journalism* discussed her own ideas for peace, an idea remarkably redolent of the PJ version: "These people want a better life so much that they would do anything they would do all those jobs that most Australians that are not working." She added that her parents were immigrants "20 years ago, they're a doctor and an engineer and they were cleaning toilets, they would do anything to be given that second chance."

In many ways Ali Jafaari's story belongs in four categories: background, ideas, views and peace. One banker implied that for him the story was an image of peace: "He's been there, come out of it and actually expressing that he really wants to stay in this country and wants you to feel he has the right, he's a good citizen."

Asylum Emotive: There were some strong comments from all the WJ groups relating to emotive words: "All the inflammatory language, I just switch off after a while and think ok what's the actual reality, oh I don't know I'll move on," said one of the bankers. A clerical worker was angry at the use of individual words: "I was being manipulated, I mean they're talking about the 'flood' and the 'wave' and 'overwhelming'". One of the Muslim women laughed, "there was a 'flood of arrivals'. Where is a flood of arrivals (laughter)?" And similarly from a research student: "I felt really riled by a lot of the descriptions of the asylum seekers, like the 'waves of new arrivals'… 'the flood'…'the sudden pressure on our system' that sort of thing that I felt wasn't quantified." There were no comments about emotive words from any of the peace journalism groups.

Asylum Labelling: Many of the *war journalism* viewers were concerned about asylum seekers being demonised: "I couldn't believe the play on fear, it's just this big, 'oh my goodness, your tax dollars, your country' and it was just so dehumanised," said a research student. One of the bankers reported being "kind of left with this impression that all these people are evil and are out to get us." And she was annoyed by how they were labelled: "They call them 'boat people', it's just a nothing term its invented by the media to sell more papers. It's just really frustrating." And this from another banker: "I thought it just goes back to that whole us versus them and all the language about floods of asylum seekers and this and that. I just thought it's an example of journalists choosing what language they think is going to rile people." A clerical worker was frustrated by the pictures: "The images of them waiting on the boat, it looks like they are criminals."

One Muslim went as far as deconstructing the narrative:

> The media constructs that in a way that distances you from those nameless faceless what we call refugees and asylum seekers. You see them in the backdrop and there's a strong distancing that they are just like human fodder and they actually are an unwanted entity and there's a sense of disdain towards them… I was thinking wow they're real people

they're not just a virus or threat to society which is the way they are depicted, they are real people but you never get to see that or hear that.

One of the Muslim *peace journalism* viewers still felt the asylum seekers were demonised, "but its always boat people from the point of view of fear (several speak at once)."

Asylum Partisan: A researcher watching WJ noticed how partisan the asylum story was: "Just all about 'me and Australians', and there's no sense of 'who are these people, what are they running from'?" Again, she was unwittingly pre-empting an element encoded in the PJ version. One of the bankers described a feeling of "switch-off" because she objected to the partisan approach: "I thought it just goes back to that whole us versus them. They start talking about the cost of having asylum seekers… they don't ever talk about the cost to Australia of sending troops out to Afghanistan".

There were no comments about partisanship in the language of the item from *peace journalism* viewers.

Iran nuclear power

Background: There was a strong sense from the *war journalism* viewers that they "weren't getting the whole story" in the words of a young Muslim man. Both Muslims and research students pointed to the one-sidedness of the context, calling it "ahistorical" and making the connection with the history of Iraq. A researcher said:

> I was a bit annoyed that… the reporter… was questioning was Iran bluffing? I mean, what happened with Saddam Hussein, not that long ago, he was bluffing, why? So just having some lessons learnt from Saddam Hussein… might have been a bit illuminating for the viewers.

One building attendant thought the portrayal of Iran was over-simplified in the *war journalism* version: "It's easy to forget that this was a country which looked extremely Western for a while and they had the Shah and things looked so different with people like you and me they are many faceted." Again, Muslims

and research students pointed to further missing elements, elements that both featured in the PJ version, namely some of the reasons why Iran may feel under threat. "Iran has the right if Israel has a big armament of nuclear bombs why can't Iran have one in the area to protect itself?" said a Muslim woman.

In contrast there was unanimous appreciation from *peace journalism* viewers for the background material, explaining both that Iran has reasons to feel under threat and that Iran has a legal right to make nuclear power. A female research student commented that this latter point, in particular, was "an eye-opener because Iran is not producing something that illegal".

A Muslim woman thought it was the most positive story in the PJ bulletin:

> I was really happy with that because they had all the weapons inspectors in there… and I didn't know this, Russia had agreed to take their unspent fuel, the processing of their rods. I was like 'oh well that's good maybe people will get off the Iranians' back'.

Iran Views: The narrow range of views in the *war journalism* version was noticed by many, including this research student: "I was craving an activist bent to the reporting because there was no mention of global nuclear disarmament. Who doesn't want that?" In the PJ version, the presence of activist Paul Ingram, Director of BASIC, a British Anti-nuclear group, engaged the interest of a banker right at the end of the focus group. She acknowledged how previously critical she had been of the Iran nuclear story:

> I think it was the first time I'd heard reasons explained and you know there's a lot of concentration of nuclear weapons but to have it set out so clearly that spelt out that you've got this country, that country sitting off shore there and it'd never really been spelt out that clearly to me before.

Later there was some scepticism from two male bankers, "are we just led down one path and maybe it's not reality?" And another mistook Mr Ingram for an Iranian rather than a peace activist: "the Iranian guy talking about all the

countries surrounding them, gave... a bit of insight into looking at things from the Iranian side of things, but my immediate view was just skepticism." This could be interpreted as another example of viewers resisting attitude-discrepant (Holbert et al., 2010: 20) material.

Iran Ideas: As neither version contained specific ideas for peace it is not surprising that this did not warrant a mention. A woman banker complained about the lack of solutions in the WJ version: "This to me seemed like the biggest worry... wouldn't that be an opportunity for Rudd or the prime minister to say what he would do?" A male banker felt angry, helpless and hopeless because there were no ideas for a solution: "How do you change his mind?", referring to President Ahmedinejad. He went on: "Talking about wiping people out, it is like Hitler or something."

One of the bankers in the peace journalism screening appreciated the tone of tolerance from US President Barack Obama: "He was again preaching tolerance and let's not just default to being aggressive to Iran."

Iran Propaganda: There was a strong sense amongst most of the *war journalism* viewers that the story contained propaganda, with several expressing cynicism and anger: "We're being buttered up for the next invasion of Iran," intoned a female banker. She was far from alone, with similar comments being made in other groups: "This is a lead-up to a war with Iran," said a building attendant; "it's that empire thing again", said a clerical worker. Another clerical worker felt the story represented the "manipulation we need... to be worried about these people in Iran and they're threatening Israel." She said later: "It's preparing us, public opinion, to say what they have in all the nuclear armaments," describing herself as feeling "miserable".

But a female banker saw Iranian propaganda in the peace journalism version:

> It is just trying coerce people towards a conclusion... well here's the front and Russia will try and keep them on track for the next two or three years until attention is diverted elsewhere, then what they're really going to do is put it into a missile.

This was the same woman, a Coalition supporter quoted earlier who admitted, right at the end of the discussion, that she had experienced a shift in her perspective.

Iran Peace: A building attendant noticed that the *peace journalism* version presented Iran as an image of peace, saying it engaged his interest:

> That actually put a positive spin on Iran and it was actually as a lot of people the West were starting to get a bit optimistic when they showed that nuclear reactor was for peaceful purposes that was the first time I've seen that… That's probably the article that stuck the most with me.

Iran Emotive: Research students, bankers and clerical workers all talked about how "scary", "disturbing and frightening" the *war journalism* version was: "It's deliberately emotive", said a female banker, "you've got the prime minister saying 'Israel has got to be wiped off the face of the earth', that's aggressive kind of language." One Muslim woman called it "sensationalism."

However there was only a slight difference in the degree of fear amongst the *peace journalism* viewers. A clerical worker felt "terrified because they focus on their missile tests", while others too pointed to the images of firing missiles: "I'm really scared to be honest," said a research student.

Iran Labelling: Again there was a lot of clarity amongst the *war journalism* viewers that Iran was being demonized: "I've just got the impression of ancient crazy environment… it is like Hitler or something?" said one of the female bankers. "I felt it was angling at Islam is evil", said a Muslim man, adding that he felt "concerned and angry" because the story presented "Islam as a threat… and they label the president 'hard line'." One of the building attendants drew an insightful analogy with cinema: "When you have movies you've got to have good guys and bad guys but a lot of people… lose the balance, it's not a movie, it's the reality of the world… they're getting us ready to accept that these guys are the bad guys".

Iran Partisan: Two of the bankers thought the *war journalism* story "quite unbalanced". One of the Muslims was irritated and suspicious that the story was partisan with a "blatant western agenda". He continued: "Why are we devoting two to three minutes of top quality Australian news to Iran because Iran's missile issue and the nuclear war and all the controversy around that?" On the other hand, a building attendant appreciated that the *peace journalism* version of the Iran nuclear story was not partisan: "There was a different perspective that you don't usually see from a western perspective."

As responses to the *peace journalism* versions of the other three stories: Remembering 9/11; Afghanistan/Soldier's funeral, and Iraq suicide bombing were weaker, these focus groups discussions have been summarised to present a taste of how each group identified and decoded the war journalism and peace journalism. The peace heading has been excluded as none of these stories was coded with images of peace.

Remembering 9/11; Afghanistan/Soldiers' funeral and Iraq suicide bombing

9/11, Afghanistan & Iraq Background: All five *war journalism* groups commented that these three stories lacked background. In the 9/11-anniversary story a female research student complained: "No context, just a figuring out of someone to blame." By the time the Iraq war journalism version was played one research student had had enough: "This kind of news when you watch it the more I knew the more pissed off I got, it's like that impotence of knowledge". A banker watching the WJ version of Afghanistan was angered by it: "I came away from that story not really knowing anything except that a soldier had died, there'd been a funeral and that Kevin Rudd was swanning about next to the river. What have I learnt from that? Nothing." A clerical worker echoed that sentiment: "I found it very disjointed and confusing". And a research student said: "I just noticed I wasn't taking things in as much."

But *peace journalism* viewers too felt short-changed on background, through all three stories, particularly the Iraq suicide bombing: "Just why? Why blowing

someone up, it's not going to help," said a female research student. Although there was a lot of background in the PJ version of the soldiers' funeral, it did not come up much for discussion the focus groups. One of the bankers felt the extra issues made the story "really confusing – it sort of went from funeral to the death to a whole different issue and another issue and I sort of tuned out half way through because I couldn't keep up. I got sort of lost."

9/11, Afghanistan & Iraq Views: *Peace journalism* viewers unanimously appreciated as a balancing perspective the presence of Terry Rockefeller, a peace activist who lost her sister on 9/11. A building attendant said: "It's like you do have people from both sides". A banker thought Ms Rockefeller's comments "stood out for me most about that story". The research students discussed at length Ms Rockefeller's views, referring to her bringing "balance" to the story, that it was "refreshing to hear that opinion in a news story" and that her words opened an window of hope: "I think it's the victim's sister, when she speaks in that one when you go 'argh', there are other ways of thinking about this and talking about this".

Peace journalism groups also welcomed the Afghan man as a alternative voice in the soldier's funeral: "Something different, something fresh" said a research student, another commenting that it made her "very happy". Several bankers and clerical workers talked about feeling "hope" and being "touched" by his presence in the story. "That was probably the most human element of the whole segment." Several other bankers requested more human elements: "Australia needs cultural leaders, people who can come out and talk about the issues their people are facing in Australia and I don't think we get enough of that"; "I agree" said a colleague. But several of the older Muslims watching peace journalism only noticed the politicians in these stories: "I came here calm but I'm so angry right now to see Julia Gillard talk about the troops will stay in Afghanistan, it drives me crazy".

Most of the *war journalism* groups commented on the absence of a broad range of voices in each of these three stories, though less so than with the earlier stories discussed. There were a few moments when war journalism watchers

identified feeling empathy for those featured such as the grieving 9/11 families, or the soldier's wife at the funeral, but there was also frustration that such moments of compassion were then lost in the politics: "Yes it was interesting and it drew in the empathy, but it just left you angry because it didn't give you any reason," said a research student. Another connected with a man in the Iraq suicide story: "The only thing that touched me… was the man crying in that and my heart really hurt for him. Like it was really 'ow' and then I switched off, I didn't mean to", because she was bored by the politicisation in the remainder of the story.

9/11; Afghanistan & Iraq Ideas: *Peace journalism* groups were inspired to discuss the ideas to transform the Afghanistan conflict - ideas they heard in the soldier's funeral story. This was the point where the female research student referred to hearing solutions as being like "a window opening" that would then close because the story would move on so fast. Prompted to expand on those moments she reflected:

> Where your interest peaks that would be the points in the different news bulletins where there would be this little kind of window that would open where you could see maybe if the story went on in that direction it might be suggestions for change but then the story keeps moving so in the soldiers funeral where they look at the think tank in the UK and it just had this introductory comment about why that strategy is not working but I want to hear more about, well, what do they suggest can be done? Because otherwise you sort of, I don't know, it just leaves the feeling of shame that we're not doing anything but (it) doesn't really open up prospects for change. And most of the time by the end of the story you'd feel that weight of horror about things that are happening and responsibility and not being able to do anything about it.

Several *war journalism* groups complained about the lack of creative ideas for solutions in these three stories: "There's never any real story to say that they're trying to do something to actually bring about peace to end the conflict in some way or shape or form other than sending more people to kill more people,"

lamented a building attendant in reference to the Afghanistan story. Both peace and war journalism viewers were dissatisfied with a lack of solutions in the Iraq suicide bombing story, which generated a great deal of distress and hopelessness. Two bankers in the PJ group felt "the sadness of the lack of solutions", in the words of a man who was echoed by a female colleague: "A ridiculous, senseless waste of time, energy and loss of human life for what? For me just an overwhelming sense of despair." A similar sentiment was expressed by a clerical worker: "I do have a sense of sadness and empathy for those families", she said, referring to the 9/11 story and as if to call for the content present in the PJ version:

> Those families that spoke out against the war and used their grief in solidarity with people in Iraq and Afghanistan so it just makes me so pissed off and cynical and very uncomfortable with the way the US uses their grief.

Another clerical worker found the WJ Iraq story "devastating", saying it was "another helpless situation" and the story lacked ideas on "how do you fix that?" Sentiments echoed by a researcher: "I found myself moved by some of the images. I thought it was a child on the road and I felt really sad because that bit made me feel like it was hopeless." Several researchers described feeling "ashamed", and another "guilty", at the hopelessness and their own privilege: "I feel guilty – almost like the Titanic sinking and you're on a lifeboat and only some people can be on that lifeboat and everybody else is just, 'no you can't come in.'"

9/11; Afghanistan & Iraq Propaganda*:* Predominantly the *war journalism* groups criticised the presence of propaganda in all three stories, describing feeling "very cynical" and "manipulated"**.** There was an uncomfortable moment in the bankers' discussion when one woman appeared to digest the propaganda in the 9/11 story directly:

> I can't believe that they'd actually contemplate putting a mosque next to, so close to the location of where it happened, that just seems absolutely ignorant and like kind of like a slap in the face for everyone who was

affected by 9/11 so that kind of blew me away coz that's pretty ignorant I think.

Several of her colleagues pointed out that the story was constructed to make people believe that: "I think it was massively inappropriate to juxtapose a story about 9/11 with the Muslims and mosques." And "it was totally inappropriate and very clever… you were supposed to blame Muslims for what happened in 9/11 and it is unreasonable, but it's calculated." She expressed her own frustration and how that could happen for others: "It's no wonder that people who are watching the news then become frustrated."

All the war journalism groups referred in one way or another to the presence of propaganda in the Afghanistan story. Both the Muslims and the building attendants said the item was "glorifying" the war in Afghanistan. Several of the research students grew exasperated and annoyed by the framing of the story that it "made the war seem inevitable" and was defined as the need to "'win the war in Afghanistan'". It angered several of the bankers: "They turned a genuine important message and crisis into a political fluff", one said. Although there was apparently less discussion of propaganda from viewers of the war journalism version of Iraq, this does merge with their strong opinions on the partisan framing of the story with several calling it "one-sided". A banker said: "It was designed to justify the presence of US soldiers." Another noticed the one-sided language: "I've got Uncle Sam written down here. It's like another example of Uncle Sam you get this image of guys all dressed up in their army gear and going off like Vietnam like some old war movie sitting there having a fag." And similar from a research student: "I got annoyed at the hero aspect, 'how will they survive when the US leaves?' and then when I started to think and the motives behind it and the brainwashing and the true beliefs that they have in that too." A clerical worker said: "Things like the wording 'how will Iraq survive if America pulls out'… And its that empire thing again, well we ruined it, is it our responsibility to fix it?"

9/11; Afghanistan & Iraq Labelling: Two of the research students identified use of 'terrorist' in the *war journalism* version of the Iraq bombing: "One minute

they're insurgents and then they're terrorists and why are they using the word terrorist and who is it referring to?" There was an almost unanimous recognition across the war journalism groups that Muslims were being labelled as 'bad' in the 9/11 story. But some of the Muslims in Auburn felt labelled too in the *peace journalism* versions of these three stories. Several professed themselves "angry" and "frustrated" by the over-use of the words "Muslim and Islamic". One participant counted 10 times in the 9/11 story: "It was like it's coming too much. Even though Barack Obama is saying it's not a war against religion, it's actually how many numbers the words has appeared was like reinforcing the same thing". "It's represented as Muslims did this, Muslims are the terrorists", said an agitated Muslim man.

9/11; Afghanistan & Iraq Emotive: Both groups mentioned the YouTube combat video in the soldiers' funeral. Several of the female bankers watching it even in the *peace journalism* version said it made them feel "shocked", describing it as "distressing" and saying they "switched off" at that moment: "I felt they'd pushed the emotional twang." Although one of the men interjected: "I didn't mind that**."** One male research student watching the *war journalism* version felt the use of the video was "arbitrary... how it's kind of thrown in as the video from one side because it's the only video they got hold of."

The shots of the Twin Towers in the 9/11 story equally evoked a reaction across the war journalism groups, with both the clerical and the building attendants complaining about the archive footage from 2001: "A bit anxious when I saw the planes, it sort of came back to me when it first happened"; "it's manipulative", said a building attendant. Other aspects of the war journalism framing of the soldier's funeral story also came under attack: "Frustrated about the whole inflammatory language," complained one of the bankers; "how they just jump from someone's death and make it that quite trivial by talking about Rudd and how he was dumped... another example of news being sensationalised." For one Muslim woman it was the Iraq bombing images in the WJ version that were "a shock", going on the describe the footage as disturbing, "like a butcher's shop, it was very horrible." Even the PJ version of 9/11 was perhaps emotive, generating

a sense of switching off for some: "You become desensitised to it we are seeing lots of death but it's somewhat meaningless," said Muslim clerical worker.

Conversely, several of the peace journalism viewers appreciated the more neutral tone of the 9/11 story: "The media were very sensitive towards their portrayal of the victims of 9/11", said a male building attendant, "then in the very end they showed the people protesting but they focussed heavily on the memorial itself and remembering people and I thought they did a good job there." One of the Muslim women watching PJ was able to connect empathically with the 9/11 families and hinted that was due to the story's neutral tone:

> The first feeling I had was sadness, like it's only a human instinct to feel empathetic for someone's loss. And you hear her voice breaks and she says and for my father the fire fighter, so your heart really melts so you can become more empathetic to the view, why a mosque on these grounds, why whether it's this ground or another ground there's no difference?

Limitations of the Focus Groups in Australia

The first issue is that as the pilot phase of the study in Australia, the focus groups proliferated as the procedure was tested and developed. It could be argued that there were too many focus groups, with ten in Australia compared with four in the Philippines, and six in each of Mexico and South Africa.

Another limitation was the large number of participants drawn from the same sample pool of the University of Sydney. Two sets of focus groups were successfully carried out within the general community, the merchant bankers and Muslims, which adds some weight to the findings. But were the groups too left wing? A voting preference for the Greens (as noted in their responses to that question in the questionnaire) was predominant among researchers from the University of Sydney, for example, compared with the party's support of around 12% in most national opinion polls. On the other hand, other groups contained

more right wing coalition voters, particularly in the bankers groups, who appeared to be positive about many aspects of the PJ bulletin.

The other limitation was raised in Chapter 3, namely demand characteristics (Orne, 1962). However, as was mentioned earlier, only 20% of participants were known to me personally. What is more likely is that what people say in interviews or focus groups may belie their actual behaviour or the attitudes they reveal when under observation, as revealed in Madainou's research (2010). So it is possible that what was welcomed as hopeful, interesting material in PJ groups might be seen in a different light when watched in the privacy of the home.

Conclusion

The significance of this portion of the research in Australia was that it confirmed for the first time that framing television news reports, of conflicts of different kinds, along the lines of war journalism and peace journalism respectively, exerts an ideational effect, influencing how people in Australia make meaning from what they have seen.

WJ generated anger, sadness and helplessness. Some of that anger was directed at politicians, some at the lack of context and background and lack of solutions.

PJ generated less anger, sadness and hopelessness, and instead more hope, compassion, empathy and interest. There was a strong sense in the focus groups that participants were 'leaning forward' to inspect the new elements. Such emotions are consistent with valuing nonviolent responses to conflict, seeing the other as a human being makes it harder to respond violently, and harder to be punitive towards asylum seekers for example.

In the peace journalism groups, participants initially read the bulletin as the 'same old news', but then there was an early 'turn', when a participant first drew attention to something different, interesting, "fresh", offering moments of hope, and a 'window' opened as if giving others permission to see these new elements.

Among those which drew the most comment were the maps of the disappearing Palestine; Bishara Costandi's Sydney analogy of the checkpoints across the West Bank; Ali Jafaari the successful asylum seeker, and Paul Ingram's explanation that Iran feels under threat. Not only were these PJ elements successfully decoded and often welcomed, they also appeared to hold potential to prompt viewers to a new perspective. The high income bankers who watched the PJ bulletin could have been expected to be, in some respects, less receptive to PJ versions of some of these stories than other groups: among them was a relatively large number of Coalition supporters, fewer women than in some of the other groups, and two who identified themselves as Jewish. And yet in most cases they still decoded and welcomed the PJ ideas, views and background, going on to reflect on the shift brought about to their pre-conceived views. A counter-example was the clerical worker who resisted having her perspective changed about asylum seekers, instead re-stating her previous view.

In Chapter 9, these moments and others will be collated with findings from the other countries. But next three more stages of the study, the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico will follow in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. In these three chapters qualitative and quantitative findings from both the questionnaires and the focus groups are reported together. Each chapter opens with a scene set on the political discourse that shaped the stories prepared for the research material. The history of Peace Journalism that country is outlined before the WJ and PJ bulletins are laid out and coded according to Shinar's five headings (2007). Then the methods, participants, procedures, and the findings are discussed along with the limitations of the research.

CHAPTER 6

The Philippines:

Testing the evolving case for peace journalism

Introduction

An overview of some recent political and social developments in the Philippines sets the context for the pair of news bulletins created for this portion of the field research. The bulletins were produced in ABS-CBN Davao, a professional TV newsroom, to create "real world media interventions in naturalistic settings" (Paluck, 2009: 638). A detailed description of how each item was coded and framed, according to Shinar's five headings (2007), demonstrates the ideational distinctions between war journalism and peace journalism versions of local television news. This will be followed by an account of the specific methods used to gather both qualitative and quantitative data in the Philippines. Finally, a fully elaborated analysis of the data reveals how people responded cognitively and emotionally to each bulletin, to assess whether peace journalism prompted and enabled audiences to consider and value developmental, nonviolent, cooperative responses to conflict.

Research Context in the Philippines, 2011

The field research took place in Davao city, on the southern island of Mindanao, in February 2011. A year earlier across the island to the West, the gaze of the world's media was briefly captivated by the Maguindanao massacre, in which 58 observers and journalists were killed in the run-up to a provincial election. As if to symbolize the power and corruption active in the Philippines the man widely regarded as responsible, provincial governor Andal Ampatuan, allegedly bought his way out of prison by playing on his close personal relationship with former President Gloria Arroyo. Under her watch, more than 600 extra-judicial killings took place, according to Amnesty International. She presided over the policy of "Oplan Bantay Laya" ("Operation Freedom Watch"), that had bracketed all the armed insurgents, student activists, priests, teachers and anyone else who gave tacit support to countervailing ideologies as 'enemies' (Dearn, 2011: np). One of the main armed insurgent groups is the communist group, the New People's Army (NPA), which has been fighting in the hills for several decades. At the time of the study, members of their political wing were embarking on peace talks with government representatives in Norway.

The other major non-state armed group is the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), which had also waged decades of guerrilla warfare, in the name of self-determination for the Muslim community of Mindanao. Meeting both armed groups presented the opportunity to explore "talking to killers" the chance not only to engage in "social negotiations" with individuals so frequently demonized as so-called 'terrorists', but a chance to explore some of the structural factors driving their respective armed struggles (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 150). As the MILF were also involved in peace talks with government, and emitting positive tones, the conflict stage was perhaps not quite "peace in our time" but certainly offered scope to explore the suggestions mapped out by Lynch and McGoldrick for covering peace proposals (2005: 156).

Benigno "Noynoy" Aquino, son of 1986 democracy heroine Corazon Aquino, had won office in May 2010 from outgoing president Arroyo. He promised reform

with a new tactic of "Oplan Bayanihan" ("Operation Community Volunteerism") – purportedly to promote the protection of human rights within a framework of community-centred development, but abject poverty, inequality and a culture of political violence prevailed at the time of this research.

With two sets of peace talks underway, the Philippines fitted the peace proposals scenario described by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005: 156). Two of the stories contained material – interviews and picture sequences – obtained as part of "a facility with 'men of violence'" and the Philippines was also in the aftermath of violent conflict (Blasi, 2009) to reflect on the scenarios and stages of conflict highlighted in Chapter 2.

Media in the Philippines is dominated by commercial interests, with some of the most powerful having benefited from their role in catalysing political changes of the recent past. ABS-CBN was founded in the 1960s by a wealthy and politically well-connected family, and later took on its corporate ownership structure of the present day. In addition to its presence in several significant overseas markets, the channel has affiliates in every major population centre in the Philippines – one of two networks in such a position, along with its main rival, GMA.

Under the martial law of President Ferdinand Marcos (from 1972 to 1986), ABS-CBN executive Eugenio Lopez Junior was jailed, but escaped and obtained political asylum in the US. During the 'people power' uprising that ousted Marcos, military rebels seized a broadcasting centre in Manila, and ABS-CBN used it to air coverage of the revolt. Coronel notes: "The fall of President Marcos, in February 1986, was not just a sensational story. The local Filipino media played a key role in the political confrontation and – it could be argued – tipped the scales in favour of the pro-democracy movement" (2000: 147). Trading on this record, ABS-CBN quickly established a dominant market position in the newly liberalised post-martial law media environment.

Grassroots peace movement and peace journalism

In parallel with the official peace talks at the time of the research was a thriving grassroots peace movement, particularly active in the southern portions of the island of Mindanao. Among their longstanding concerns has been the representation of conflict issues by mainstream media. Carol Arguillas is a former Davao bureau chief for the country's best-selling quality newspaper, the *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. She and her 15-strong team "resigned *en masse*, in late 2001, to establish the Mindanao News and Information Cooperative Centre (MNICC), and its web-based journalism service, Mindanews" (Lynch, 2013: 20). They risked their careers out of a sense of responsibility to correct what they saw as a dangerously distorted picture generated by sensational media coverage: "Mention Mindanao and the word evokes memories of war, kidnapping and massacre" (Arguillas, 2010).

Shortly afterwards, Carol came to Australia, with sponsorship from AusAID, to join an intensive course at the University of Sydney's Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies in 'Conflict-resolving Media', which I led, with Jake Lynch. This familiarised her with Peace Journalism, which she shared at 're-echo seminars' when she returned to work, only to find colleagues in the midst of reporting an outbreak of war involving the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. For several years, other Mindanaoan journalists followed Carol in travelling to Sydney to take the same course, which helped to establish a widespread awareness of peace journalism in the media profession in the Philippines.

Building on this awareness was a separate project founded by Antonia Koop, a German media development worker who had graduated from an online course in Peace Journalism, offered by the online Transcend Peace University in 2005. Through the international NGO, Pax Christi, Antonia started the Pecojon network, which proceeded to train, and engage in dialogue, hundreds of professional editors, reporters and media owners, from the Philippines and beyond, in what members came to call 'conflict-sensitive reporting', an alternative term for peace journalism conceived by a Canadian journalist and educator, Ross Howard (Patindol, 2010).

Research Material TV Bulletins in the Philippines

Mindanews was chosen as the partner for the Philippines field research in the present study. The Davao office of ABS-CBN, a mainstream news organization producing nightly news programmes, was chosen as a partner to produce the news bulletins (research material) thus allowing the stories to be pitched within reach of the "existing idiom and range" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2012: 1044) of Philippines news. Various days of ABS-CBN output over the previous few months were examined in order to select five recent stories that could be classified as war journalism, meaning that they would score round about 1 to 0 on Shinar's five headings (2007), so they could each be re-sourced, re-written, re-voiced and repackaged as peace journalism, giving each a new score of approximately 3. Table 6.1 indicates the scores for each of the stories in the different research bulletins and a full explanation of the process of reframing follows. As the output of the ABS-CBN was in Cebuano, the local language the scripts were first translated into English, then the re-versioned peace journalism items were translated back into Cebuano for local journalists to voice a second version of their own story. The items were then reedited by a local video-tape editor to compile the bulletins.

STORY Version 1 War journalism	BKGD	VIEWS	IDEAS	PROP	PEACE	EMOT	LABEL	PART	TOTAL
NPA landmine						-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-1.5
Flood						-0.5			-0.5
MILF breakaway		0.5	0.5				-0.5	-0.5	0
Davao shooting						-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-1.5
Coal plant row		0.5		0.5					1
Version 2 Peace journalism	BKGD	VIEWS	IDEAS	PROP	PEACE	EMOT	LABEL	PART	TOTAL
NPA landmine	1	1	1	1					4
Flood	1	1	1						3
MILF breakaway	1	1	1						3
Davao shooting	1	1	1						3
Coal plant row	1	1	0.5	0.5	0.5				3.5

Table 6.1 Inter-coded scores for research material according to Shinar's five headings as applied to the Philippines research material news bulletins

NPA landmine explosion: The NPA landmine incident was selected as a fairly typical on-the-day episode of the conflict as reflected by mainstream news: an apparently isolated incident of violence. It involved two people being killed by a landmine planted by the New People's Army who targeted a military vehicle; in this case, however, as well as military personnel, the vehicle was carrying civilians, taken by soldiers to a so-called 'peace rally' as part of 'Oplan Bayanihan'.

The *war journalism* version scored –1.5 according to Shinar's five headings and the three negative linguistic indicators (Lee & Maslog, 2005). The ABS-CBN report on the incident offered no significant material by way of background and context of the conflict. The only views reflected were those of the military themselves; there were no ideas for peace (indeed news of the imminent peace talks, scheduled to open in Oslo in just a few days, was effectively suppressed); no challenges to the propaganda and no images of peace. The story lost 0.5 for

emotive language and another 0.5 for partisanship by using military parlance to describe the NPA. The link from the presenter into the story began with "Rebelding NPA" which was not the term the NPA used to describe themselves but an official military designation. The script also referred to the people travelling in the military vehicle as returning from a "peace rally condemning the rebel NPA", thus reproducing the propaganda claim that the military were attempting to bring "peace" by "defeating" the NPA, bringing the final score to -1.5.

In the *peace journalism* version of the story, the studio presenter's script referred to a bombing by the New People's Army, removing the military term "rebel" so the story was no longer partisan from the outset. The story subtly challenged the propaganda by neutralizing the description of the rally to make it clear it was: "organized by the military to condemn the NPA", thus registering a positive score for enabling viewers to decode propaganda.

There were lots of ideas for peace, firstly by recalling to the viewer's mind that peace talks with the NPA were about to resume after many years in abeyance. These had been opened in the immediate aftermath of the fall of martial law, following a nonviolent 'people power' uprising in 1986, which brought Corazon Aquino to office, as mentioned earlier. More importantly, the PJ item also made reference to the main agenda idea of justice for the poor and dispossessed (Carter, Clark & Randle, 2013). This linked neatly with background file pictures, and reference to a recent demonstration that many people have opposed a planned gold and copper mine in the region. While scoring 1 for background it also offered another idea for peace by reminding people that there were other ways to express their grievances. There was not the scope in this story to incorporate many of Lynch and McGoldrick's suggestions for covering peace proposals, other than to show the plan involved the support from outsiders in Oslo (2005: 157).

The script marked a "corner-turn" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 167) into challenging the 'war on terror' propaganda by including a portion of an interview with a spokesperson from Amnesty International. The human rights organisation had meticulously researched the extra-judicial killings, mentioned earlier as the

policy of "Oplan Bantay Laya". Amnesty reported that more than 600 people had been executed in a ten-year period. The Amnesty speaker made explicit reference to the Government's exploitation of the 'war on terror' rhetoric, rhetoric used to cloak the killing of any kind of left wing activist opposed to the government by spuriously connecting them to the 'terrorist' NPA. This element also served to distance the story from siding with the military and the government.

It also featured a broad range of views, including two Lumad (indigenous) leaders and a Protestant Bishop, shown attending a civilian (not military) peace rally in Davao, and expressing their hopes for the peace talks to focus on underlying issues of social justice; as well as a senior representative of the NPA, Ka Oris, professing himself and the organisation to be ready for dialogue. In other words this "facility with the men of violence" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 158) did consider what influence the reporting would have on "the behaviours of the parties themselves" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 158) by airing the needs of people in the conflict arena, and demands of the NPA, for justice and equality, rather than displaying their weaponry and firepower as is so often the case in war journalism. This PJ version two scored 4 under Shinar's headings, still within reach of the established idiom and range of Philippines journalism given previous studies in content analysis (Lynch, 2008; 2013).

Davao Floods: The second story in the bulletin featured a recent flood in Davao Del Sur, on the outskirts of Davao city, where three people were killed including a baby and a teenager. The area had not flooded before and there were rumours that recent development and illegal logging had caused the local Sibulan River to overflow. Many of the poorest people in the Philippines still rely on subsistence for food security, and their lifestyles therefore rely, in turn, on the integrity of life-sustaining systems of soil and water. Nettleton, Whitmore and Glennie (2004) show how inequitable economic development, including mining and plantations, profits corporations while expropriating vulnerable communities and compromising local environments, which can then feed indirectly into the insurgencies by prompting dispossessed or threatened people to make common

cause with the 'rebel' groups.

For *war journalism* version, an 'on-the-day' situation report was chosen, which focussed heavily on wailing relatives looking for loved ones, dramatic shots of the gushing waters, floating tree trunks, abandoned vehicles, wrecked homes. The focus of the story was on the unfolding drama, and scored -0.5 for having emotive language and no material conforming to any of the PJ characteristics under Shinar's headings.

The *peace journalism* version explored some of the background issues. The whole first half of the story remained the same then part way through came a "corner-turn" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 167), with the words: "A natural disaster – but was it a man-made one too?" Rumour had it that a newly built hydro-electric plant had disturbed the forest growth and water flow, adding to the destructive force of the river. A spokesperson for the operating company, Hedcor, appeared on camera to rebut the allegations, explaining how engineers building the plant had secured the riverbanks thus enhancing the water flow.

A local farmer, interviewed for this version, suggested other human activity such as illegal logging as a possible cause. Inevitably the story touched on the global influence of climate change, perhaps making such extreme weather events more frequent and more severe in future, and a local research scientist offered an idea for a solution by suggesting that major companies developing in the area, like the car firm Toyota, consider investing some of their future profits in sustainable, non-polluting energy. Overall the PJ story scored 3 for offering background, a broad range of views and ideas for a solution.

MILF breakaway: The third story featured the latest development in the ongoing conflict over self-determination for the Muslim Moro people in Mindanao. For people living in Davao, it was regarded as something happening 'over there' in North Cotabato, a six-hour drive and what felt like a long way from Davao, where they also spoke a different dialect. The story chosen was the creation of an MILF splinter group, widely reported as a risk for peace: "The new group of Ustadz Ameril Umbra Kato is a significant force that can challenge peace

and stability in Mindanao," said Rommel Banlaoi, executive director of the Philippine Institute for Peace, Violence and Terrorism Research, referring to the commander of the breakaway in comments quoted by ABS-CBN on their English language news website.

The *war journalism* version selected for inclusion in the bulletin was comparatively moderate in tone and scored 0. It made reference to the peace talks between the MILF and Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and suggestions that the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) elections should be postponed and a non-political leader appointed as interim head of the autonomous region, to allow "breathing space" for key reforms. It was coded with a positive score for Ideas, but as these suggestions were only from one person – MILF vice chair for political affairs Ghadzali Jaafar – and he is a political figure who may have his own vested interest in such an outcome, the story only scored 0.5 for Ideas.

The tone and language of the feature were not emotive but it did lean towards being partisan in Mr Jaafar's favour: he appeared seated in his office and was described as "calm" whereas Umbra Kato was depicted in his jungle hideout with long hair, wearing a head-band and waving a gun, perhaps inviting viewers to infer that he and his band of breakaways were in some way deviant – even mad – which also meant it was partisan in favour of Mr Jaafar and loses another half a point there. While 'both' sides, Umbra Kato and Mr Jaafar, spoke, thus justifying a positive score under Views, the score was only 0.5 because other viewpoints were not included.

To convert the MILF breakaway script to *peace journalism* and obtain a score of 3 (see Table 6.1) the background of the story was opened up, and interviews were conducted with a group of villagers – "non-elite" sources, as described in Galtung's table (see Appendix A) – to broaden the range of views away from those of military-political leaders. Interviewed was a group of Muslim families who were initially forced to flee their homes more than a decade ago due to fighting between forces of the government and the MILF. Even today, they explained, they could not return home because of successive rounds of fighting. They told a tragic tale of being poorer than before due to having no land to make

a decent living and the fear for their children who had no proper school to attend. Their only hope, they said, was for peace, and the forthcoming talks in Malaysia between the MILF and the Government of the Republic of the Philippines. By bringing these families into the frame the story implied that, for there to be a lasting solution, these people needed to be able to return to their homes and receive some form of economic justice as well as political reform. By including such non-elite voices, the story followed Lynch and McGoldrick's approach to covering peace proposals, which questions to what extent such a plan may "contain elements of reconciliation?" (2005: 157), by highlighting the justice issues that must be incorporated if reconciliation is to be made meaningful for people caught up in the conflict such as these refugees.

Davao shooting: The fourth story, about a shooting in a Davao shopping mall, was presented as a new development in the story of the Maguindanao massacre of November 2009, in which 58 people were killed, many of them journalists. The journalists had been accompanying a local politician, Buluan Vice-Mayor Ishmael Mangudadatu, en route to file his candidacy in the election for Governor of Maguindanao Province, part of the ARMM (the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao). Chief suspects in the massacre were members of the Ampatuan political clan, including the incumbent governor, Andal Ampatuan Snr, and his son, Andal Jnr, who was standing in the election.

The new development occurred during a shopping trip to Davao by Mangudadatu and surviving members of his family. The story as broadcast on ABS-CBN told how a man approached the party in a busy local mall, and tried to seize a gun belonging to one of the Vice-Mayor's bodyguards, apparently to do them harm. The apparent would-be assailant was himself shot dead at the scene, and turned out to be one Tamano Kagi Camendan, who worked (or had worked; it was not entirely clear) as a bodyguard for the Ampatuans.

As explained in reference to the previous story, Davao folk, whilst being well aware of the unresolved separatist conflict (or struggle for self-determination) being waged elsewhere on the island of Mindanao – along with conflicts within

the Moro community, such as the political conflict in Maguindanao Province – are accustomed to regarding such upheavals as remote from their own lives; both literally, as a long journey, and conceptually. The city was enclosed by a 'ring of steel', with an army detachment, Task Force Davao, manning checkpoints and prominently standing guard outside public and major private buildings, to keep such troubles where they belong – outside. The city's long-serving former Mayor, Rodrigo Duterte, forged a reputation as a stickler for 'law and order'. By symbolically bringing an aspect of a 'Moro conflict' to the heart of their city, this shooting incident, while seemingly isolated, had the capacity to invoke historically transmitted fears of the 'other'.

There was nothing in the story as broadcast on ABS-CBN to interrupt such an interpretation. Containing little by way of background and context, or any other material belonging to any of the five PJ categories, it was coded with a score of -1.5. The negative score was firstly for emotive language and pictures, particularly those of the dead man, Tamano Kagi Camendan. The script also labelled him as a 'baddie' because the story made him guilty even though there had been no trial. To avoid labelling him the script would have needed to include the word "suspect". Eye-witnesses referred on camera to Tamano Kagi Camendan as trying to grab the gun from Mangudadatu's bodyguard. The story painted the latter, and his entourage, in a very favourable light, implying they were the 'goodies' by referring to him being in the mall with his children and reporting, without considering alternatives or entering any caveats, the supposition that he was the target. Given that other eyewitnesses, (see focus group analysis below) suggested that it was the other way round – that members of Mangudadatu's own entourage started the trouble – it was reasonable to suggest that the story deserved another 0.5 deduction for partisanship in apparently siding with the Mangudadatus.

The *peace journalism* version, on the other hand, scored 3 for exploring the background culture of intimidation and corruption in the ARMM. It was not simply that the killers were 'baddies' (a dispositional explanation (Zimbardo, 2005)), but that the killings took place in the context of a deficient structure (a situational explanation (Zimbardo, 2005)), so the whole system required reform.

A lawyer representing families who lost loved ones in the Manguindanao massacre appeared on camera, pointing out that even former president Gloria Arroyo may be implicated in a corrupt relationship with Andal Amputuan Snr and therefore should also be arrested. And demonstrators on the streets of Davao offered ideas for a solution to the deficient structure by calling for forthcoming elections in the Muslim Autonomous Region (governed by yet another Ampatuan), to be postponed, lest they occasion more trouble, pending root-and-branch reforms.

Coal plant row: To end the bulletin, another regional environmental conflict was selected, this time over proposals for a new coal-fired power station in Davao. The original package was fairly neutral in tone, setting the local councillors in favour of the plant against the plant's opponents in typical dyadic fashion. The story scored 1, under Shinar's five headings, primarily for hearing from both sides, by giving a voice to the campaign group, 'No to Coal Coalition', although it did not hear from any more than these two sides, thereby only scoring 0.5 under View. The script was not emotive, labelling or partisan and even offered a degree of transparency about councillors visiting a similar coal plant in Cagayan de Oro, in Northern Mindanao. By pointing out that the trip was funded by Aboitiz, the electricity company seeking permission to build, the story scored 0.5 under Prop, not for challenging propaganda but for not colluding with it.

The *peace journalism* version of the story scored 3.5, for going much further in linking the coal fired power station with global warming due to burning hydrocarbons; it heard from a broader range of views, upping its score in that category from 0.5 to 1, by hearing from both Aboitiz and an environmentalist. New pictures included a functioning solar power plant, also in Cagayan de Oro city, and the reporter's new script pointed out that the councillors, on the same fact-finding trip, could perhaps have made a short detour to visit the solar plant as well: an Idea for a solution (half a point), which could also count as an image of Peace, since it could represent humankind in harmony with the environment, using renewable energy. Efforts were made to obtain an interview with a spokesperson for the solar company but these were unsuccessful; hence there

was less elaboration on this aspect than might have been ideal, so it scored only 0.5 taking the full score to 3.5.

How many of these stories (see Appendix H for full scripts) relate to Cottle's notion of "global crises" (2010)? Two of the peace stories denoted "climate change", though the link with Davao floods and climate change was only foregrounded in the peace journalism version, whereas the WJ version suggested the flood was an "exceptional or aberrant event" (Cottle, 2010: 473). And only the PJ version of the coal plant row made the link with climate change.

The NPA story, as discussed above, prompts and enables critical inspection of 'war on terror' propaganda. While not made explicit in the WJ version, it has been a dominant part of the political discourse against the NPA, and has been used to justify meeting an internal conflict over issues of political justice with a military, rather than political response. The war journalism scripts of the Davao shooting and MILF stories both re-inscribed dominant accounts in which a threatening Muslim 'other' was defined as the problem, making an implicit link to the 'war on terror'. But the PJ versions foregrounded the abuse of human rights in the form of a culture of intimidation and corruption in the ARMM that had connections right the way up to the President and international mining companies, as if to emphasise the global connotations of this conflict once they are brought into the frame. The MILF peace journalism version not only exposed the lack of human rights for civilians caught up in the conflict, but also the crisis of forced migration, since the people who had fled their homes had now been away for over a decade.

In and of themselves, the MILF and NPA conflicts rarely feature in global media, more resembling 'hidden wars'. Nonetheless, in the Philippines, coverage of such conflicts is still "war as spectacle" as part of "the manufacture of consent and dissemination of fears" (Cottle, 2010: 482). And thanks to the "world news ecology" (Cottle, 2010: 474), the complex flow of communications across the world's media, news management and propaganda in the Philippines bear the familiar imprint of war journalism from one country to the next.

Questionnaire Methods in the Philippines

Participants

A total of 99 psychology and engineering students at Ateneo de Davao University, a private Catholic University in Davao City, were recruited to take part in the first part of the experiment. They comprised of 66 women and 33 men with an age range of 17 to 24 and an age of 18.8. The vast majority (95) were born in the Philippines, 4 outside the country. Most (66) described themselves as being 'Filipino first not Moro', where Moro denoted the local term for Muslim. 5 described themselves a 'Moro first and not Filipino'; 28 stated they felt Filipino first and Moro 2nd. Politically the vast majority (77) held no political preference; 14 would vote for Liberal LP; 3 Laskas Kampi; 1 Nacionalista NP; 1 PMP; 1 PDP; 2 other parties. Religiously 89 self defined as Catholic; 3 Muslim; 5 with other religions and 1 with no religion (see Appendix F for a tabular representation of the study demographics).

Procedure

The participants were recruited through departmental advertisements for a TV news study run by an Australian researcher, for which they would receive as payment a bag of snacks. Upon arrival participants were randomly assigned to adjacent rooms, to watch either the war journalism bulletin or the peace journalism bulletin. Care was taken to ensure a balance of male and female participants in each simultaneous screening. Upon entry to the room each volunteer received an identical 19-page questionnaire (see Appendix E) written in English with instructions to write their responses in English. As well as questions, Thought-Listing Protocol (TLP) boxes provided space to write down, in English, any thoughts and feelings once the bulletin was paused for up to five minutes between news items. The bulletin was narrated in Cebuano, the local language.

As in other countries, the questionnaire bundle included the State Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) taken before and after watching the bulletin, whilst the Differential Emotional Scale (DES) was used before and after watching each story. To evaluate responses to military measures (EMMTO) a set of statements

was created relating to cooperative or punitive policy responses to each story in the Philippines. For example: "We need more military to protect us from the NPA rebels" and "the NPA are farmers and peasants fighting for economic justice in the Philippines", relating to the NPA landmine story. Statements about balance and interest or boredom were also added with each measured by a 7-point Likert-scale (1 = *strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree*).

Two prejudice tests were included. The first was a "Feeling Thermometer" (Gonsalkorale, Sherman & Klauer, 2010) where participants were asked to rate between 1 and 100 their feelings towards Moro (Muslim) people; Christian people; Lumads, Communists and several other groups like Westerners, students and politicians, which were added as distracter items. The second prejudice measure consisted of three Peasbody sets (Correll et al., 2008) asking participants to mark in the box closest to the adjective that best described Muslims, Christians and Communists. Finally, at the end of the questionnaire pack, participants were asked a set of demographic questions along with political and religious affiliations, along with a request to specify which media they consumed regularly and those they most and least trusted.

Once the numerical answers to questions had been transcribed, a professional statistician used mixed-model ANOVAs with tests for simple effects and interactions to gauge differences between the groups in terms of emotional reaction. The two groups did not differ significantly in any of the baseline measures of the DES scales. The most significant interactions are shown in Table 6.2.

Questionnaire Results from the Philippines

	Pre-test		Post-test NPA		Post-test Floods		Post-test MILF-breakaway		Post-test Davao shooting		Post-test Coal plant row	
	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	War	Peace	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace
Responsible	3.54 (0.93)	3.24 (0.85)					2.22 (1.27)	2.55 (1.21)	1.98 (1.20)	2.61 (1.34)	2.82 (1.24)	3.18 (1.32)
Revulsion	1.71 (0.80)	1.69 (0.80)							2.06 (1.19)	2.67 (1.07)		
Happy	3.6 (1.03)	3.45 (1.02)	1.48 (0.84)	2.02 (1.06)								
Delighted	3.27 (1.08)	2.88 (1.03)	1.51 (0.89)	1.92 (1.06)			1.49 (0.92)	1.73 (1.03)	1.32 (0.66)	1.57 (0.87)	1.65 (0.97)	2.02 (1.05)
Distaste	1.58 (0.82)	1.57 (0.89)							2.27 (1.17)	2.90 (1.16)		
Hopeful	3.49 (1.08)	3.24 (1.18)	3.08 (1.29)	3.59 (1.21)								
Angry	1.2 (0.64)	1.43 (0.98)	2.72 (1.37)	2.51 (1.12)								
Compassionate	3.06 (1.11)	2.98 (1.09)							2.08 (1.16)	2.61 (1.27)		
Amazed	2.86 (1.2)	2.61 (1.08)	1.74 (1.01)	2.22 (1.14)	1.68 (1.10)	2.10 (1.16)						
Blameworthy	1.58 (1.02)	1.55 (0.96)					1.80 (1.10)	2.33 (1.30)				
Empathy	2.39 (1.17)	2.04 (1.04)	3.14 (1.32)	3.45 (1.02)			2.04 (1.27)	2.88 (1.32)	2.31 (1.18)	2.94 (1.27)	2.06 (1.28)	2.39 (1.32)

Table 6.2 Emotional responses to watching WJ or PJ in the Philippines

Note: Means and standard deviations (in parentheses) for DES items at baseline and after watching each story. Participants reported the extent to which they felt each emotion on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = very slightly, not at all; 5 = extremely) (**Strongest measures in bold**).

The first observation that emerges from the uncondensed DES was that the statistical results from Davao were weaker than in Sydney. Having said that, these results are not intended to prove any effect but simply to serve as a lead indicator to assist in the interpretation of the TLPs, and the following comments should be read in that light. The DES suggests a slightly higher increase in anger for WJ watchers after the NPA landmine story compared with the baseline measures. The levels of happiness, delight and amazement reported by the war journalism group dropped more, compared with baseline, than those of the peace journalism group. The peace journalism viewers' feelings of empathy increased by twice as much as those of the war journalism viewers, who were also less hopeful after watching the story, while the peace journalism group participants were mildly more hopeful. No other significant differences were found.

Those who watched the WJ flood item were less amazed than those who watched the peace journalism version, suggesting that a more emotive story produces less amazement, implying that people are unimpressed by sensationalism.

The peace journalism viewers maintained their higher levels of delight throughout the bulletin despite beginning the test less delighted than the other group. War journalism viewers of the Davao shooting story showed higher levels of revulsion and distaste as well as demonstrating more empathy and compassion than those who watched the peace journalism version.

Watching the MILF breakaway story triggered a stronger sense of personal responsibility and blame in those who watched the peace journalism version, perhaps because the war journalism version of the story only contained men with guns and the peace journalism story included ordinary people who had suffered and survived the fighting. Viewers of the PJ version also showed mildly higher levels of empathy, which remained higher than baseline after watching each story, whereas empathy among the WJ group, after an initial increase, remained lower than baseline after the MILF item, even if only slightly. This suggested that the peace journalism viewers consistently experienced mildly stronger feelings of empathy throughout the bulletin than viewers of the war journalism bulletin.

Thought Listing Protocols (TLPs)

Results from the DES were treated as an interim artefact, alerting the researcher as to where to pay particular attention to the qualitative data to investigate why the peace journalism viewers watching, say, the NPA landmine story were prompted to record greater delight, happiness, hope, empathy and slightly less anger. What were these responses about?

The TLP written responses from both the students and the focus groups amounted to a total of 123 sets of TLPs. That is, the individual comments from 123 people writing something about every item. On some stories, some people wrote nothing, amounting to approximately 6.5% of blank comments. The 93.5% of boxes that contained written comments were transcribed and individual sentences themed in categories based on Entman's (1993) simplified framing theory. The results alluded to some pronounced differences in the way these individuals defined and diagnosed problems, made moral judgements about the stories, and offered recommendations for solutions and treatment. As with Sydney, these qualitative measures provided a more sensitive mechanism to pick up distinctive differences in individual reactions to each story. In other words, they allow for the researcher to read and interpret the ideational effects and their respective influence on how people make meaning from viewing either war journalism or peace journalism versions of the stories in the bulletin. The most prominent results have been bolded in the following TLP tables. As in Chapter 5 less space is given to stories demonstrating a weaker TLP response, so the numbers of sentences written by participants have been summarised in brackets rather than a table. For example (3 WJ to 10 PJ) denotes the number of TLP comments by watchers in each group to make it as easy to read at a glance as the previous tables.

Statistics and TLP Results Story by Story

NPA landmine explosion: Statistics and TLPs

For most war journalism viewers, the NPA itself was seen as the problem, whereas for many in the peace journalism group there was the sense of a shared problem.

PROBLEM DEFINITION	War journalism	Peace journalism
NPA are the problem	**18**	10
Military are the problem	3	3
Shared problem	1	**23**
Civilians the problem	0	1

Table 6.3 Problem definitions in viewer responses to NPA landmine explosion

Beyond the numbers, the tone of the comments offered further evidence of a significant interaction. Members of the *war journalism* group referred to "hating" the NPA, who were referred to as "pests", or "crazy". Three referred to feeling anger towards the "rebels". One WJ viewer was able to stand back and comment on the framing itself, noticing that the "NPA is blindly accused".

Some *peace journalism* viewers used a softer tone in blaming the NPA, referring to them "look(ing) a bit funny", being "harsh" and "annoying" or a "nuisance" and "merciless". The most dramatic difference between TLP responses to the two versions was the high number of comments about a shared problem from those who watched the peace journalism story. They appeared to reproduce the diagnosis of a "deficient structure" (Galtung, 1998: 66) as presented in the story: "Injustice"; "greed"; "land"; "unequal rights"; "labelling guerrillas as terrorists… only makes matters worse" and even the "system" as the problem.

MORAL EVALUATION	War journalism	Peace journalism
Outraged by the violence	14	5
Fear for themselves	7	9
Concern for the victims	30	38
Concern for the NPA	0	10
Concern for Indigenous	0	6

Table 6.4 Moral evaluations in viewer responses to NPA landmine explosion

The tone of the outrage about the violence was stronger in the WJ group, with members writing that they were "angered" by the violence and that it was "unlawful", "terrible" and "unfair". The PJ viewers, meanwhile, said they were "sad" and the violence was "unacceptable", which offers a possible explanation for fewer such comments, and less anger as suggested by the DES measures. Another noticeable difference in the moral evaluation came with concern for the NPA from those who watched peace journalism plus concern for indigenous people, both of which were totally absent in the WJ group. This could explain why the statistics showed a greater increase in empathy in the PJ group, compared with the WJ audience, which was reflected in slightly greater concern for victims by the PJ group. Comments from the two groups were fairly similar in tone, feeling "pity", "sorry" or "sadness". The PJ group mentioned empathy/sympathy eight times whereas the WJ group only mentioned it four times.

As has been already suggested, this is perhaps because the WJ version of the NPA landmine story was more emotive, therefore perhaps turning people off; whereas offering a more causal explanation with reference to mining, poverty and land rights reflected the appreciation of shared problems, allowing people into the story to engage empathically both with those killed and injured in the incident and with some of the underlying factors behind the exchanges of violence. Some of the participants hinted at this in their moral evaluation of the WJ version, saying: "Media doesn't empathise"; "media sensationalize";

"should've interviewed a person who is less emotional" and "victims are not ready for interview". These comments imply their distaste, or at least unease, at how emotive the WJ story was.

Another notable difference was observed in relation to the solutions or treatment recommendations to use Entman's terminology.

SOLUTIONS	War journalism	Peace journalism
Solution - security	5	4
Solution – peace talks/nonviolence	5	**29**
Solution – economic & land justice	0	**16**

Table 6.5 Treatment recommendations in viewer responses to NPA landmine

The WJ group noted hardly any thoughts or reflections about solutions, whereas the PJ group came up with some 49 solution-orientated comments that were predominantly creative and nonviolent. Both groups called for a similar number of security improvements. The themes reflected the peace journalism framing, firstly around economic justice: "Equality of resources"; "land reform"; "preserve our natural resources"; "economic justice". Secondly, optimism about peace talks: "Active nonviolence"; "hopeful for peace"; "hoping for unity". Some of these comments were similar to the five comments of moral evaluation about the peace talks that valued hearing about others who were concerned about peace: "Good to know that even the NPA also aims to achieve peace"; "good to know that a lot of people still fight for peace". Perhaps this is why the PJ group showed slightly stronger feelings of enjoyment (happiness and delight) and why their hope increased whilst still watching a story about an incident of violence, yet hope for the WJ viewers fell. In other words, PJ viewers were more optimistic about peace and nonviolence, thinking more creatively about cooperative kinds of solutions. While this sounds like an unchallenged endorsement of peace journalism, with one participant writing: "The news is more informative", there were also one or two negative moral evaluations of the NPA story itself: "Bias:

they blame it on the military"; "military is seen as negative. It sided with the NPA."

Davao Floods: Statistics and TLPs

The TLP data suggested possible explanations for the affective differences between groups. First of all, why did the PJ group remain more amazed during the story about the floods in Santa Cruz? Were there any other differences in their responses? There was apparently greater concern for the victims amongst PJ viewers than the WJ viewers (61 PJ to 43 WJ). This suggested a higher empathy quotient that was not picked up in the DES results.

There were other differences in TLPs when viewers watched the story about the floods: firstly the PJ group wrote considerably more than the WJ group, suggesting they found it more engaging and thought provoking; secondly the PJ group reflected more on **problem definitions**, suggesting the floods were at least partly a man-made disaster (41 PJ to 17 WJ). As with the NPA story, there was a stronger emphasis on **solutions** from the PJ viewers, who made many more treatment recommendations (40 PJ to 23 WJ). Of these solutions the WJ group predominantly wanted the "government to do something", to "take action" whereas the PJ viewers offered more detailed, creative, cooperative, specific kinds of recommendations such as: "The government and the big companies should co-operate to help prevent future floods"; "more care for the environment"; "tree planting activities should be mandatory"; "highlights the need for cooperation of people".

Both groups made a much greater number of comments about the news itself, than in TLPs on other stories. The 11 opinions on content from the WJ viewers concentrated on the intrusiveness of the story, in other words its emotive quality, particularly in showing the grieving family members: "highly intrusive**;** "like a violation**;** "dead body should not have been shown"; "disgusted on the sight of dead body". This could have suggested that the participants would be more amazed by this story, yet they were more amazed by the peace journalism.

Perhaps this was because they remained more amazed by the additional background, views and ideas framed into the PJ version of the story? Several of them referred specifically to those elements in their moral evaluation, calling the item: "balanced news"; "really clear and not biased"; "excellent"; "much more interesting"; "understand the other reason/alternatives why the flood happened". This observation was validated by the statistical results from the EMMTO questions, which showed a significantly greater interest in the peace journalism framing of the floods story (see Table 6.6 below).

MILF breakaway: Statistics and TLPs

The *peace journalism* version of the MILF breakaway story seemed to elicit a greater sense of responsibility, personal blame, plus slightly higher feelings of delight and empathy, compared with the *war journalism* responses. The TLPs showed a similar pattern in the variance of responses as those to the NPA story: comments by war journalism viewers blamed the rebels, this time the MILF and Umbra Kato, more than those of the peace journalism viewers (29 WJ to 14 PJ). Comments by WJ viewers reflected a more demonising tone: "hatred", "horrible", "crazy", with one call to "kill those rebels".

It is noteworthy that version one of the Umbra Kato breakaway group - the WJ - contained ideas about peace, and was awarded 0.5 for that element. So there were some comments from WJ viewers indicating optimism about peace, although still fewer than half the number of such comments from PJ viewers (62 PJ to 26 WJ). Comments by members of the PJ group about peace as a solution included hopeful opinions about peace talks, which could explain their higher enjoyment of the story.

There is a much stronger sense of empathy being experienced by PJ viewers in statements about the civilian victims of the war, victims who do not appear in the war journalism version. The 29 opinions about them not only express empathy but also a sense of shame and responsibility: "I feel ashamed for myself because I have something but they have nothing"; "I empathize w/the affected families"; "I feel bad about the affected civilians". There was also a divergence in

the number of comments about Umbra Kato himself (62 PJ to 34 WJ). The tone is fairly similar between the groups, with some expressing anger, confusion and concern for children seen holding guns. This is not surprising as the footage and script for this section of the story were identical in both versions. Finally some peace journalism viewers praised the item, several called it "informative" and "balanced". The war journalism viewers on the other hand criticised the story saying it was "<u>too</u> long" and "boring".

Davao shooting: Statistics and TLPs

The Davao shooting story provoked more revulsion and distaste for both groups, with the *peace journalism* group feeling the most, but at the same time, also feeling slightly more compassion and more empathy – why*?* Both groups wrote roughly equal numbers of comments conveying their moral outrage about the violence, expressing their shock and fear about the shooting happening in 'their' mall: "My mum goes there regularly to shop", one wrote. But the peace journalism viewers were the only ones to express outrage about the 'background event', the Maguindanao massacre itself. Remember this background was not brought into the *war journalism* version, so it made sense that peace journalism viewers would express nine opinions, feeling "angry" and "alarmed" by the "horrible" Maguindanao massacre. This appears to have fuelled their revulsion and distaste as this was the only story where the peace journalism group blamed individuals more than did the war journalism group (24 PJ to 13 WJ), with the Ampatuans and Mangudadutus seen as the problem. In addition, the comments were stronger among the peace journalism viewers, some of whom expressed more "hate".

Consistent with the other stories, PJ viewers offered more than twice the number of solutions (45 PJ to 18 WJ). Most called for a reform of the political system as well as improvements in security and calls for justice. In other words they were primarily cooperative, nonviolent solutions to reform the system, whereas the war journalism viewers called for predominantly punitive, calling for tighter security.

The EMMTO responses alluded to the PJ version being less biased than the WJ version (see table 6.6). This was mirrored by double the number of opinions about the peace journalism story content with several praising the news for showing "what's true" and "blurred the dead body, it's better". The WJ viewers on the other hand named the "sensationalism", describing the news as "careless coverage" particularly for showing pictures of the dead body.

Coal plant row: Statistics and TLPs

The coal plant row story left the *peace journalism* group feeling slightly more responsible, more delighted and more empathic. As with the NPA story, the PJ story was coded with the higher score of 4, but the *war journalism* coal plant row started from a higher baseline than some of the others, scoring 1 for including some wider views and challenges to propaganda. Less pronounced differences could therefore have been anticipated, compared with the sharply divergent responses to other stories like the NPA landmine.

The moral evaluation of the coal plant story showed peace journalism viewers with mildly stronger opposition to the building of the plant: 46 PJ and 33 WJ comments in favour of the plant with 14 WJ and 7 PJ comments against the plant. The biggest difference again, though less significant than with previous stories, was the number of solutions, with almost a third more from the peace journalism group (38 PJ contrasts 25 WJ comments). This could explain the greater degree of personal responsibility and empathy felt by the PJ viewers, who appeared to have engaged more with the story as a personal issue.

Both groups called for more information on the safety issues around the proposed plant, in particular the effect on public health in the area, and along the transport routes the coal would follow. But there was a much stronger emphasis from the PJ viewers on suggestions for renewable energy like solar power: not surprisingly given that the idea was framed into the story they saw, and not mentioned in the WJ version. This was contradicted by the EMMTO results (see table 6.6), which showed the WJ viewers making a stronger call for renewable energy, but the PJ viewers found the story less boring which could explain their

higher enjoyment scores, and stronger positive opinions of the PJ news: "Both sides were taken"; "meaning the effects of having a coal plant in our health made me change my mind"; "interesting news", comments which again hint at why the enjoyment scores were higher.

Table 6.6	War		Peace	
QUESTIONS ASKED	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
All NPA-CPP leaders and warriors should be put in prison	4.48	(1.80)	3.44	(1.80)
I found the (flood) story interesting and wanted to find out more	3.96	(1.62)	4.90	(1.66)
The (shooting) story was biased	3.96	(1.50)	3.33	(1.60
The (coal) story was boring	3.00	(1.50)	2.37	(1.29)
Davao must look at clean energy alternatives from renewable sources	6.54	(.70)	5.92	(1.47)

Table 6.6 Statistically significant EMMTO item results from the Philippines (Means and standard deviations for WJ and PJ groups)

Consistent with previous television news studies, pre and post STAI measures increased significantly but there was no statistically significant interaction between the groups. In general, watching television news made viewer in this study stressed, but watching war journalism did not make them significantly more stressed than watching peace journalism. Also the prejudice tests (Peasbody sets and Feeling Thermometer) showed no statistical difference between the groups. This is consistent with the results from an earlier study carried out in Australia, so these tests were dropped from future studies.

Focus Group Methods in the Philippines

Participants

Utilising methods developed in Sydney, four focus groups were recruited from different demographic sets of people to represent a selection of low and high-income earners, a method similar to that employed by Philo & Berry (2004). Half of the 24 volunteers (13 women and 11 men) came from the low-income sector, forming two groups consisting of security guards, shopkeepers and janitors. The two high-income groups included instructors, teachers and professors. Six from each demographic group watched WJ and six watched PJ. WJ watchers were made up of 5 men and 7 women. PJ watchers were made up of 6 men and 6 women. All the participants were financially compensated for their time.

All group members were born in the Philippines with mean age of 38.16, ranging from 20 to 71. Each person stated their religion was Catholic and the vast majority specified no political preference, with only four naming a political party they supported (see Appendix G for full descriptive profiles of each individual participant, with care taken not to identify them.).

Procedures

Filipino FGD participants, like those in Australia, also filled in shorter questionnaires than the students discussed previously. The questionnaire bundles included demographic details plus pre and post viewing anxiety and emotional measures: the STAI, and the DES respectively. Due to a lack of statistical significance in these results neither have been included. Participants were also invited to jot down any thoughts in the TLP boxes on the questionnaire. These results were added to the TLPs analysed previously. Participants then discussed, as a group, the news bulletin they had just seen. This was facilitator-led and aided by a translator with the low-income groups but the high-income earners conversed in English. Each conversation lasted between 45 and 60 minutes and was recorded, transcribed and analysed to explore how far these particular people in the Philippines picked up the different framings.

Consistent with the Sydney study, the transcripts were coded in the same manner as the news bulletins according to Shinar's five headings: "Exploring backgrounds and contexts"; "giving a voice to the views of all rival parties"; "offering creative ideas for conflict resolution"; challenging propaganda by "going beyond the official versions of events" and by paying attention to peace stories (Shinar, 2007: 200). They were also coded according to the three passive, or "non-interventionist" peace journalism indicators for avoidance of: emotive language; "labelling" of conflict parties as good and bad, and partisan reporting (Lee & Maslog, 2005: 316), which were added as heading guides to theme the FGDs comments. In overall terms, the war journalism viewers tended to talk about what was absent from the stories, whereas the peace journalism group spoke more about what was present, noticing the new elements of background, views, ideas and challenges to propaganda.

The strongest statements came from the high-income FGDs and to illuminate those differences the comments are presented according to their heading rather than the story, although during the focus groups they discussed the bulletin story by story.

Focus Group Results from the Philippines

Background: The *peace journalism* viewers had the immediate reaction of considering the news to be "very complete… like we can get the whole story", in the words of one high-income participant, while another called it "informative"**.** The *war journalism* viewers on the other hand spoke mostly about what was missing from the bulletin: "I did feel there was something lacking"; "there's always something missing" and also they pointed out that there wasn't enough explanation in the stories: "why this floods is going on?"; "why do we need the coal plant"? One high-income participant felt so misinformed by the news at the time about the *Davao shooting* that she visited the mall herself to investigate:

> A lot of people said that what the news presented was not really correct, they said it was Mangudadatu who really started the shooting and there

was this innocent guy who passed by who just so happened that he is connected to Ampatuan. It has to have a flip side of the story to make it appear as if it's a loyal bodyguard of Ampatuan who wanted to kill Mangudadatu and all that. So in some ways I was looking for that in the news before but it was not presented.

Views: There was a unanimous response from the *peace journalism* group that the bulletin was "balanced", appreciating in particular the views of New People's Army spokesperson, Ka Oris:

Only now I saw the real explanation with the head of the NPA and listen to him and both sides represented, not like when you listen to the discussing on the television, it's cut and don't know the vision of the leader.

The *war journalism* viewers were quick to point out the opposite, referring to the absence of an NPA voice: "it's another side of the story that hasn't been presented." And another similar opinion about a lack of views: "there are like two sides to every story or sometime three or four or five sides, so something is missing."

Propaganda: Reference to propaganda was fairly similar between the groups. Those watching the *war journalism* version felt the MILF and the Umbra Kato breakaway group were: "ego tripping" and the story was essentially a propaganda **"**show of power", which was echoed by a *peace journalism* viewer: "Breakaway, breakaway, breakaway and it breaks another breakaway it will not, are they still serious for peace or what? Because it seems like they are playing with the people."

Ideas: Immediately after watching the *war journalism* bulletin, viewers expressed a great deal of frustration about a lack of ideas and solutions: "You get tired of hearing the same things again and again with no solutions". These comments came spontaneously, not in response to a leading question: "I'm really saddened I cannot do anything about it**,**" one said. About the *flood story* a woman reflected: "one thing missing is that they also did not say how we can help." Another woman wanted more ideas for the electricity shortage in the *coal plant row story*: "Present some alternatives and if not a coal plant what other

alternatives are there?" As if calling for the very content that was included in the PJ version. There were fewer strong statements from the PJ viewers, but after watching the *flood story* one woman felt it prompted her to think about cooperative solutions: "It also highlights the need for cooperation in society". And the peace ideas in the MILF story left one man with a sense of "optimism" but others equally felt more "hopelessness" about the peace process after watching the PJ version.

Peace: No-one specifically spoke about the need for peace stories and post-war developments other than the comments of pessimism about the peace talks not leading to successes in communities: "Peace negotiations done here in the Philippines do not yield any tangible results," said one male *peace journalism* viewer. There are some small-scale examples of such developments in pockets around Mindanao but these were not included in the research bulletins.

Emotive: The war journalism viewers specifically referred to the emotive tone of the bulletin: "What is being shown are gross in a way, they have to show for a long time crying." One participant said she was so fed up with the sensationalism of local news that she switched off altogether:

> I stopped watching the news because it was all about killing, and I said I will now start reading the paper because the paper won't show you anything because it was so ... I think the problem here is they have these ratings game and they want to make everything sensationalised. Eventually, you just switch off and stop watching the news.

One of the peace journalism viewers had a similar response: "It tends to blind me when it comes to the emotions of the victims."

Label: The absence of a demonising tone in the *peace journalism* bulletin was picked up by one man who first wrote in his TLP about the *Davao Shooting*: At least Islam was not blamed" then he said to the group:

> The MILF breakaway news and then the Davao shooting what's good with the news is that it was presented not in a way where Islam is put in a bad light... the idea that Islam is behind the violence was not really presented,

it's really issues of people who adhere to Islam not because of Islam but that they are violent.

Almost the mirror opposite comment was made by a war journalism viewer: "In the news they usually put the NPA there, the MILF in a very bad light".

Partisan: There was only one comment about the partisanship of the *war journalism* bulletin: *"*I feel when things happen to NPA's they cry human... (group says 'rights') human rights, but when things happen to the military, there's no human rights, they are so one-sided." A *peace journalism* viewer too was concerned about the slightly nuanced partisanship towards the ordinary people in the floods story: "I thought the people were more credible than Hedcor itself because they were given more length in their interview."

So these comments add weight to the argument that some people can clearly discern the primary distinctions between war journalism and peace journalism, without any prior knowledge of the discursive differences. These differences were not picked up by the lower income focus groups to anything like the same extent. In the WJ group, they called for more information and more solutions from the news, but when presented with such information and solutions those watching PJ appeared unresponsive.

Limitations of the Study in the Philippines

There were clear language difficulties in communicating with the low-income focus groups through an interpreter, thus limiting the degree of discursive sophistication, and perhaps a hint of intellectual anxiety. The PJ group, in particular, seemed to struggle to discuss the TV news they had just seen, instead responding with entrenched polemics, thus making it hard to accurately assess the impact of PJ on a low-income group. Or perhaps that was the finding: that less educated people are less attuned to such distinctions of presentation, and much further research would be needed – perhaps with longitudinal studies – to assess the impact of PJ with such groups.

With a total of 308 questions to answer in a second language, some students were clearly exhausted by the end, as some PJ viewers reflected in their TLPs: "I need more time"; "I wish to rewind the video"; "I'm having a mental overload because I'm too alone and no information from the video clip is sinking in". It is worth noting that the PJ group between them wrote fully ten pages more than the WJ group. Was that because they were different people or watching different material? As the participants were randomly assigned, provided there was not any 'unlucky' randomisation, which given their base DES figures were fairly similar suggests that such a difference was due to the bulletins themselves and not something to do with the characteristics of the individuals within each group. While the students were writing quickly by hand in a second language, the majority of comments were easy to read. At times though, the full meaning was hard to decipher, as some were brief and misspelt, which impacted the reliability of the coding.

Conclusions

The significance of this portion of the research in Southeast Asia is that it confirmed similar findings to those in Australia, that framing television news reports, of conflicts of different kinds, along the lines of war journalism and peace journalism respectively, exerts an ideational effect, influencing how people in the Philippines make meaning from what they have seen. The strongest effect comes when viewers have the opportunity to consider backgrounds and contexts of violent incidents (whether the proximate act of violence is by direct human agency, such as the laying of a landmine, or natural, such as a destructive flood, that may have been exacerbated by human activity).

In such cases, viewers become much more likely to volunteer, unprompted, thoughts about solutions to the problem highlighted, and there was a further distinction to be made that PJ viewers offered predominantly more creative, nonviolent ideas for solutions. The elements of Galtung's original PJ model (see Appendix A) – conflict-oriented, solution-oriented – begin to slot together, offering another marker to assess the evolving case for peace journalism,

particularly that it "creates opportunities for society at large to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 5).

The inclusion of testimony by people directly affected by a conflict – the farmers in the floodplain, the villagers who fled their homes, the Lumad leaders forced off their land – enables a strong response of empathy, which replaces an otherwise strong tendency to apportion 'blame' to one party. This connects with the new interdisciplinary field of the science of empathy as raised in Chapter 1. And many seemed to find the PJ bulletin a more satisfying viewing experience, overall. There were abundant:

> Indications that viewers [in the Philippines] prefer the peace journalism style of reporting and would like to see more. With the news they presently receive, there is a widespread perception that significant story elements are persistently missing, at least among viewers who have opportunities to think critically about it (McGoldrick, 2011: 77).

The next chapter follows a similar format to outline the production of the research bulletins, the testing procedures before reporting the qualitative and quantitative results from South Africa.

South Africa:

Testing the evolving case for peace journalism

Introduction

An overview of some of the key political and social issues in South Africa's recent history, as well as aspects of its mediascape, sets the context for this portion of the field research and the backdrop for the television news stories that were shown to participants in this branch of the study. The bulletins were produced in the professional TV newsroom of Soweto TV to create "real world media interventions in naturalistic settings" (Paluck & Green, 2009: 638). A detailed description of how each item was coded and framed, according to Shinar's five headings (2007), demonstrates the ideational distinctions between war journalism and peace journalism versions of a number of familiar stories from the local television news agenda. This will be followed by an account of the specific methods used to gather both the qualitative and quantitative data about viewer responses in South Africa. Finally, a fully elaborated analysis of this data reveals how people reacted cognitively and emotionally to each bulletin to assess whether and how peace journalism prompted and enabled audiences to consider and value developmental, nonviolent, cooperative responses to conflict.

Research Context in South Africa, 2012

In May 2012, South Africa was wrestling with the legacy of apartheid almost two decades on from its historic election of 1994, the first in which adults of all races could vote on an equal basis. That election marked the point of transition for the African National Congress (ANC) from liberation movement to progressive government, tackling the multi-faceted task of extending democratic reforms in the country as it emerged from the era of white minority rule. South Africa had reached the stage of being in the aftermath of violent conflict (Blasi, 2009). However, profound inequalities remained, and by the time of the study visit South Africa ranked behind only neighbouring Namibia in global comparisons by Gini coefficient – used by economists to measure disparities in the distribution of household income (World Bank, 2009).

The deprivation that is a fact of everyday township and rural life can also, therefore, be seen as relative deprivation, defined by Gurr as the discrepancy between what people think they deserve, and what they think they can get, and identified as a prime cause of frustration and aggression. "The potential for collective violence varies strongly with the intensity and scope of relative deprivation among members of a collectivity" (Gurr, 1970: 24).

The enduring inequality does not straightforwardly divide blacks and whites, since waves of 'economic empowerment', and drives to make public service occupations more representative of the population as a whole, have lifted more blacks into the ranks of the wealthy and the professional middle class respectively. Analysis by an economics think-tank found that:

> In 2000 the average black South African earned 15 percent of the average white South African's income, whereas in 2011 a typical black person earned 40 percent of a typical white person's income (Sapa, 2012).

This progress has, however, also brought problems in its wake, notably a perception that political leaders exploit their prominence and connections to obtain personal wealth for themselves and their families, often with disastrous results. In one typical example, a gold mine beset by cashflow problems was

seemingly about to be rescued by a company, Aurora Empowerment Systems, "with two powerfully connected surnames attached", the *Times* newspaper noted: "Khulubuse Zuma, the nephew of President Jacob Zuma, and former President Nelson Mandela's grandson Zondwa" (*Times*, 2012: 6).

Hopes were raised that miners employed by the original business owner, Pamodzi Gold, would now be paid and see their employment secured; only to be then dashed. "Aurora was removed", the paper went on, "after the directors were accused of destroying the infrastructure of the mines... and causing the loss of over 5,300 jobs". At the same time, Khulubuse Zuma's assets were being sold off to pay debts from another failed business deal; revealing, in the process, a long list of luxury cars and other valuable consumer goods in his possession.

Forde (2011) identifies a "long South African tradition of lumpen radicalism", in which "power is first conquered on the street before it is translated into... formal institutions". This has been "kept at the margins of the liberation movement's core ethos" – an ethos exemplified in the first free election – but it rises and falls on a "cyclical" basis. Its present-day form of expression, she argues, includes the "conspicuous display and consumption of wealth" as a response to a historically transmitted experience of "shame, social humiliation and dishonour... that became the hallmarks of black urban experience under apartheid" (2011: *vi-vii*).

The ongoing dramas of service delivery to lift living conditions for the poor, on the one hand, and venality among their representatives (elected or otherwise) on the other, inform a broad stream of news coverage on public affairs by South Africa's media. There is a closely related 'watchdog' role, played by many media, exposing wrongdoing by public officials, notably the police. Journalists in April 2012 covered several cases of alleged brutality including one that saw officers stand trial over the fatal shooting of a demonstrator who was taking part in a service delivery protest, effectively drawing the threads together in one story.

Roles of South African journalism and media

In playing this role, South African journalism draws on a rich, if contested and conflicted tradition. Johannesburg's Apartheid Museum contains, as exhibits, examples of coverage from the 1970s and 80s exposing the wrongful detention and torture of activists, by the liberal English-language press. However, Lewin (1998) characterizes the prevailing mood at the session of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission set aside to enquire into media roles under minority rule as one of "simmering rage". Its findings confirmed the "essentially complicit role of most of the media". There were important exceptions, however, which confirmed the capacity of South African journalism, even in constrained conditions, to enable accountability in public life:

> At the media hearing Max du Preez [editor of the banned *Vrye Weekblad*] spoke as one of the latter-day "alternative" editors whose publication was forced out of existence for its remarkable *exposés* of a number of apartheid's dirty deeds, all consistently ignored (or denounced) by the established media (Lewin, 1998: np).

Another strand comes from the black press under apartheid, including *The Drum*, whose writers and photographers faced arrest and imprisonment after reporting on the "fantastic cost" incurred by South African capital from the campaign of sabotage adopted by the ANC in the early 1960s. Later, the role of a campaigning newspaper representing the urban black population was taken up, to some extent, by *The Sowetan*.

South Africa's transition has inserted a paradox into the familiar analytical factor of 'power distance' when categorizing journalism in its relationship with political authority. Hanitzsch describes it as a "continuum", between two opposite archetypes, or poles:

> The adversary pole of the continuum captures a kind of journalism that, in its capacity as the "Fourth Estate", openly challenges those in power. "Loyal" or opportunist journalists, on the other hand, tend to see themselves more in a collaborative role (2011: 481).

The Sowetan today projects into the public sphere the experiences and perspectives of those on the wrong end of inequalities in South African society, but, paradoxically, in generally loyalist mode. Those now occupying positions of formal power, after all, drew their initial political impetus from the very communities where the paper sells most copies. Where conditions are presented, by stories in the paper, as other than they should be, the general sense is that the ANC requires it to be reactivated or perhaps reformed, to fulfill its historic mission, rather than replaced, as a party of government. Within the constraints of public service media, Soweto TV, which has a community license and produces a daily news programme, takes a similar approach.

In the written press, a recent addition has been the more openly pro-ANC *New Age* – which, according to its website, pursues a mission of "be[ing] critical, but fair and constructive... [and] celebrat[ing] the achievements of a united South Africa" (New Age, 2012). The paper represents a response to what Hadland records as "calls for a media that is more developmentally oriented, that supports the democratically elected government... and that embraces the 'national interest' objectives of racial reconciliation and economic development" (Hadland, 2012: 100). This, he interprets as a form of "political parallelism", but there is no shortage of evidence that such a form of journalism connects with a portion of the public mood that has tired of a seemingly unceasing deluge of negative headlines. A columnist in the *Mail and Guardian* newspaper was moved to remark:

> I can't watch another South African news programme. Can't read another South African newspaper without wanting to vomit. It's all about lies, deception, crime, accidents, muggings and politicians infatuated with their public persona (Jones, 2013: 29).

The TRC media hearing was held, Lewin notes, "with symbolic irony, in a studio at the SABC, apartheid's loudest mouthpiece" (1998). The SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation) was foremost among what MacGregor calls "formerly white-dominated media [that] are now significantly transformed" (2004: 91). She records how the Corporation took a proactive role in drawing up codes of conduct for covering early post-apartheid elections, including working with civil

society groups to identify credible non-elite interviewees. This was one example, MacGregor argues, of an "understanding [among senior journalists]... of the media's social mission" in response to the era of radical social and political change ushered in by the fall of apartheid (MacGregor, 2004: 91). The SABC was transformed, following a painful overhaul, into the public service broadcaster of today. It competes with programming offered by several private broadcasters, the most commercially successful of which is eTV.

Writing ten years into majority rule, MacGregor noted that "media give space to development problems and achievements; editorial pages are often committed to solution-seeking analysis" (2004: 91). Lewin's article, quoted above, is part of a collection in an edition of *Track Two*, a journal published by the Centre for Conflict Resolution in Cape Town, one of a number of substantial peace initiatives that got underway and sourced donor funding in the period of, and immediately following, the end of apartheid. Another was the Media Peace Centre, which promoted dialogue among journalists on their social responsibility to contribute to the wherewithal for South Africa to fashion a positive future under majority rule; a message also promoted through its production arm, Ubuntu Films.

So, journalism in South Africa, like the Philippines, had undergone some critical reflection on its roles and responsibilities; reflection informed by the job of representing a conflicted and transitional political and socio-economic landscape.

However, as the constraints on elected leaders have created, in the period since, what Tormey calls "a crisis of representative politics across the liberal-democratic world" (2006: 139), so the receptiveness of media, their readers and audiences, to the proposition that political actors can effectively tackle inequality by channeling the public interest, has been increasingly challenged.

There has been a recent growth of interest in Peace Journalism among media scholars in the country, with a special edition of *Communicare: Journal for Communication Sciences in Southern Africa* (Hoffmann et al, 2012) devoted to exploring its implications for South African journalism. The journal is edited and

produced at the School of Communication of the University of Johannesburg, and followed a Round Table on Peace Journalism in a local context, held at the School the previous year under its then Head, Professor Nathalie Hyde-Clarke, who partnered with the present research during the trip to South Africa in April 2012. Many of its students are the first in their family to attend university, and some go on to enter journalism, so the influence of PJ is seeping into South African media by that route, as well.

Research Material TV Bulletins in South Africa

In each of five stories, the first war journalism version was provided by a package from the recent output of Soweto TV. I produced a second, peace journalism version of each story by gathering the original material (interviews and picture sequences), and restructuring and re-scripting the packages in a style and duration similar to the original. Each of the two versions was voiced by a volunteer Soweto TV reporter, and the bulletins were created by recording links read to camera by a Soweto TV newsreader, in the same studio setting as that used by the programme. For the full story scripts see Appendix H.

STORY Version 1 War journalism	BKGD	VIEWS	IDEAS	PROP	PEACE	EMOT	LABEL	PART	TOTAL
Gang Rape									0
Dagga bust								-0.5	-0.5
ANC Malema		0.5							0.5
Meadowlands		0.5		0.5					1
Pedestrian deaths	0.5		0.5						1
STORY Version 2 Peace journalism	BKGD	VIEWS	IDEAS	PROP	PEACE	EMOT	LABEL	PART	TOTAL
Gang Rape	0.5	1	1						2.5
Dagga bust	1	1		1					3
ANC Malema	1	1							2
Meadowlands	1	1		1					3
Pedestrian deaths	1	1							2

Table 7.1 Inter-coded scores for research material according to Shinar's five headings as applied to the South Africa research material news bulletins.

Gang rape: At the time of the field research, a horrific gang rape had sent shockwaves through both national and international media. The survivor of the attack was an intellectually disabled young woman of 17 and the perpetrators, from Dobsonville in Soweto, filmed the incident on a mobile phone, creating a video, which then went 'viral' on the internet. The case symptomised what the liberal left-leaning newspaper, the *Mail and Guardian* (April 20-25, 2012) called, in an editorial, "an epidemic of violent abuse." The paper went on to connect the incident with the continuing relative deprivation endured by impoverished communities of the kind in which the attack had taken place. Inadequacies of service delivery were not confined to visible forms such as "shit-soaked streets", the paper went on, but also led to social services, which had a duty of care to the victim, being starved of resources.

The original package, broadcast by Soweto TV on April 18, told how the alleged victim had just been handed over to police by a 37-year-old man from Braamfischerville – another part of Soweto – in whose house she had been found staying. Police were seen taking this man into custody, his hands cuffed behind his back and a jumper pulled up over his face. Faith Mazibuko, Member of the Executive Committee (the relevant tier of local government) for Community Safety, appeared in interview to confirm that the man had been charged with abduction, with an additional rape charge under consideration. The story failed to register under any of the five headings, for a score of 0.

In the *peace journalism* version of the gang rape story, the development at Braamfischerville was dealt with briefly, before raising the question of how the "contempt for women", named by the *Mail and Guardian* editorial (2012) as an element of cultural violence (Galtung: 1990) that had contributed to the incident, could be rolled back. It featured an extensive interview with Dumisani Rebombo, who runs workshops challenging men and boys over their attitudes to women. Mr Rebombo had himself taken part in a gang rape, decades earlier, it was revealed; an episode he attributed both to his own weakness and to peer pressure, in a culture of violence towards women. His aim now was to show every man how he could make a difference; his call, for such initiatives to be

amplified and connected in a "national strategy" to reduce gender violence. In adding context and background, and highlighting a creative idea for conflict resolution, this version of the story scored 1 under Shinar's first and third headings. In drawing a voice into the debate that had previously remained unheard, it scored an additional 0.5 under the second heading, thus earning a score of 2.5.

ANC Malema: Elsewhere in the news, wayward ANC Youth League president Julius Malema featured prominently in newspaper headlines. Malema had been expelled from the League for repeated transgressions including a speech in which he accused President Jacob Zuma of acting "like a dictator". The minutiae of party procedure, exhaustively reported, overshadowed Malema's key policies, including calls for the nationalization of the mining industry as a way of redressing inequality and his leading role in a symbolic people's march on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange to draw attention to the divide between rich and poor.

The extreme inequality in South Africa resembled the "tension is rising" scenario described by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005: 125) as mentioned in chapter 2. "The society is typically multi-ethnic and/or multicultural – with potential fault lines, therefore. Perhaps the economy is deteriorating and undergoing some kind of upheaval or transition" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 126). There were also "bad-tempered demonstrations" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 126), with one, by striking miners in August 2012 (shortly after the study period), being met with a deadly hail of police gunfire. And there were even occasional outbreaks of "racist rhetoric and incitement" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 126), with the ANC Youth League president, Julius Malema, censured by party leaders for reviving an apartheid-era struggle song, *Kill the Boer*.

The original story broadcast by Soweto TV marked the centenary celebrations for the African National Congress, as well as reaction to Malema's expulsion. Members of the League chanted songs in support of Malema, and a spokesman appeared on camera to confirm their unhappiness at the situation. An ANC

veteran, Amos Masondo, said such experiences should be used to build a stronger organisation in the future. While the story did therefore hear from other voices besides those in the top echelon of the political elite, it still arranged them in a dyadic 'he-said-she-said' format, thus earning only 0.5 under this heading for a total score of 0.5.

The *peace journalism* version included all the same elements but added interviews with ANC student activists, reminding viewers that the Youth League was there to challenge the ANC and hold it to its radical promises to create an equitable, just South Africa, thus taking the score to 2 for background and views. On reflection the story could have gone further in touching on the salient background, such as Malema's calls for radical reforms.

Dagga Bust: The original version of this story featured a typical police photo opportunity of officers standing grinning by a burning pile of marijuana. Known in South Africa as 'dagga', the drugs, with an estimated street value of 80,000 Rand, were seized, thanks to a community tip-off, in a raid at the Dube Hostel in the Meadowlands district of Soweto. The operation resulted in 30 arrests. Hailed as a 'good news' story by the only speaker to appear on camera – a police press officer – the item could be classified as partisan since there were no other views, ideas or background, thus scoring – 0.5.

Reversioning this story as *peace journalism* brought into the frame two other speakers: white, middle-aged, middle-class campaigners: Jules Stobbs and Myrtle Clarke, who are known as Johannesburg's 'Dagga Couple'. They challenged the police propaganda that dagga busts beat crime, suggesting instead that they unwittingly serve to generate yet more offending behaviours. Arrested in 2010 for possession, the couple were taking a human rights case to the Constitutional Court. They believed 'dagga' could have therapeutic effects, having witnessed it curing some cancers, helping to combat severe pain in multiple sclerosis, rheumatoid arthritis and a number of other conditions. They also reminded viewers that traditional African healers had used 'dagga' for centuries, and criminalising the drug simply drove buyers and sellers onto an informal market,

making easy pickings for criminal elements. In offering background, views and a challenge to propaganda, the PJ item earned a score of 3.

Meadowlands: This story featured complaints from residents of the Meadowlands informal settlement in Soweto that basic services, such as sanitation and refuse collection, were still not being provided in spite of years of requests. The original package was 'pegged'[58] to a visit to the settlement from a deputation of the opposition Democratic Alliance (DA). DA Spokesperson, Khume Ramulifho told reporters that "our observation is that there is no allocation for the houses" houses which, Soweto TV reported, had been promised the previous year. The story therefore garnered 0.5 for its partial challenge to a claim that turned out to be unfounded, and 0.5 for hearing from more parties than the familiar 'he-said-she-said' of political reporting. (The other speakers were three local residents who all called for toilets to be installed, as a top priority). Its total score was therefore 1 out of 5.

In considering how to repackage and reversion the Meadowlands story as *peace journalism*, it was reckoned that the predicament of residents denied basic services, while certain to prompt sympathy and sadness among most viewers, also risked being seen as an inevitable 'fact of life'. Dorling (2010) identifies this belief as one that has been fostered by political rhetoric in unequal wealthy countries, and one of the five main reasons "why social inequality persists" (Dorling, 2010: 1). To adjust its content, therefore, a picture sequence was inserted from Sandton Mall, one of the most conspicuously wealthy locations in Johannesburg, with the reporter's voiceover script re-written to note that: "South Africa is one of the most unequal countries on earth".

'Vox pops'[59] were recorded with passers-by outside the Mall, and two of them – both young black men – were added to the package. "It needs to be equal to some

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[58] 'Pegged' is journalistic term referring to an event or development that gives rise to the story.
[59] 'Vox pop' is another journalistic term to denote vox populi or voice of the people where passers-by are usually interviewed on the street and not named on screen.

degree," one suggested, "but there is nothing we can do, right now". "The rich ones had their own way up, they did their thing", the other said. A commentator, Delphine Serumaga, Director of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, was interviewed, and observed that leaders in a position to make decisions that were "socially and politically correct" were, in some cases, also benefiting personally from the imbalance. To redress the situation might involve them "giving up some of their personal wealth". Meadowlands might need not merely "more efficient service delivery", the new voiceover added in conclusion, but perhaps "a more fundamental debate about who gets what." By adding voices, and by adding the contextual material to enable an appreciation that the inequalities in South African society had been constructed, and were being perpetuated, by identifiable political agency, the score was raised to 3.

Pedestrian deaths: The story broadcast on Soweto TV, on pedestrian safety on South Africa's roads, focussed solely on a government press conference launching an Easter road safety campaign. The Minister of Transport, Sibusiso Ndebele, called on drivers to take more personal responsibility to help reduce the death toll, with more than 200 pedestrians having been killed during the previous year's Easter period alone. The useful idea in the story came from the transport minister that road safety was a public health issue and human rights issue, in other words not merely a story about the "material damage" caused by driver culpability but connected with "underlying reasons" for such phenomena as the "rush-hour" routine and the spread of substance misuse (Lynch & Galtung, 2010: 3-4): in short, also a shared, systemic problem. The story therefore scored 0.5 for its limited foray into background and context, and another 0.5 for the brief mention of ideas to save lives, raising its score to 1.

The new *peace journalism* version opened with shots from Johannesburg's busy roads, reminding viewers of the dangers facing the city's workers as a female dustbin collector Connie Machaga was run down and killed by a hijacked car being chased by police. One of her colleagues spoke tearfully to the camera. The story provided a human story to enable viewers to engage by triggering their empathetic responses. However, the story did not go further in suggesting quite

what new ideas would reduce the death toll. So the peace journalism version of this story registered 1 for background and 1 for views, but 0 for ideas thus scoring an overall 2.

As in the previous country chapters, it is worth pausing to consider which of Cottle's "global crises" (2010) are backgrounded and foregrounded in either version of the bulletin.

The most salient example in South Africa is the link between global capital and domestic poverty. Crises are "communicated, contested and *constituted* within the world's media formations and communication flows", Cottle argues (2010: 483, emphasis in the original), but by treating the chasm of socio-economic inequality as an inevitable 'fact of life', the war journalism version of the Meadowlands story obscures the specificity of relations in South Africa that makes it even more unequal than almost any other country. The peace journalism version brings South Africa's oversized portion of this global crisis further into the light.

The ANC Malema story also backgrounds Malema's past calls to nationalise the mining industry to proof the workers against poverty wages and the vicissitudes of financial meltdowns.

The war journalism version of the dagga story is constituted through the 'war on drugs' discourse, which although not mentioned by Cottle does resemble the 'war on terror' in its us-and-them dichotomy, demonising drug users as 'baddies', who have to be treated as aberrant rather than as people in need.

Questionnaire Methods in South Africa

Participants

A total of 65 communications students at the University of Johannesburg were recruited for the first part of the experiment. They comprised of 51 women and 14 men, with an average age of 20, ranging from 19 to 30 years. The vast majority (61) were born in South Africa, the other 4 outside the country. In terms of their political preference, 20 were ANC supporters, 25 DA supporters, 1 would vote for the Congress of the People and 19 held no political preference. 51 named their religious affiliation as Christians; 3 Muslims; 2 Jews; 4 with other religions, and 5 with no religion (see Appendix F for a tabular representation of the study demographics).

Procedure

The undergraduate students participated in the study as part of a journalism class. In exchange the students received an hour-long lecture from the research team on the issues raised by the reporting they had just seen and the distinctions between war and peace journalism. The lecture only began once all test papers had been handed in. Upon arriving at the two adjoining classrooms, students were randomly assigned to watch either bulletin. Care was taken to ensure a balance of male and female in each simultaneous screening. Upon entry to the room each student received an identical questionnaire written in English with instructions to write their responses in English. As well as questions, Thought-Listing Protocol (TLP) boxes provided space to write down, in English, any thoughts and feelings as the bulletin was paused for up to five minutes between news items. Students filled in questionnaires and jotted down their thoughts and feelings on each story in the bulletin. The bulletin was screened in English, though a couple of stories included short statements by interviewees in Zulu, which is one of eight local languages.

Consistent with field research in the other two countries to this point, the questionnaire bundle included the State Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) before and after the bulletin, whilst the Differential Emotional Scale (DES) was used

before and after watching each story. To evaluate response to military (punitive) measures, (EMMTO) a set of statements was created relating to cooperative or punitive policy responses to each story. For example: "All convicted rapists should be put in prison for life"; "Changing men's attitude towards women holds the key to reducing gender violence", were two such contrasting questions for the gang rape story.

For the Meadowlands story, participants considered: "Residents of informal settlements are being denied the public services they deserve", and "South Africa needs a radical rebalancing of society to narrow the gap between rich and poor." Statements about balance, and interest or boredom, were also added, with each measured by a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree;* 7 = *strongly agree*).

The two prejudice tests previously used were omitted, as these had not yielded significant results in Australia or the Philippines. Finally, at the end of the questionnaire pack, participants were asked a set of demographic questions along with political and religious affiliations, and invited to state which media they consumed regularly and those they most and least trusted.

Once the numbers from the questionnaires had been transcribed, a professional statistician used mixed-model ANOVAs with tests for simple effects and interactions to gauge differences between the groups in terms of emotional reaction. The two groups did not differ significantly in any of the baseline measures of the DES scales. The most significant interactions are shown in the table 7.2.

Questionnaire Results from South Africa

	Pre-test		Post-test Rape		Post-test Dagga		Post-test Meadow		Post-test Pedestrian	
	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace
Concentrating	3.45	3.37							2.82	3.18
	(1.03)	(1.21							(1.24)	(1.32)
Alert	3.09	3.69	3.82	3.69						
	(1.44)	(1.02)	(1.18)	(1.28)						
Hopeful	3.06	3.72			2.64	2.41			3.03	2.02
	(1.34)	(1.02)			(1.29)	(1.32)			(1.35)	(1.05)
Surprised	1.54	1.50					2.82	1.97		
	(0.94)	(1.02)					(1.44)	(1.28)		
Amazed	1.73	1.66					2.27	1.97		
	(0.92)	(1.00)					(1.17)	(1.30)		
Hopeless	1.33	1.37	3.03	2.00						
	(0.99)	(0.66)	(1.42)	(1.05)						
Disdainful	1.58	1.34							1.88	2.43
	(1.15)	(0.54)							(1.14)	(1.41)
Alarmed	2.03	2.16					3.48	2.71		
	(1.35)	(1.44)					(1.39)	(1.55)		
Empathy	2.21	2.34	3.91	3.28	1.88	1.87	3.64	3.41	3.00	3.37
	(1.29)	(1.38)	(1.26)	(1.59)	(1.19)	(1.26)	(1.45)	(1.56)	(1.34)	(1.47)

Table 7.2 Emotional responses to watching WJ or PJ in South Africa

Note: Means and standard deviations (in parentheses) for DES items at baseline and after watching each story. Participants reported the extent to which they felt each emotion on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *very slightly, not at all*; 5 = *extremely*) (**Strongest measures in bold).**

As with the Philippines, the statistical results in South Africa were weaker than those recorded in Australia. The strongest results were for hopelessness, which

was significantly higher for WJ watchers than for those watching the PJ version of the gang rape story. Other interactions were apparently contradictory, in that the peace journalism viewers felt less surprised and amazed after watching the Meadowlands story than those who had watched the war journalism version. Equally, peace journalism viewers felt less hope and more disdain when they watched the pedestrian deaths story, which also appeared contradictory. However, all the changes recorded were small compared with the equivalent results from Australia, and no other significant differences were found.

Empathy measures have been included but whilst they show a consistent change throughout the bulletin, rising after the gang rape story and falling after the dagga story, there are no significant interactions between the groups.

Again, pre and post STAI measures increased significantly but there were no statistically significant interactions between the groups. Consistent with the Australian and the Philippines results, watching television news stressed these South African viewers but watching war journalism did not make them significantly more stressed than watching peace journalism.

Thought Listing Protocols (TLPs)

The TLP written responses from both the students and the focus group participants amounted to a total of 490 TLPs. These were the individual comments from 98 people (n = 49 each in WJ and PJ groups) writing something about each of the five stories. Some wrote nothing, leaving 16 blank boxes amounting to approximately 3.2% of the TLPs. The written comments were transcribed and coded, for use as a triangulation tool assisting the interpretation of differential emotional and cognitive responses, between the groups.

The TLP written responses were categorised on the previously utilised simplified version of Entman's (1993) framing theory. This meant theming each individual sentence under the headings of moral evaluation, problem definition and solution or treatment recommendation. As with the analysis of results from Australia and the Philippines, these qualitative instruments provided a more

sensitive measure of the ideational effects and their influence on how people make meaning from viewing war journalism and peace journalism respectively.

As none of the stories referred directly to incidents of direct violence or armed groups as in the previous countries, treatment recommendations were assessed as either cooperative or punitive, and moral evaluations as either blaming the individual – a dispositional explanation – or attributing a systemic causality to construct a situational explanation for the observed behaviours.

This fits with Lakoff's dyadic "master frames" model for political communication, cited in chapter 1. The "strict father frame" (Lakoff, 2009: 77) maps neatly onto war journalism as seeing the individual as at fault, with treatment recommendations emphasising interdiction and punishment. By contrast, the "nurturant parent frame" (Lakoff, 2009: 81) refers to the politics of empathy, protection, empowerment, and community, so equally maps neatly onto peace journalism. Viewers of news items coded with content fitting a nurturant parent master frame could be expected to value cooperative, empathic, community responses to conflict issues – if the coded content was decoded in like fashion.

As in the previous two chapters those stories with the strongest TLP results are discussed first, that is the Gang rape and Meadowlands items audience responses both have tables to show the number of written statements by participants coded under each heading. The ANC Malema, Dagga Bust and Pedestrian deaths stories elicited weaker TLP responses, so less space is devoted to discussing the results. Instead of tables the numbers have been summarised in brackets. For example (3 WJ to 10 PJ) denotes the number of TLP comments by watchers in each group respectively.

Statistics and TLPs: Story by Story

The Gang Rape Story: Statistics and TLPs

In the DES, the most noticeable differences were in response to the gang rape story. The version watched by the peace journalism groups covered ideas for solutions, arising from Dumisani's story, and those viewers felt less hopeless than WJ watchers. This was supported by the TLP results, revealing that peace journalism viewers offered ten times more cooperative treatment recommendations than war journalism viewers, who tended to favour punitive solutions (suggesting twice as many as peace journalism viewers).

SOLUTIONS	War journalism	Peace Journalism
Gang rape solution punitive	**16**	7
Gang rape solution cooperative	3	**33**

Table 7.3 Treatment recommendations in viewer responses to gang rape story

Some watching PJ referred specifically to Sonke Gender Justice, saying: "They have done a great job." Others referred to feeling "hopeful for a change"; "hopeful that movements against sexual violence will change views", and – from a woman who in earlier comments had professed "disgust" at the rape story – "wow, at least some men can change". In appearing to demonstrate her openness to the transformation narrative within the story, this perhaps helps to explain her and others' reduced levels of self-reported hopelessness. From the war journalism group, two comments referred to the need for education and the third hinted at the solution offered by Dumisani in the PJ version: "Men should be doing more than women. But they should stand against rape together." In other words, there were many more calls for creative, cooperative, nonviolent responses to conflict from peace journalism viewers than from WJ watchers.

While there were half the number of punitive treatment recommendations by peace journalism viewers, one did call for the perpetrators to "be castrated", though most of the rest wanted "justice to take its course". Some war journalism viewers called for the perpetrators "to be dealt with brutally", while others wanted the "full measure of the law".

PROBLEM DEFINITION	War journalism	Peace Journalism
Individual men	20	12
The system – shared problem	31	46

Table 7.4 Problem definitions in viewer responses to the gang rape story

Peace journalism viewers predominantly identified the system as the problem, offering 46 such comments compared with 12 blaming individual men. The war journalism group seemed divided: equally blaming both 'them' (individual men) and society at large.

The tone of comments from the WJ viewers also conveyed a distinctly stronger sense of blame towards men – both the perpetrators themselves, and men in general. "I really do hate him for what he did", one wrote, while another professed a "distrust of township men"; "I also feel that some men out there still do not have respect for women". The PJ viewers expressed strong feelings, but their comments contained little or no trace of hatred: "Men are just insensitive, bulls who think they have the right to do anything they want", wrote one. Those feelings included anger and disgust, which has been counted separately under Moral Evaluation. What distinguishes these from the causal problem definitions listed here is that the latter included definite attributions of blame, usually through the subject of a sentence revealing, for instance, that the writer believed 'they' (men) are the problem, as opposed to those who perceive a shared problem.

There were almost 50% more comments from PJ viewers indicating a perception of systemic problems. Several blamed some form of "peer pressure" and "group pressure". Others pointed to "culture", expressed in specific terms by some as a "culture of violence against women", and a "societal issue"; while others expressed emotions about society: "Disappointed at society" and "this world is an ugly place". WJ viewers were more accusatory and less diagnostic than the peace journalism group: "Disgusted and shocked at how morally disfigured our society has become", wrote one WJ watcher. Several blamed the girl's parents (for not looking after her adequately) whereas another blamed parenting of the boys: "Lack of leadership from parents"; "the problem lies with the patriarchal society". Another went deeper, suggesting "poverty" as the cause.

MORAL EVALUATION	War journalism	Peace Journalism
News content	13	16
Switch off	2	3
News presentation	7	0
Concern for girl	18	25
Emotion – disgust & anger	25	26

Table 7.5 Moral evaluations in viewer responses to the gang rape story

There were slightly more comments about the news itself from peace journalism viewers (17 PJ to 13 WJ comments). Peace journalism viewers appeared to reflect a stronger emotional response to the story. One wrote: "I felt like crying when I was listening and watching the story". The comments also reflected contrasting views on the presence of PJ material, with some praising it: "They have done a great job by including… the Sonke gender organisation". But others expressed reservations about the inclusion of Dumisani's views: "I found it a bit unusual" and another "the media has highlighted this problem in society". Others did not like the inclusion of background: "I feel irritated by the way in which the additional information about the story has nothing to do with the actual news

report." Another wrote: "Educational tit-bits about gender violence of someone else's experience are unnecessary", thus mirroring similar comments made by a couple of peace journalism viewers in the general focus group. Conversely, several WJ watchers wanted such background: "Want to know more the reasons behind the rape". Another wrote: "Felt like the story was incomplete", while yet another said the "footage of suspect heightens my feeling of resentment towards him".

Although the statistics showed slightly more empathy from WJ viewers, there were actually more concerned comments from the PJ group. However, the tone of these comments was similar in both groups, with participants using words such as: "Sad and sorry"; "sympathetic"; "feeling of empathy"; "anger"; "worried"; "horrified", and "interested in care". Regardless of the degree or quality of contextualising material provided, people apparently shared a human concern for the victim, formed in many cases from their already-extensive experiences of watching and reading other reports of the same incident in the study period.

For the same reasons, the two sets of viewers made a similar number of comments indicating disgust (22 PJ and 26 WJ viewer comments). Previously, a separate category for the moral evaluation of the world was created, to capture viewers' reflections on what the story said about the state of the society in which they lived. It was later concluded, however, that these comments were better themed as problem definitions, since they were, in effect, indicating the perception that underlying the headline-grabbing incident were more systemic, widespread problems.

It is perhaps worth mentioning that seven comments were made by WJ watchers about news presentation, one picking up the quality of the voice-over from a rather inexperienced male Soweto TV reporter: "The man who did the voicer wasn't sounding very well, he sounds like he is tired". But there were no such equivalent comments from peace journalism viewers, even though his tone in the second version was equally flat.

With 3 WJ and 2 PJ comments referring to feelings of boredom and being turned off by the story "uninterested" or wanting to "switch off the TV" came from each

group, there was little difference, in this sub-theme, between responses to WJ and PJ respectively, perhaps because of the nature of the story.

Meadowlands: Statistics and TLPs

Whilst the DES showed relatively weak interactions in response to viewers' experience of watching the Meadowlands story, the TLPs revealed stronger differentials between members of the two groups. Peace journalism viewers produced a much greater volume of writing than did war journalism viewers. They primarily perceived the system as the problem, and expressed a much stronger sense of concern for the residents, whereas WJ watchers saw the ANC as the problem. This is not reflected in the DES results at all.

PROBLEM DEFINITION	War journalism	Peace Journalism
ANC are the problem	**36**	29
Residents are the problem	4	6
The system – shared problem	6	**34**

Table 7.6 Problem definitions in viewer responses to the Meadowlands story

Both groups were critical of the ANC government, blaming them for the lack of facilities in Meadowlands, but the WJ comments suggest a more distancing and a blaming tone referring repeatedly to "they" and "them" with 4 war journalism viewers describing the ANC as having "failed". Conversely, peace journalism viewers used more neutral language such as: "Government not deliver on their promises", with distancing language of "them" and "they" (13 WJ to 5 PJ).

More peace journalism viewers blamed the residents, which appears slightly contradictory, but the tone of the comments was quite similar, with viewers in both groups saying things such as: "Governments cannot do everything for the poor".

The most significant distinction though was revealed by how few war journalism viewers identified the system as the problem (6 WJ to 34 PJ). The majority of PJ viewers referred to "inequality" in various ways. Some described it as "unfair", while others used words such as "outrageous" and "shameful" and "gross differences in rich and poor". It is highly likely that these problem definitions pertained to the link with inequality in South Africa made in the story by referring to the polarities of living standards and prospects symbolised by Sandton Mall and Meadowlands respectively.

MORAL EVALUATION	War journalism	Peace Journalism
News content	21	7
Switch off	5	2
Concern for residents	32	56
DA good	7	2
DA bad	9	3

Table 7.7 Moral evaluations in viewer responses to the Meadowlands story

At times, moral evaluations were difficult to disentangle from problem definitions. At one point, moral evaluations about the ANC were counted separately from the sub-theme, 'the ANC are the problem', then it was concluded that they amounted to the same thing. Firstly, the WJ viewers made almost three times as many comments about the news content as PJ viewers. Results from the EMMTO tell us that viewers found the peace journalism version more balanced and less biased, which was reflected by the TLP comments, with 3 WJ viewers specifically referring to the bias and several others commenting that this was a "DA-endorsed story". While one PJ viewer referred to "bias", there were 5 other positive comments like an "interesting story" and "this story highlights the plight of many S. Africans staying in townships". A few viewers – equal in number, in each group – evidently were bored and 'switched off'. One war journalism viewer wrote: "Politics are such a bore". There were some opinions offered about the residents themselves, which ranged from saying they were "angry" or "funny"

and a call for "subtitles" but despite the same Zulu 'vox pops' appearing in both stories only the peace journalism viewers, three said: "There was no translation" and one was "annoyed" by that.

The strongest distinction between groups in moral evaluation was the concern expressed for residents in Meadowlands, with approaching twice the numbers of comments from peace journalism viewers (55 PJ to 32 WJ). Both groups used feeling words such as: "Sympathy"; "concerned"; "empathy"; "saddened"; "sad"; "disgust"; "disturbed"; "upset"; "worried"; "angry"; "irritated", and "frustration". These feelings did appear to be stronger amongst the war journalism viewers, with adjectives including "shocked"; "horrified" and "surprising". This mirrored the statistics, showing peace journalism viewers felt less surprised and amazed when they watch the Meadowlands story, but could this have been perhaps due to the inclusion of background on South Africa's yawning inequality and such contextualising material prompting more analytical responses, compared with the unalloyed shock of witnessing the poor sanitary conditions experienced by residents of Meadowlands.

The only other difference was in moral evaluations of the DA. The sentiments of them being 'good' or 'bad' were equally balanced within each group, but more came from WJ watchers than peace journalism viewers.

It was not possible to separate the solutions into punitive and cooperative as most of the 9 treatment recommendations from the WJ viewers were simply a call for action: "Government really need to do more" and "urgent action needed!!" There were many similar calls from PJ viewers, but, of their 13 comments, some called for systemic change: "Issues of economic inequality should be discussed by government", and "people need change especially previously disadvantaged South Africans": in other words, more specific ways of addressing human needs.

Dagga Bust: Statistics and TLPs

The statistics suggested there was a greater drop in hope for the PJ watchers. Initially this appeared contradictory, especially as there were five times more problem definitions from the WJ watchers (21 WJ to 4 PJ viewer comments). The statement suggested one clue: "Hopeful (community tip offs)" implying that this war journalism watcher agreed with the framing that police were 'winning' the war on drugs. However, this certainty became more unsettled for peace journalism viewers who heard from the dagga couple. Six peace journalism viewers described the story as "interesting", others were shocked or surprised: "Wow! I am amazed at what the couple says about Dagga!" Others were quite indignant at the prospect of legalisation: "What the hell? Legalise DAGGA!!!. No way, that's really unreasonable". The groups themselves were evidently split on the issue even before they walked in the room, with some WJ watchers writing: "Who cares about the dagga"; "image of dagga burning not consistent with view of dagga that I see in my personal life". Several WJ watchers described that version as funny or expressed dissatisfaction, asking "why is it newsworthy"?

ANC Julius Malema: Statistics and TLPs

It is perhaps not surprising that there were no interactions indicated in the DES or EMMTO statistics for this story and the numbers of themed TLPs are fairly equal too. 'Juju', as Julius Malema is known in newspaper headlines, was already a prominent media personality, with a crest of coverage just before the study period, and participants had apparently, in many cases, already made up their minds about him. Hyde-Clarke found that "controversy" was a dominant theme of news coverage about Malema, with headlines generally presenting him "in a less than complimentary manner" and his political initiatives tending to be reported in an "injustice and defiance frame" (2011: 47).

In a forerunner of the present study, Kempf (2007) as mentioned in Chapter 2, detected differences in German newspaper readers' "mental models" of post-war political conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, from their narrative responses to articles adjusted to exhibit "escalation-oriented" and "de-escalation-oriented"

framing, respectively. But he emphasized that his experiment took place in a society with only a "limited" investment in the conflict itself, and that this factor should be seen as likely to allow for greater receptivity to a range of different representations of key issues. Audience frames for conflicts closer to home, involving questions in which subjects are already heavily invested, may be expected to prove less susceptible to change in response to new stimuli.

There were three areas of significant differences in the TLP results. First in moral evaluation comments, while equal numbers in each group thought the dismissal of Julius Malema was right (8 WJ and 8 PJ viewer comments), more than twice as many PJ viewers thought it was wrong, and expressed positive comments about Malema (8 WJ to 19 PJ viewer comments). Secondly, in the area of treatment recommendations, there were four times more from those seeing the peace journalism version (22 PJ to 5 WJ watcher suggestions). Included with the systemic problem definitions were calls for better education, but this was much stronger from the peace journalism viewers, who wanted youth to be educated and developed, for "inequalities" to be addressed, for education to "guide them not just dump them" and "the ANC needs to listen to the ANC Youth League instead of gunning it down." So there was a sense that the additional interviews in the PJ version had some effect on viewer responses.

There were more news content comments from WJ watchers, writing that the story was biased. One wrote: "We've heard enough of Julius Malema", and this sub-theme was closely related to viewer comments indicating boredom. There was a slightly stronger sense of interest from PJ viewers (3 PJ to 1 WJ interest statements). These engaged comments hinted at praise for the inclusion of the Youth League interviews in the PJ item: "I liked how they featured a number of comment from ANC members and the members were explicit about the feelings".

Pedestrian deaths: Statistics and TLPs

The statistics suggested that people concentrated more watching the peace journalism, but felt more hopeful after seeing war journalism. PJ viewers felt slightly more empathy and disdain.

The TLPs reflected a higher level of concentration, with more than three times as many comments about the unsafe roads from PJ viewers (35 PJ to 9 WJ statements). Perhaps that explained why people felt less hopeful watching PJ, because it included a case study of a hit-and-run accident and pictures of a crumpled taxi. They talked of feeling "worried", "sad", "irritated", "enraged", "tense", "annoyed" and "scared" about the dangers on South Africa's roads. In fact so scared that one person felt "like I need to rather stay in that weekend" to avoid becoming caught up the high death toll over Easter. There was nowhere near the same emotional intensity from WJ watchers, albeit several also felt "concerned".

PJ viewers wrote more than twice the number of comments indicating receptiveness to cooperative treatment recommendations (24 PJ versus 11 WJ comments). Perhaps this did not result in them feeling more hopeful because there were no specific ideas for solutions or images of peace in the story. The tone of writing was fairly similar, with both applauding "the action being taken". A war journalism viewer wrote that "proper pathways should be provided for pedestrians" and a peace journalism viewer suggested that: "Taxis need to be regulated & controlled better".

Focus Group Methods in South Africa

Participants

Drawing on methods developed in Australia and the Philippines, six focus groups were recruited from different demographic groups to represent a selection of low and high-income earners, a method similar to that employed by Philo & Berry (2004). 33 participants (12 male and 21 female) were made up as follows: 13 University of Johannesburg students; 10 middle grade employees at an information technology company, and 10 predominantly skilled and professional workers, who socialised together in Johannesburg forming a matching pair of 'general' groups.

High-income participants included several engineers, a marketing manager, a photographer, service desk agents and call takers. Groups of between five and seven participants from each demographic watched WJ or PJ and none were financially compensated for their time although refreshments were provided. All the participants were born in South Africa with an average age of 25.75, ranging from 19 to 40. Roughly half stated their religion was Christian, the rest stated no religion. The largest plurality (13) indicated a political preference for the Democratic Alliance (DA), seven supported the African National Congress (ANC) and the rest stated no political preference.

Nearly all the students who took part were black. Members of the 'general' group were all white, with a majority from Afrikaans-speaking backgrounds (though the discussion was conducted in English). Of the staff from an information technology (IT) company who took part, a narrow majority were black, with the rest white. There were both black and white members in both the IT staff groups. Full descriptive profiles of each individual participant in are given in Appendix G, with care taken not to identify them.

Procedures

The DES and STAI tests were dropped from the South African focus group questionnaires as no useful statistics came from these focus group questionnaires in the previous two field studies. Participants were invited to

simply jot down any thoughts and feelings in the TLP boxes on the questionnaire, and these results were added to the TLPs analysed previously. Viewers then took part in semi-structured discussions about the news bulletin they had just seen. Each conversation lasted between 35 and 60 minutes and was recorded, transcribed and analysed to explore how far the different framings were picked up by South African audiences.

Consistent with the previous countries in the study, the transcripts were coded according to Shinar's five headings: "exploring backgrounds and contexts"; "giving a voice to the views of all rival parties"; "offering creative ideas for conflict resolution"; challenging propaganda by "going beyond the official versions of events" and by "paying attention to peace stories" (Shinar, 2007: 200). Plus the three passive, or "non-interventionist" peace journalism indicators for avoidance of: emotive language; "labelling" of conflict parties as good and bad, and partisan reporting (Lee & Maslog, 2005: 316) were added as heading guides to theme the FGDs comments.

Focus Groups Results from South Africa

Across the South African focus groups as a whole, most time was spent discussing the gang rape and the Meadowlands stories, but participants highlighted different aspects of Shinar's headings according to which item they were discussing. Below the relevant headings concentrate on analysing discussions of either the gang rape or the Meadowlands stories depending of which one the groups paid most attention to. Likewise with subsequent summaries of the other three stories that have also been combined under the relevant heading.

Overall, there was a sense from those who watched peace journalism that the ideas in those versions generated hope, but some of the additional background and views introduced into both the gang rape and the Meadowlands stories generated some anger. Those who watched war journalism often felt "sad things

happening"; feeling "sad" or that the bulletin promoted "the bad things" about life in South Africa.

Background - Meadowlands: The significant distinction between groups was that all the *peace journalism* viewers discussed inequality at length and some felt angry about it, whereas the *war journalism* viewers hardly mentioned it. "It actually frustrates you" said an IT man: "I mean the people that's living in shacks that's burnt off and if there's floods the shacks get drowned but they still they're putting all these nice pictures of 'oh look at this Sandton Mall that we built'." Asked if that was something new, to see inequality discussed explicitly on television news, one female student said: "I think we do anyway: I take the bus and just the route that the bus takes shows me differences in the nice neighbourhoods and the ugly neighbourhoods. It's just part of everyday life for me." That then opened up a lengthy discussion about inequality and how "as a society we need to do something", from a Soweto student, a strand of discussion not addressed by war journalism viewers.

Reactions to the WJ version included a woman in the IT group who was touched by sadness seeing the plight of people living in Meadowlands: "It's sad to learn and I wasn't aware of such, so it's sad when you have people who are just next to you, maybe they are just people who are just not having these basic things but it's sad". Some WJ watchers did notice that something was missing, as one male student pointed out: "When you watch the news you never really... get that sense of feeling about the people that they are not necessarily just victims, you know, that can be manipulated in any way and they are still human beings". And a professional journalist in the general group complained that the story lacked pictures and background:

> So it starts with a shot of Meadowlands, they talk about the DA (political party) visiting, it there's no footage of the DA there so as a journalist... my first thing is that they've missed the story and they've gotten there too late and so now they're trying to package a story that they haven't shot.

Ideas - Gang rape: Hearing Sonke Gender Justice man, Dumisani Rubombo's ideas for peace generated the most hope from peace journalism viewers. One

man in the IT group said: "It gives you a lot of hope." Several of the students referred to this as "very hopeful", and "it's a good idea", another said, with yet another adding that Dumisani was "brave", and "it inspires for the young ones", with another adding: "Hopefully it'll become a trend, it'll become bigger." One female student hinted at why such ideas made the story interesting and optimistic:

> I think the media in South Africa... define their role as 'expose, expose, expose' but then when you have stories like that of rehabilitation and like hope, I for one would definitely join... If you just hear like the negative stuff I just turn it off and think 'oh well' and then I feel hopeless, there's like, nothing I can do, whereas if you give me options and you see, like, change can happen, I'm more willing.

A female IT worker seemed to really internalise Dumisani's ideas: "It's like they can educate... that they can change the mindset, even if you grew up with that your father, there's a positive as a whole, there's hope, so I think what he's doing is very good."

Several of the women in the general group were quite angered by Dumisani's ideas being included in the PJ version because: "You were talking about this girl and what happened to her, it's not about him"; "it's just such vast varying emotions", added another; "OK, it's just about gang rape, then they come in with the positive and I'm still focusing on how negative it is". These participants appeared resistant to the transformative element in Dumisani's story: "Unlink them... yeah, he's trying to reform himself and trying to reform all these men but you just told me about how a girl got gang-raped... I'm sorry". Towards the end one woman, as if mellowing, concluded: "Yes, his story is fine and the fact that he's turning around and he's doing the positive side and re-educating everyone".

Views – Meadowlands: The general group reacted emotionally to hearing the juxtaposed views of people in abject poverty in Meadowlands with the wealthy shoppers of Sandton Mall, as if it enabled them to decode the depth of the inequality and its implications: "How angry were you at the end, with those guys standing out in Sandton City", one said. But a women in the IT group resisted

hearing from Sandton Mall shoppers: "We can't actually compare people from Meadowlands with the people of Sandton, they've worked for what they have." Some participants seemed to need help in understanding the views of social justice commentator Delphine Serumaga: "What was that woman talking about with the whole wealth thing?", one woman wondered. Her colleague replied: "They were saying poor will always be poor and the rich will always be rich unless you take away from the wealthy, then what is going to be left from them, if you take it from them and give it to the poor."

Unlike in the other countries, there was less empathy expressed, with only one comment from a IT peace journalism viewer watching the rape story: "We must first start having empathy to people, put ourselves in their shoes in order to help them." Perhaps this story did not generate more empathy because it did not include the view of a rape survivor.

Propaganda – Meadowlands: A female student WJ viewer thought the Meadowlands story was propaganda: "Good for the DA (political party) to go to Meadowlands and focus on that one bring the attention out but maybe there's also been a PR for the DA?"

Partisan – Meadowlands: One of the students watching WJ thought the Meadowlands story was partisan, first by pointing to the clothing of interviewees: "They were all wearing DA t-shirts (laughter). That story was DA-orientated I think, but still good, any help is good even if they've got an ulterior motive."

What follows are summaries of the subsequent three stories the ANC, Dagga bust and pedestrian deaths:

Background – ANC Malema & Pedestrian deaths: There was a strong reaction of boredom from all groups watching the ANC story. Viewers professed 'switching off' or feeling bored on a total of 31 occasions. The strongest comments came from peace journalism viewers in the general group, admitting to "not listening" and "switching off immediately" because as one said: "We've heard it before". And there were some quite similar comments from peace students who made it clear that they missed the coded PJ material because as

one young woman said: "I just switched off a bit, I've seen this over and over again". Another student echoed her: "We just switch off because it's been said too many times". Some war journalism viewers said: "I just hear his [Julius Malema's] name and blank out".

Some suggested there was a media obsession with demonising Malema rather than offering real context. "It's about news", said a woman in the IT group, "it's about them, but our needs, but what about our needs?" From a general worker: "When it becomes the big 'fuck-up' there's no actual reporting on the actual beginning and the potential it could have had, and the good and positive it could have". A Soweto student felt the media had not offered enough background to go with the story of politicians' rivalries: "We focus too much on individuals as opposed to what they're doing". He called for more background, reporting on "findings" rather than labels: "We never hear of such cases, it's always 'bad Malema, bad, bad, bad'", adding that more research could have been done on Malema's proposal to nationalise the mining industry.

Another student offered her own context on Malema, going beyond that offered in the story: "I think what Julius Malema has done in his own silly way for South African politics is something Nelson Mandela couldn't have achieved, because he managed to get the nation talking." And there was a similar comment from a war journalism viewer in the general group: "He spoke to people about 'you're a nobody and I can make you a somebody'... I think people are so desperate". She went on to offer context rarely glimpsed as to why hundreds joined a two-night vigil in support of Malema: "We were at home, we don't have jobs and we don't have money, we were at home and we were bored and someone said they would give us a free lift there and it was something to do." The only other war journalism viewers to mention the background in the Malema story were the students who felt that media coverage of Malema was the problem due to a lack of context.

There was a sense from peace journalism viewers that the inclusion of the background story of the refuse collector killed in a hit-and-run accident made the **pedestrian deaths story** more engaging: "It's interesting, the story's important because it shows someone running from the police and they hit a pedestrian at

the same time they're speaking about the road accidents and stuff." In contrast, a war journalism watcher in the general group found the story uninteresting: "I honestly didn't stay focussed because I was so bored." It was as if she was calling for almost exactly the additional elements included in the PJ version of this story: "I just imagined that a reporter should be standing on the side of the road reporting and there should be, as much as it's traumatising, there should be horrific images of people being smashed by trucks because it brings it up."

Ideas - ANC Malema: Whilst there were no specific comments appreciating the ideas in the peace journalism, it is perhaps worth noting the contrast in ideas offered by the IT groups. One war journalism watcher wanted the ANC Youth League "disbanded: it must be wiped out", whereas the peace journalism viewers were more gentle calling for reform: "I mean if they started at the bottom with the young people, I mean all the other League people will see this is new that something actually is happening".

Views - Dagga: There was also no great sense of appreciation watching the PJ version in hearing from the dagga couple as alternative views or in offering background to the story. Again, as in the TLPs, one female student professed amazement: "Shocking to know that people are like 'hey dagga activists' (laughter)". There was a shift in one woman in a PJ group who initially bought into the war framing, making a punitive treatment recommendation ("ban all those things"), then moved to uncertainty "with the issue of this dagga and I don't know (laughs)" after hearing a colleague in the group respond to the additional views of the dagga couple. "I think the reason why they say 'it must be legalised' its because it's a medicine, so when you do get the people who doesn't use it right". And one male student tentatively suggested that it was the absence of such views that locked people into a narrow perspective on the drug:

> I want to be a bit pro-dagga… I think it boils down to a bit of lack of knowledge as well as what dagga really does, because society dictates that dagga's bad so we've been programmed. OK it's bad, we were never really told, OK like drinking, let's put that as the example, but yes drinking is bad but there's a reason why they say drink responsibly, you know? So I think

we're never told of such things, so doing certain things that are seen as bad but doing them responsibly doing the right way.

Propaganda – Dagga: One male student watching WJ was initially drawn into the propaganda in the dagga item: "The story about the dagga, that's surely a positive story that the police are working because it was a tip-off from the community so it was a positive story." But after some discussion it was suggested by a woman in the group that the police perhaps needed a good news story:

> Yah and it's officially been a year since there was the police killed… so now they need the positive publicity. A few weeks ago there was a CCTV footage [showing police officers] beating two men with broom sticks, so this shows they're doing something good so people don't completely lose faith in them.

Labelling - ANC: Viewers from all groups had seemingly internalised the labelling from previous news items about the ANC and Julius Malema. One of the men went as far as to call the ANC Youth League idiotic: "You know the guy is a lunatic". A man in the same peace journalism group said: "The media is biased in a way", implying that Malema had been so demonised in the media that his role as a leader was missed. "It's interesting because every time I hear that story, people are saying Julius Malema, they never said we lost a leader or anything, everyone is reporting it the same way it seems."

Limitations of the Study in South Africa

Numbers in the students group were smaller than the Philippines. Again the quantitative study suffered from asking too many questions (a total of 275) and utilising emotional terminology that was perhaps unfamiliar to the students. One possible solution to this, noted at the time in my research journal, is to offer some explanation of emotional terminology to groups prior to testing.

Participants in the South African FGDs seemed reluctant to analyse the content of the news items in the same way participants had done in Australia and – to some

extent – in the Philippines. Instead, they chose to discuss the issues in the news rather than the way they had been constructed, thus making it harder to theme the transcripts along Shinar's five headings.

Conclusion

The significance of this portion of the research in South Africa was that it confirmed similar findings to those in Australia and the Philippines, that framing television news reports, of conflicts of different kinds, along the lines of war journalism and peace journalism respectively, exerts an ideational effect, influencing how viewers make meaning from what they have seen. The strongest effect came when viewers have the opportunity to consider backgrounds and contexts of violent incidents (whether the proximate act of violence is by direct human agency, such as the gang rape, or structural (Galtung, 1969), such as the slum housing in Meadowlands).

Perhaps the most pronounced difference between the groups was that those who watched peace journalism wrote much more in their TLPs, suggesting the PJ bulletin contained much more to engage and interest them. Secondly, the strongest interactions in the gang rape story, as suggested by the statistics, were for hopelessness. PJ viewers felt a lot less hopeless when they watched this story, which could be explained by the sense of solutions or treatment recommendations revealed in Dumisani Robombo's interview. Peace journalism viewers offered ten times more cooperative solutions to the problem than war journalism viewers, who favoured punitive solutions, suggesting twice as many as those suggested by peace journalism viewers. Thirdly, in problem definition, peace journalism viewers predominantly identified the system as the problem, offering 46 comments, compared with just 12 blaming the individual. WJ viewers were seemingly split over problem definition, equally blaming both the individual and society.

These differential responses were, in general terms, amplified by the focus groups. Watching peace journalism tended to prompt viewers to acknowledge the social factors shaping individual behaviours as portrayed in the stories. News of initiatives to respond in like vein – as with the Sonke Gender Justice work –

met with resistance by some, albeit that softened in some cases during the course of discussion.

Responding to the Gang Rape and Meadowlands stories in particular, PJ viewers were more likely to comment favourably on the chance of improving outcomes through some kind of deliberate intervention, whether by government or the community at large. WJ viewers, on the other hand, were more likely to regard the plight of victims in either story as a regrettable 'fact of life', which would most likely resist any systematic efforts at prevention.

In such cases, viewers became much more likely to volunteer, unprompted, thoughts about solutions to the problem highlighted, and there was a further distinction to be made that PJ viewers offered predominantly more creative, cooperative, nonviolent ideas for solutions.

Next, the final destination of this global research – Mexico – is explored in the following chapter. Chapter 8 draws on a similar format to this one, to map out the research bulletin production process, audience testing procedures and results. Finally, in the closing two chapters 9 and 10 all the data, from all four countries, is compared and contrasted with conclusions drawn on how far the case for peace journalism has evolved on the intellectual and global journey recounted in this thesis.

CHAPTER 8

Mexico:

Testing the evolving case for peace journalism

Introduction

An overview of some of the key political and social issues in Mexico's recent history, as well as aspects of its mediascape, sets the context for this portion of the field research and the backdrop for the television news stories that were shown to participants in this branch of the study. The bulletins were produced in the professional TV newsroom of KWTV, in Mexico City, to create "real world media interventions in naturalistic settings" (Paluck & Green, 2009: 638). A detailed description of how each item was framed according to Shinar's five headings (2007) demonstrates the ideational distinctions between war journalism and peace journalism versions of a number of familiar stories from the local television news agenda. This will be followed by an account of the specific methods used to gather both the qualitative and quantitative data in Mexico. Finally, a fully elaborated analysis of the data reveals how people responded cognitively and emotionally to each bulletin to assess whether and how peace journalism prompted and enabled audiences to consider and value developmental, nonviolent, cooperative responses to conflict.

Research Context in Mexico, May 2012

As I flew into Mexico, 49 decapitated and mutilated bodies were being discovered along a highway near the city of Monterrey, close to the border with the United States. The gruesome discovery was one of a litany of outrageous acts of violence by Mexico's powerful drug trafficking cartels, one of them – Los Zetas – allegedly made up of defectors from the Mexican military. Many believed this recent wave of violence was sparked when President Felipe Calderon took office in 2006 and unleashed thousands of troops on the cartels to wage a so-called 'war on drugs'. The outcome: a drug-related death toll of up to 60,000 including many innocent men, women and children caught in the crossfire between security services and the 'narcos', as Mexicans call the drug criminals.

Some in the USA had called for the cartels to be designated as 'terrorists', while others wanted drugs to be decriminalised or even legalised. Legalisation calls had come from grieving relatives such as the prominent poet Javier Sicilia, whose son was kidnapped and killed in 2011.

At the time of the field research, Mexicans were preparing to vote for Calderon's successor. Ahead in the polls was Enrique Peña Nieto of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which held a stranglehold on power for 71 years until the election of Vicente Fox in 2000, then Calderon, both of whom represented the right-of-centre Partido Accion National (PAN). But one issue struggling to find a place on the election agenda was the profound inequality of Mexican society.

In July 2013, Mexico's National Council for the Evaluation of Social Development Policy (CONEVAL) released new poverty statistics. They showed that Mexico's poverty rate fell slightly between 2010 and 2012, dropping 0.6 percent, from 46.1 percent to 45.5 percent. Nonetheless, during the same period the number of people living in poverty actually increased from 52.8 million to 53.3 million, since the overall population of Mexico grew from 114.5 million in 2010 to 117.3 million in 2012 (Wilson, 2013).

Other figures in the same survey showed the incomes of the poor, in this period, falling further behind the cost of living. Many make the connection between the

squeeze on living standards conveyed by such figures, and the seemingly inexhaustible supply of young men seeking easy money in the lucrative drug cartels. Conditions in Mexico resembled those outlined by Burton in explaining his theory of the importance of taking human needs into account when resolving conflicts: "The problem of inner-city violence and unrest can be explained not just by the breakdown of family values, not just by unemployment, not just by the absence of educational opportunities, but also by the lack of recognition and identity that these conditions promote" (2001).

In many parts of Mexico, the stage of conflict at the time of the field research resembled the beginnings of violence category: "There have been sporadic incidents of violence, in particular against civilians, and political discourse is becoming increasingly polarized and strident" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 140). Other pockets of the country, however, were or had been in violent conflict and, at that point, the border town of Ciudad Juarez was even entering the aftermath of violence, after a two-year period in which a battle for control (of this key smuggling route) between rival cartels had been in a particularly intense phase.

Another key background issue is corruption, including in the media. Students and others staged demonstrations drawing attention to allegations that one of the main commercial broadcasters, Televisa, was promoting Peña Nieto's campaign in what were ostensibly 'objective' news programmes. One demonstrator held aloft a placard, which read: "Even my mother manipulates me less than Televisa". Such accusations of bias were apparently supported by leaked documents reported first by the local correspondent of the London *Guardian* newspaper (Tuckman, 2012), but this came too late to influence the election result.

The dominance of Televisa and another huge privately owned conglomerate, TV Azteca, made Mexican television seem less culturally receptive to peace journalism than in the other countries. Mellado, Moreira, Lagos and Hernández set out to investigate how "Mexican news media workers evaluate their institutional roles, epistemological orientations and ethical ideologies" (2012: 62), finding from survey evidence that they "give more importance to impartiality" than their colleagues from other Latin American countries.

However, "this could be explained by the fact that [an apparently] non-ideological stance is the safest way to operate when trying to minimize conflict or confrontation with the political and economic powers" (2012: 70).

Goggin & Torres record the high degree of take-up by Mexicans of various new media technologies, including both Facebook and Twitter, and observe that "Social networks have also become an integral part of Mexican political culture" (2014: 3) as a way of challenging traditional media that are perceived as too close to existing concentrations of political and economic power.

Jake Lynch conducted interviews in Mexico City with senior television news producers who had worked in both Mexican and international media, for the book produced as an outcome from this collaborative research, and was told that most television journalism was "trash news: not what Mexicans need to help them make informed choices" (Lynch, 2013: 137). And the violent conflict phase afflicting parts of the country, at least, would on Bläsi's reckoning create extra difficulties: "Journalists have to work harder to do peace journalism within a war discourse than within a peace discourse" (Bläsi 2009: 8).

Is peace journalism possible in Mexico? This was the title for a symposium held by the United States Institute of Peace in 2013, where Mexican journalists described the "tremendous dilemma" they face: "disregard journalistic ethics and inadequately cover crises in their area, or cover the violence and corruption that surrounds them and suffer the consequences of doing so, fearing for their lives" (Enloe, 2013: 16). One speaker, Christina Aliva-Zessatti, criticised the apparent fixation amongst the Mexican media for negative and violent news, which had led her to set up her own Peace Journalism website. In an important clue for the present research, she reported that responses from users fell into three main categories: "One is that hope is not lost. Two is that people want to participate, and three is that, most importantly, people are inspired in a positive way" (Enloe, 2013: 16).

Scholarship on Peace Journalism has also made inroads in Mexico through the work of Dr Teresa Nicolas, of the School of Communication at Universidad Panamericana (UP) in Mexico City, who has contributed to several iterations of

the Peace Journalism Commission of the International Peace Research Association (at its biennial conferences in Leuven 2008, Sydney 2010 and Tsu City, Japan in 2012). She and colleagues at UP hosted the data collection phase of the research in Mexico, and the students and staff who took part belonged to the School. Some were aiming to join Mexican media as journalists, so the insights of Peace Journalism are being carried into professional practice as well.

Research Material TV News Bulletins in Mexico

Unlike in the other three countries, arrangements with a media partner were not finalised until close to the deadline for bulletin production. This meant that instead of starting with specific previously broadcast news items, the process began by gathering original material (interviews and picture sequences) of general relevance to the main stories in Mexican mainstream news at that time: namely the Presidential debate, drug cartels and various forms of violence. The peace journalism elements sought to bring into the frame routinely missing issues such as poverty, violence against women, and initiatives to bring about the rehabilitation of drug addicts and cartel members.

Once editing of this material was already underway, a small broadcast news organisation in Mexico City, KW Television, stepped forward as a partner, offering access to material from IJS, a Mexican television news agency to which they subscribe. Four IJS stories provided the war journalism packages, were narrated in Spanish. Translating then restructuring and re-scripting those packages created the corresponding peace journalism versions.

Unlike in the other three countries, the peace journalism versions were not deliberately pitched within the "idiom and range" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2012: 1044) of the local media. They were different in style and duration to the originals, mainly because there was such a high quotient of war journalism in

Mexican television news. It was deemed primarily sensationalist, demonising and partisan, lacking any real context beyond political grandstanding and police propaganda, so attempting to replicate it would have negated any possibility of obtaining meaningful results. Freed from this restriction, the peace journalism versions emerged with higher scores than previous research material from other countries.

Each of the two versions was voiced in Spanish (script read and recorded for the new news items) by a volunteer KWTV reporter, and the bulletin was created by recording links read to camera by KWTV newsreader, former Miss Mexico Elisa Nájera, in the same studio setting as that used by the programme. Discussions with station director Rodolfo Bermejo, a former CNN and BBC correspondent, identified a degree of overlap of interests with PJ. His own vision for the station, he explained, was to challenge what he saw as the shallow, negative and sensationalist paradigm of Mexican television news, in favour of including more positive news and offering viewers more explanation of events. Like Aliva-Zessatti (quoted above), he had decided to offer more constructive representations of the social and political dynamics shaping daily life. He appreciated the struggle to find a Mexican PJ TV partner in a hostile city wracked by corruption and suspicion (as reflected in my study journal excerpts in Chapter 3).

The filming also benefited from the field production and translation services of experienced British television producer Susana Seijas, an early supporter and attendee of Peace Journalism events in London in the late 1990s who contributed regularly, from her Mexico City base, to international broadcasters.

STORY Version 1 War journalism	BKGD	VIEWS	IDEAS	PROP	PEACE	EMOT	LABEL	PART	TOTAL
Presidential Debate		0.5						-0.5	0
El Loco arrest						-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-1.5
Cartel Violence						-0.5	-0.5	-0.5	-1.5
Mother's Day						-0.5		-0.5	-1
STORY Version 2 Peace journalism	BKGD	VIEWS	IDEAS	PROP	PEACE	EMOT	LABEL	PART	TOTAL
Presidential Debate	1	1	1	1					4
El Loco arrest	1	1	1	1	1				5
Cartel Violence	1	1	1	1	1				5
Mother's Day	1	1	1	1	1				5

Table 8.1 Inter-coded scores for research material according to Shinar's five headings as applied to the Mexican research material news bulletins

Presidential Debate: The original story covered the first live television debate between the four main presidential hopefuls. It included a brief soundbite from each of four main candidates, pitching for the top job. Hence the *war journalism* version scored 0.5 for views. PRI candidate, Enrique Peña Nieto, ahead in the polls, appeared to be favoured by the story: hence the loss of 0.5 for partisanship, bringing the total score to 0.

Converting to *peace journalism* meant expanding the sources beyond the political elite to hear grassroots perspectives. Rural poverty and the abrogation of human rights offered a major, though largely subjugated backdrop to the campaign. A group of farm workers was filmed, meeting in a village outside the Mexican

border town of Ciudad Juarez, campaigning for basic rights including access to water and improved wages and security at work. Dishevelled, dressed almost in rags, their exhausted, sunburnt faces gazing into the camera were a far cry from the glitz and glamour of the TV studio, the setting for the Presidential Debate.

Interviews told how small landowners struggled to scratch a living from low prices for basic commodities such as cotton and alfalfa. For one tractor driver, the picture was even grimmer, with no holiday or sick pay – and he could be turned away by employers, due to bad weather or any other reason, even after turning up for work, thus having to go home with no money. Presenting this image scored 1 for challenging the propaganda, and another 1 for providing views and perspectives normally absent from the Mexican news.

Group spokesman, Professor Manuel Robles Flores, "had defied Washington before, with a successful campaign against a nuclear waste dump just across the border", the reporter's script explained. A radical figure, he ran a local folk museum where exhibits included a framed picture of the Professor meeting Subcomandante Marcos of the anti-capitalist Zapatista rebel movement, on a visit from Chiapas, many hundreds of miles to the south. Now he was collecting signatures on a Declaration of Water Rights, challenging treaties Mexico had signed with the United States which restrict access to water from the Rio Bravo. Then there were shots of the dried-up riverbed, demonstrating another obstacle for the impoverished farmers of Juarez. With such background, ideas, views and challenges to propaganda the story scored 4.

El loco arrest: The *war journalism* version featured the arrest of alleged Zetas drug-cartel boss in Monterrey, Daniel de Jesus Elizondo Ramirez, a man known as 'El Loco'. In classic bombastic propagandistic war journalism style the 'baddie' was paraded in front of the cameras and hailed as another in a series of 'successes' in the 'war on drugs'. The arrest followed the discovery of the 49 beheaded bodies on a highway near Monterrey just days earlier. The only speaker was a police officer giving a graphic description of the gruesome beheadings, now blamed on Ramirez. The story was both sensationalist and

partisan in siding with the security forces; moreover, the suspect was labelled as guilty and bad, so the story scored -1.5.

The *peace journalism* version first neutralised the language and highlighted that Ramirez was merely a "suspect" at this stage since nothing had been proven against him, thus not demonising him further. Next, the demand for drugs was explored through interviews with two former drug users in a rehabilitation unit in Ciudad Juarez. This humanised those like José Aguilar, who joined a tough street gang and spent ten years in and out of prison. He explained how family rejection proved pivotal in his turning to a life of drugs and crime.

Now the director of the rehabilitation centre, José offered an image of peace by demonstrating a useful, meaningful life in recovery. Perhaps this offered part of the solution to Mexico's growing numbers of drug addicts and the country in dealing with drugs as a health issue? The most succinct solution came from grieving father Eduardo Gallo y Tello, a high-profile businessman whose daughter Paola, then 25, was kidnapped and killed by members of a drug cartel. He investigated the case himself. The script told how "he too believes the drug problem was a health issue, not a security issue, and calls for legalising drugs to take away the profit motive – and the attraction for criminal gangs". With its background and context, range of views, idea for a nonviolent treatment recommendation, image of peace at the centre, and abundance of cues and clues to prompt and enable viewers to decode propaganda, this story scored 5.

Cartel Violence: The *war journalism* package centred on another classic propagandistic security 'crackdown' in Morelo State, following a wave of kidnappings by the drug cartels, with police and military attempting to "root out the origins of gang violence", said the script. All the images were of men with guns, riding in military vehicles and politicians talking tough about a crackdown on the 'bad guys'. This story was both sensationalist and partisan, clearly siding with the security forces, plus again it labelled anyone involved in drugs as 'bad', and therefore scored -1.5.

To re-version this story as *peace journalism* entailed finding a way to re-humanise a group of people normally demonised: former drug cartel members. The Mexican border town of Ciudad Juarez has been called one of the most dangerous places on earth. It is on the very front line of the so-called 'war on drugs', with many youngsters drifting in and out of drug gangs. The background revealed that many children in Juarez live in poverty. Some join drug cartels for a job.

Theresa Almada, director of a local community centre, told how they rescued young men from the streets, and provided after-school care for children who otherwise returned to empty homes. Three of the young men who had found new lives through the centre performed rap music for the TV camera, and one, Eric Ponce, spoke movingly of the love he received in the centre as well as a meal and financial help to pay for university, in an image of peace. Ideas for solutions came from social commentator Alejandro Hope, who suggested even longer school hours and high wages would make a difference to reducing drug crime. The peace journalism version scored 5 for background, ideas, challenges to propaganda, images of peace and ideas for solutions.

Mother's Day: The final item was pure political propaganda for the PRI Presidential candidate Enrique Peña Nieto. The original package was built around several clips from his special Mother's Day campaign speech for an audience of women, including family and friends. There were no interviews with the women or challenging questions to the politician. The journalist simply repeated unquestioningly the PRI propaganda that Enrique had pledged to keep his campaign promises, if elected to office, and had praised Mexico's family values. The story was emotive because of the extensive use of emotional music at the top of the package and scored -1.

The *peace journalism* version challenged Peña Nieto's propaganda by reminding viewers that he had failed to prevent extreme violence against women. As governor of Mexico State – a rural and suburban area surrounding Mexico City itself – Peña Nieto had a patchy record, according to critics, on preventing

'femicide'. Figures from the National Institute of Women also showed half of all Mexican women will experience violence at some stage in their lives.

The story highlighted one such survivor who had successfully escaped domestic violence. A mother of two young children, 'Maria' (not her real name) took her abusive husband to court, but he was set free. Tearfully she described how he broke her bones and threatened to sexually assault her daughters. But thanks to the family centre where she now works, she found not only a place of safety but counselling and education to boost her self-esteem to demonstrate the possibility of both physical and emotional healing. This repackaged story offered background material on Mexico's horrendous issue of domestic violence; a rare view from a battered wife; ideas for solutions to such crimes from the centre's director and psychotherapist Susana Franklin, who also ran men's groups to challenge the machismo culture, plus the item challenged political propaganda thus scoring 5 on Shinar's five headings (see Appendix H for the full story scripts).

As far as Cottle's "global crises" are concerned, one of them – "war on terror" (Cottle, 2010: 473) – invites close comparison with the so-called 'war on drugs' as it has been waged in parts of Central and South America over recent years. "'Terror' and 'drugs' [are presented as] paradigmatic examples", Corva argues, of "vectors of transnational danger to law-abiding, freedom-loving citizens of the global economy" (2009: 164); an account that has been used to justify "the uneven globalization of sovereign power through the militarization of the police function" (Corva, 2009: 163).

Shortly after the research trip to Mexico, Guatemala's president and former security minister, Otto Pérez Molina, gave interviews to international journalists – timed for the build-up to a Summit Conference of the Organisation of American States – in which he drew attention to the multiplying problems to which the 'war on drugs' had given rise. "Drug traffickers have been able to penetrate the institutions in this country by employing their resources and money" he said. "We are talking about the security forces, public prosecutors, judges. Drug money has penetrated these institutions and it becomes an activity that directly

threatens the institutions and, therefore, the democracy of countries" (in Doward, 2013).

These ramifications belong to the Peace Journalism column of Galtung's original table (Appendix A), which emphasises "damage to structure/culture" among the "invisible effects of violence", and they are usually confined to the distant background, at best, of reporting of and from the 'war on drugs', as with the 'war on terrorism'. The PJ versions of the stories in the Mexico bulletin, by focussing on the impact on individual lives of people caught up in the conflict, and efforts to help them, brings these aspects into focus, as well as addressing what I have argued (see Chapter 1) is a parallel, largely hidden crisis to those listed by Cottle: the epidemic of depression and anxiety even in countries where the lives of most citizens are relatively comfortable, certainly compared with the world's poorest peoples.

Questionnaire Methods in Mexico

Participants

A total of 36 communications students, 12 men and 24 women, aged 20 to 24, all attending the Universidad Panamericana, a private Catholic University in Mexico City. Most (35) were born in Mexico. The vast majority 23 declared themselves to have no political preference along with 9 PAN supporters, 2 PRI voters, 1 PRD and 1 other. Religiously 29 were Roman Catholics, 2 were other kinds of Christians, 2 other religions, 3 wrote they had no religion (see Appendix F for full details).

Procedure

The students participated in the study as part of an undergraduate communications class. In exchange, they received an hour-long lecture from the research team on the issues raised by the news bulletin they had viewed for the study and comparison with the version they had not seen, in other words they learned about the distinctions between War and Peace Journalism. The lecture only began once all completed questionnaires had been handed in.

Upon arriving at the two classrooms students were randomly assigned to watch either bulletin. Care was taken to ensure a balance of male and female in each simultaneous screening. Upon entry to the room each student received an identical questionnaire written in English with instructions to write their responses in English. As well as questions, TLP boxes provided space for participants to write down any thoughts and feelings once the bulletin was paused for up to five minutes between news items. Students filled in questionnaires and jotted down their thoughts and feelings on each story in the bulletin. The bulletin was narrated in Spanish.

Consistent with the wider study, other questionnaires were included: a State Trait Anxiety Inventory (STAI) before and after the bulletin, whilst the Differential Emotional Scale (DES) was used before and after watching each story. The EMMTO was used to assess cooperative or punitive policy responses

following each story. On the story of El Loco's arrest, for instance, these included: "Arresting cartel leaders will solve the drug problem" and "Decriminalising drugs and regulating their use is the best way to solve the drug problem". Statements about balance and interest or boredom were also added. Each was measured with a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree; 7 = strongly agree*).

No prejudice measures were included, but a set of demographic questions remained at the end of the questionnaire pack along with questions about political and religious affiliations.

After the questionnaire results were transcribed, a professional statistician used mixed-model ANOVAs with tests for simple effects and interactions to gauge differences between the groups in terms of emotional reaction. The two groups did not differ significantly in any of the baseline measures of the DES scales. The most significant interactions are shown in Table 8.2.

Questionnaire Results from Mexico

	Pre-test		Post-test Presidential		Post-test El-loco		Post-test Cartels		Post-test Mother's Day	
	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace	War	Peace
Concentrating	3.28	2.94			2.89	3.44	2.83	3.28	2.17	2.78
	(0.89)	(0.72)			(0.90)	(1.04)	(0.92)	(1.07)	(1.15)	(1.17)
Hopeful	2.83	2.94	1.50	2.00	1.94	2.00	2.11	2.56	1.61	2.39
	(1.15)	(1.05)	(0.70)	(0.84)	(0.99)	(1.02)	(0.90)	(1.25)	(1.03)	(1.64)
Hopeless	1.72	1.78	2.66	3.00	2.61	3.00	2.50	2.67	2.78	2.83
	(1.01)	(1.11)	(0.98)	(1.32)	(0.98)	(1.08)	(0.98)	(1.02)	(1.30)	(1.38)
Amazed	1.61	2.50			1.66	1.94				
	(0.92)	(1.04)			(0.97)	(0.93)				
Frustrated	1.67	1.50			2.55	3.22				
	(0.91)	(0.79)			(1.15)	(1.00)				
Distaste	1.22	1.33			2.06	3.00				
	(0.43)	(0.77)			(0.87)	(0.97)				
Compassionate	**2.00**	**2.17**	**1.61**	**2.83**	**1.61**	**2.28**	**1.67**	**3.22**	**1.39**	**2.61**
	(1.14)	**(1.25)**	**(1.09)**	**(1.20)**	**(1.09)**	**(1.23)**	**(1.23)**	**(1.31)**	**(0.70)**	**(1.46)**
Empathy	2.44	3.00	1.39	2.83	1.55	2.33	1.61	2.83	1.50	2.67
	(1.09)	(1.18)	(1.04)	(1.62)	(1.04)	(1.37)	(1.09)	(1.33)	(0.92)	(1.37)

Table 8.2 Emotional responses to watching WJ or PJ in Mexico

Note: Means and standard deviations (in parentheses) for DES items at baseline and after watching each story. Participants reported the extent to which they felt each emotion on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *very slightly*, *not at all*; 5 = *extremely*) (**Strongest measures in bold).**

The strongest interactions emerged from comparing the compassion responses between the groups. Compassion increased significantly throughout the peace journalism bulletin, with the greatest rise for those watching the PJ cartel violence story, where the score was almost double that of viewers who saw the WJ version. Similar significant interactions were not apparent in the empathy

measures other than tracking a similar pattern to compassion: almost a point lower for WJ watchers throughout the bulletin and a point higher for PJ viewers.

War journalism viewers' concentration fell consistently across the bulletin whilst peace journalism viewers' concentration increased until the end when it dipped slightly below where they started. PJ viewers were apparently more amazed, frustrated and felt more distaste during the El Loco story, which could be a contradictory result and requires further analysis. There was a marginal differential in the experience of hope between the groups with PJ viewers showing slightly more hope than WJ watchers throughout the bulletin, by almost half a point through all stories except El Loco.

Thought Listing Protocols (TLPs)

The TLP written responses from both the students and the focus groups (see full discussion later) amounted to a total of 276 TLPs. These were the individual comments from 69 people (WJ n = 34 & PJ n= 35) writing something about each of the four stories. Many of the focus group participants wrote Spanish comments that needed to be translated. Just over 1.08% wrote nothing, leaving 3 blank TLP boxes. The remaining 98.92% of written comments were transcribed and coded, for use as a triangulation tool assisting the interpretation of differential emotional and cognitive responses between the groups.

Each individual sentence within the TLPs was themed under the main three Entman (1993) framing theory headings of: moral evaluation, problem definition and treatment recommendation. As with the previous three case study locations, these qualitative measures provided a more sensitive measure of the ideational effects and their respective influence on how people make meaning from viewing either war journalism or peace journalism, and helped to explain emotional variance.

As the results suggested stronger emotional responses to the Cartel Violence story and the Mother's Day package, these will be analysed first, followed by the other two items in summary (even though this is at variance with bulletin order).

As in the previous three country chapters, those stories that elicited weaker TLP responses have not been given a separate table showing the number of sentences written by participants. Instead the numbers have been summarised in brackets.

Statistics and TLPs: Story by Story

Cartel Violence: Statistics and TLPs

Cartel violence peace journalism viewers felt the most compassionate watching this story, indicating a two-point rise from baseline. They also concentrated more during this story than did WJ watchers. Why?

PROBLEM DEFINITION	War journalism	Peace Journalism
Individual men	0	0
The system – shared - poverty	0	12
The system – shared - security	35	13

Table 8.3 Problem definitions in viewer responses to cartel violence items

Both groups identified the security apparatus, the government, corruption and the war on drugs as the problem in some way. However, WJ watchers made nearly three times as many comments blaming the security apparatus (35 WJ to 13 PJ). Peace journalism viewers also saw poverty as a key cause. Both groups blamed the government: "I don't think the government is doing a good job", wrote a war journalism watcher. "I don't trust in the authorities", said a peace journalism viewer. However, PJ viewers saw the systemic problem as including poverty: "The lack of employment pushes people to traffic drugs the authorities themselves are linked to the cartels". There was no sense, from anyone, that individual drug users or the cartel members were the problem, despite the story focus being a cartel crackdown.

MORAL EVALUATION	War journalism	Peace Journalism
Concern for kids	0	17
News content total	18	35
Switch off	5	0
News presentation	3	3
Dislike of WJ/PJ	10	12
Like WJ/PJ	0	20

Table 8.4 Moral evaluations in viewer responses to cartel violence items

The two point rise in compassion was manifest in PJ viewers' concern for youngsters exploited by cartels then subsequently rescued by a community centre: "Empathy for the kids"; "it's sad to see young people in the middle of this"; "compassion for the kids and their environment"; "concern for the young society". No such concern came from WJ watchers deprived of that framing. Peace journalism viewers wrote about the news itself, offering 20 positive statements: "Balanced news"; "I like the way they present both sides in parallel"; "it's fair"; "it's an interesting point of view" and "I think it's good, (it) is about successful stories around difficult themes". Perhaps this explained the higher DES concentration measure. However several dissenters criticized the presence of PJ elements and wrote virtually identical comments about each story in the bulletin: "How is this news related to crackdown on cartels"; "the message is full of sentimentalism" and "not enough background". Equally detectable was a critical tone from WJ watchers: "Bored"; "propaganda for the government"; "partial information"; "not objective"; "I don't trust the news any longer".

SOLUTIONS	War journalism	Peace Journalism
Solution punitive	13	1
Solution cooperative	11	22

Table 8.5 Treatment recommendations in viewer responses to cartel violence

Another group differentiation emerged through almost double the number of cooperative solutions from peace journalism viewers: "Education"; "social proposals"; "trust"; "we need more initiatives like the ones on the video"; "maybe if young people have a better education or more opportunities they won't be interested in drugs". In contrast, WJ watchers' suggestions were pessimistic, reflecting an absence of cooperative strategies: "No solutions"; "I think violence is not a solution"; "thousands of police and guns don't solutionate [solve] anything"; "I would like to hear solutions not issues" and "attack the primordial problem, why people consume [drugs]".

WJ watchers' punitive treatment recommendations primarily approved of the crackdown covered in the story: "Proud of the military"; "to fight the war on drugs it's vital to have better police forces" and "it's good that the government is acting". Only one such suggestion came from their peace counterparts: "All the cartels should be arrested, they are the main cause of damage". The EMMTO results (see Table 8.8) validated this finding that peace journalism viewers agreed more with creating alternative opportunities in deprived communities as a way of ending the 'drug war'.

Mother's Day: Statistics and TLPs

Statistically, the DES suggested that PJ groups felt more compassion, empathy, hope and concentrated more than WJ groups. Why?

PROBLEM DEFINITION	War journalism	Peace Journalism
Peña the problem/he is fake	38	27
System	4	4

Table 8.6 Problem definitions in viewer responses to Mother's Day story

Unlike other stories, this WJ version did not address a 'problem', instead presenting a positive piece of propaganda for presidential hopeful Enrique Peña

Nieto. It made no mention of one of the chief points of criticism of his candidacy, arising from his previous record as governor of Mexico State (the area surrounding Mexico City). Whilst in office, he was criticised for what was seen as an inadequate response to issues of violence against women, then a matter of national concern following hundreds of unsolved cases of 'femicide' in and around the city of Ciudad Juarez.

The corresponding PJ version brought one issue into the frame – which seemed appropriate since his Mother's Day speech was aimed squarely at appealing for women's votes. This was reflected by 19 expressions of concern for gender violence victims. This suggests peace journalism viewers decoded gender violence, thus explaining the statistically higher measures of compassion and empathy: "Empathy with Maria"; "it really freaks me out, the whole CD Juarez issue makes me really sad, and really frightens me" and "Cd Juarez is one of the cities where violence is just terrible".

No PJ viewers blamed individual men, instead pointing the finger at Peña Nieto: "He's a liar, an actor", wrote a peace journalism watcher, and "doesn't care about women". Two more said they "hate Peña Nieto". WJ watchers issued a similar critique of Peña Nieto, the presidential candidate, with two stating that they "hate that guy", and complaining about his deceit: "Peña lies and he is a murderer". Hence these moral evaluations have been included as problem definitions. Four other comments from each group referred in some way to corruption as the problem within the political system.

MORAL EVALUATION	War journalism	Peace Journalism
Opinion – news content - general	5	10
Opinion dislike PJ/WJ elements	39	10
Opinion – news switch off	2	0
Opinion – concern for women & violence	0	20

Table 8.7 Moral evaluations in viewer responses to Mother's Day story

There was a strong dislike for the WJ, reflected in almost four times the number of complaints, some about a lack of background and propaganda: "It's not a complete story"; "frivolous", "unsubstantial"; "why haven't the mothers been interviewed?"; "there is a preference for this politician"; "biased towards Peña Nieto"; "makes me wonder if the news channel has sided with Peña"; "put attention to mother's day instead of other important things", with two calling the story "boring". However some PJ viewers complained about the women's refuge background story: "A little out of place the stories" and "successful story not relevant to central story of Peña Nieto". These comments corresponded with the EMMTO results, suggesting peace journalism viewers found the Mother's Day story more interesting and balanced than those watching WJ, again perhaps explaining the higher levels of concentration amongst the PJ group.

SOLUTIONS	War journalism	Peace Journalism
Solution - punitive	0	1
Solution - cooperative	2	20

Table 8.8 Treatment recommendations in viewer responses to Mother's Day

Cooperative treatment recommendations, similar to those included in the story, dominated PJ viewers' comments, alluding to why they felt more hope: "People helping other people is the best solution"; "justice"; "stop the violence"; "a very important thing that the women loves herself"; "I felt hopeful because there are lots of women that fight violence and aggressions of their partner or husband and they try to move on with their life, without aggressions" and "I agree with the needs they discuss". The only two WJ watchers who hinted at treatment recommendations lamented the fact that none was given: "This is not the solution that Mexico needs", referring to Enrique Peña Nieto's candidacy.

Arrest of El Loco: Statistics and TLPs

Peace journalism viewers were more amazed, frustrated and felt more distaste during the El Loco story. Why? Perhaps firstly because they were concentrating more, and so noticed and reacted to the controversial suggestion that drugs should be legalized in Mexico.

Problem definition offers the greatest disparity between group responses, with nearly twice as many comments by PJ viewers indicating a perception of the system as the problem (22 PJ to 12 WJ), and none blaming individuals. WJ watchers were divided between attributing causal interpretation to either the system (12) or the individual (8). Those who blamed the system primarily saw a security problem: "I don't trust the jail system", and, "there is still no security in Mexico" – whereas PJ watchers attributed the problem to "corruption", "injustice", and, "people don't have enough resources". It is worth highlighting this next comment as offering a rare window into the meaning-making process of one peace journalism viewer. This 23-year-old female student, with no stated political preference, narrated her internal transformational shift of perception of causal definition:

> When first I start watching the video I felt good because the arrest of the criminal is always a good thing, but while the video kept running I start to feel sad because it's a reality that although the government in theory is fighting to end the narco traffic, it is a huge fight that concerns all of the society and could affect everyone.

This illuminating thought process also sheds light on the moral evaluation of El Loco's arrest. Initially she judged it to be 'good', as did five others in the group. But double the number of WJ watchers approved of the arrest (10 WJ to 5 PJ). However, both groups were divided on disapproving of the arrest: some believed it a 'bad' move by the authorities. Perhaps this goes some way to explaining the seemingly contradictory EMMTO results that WJ watchers disagree that arresting cartel leaders is the solution. The TLPs demonstrate this view too, with more than three times the number of comments from war journalism viewers disapproving of the arrest of El Loco (17 WJ and 5 PJ wrote arrest is bad)

primarily because it is "fake"; "everybody is acting"; "they caught them but never retain them".

Expanding this theme were some of the evaluations of news content. Both groups referred to "propaganda", and, "a lack of context", as one WJ watcher wrote. There was similar from a PJ viewer: "The arrest is only for the news". Appreciating the additional transformational element in the treatment centre, many PJ viewers wrote: "It's a realistic news"; "it's about the true stories"; "giving a background of the impact of this action". Again, however, there were dissenters, who wrote: "Sentimental" and "too emotional", and complained of a "lack of objectivity", adding that they were "lost – why are they turning this arrest into a rehab story".

Another group variance appeared in treatment recommendations (14 PJ to 5 WJ solutions), primarily because the PJ bulletin had included the suggestion of drug legalisation and creating drug rehabilitation centres like the one featured. Peace journalism viewers primarily approved of legalizing drugs and rehabilitation, (12 PJ to 5 WJ comments approving legalization): "I think this problem of drugs should be legal", and, "rehabilitation – important thing – TV never shows". Of the five solution-related comments from WJ watchers, two referred to there being "no solutions", while the other three were punitive.

Presidential Debate: Statistics and TLPs

The statistics suggested that Presidential Debate PJ viewers felt slightly more hope than WJ watchers and mildly more hopeless. Why? Initially an apparent contradiction, but the TLPs showed PJ viewers referring once again to what was "real", and, "reality".

The strongest group divergence was that twice as many WJ watchers blamed politicians, (40 WJ to 20 PJ remarks), which perhaps explains greater self-reported feelings of hope for the peace journalism viewers. The tone of statements by each group was fairly similar, both writing about politicians "lying", and, "I don't trust them", and, how "they only attack themselves" with

one war journalism watcher adding, "I hate Mexican politicians". A peace journalism viewer complained: "Candidates are not bringing new creative ideas for Mexico". WJ watchers did not use the word "creative".

Mildly higher hopelessness was implied by 13 expressions of concern from PJ viewers for the farmers of Juarez: "Empathy", "compassion" and "it's disgusting". On the whole this reflected an appreciation for an authentic version of life in Mexico beyond the political spin of the Presidential debate: "Real news from the people not from the government", wrote one PJ viewer; "reality"; "they portray real problems". This starkly contrasted with the complaints of WJ watchers, who were "not satisfied", and, complained about a "lack of information"; "not objective"; "irrelevant" and it "doesn't show what people thought about the debate".

Peace journalism viewers showed more concern for the poor as a social justice issue as reflected in the treatment recommendations (16 PJ to 3 WJ). A PJ viewer wrote: "Poverty won't stop until we find a president who really cares". Others similarly noted the apparent disconnect between issues discussed in the debate and conditions on the ground: "I think this is an evidence of the gap between what really matters to a specific city and what candidates are talking and promising". Several PJ viewers went as far as to recommend that the "media needs change". However the same dissenters dismissed the PJ as "sentimentalism"; "no real background in the news"; "victimizing stories"; "I thought it was about the debate".

Agree = 4- 7 Disagree = 1-3	**War**		**Peace**	
QUESTIONS ASKED	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
CARTELS Q - Creating alternative opportunities in deprived communities is the best way to end the 'drug war'. (PJ viewers agree social solutions best way to end drug war)	4.00	(1.88)	5.33	(1.33)
EL LOCO Q - Arresting cartel leaders will solve the drug problem. (PJ viewers more likely to put drug dealers in prison)	1.77	(1.16)	2.77	(1.52)
MOTHER'S DAY 6 Q - I found the story interesting and I wanted to find out more. (peace journalism version considered more interesting)	1.89	(1.83)	3.78	(1.77)
MOTHER'S DAY 8 Q - The way the story was told was balanced. (PJ version considered more balanced)	2.50	(1.50)	3.61	(1.61)

Table 8.9 EMMTO items with statistically significant differences. (Means and standard deviations for WJ and PJ groups).

Focus Group Methods in Mexico

Participants

Applying previously utilised methods, three different demographic groups were recruited to form six focus groups to replicate Philo & Berry's (2004) low and high-income selection. There were 33 Catholic volunteers with an average age of 27.66 (ranging from 25 to 58 years old), comprising 27 females and 8 males evenly divided between the WJ and PJ groups. The secretaries earned low incomes along with some of the students. Academic staff earning high-incomes included researchers, lecturers, coordinators and a professor. Most of the evening class students were young professionals on high-incomes working in business and marketing. Out of the pool of participants, the vast majority expressed no political preferences, four supported the PAN and another the PRD. Full descriptive profiles of each individual participant in are given in Appendix G, with care taken not to identify them. They were randomly assigned to peace journalism and war journalism viewings.

Procedures

The questionnaire asked people to jot down any thoughts and feelings while watching the bulletin and to answer the demographic questions. The TLP results were included as with the previous countries. All the facilitated discussions were conducted in English except for the group comprising secretaries, who spoke partially in Spanish and partially in English with assistance from an interpreter. Each discussion, lasting between 40 and 60 minutes, was recorded, transcribed and themed using Shinar's five headings (2007: 200): background; a range of views; ideas for solutions; challenges to propaganda and images of peace, to ascertain whether story codings could be decoded spontaneously by each group.

Focus Group Results from Mexico

General comments about the TV bulletins

All participants expressed extremely negative views about mainstream Mexican news media. The *peace journalism* viewers displayed a strong, sometimes-fervent appreciation of peace elements, perhaps stronger than elsewhere as the PJ elements were more overt than in previous study countries. The strongest audience responses to the Cartel Violence and Mother's Day items will be presented more fully followed by a briefer summary of the Presidential Debate and El Loco's Arrest items. First though, a selection is given of the general remarks made immediately after watching the bulletin.

All three peace journalism groups commented on the authenticity of the news: "A little bit closer to reality"; "more information in depth", and, "it's the real Mexico", said the secretaries, students and lecturers respectively. One male lecturer said he felt *"*sad but sometimes with hope", primarily because of the presence of **Ideas**. Another added: "Watching these videos I felt some tranquility… talking about the problem but also talking about the solution". The other two groups made almost identical comments: "That makes you be more interested", said a student.

The broad range of **Views** was greeted with both surprise and interest, since news was perceived generally to follow "whatever the high[est] power says and not what the common people say, so that was surprising for me: it's a more balanced and accurate way of giving us news", as one of the lecturers put it. "It's very interesting, this point of view", added a male colleague, lamenting the fact that "the politicians talk about pink Mexico". He meant that politicians gave a biased picture of 'nice things' in Mexico without "the point of view of people who live in that particular city from Cuidad Juarez or Guadalajara… so I liked this kind of news bulletin" said one student. A broad range of voices triggered an empathic response from another student: "It makes you feel like part of the story, like not just an observer you can say 'oh I feel like that person and that person'; identify yourself with that story".

In contrast, the *war journalism* watchers complained that the news was emotive: "I get so depressed of violence of murders and all that kind of stuff". They complained about its lack of background: "Incomplete"; "clips of colourful notes but you don't have any depth", added a male lecturer. Several students lamented: "It's the same all the kind of news". "It's like déjà vu", remarked a lecturer. Another called for peace journalism without naming it: "A mixture of having good news and then bad news... good news, not make them corny but just truthful to reality". A secretary noticed ordinary people were left out: "There is not interest in the common people, just in the main people", meaning only the voices of the elites were present in WJ. That was "boring" for several students because, as one put it: "I don't trust politicians, narco-traffics are always the same for me". A male lecturer agreed the news was primarily propagandistic: "I hate TV coverage of news and I hate it because at least in Mexico there are so many agendas within the media".

Viewer comments story by story

The **Cartel Violence** story generated the most interest in the bulletin, offering **Ideas** and **Images of peace** that triggered "hope" and "optimism" through the pictures of former gang members performing rap music, creative ideas for Mexico's drug problems and perhaps a new model for Mexican journalism. All three peace journalism groups were inspired: "I feel hope again and how the junk people (drug addicts) can change the way of life, to see the light we can make a difference, it's very interesting," said a male lecturer. Several other colleagues followed: "I like that the news presented positive stories... it made me feel that there's hope".

One lecturer wanted more information on "how to expand this kind of creative centres for people that are addicted and how to give them opportunities starting with artistic and other activities for them to express and not being criminal." One of the secretaries saw it as educational: "Give them a little bit of education and they start to change their minds." Both students and lecturers called for more solution-oriented images of peace, in other words more peace journalism: "This kind of news can help to educate people... this type of story can make that change and can make the people decide to participate, to be involved in the

whole process"; "this kind of news give the agenda that the media should have but they decide that agenda in different ways and I like it"; "I should prefer to see this news bulletin than talking about dead and violence," concluded a student. Another added: "You are what you watch, kids replicate the things that they watch on TV so if they watch people helping each other… they will be that kind of people, not like if they just see death and drugs." Not only did they recognize and appreciate the PJ elements, they spontaneously and eagerly discussed the possible constructive societal impact.

The students in particular listened intently to the young men's views in the video, suggestive of greater concentration and engagement:

> (*Eric's story*) where the guys says even though he doesn't do drugs any more and he's working … he's all the time being stopped by police and even that he's very positive, 'and because of this I have a good work and I get money if not I would be really poor with a lousy job', so I like that part.

A lecturer empathized with the young people once she understood their **Background:** "They start really young because they don't see a way out. How can they escape or get away from their reality? It's really hard, so I felt sympathy."

War journalism watchers were quite vociferous in their concern about a lack of **Ideas, Views** and **Images of peace**, summed up succinctly by one lecturer: "Great, no justice, no solution", suggesting a link between the news and the continuing problem. Several lecturers pointed to the lack of background as being a problem: "Very incomplete… I think that people don't understand". And this missing background obfuscates the way out:

> It's like they're actually talking about what they're about to do but they don't talk about how they already did it… and we say we have them' but they don't speak about 'how we got to do this in this month or this week and here are the results, we trapped these guys and we made this a better place'. It's like… they make a lot of noise but they don't actually do anything.

Propaganda: *Peace journalism* viewers' appreciation of the depiction of "reality" has been interpreted as the equivalent of challenging propaganda. In stark contrast, several lecturers watching WJ felt the cartel crackdown was pure propaganda: "It's like Hollywood, you see a lot of patrols, a lot of policemen but really (laughter) you know that it's only for the media" and "it's more about propaganda," chimed in another. Students too condemned the propaganda: "We're not doing enough because the problem is inside of us, in these kind of political government and I don't even care, like ok, I don't want to see this." Failing to challenge the propaganda meant several students had lost faith in the news: "The problem is we don't trust them, so when we hear them it's like, 'I don't even recognise you as my... you don't represent me'" and "Mexico is a very corrupt country, I think it was a second after Haiti and I think it's in the general public's mind not to trust the government on broader things."

Although no group commented on either partisanship or labelling, there were references to the emotive WJ pictures of men with guns "since I saw the first image and I blocked my mind."

Mother's Day: Reflections on the Mother's Day story displayed a similar dichotomy between groups, namely that the *war journalism* was emotive, biased and propagandistic, whereas the *peace journalism* was replete with background, ideas, views, and challenges to the propaganda. One female lecturer appreciated the **Background** that Enrique Peña Nieto "has been accused of inciting femicide in Mexico state and I think that's a really good way of starting." As in the TLPs, WJ lecturers remarked on the lack of background: "It's incomplete"; "there's not much depth"; "not enough context" and "very poor information".

Inspired by the vignette of Maria's story, peace journalism viewers valued seeing **Ideas** to resolve Mexico's severe domestic violence problem and an **Image of peace**: "It has a positive touch to encourage good things", said a student, "good to see that some organizations are helping women to go with the problem"; "a little bit of hope" and "it feels good that women have the courage to... denounce the man [who had abused her]". Two other secretaries thought such ideas would

motivate other women to escape domestic violence: "It's important to show those notice because the people who are in the problem may… have the courage to do the same, to want to change"; "a really good example for all the other women to go to take the courage and go against the men". One of the lecturers was deeply moved by Maria's story": "I felt like I wanted to cry, scared really".

Agitated by the absence of a broad range of **Views**, WJ watchers felt duped by the women at the Peña political event: "They also didn't represent all the mothers in Mexico so that made me feel angry, angry, angry." Additionally, all the war journalism groups complained about the **propaganda**: "It had no news value, it's just propaganda", said a male student; "it's a chick flick", added a female student scathingly. "It's beyond manipulative", intoned a lecturer; "insulting", a secretary pronounced dismissively.

Conversely, all the *peace journalism* groups noticed and appreciated the challenges to propaganda: "I like that, and that bulletin clears that this is what the mothers and the women are asking for and he's not actually proposing anything, so I think that gives that credit… (to) just an image event", another added:

> It's a big contrast because in one side all the mothers get roses and cheers… and on the other there's angry women crying because they lost their children, their daughters. So I think it's a little bit contrasting and it makes me think I'm right when I think politicians are like showmen.

In other words, the positive political spin was exposed. "The political speech is very like it's pink (laughter)", said one of the secretaries.

Several WJ watchers deemed the item's music highly manipulative and *emotive*, "because every mom here in Mexico, really this song is touching all the sensitive areas of their brain and their heart"; "but it's pathetic how a candidate can use a corny situation to have more votes so I don't like this kind of news", interjected a lecturer. Several of the students simply switched off inside: "I stopped watching". However one PJ viewer echoed the TLPs in disliking the transformational vignette in the Mother's Day item: "That story was not that related to the actual news like the other one, like the drug trafficking and they have a story about

drugs success. But in this story I was like, what does that two story have, they're not that related."

El Loco and the Presidential Debate

Background: Participants discussing the Presidential Debate and the arrest of El Loco remarked on the presence of **Background, Views** and **Ideas** in the *peace journalism* as opposed criticising their absence in the *war journalism*, along with the frustrating presence of propaganda. Lecturers and secretaries both identified the background in the PJ arrest story: "The point is that not only that Loco is involved in drugs, all the people are, a lot of people there have that problem so they show us that problem," said one of the secretaries, apparently offering a systemic problem definition possibly extrapolated from the background in the story: "They (drug users) don't have enough resources... they don't have work, they don't have people that love them."

Conversely, a *war journalism* watcher labelled the presidential debate "empty news". A lecturer said: "They don't give you any background". One female student said: "They are treating me like a fool... they don't actually show like real important themes about the development".

Views: One of the lecturers valued the *peace journalism* range of views including drug users who are usually invisible on television news: "Its really interesting that... this side of the story is always presented by intellectual or analyst but, only in journals not in TV that they go and say who is actually taking these drugs".

Hearing from the farmers in the PJ Presidential debate story inspired the lecturers and students: "It gives you a lot of hope and makes me think 'well I don't like this but what am I doing to... propose something'". A student said: "It's very nice to see the real people saying what they are doing to help other people and they're not just waiting to see what the government is going to give them", a view echoed by another student: "The news could encourage other people".

In contrast, *war journalism* watchers found the arrest story "superficial" and "it's very incomplete". A secretary said she "switched off" such news "because I see it every day".

Ideas: All three groups appreciated the PJ focus on the drug rehabilitation centre, in the El Loco arrest story. "It's interesting... I think it's good," said one of the secretaries. Both of the male lecturers appreciated the educative tone: "This news present the stories about real people, give interviews not just sort of images just bullet information, it goes further." The other added: "When they start to talk about education, more about peace like in the other stories people who look for an answer, people who look like for to do better things in Juarez or Mexico, it's nice, to see another point of view from the normal news in Mexico." A female colleague appreciated the idea for "the regulation of drugs, which is a taboo subject"; an idea normally subjugated from the news. "I think it can make people think about it," she said. A female student went further in describing the ideas as inclusive: "I think they are showing us how we can participate with part of the solution... we're afraid of drugs, of the army, of the cartels, all of this, but we don't know how we can be part of the solution."

War journalism watchers again lamented the lack of **Ideas** in both stories: "What the Loco did I don't care and I would like to hear solutions", said one of the students. A lecturer echoed this comment: "It's kind of sad to watch this kind of news first because you know there is no solution". Again, one of the secretaries just switched off inside: "You don't feel nothing, they are only numbers". Watching the Presidential Debate, another secretary felt likewise:

> Impotence because it's sad to think there's nothing I can do and I only have that four choices and I really don't want any of them, so I have to think what is the less worse, so for me it's very sad to think that our country is going down, down, down.

Propaganda: *War journalism* watchers identified the arrest of El Loco as propaganda: "Like 'the killer' watch out... but we don't see all the police that involved in these kind of murders or the politicians, the money that is involved with this. I would like to see that kind of news". One male secretary was

frustrated that Mexican news does not expose the propaganda: "You don't know to be happy if they captured one more or be sad that there's so many, so it's like I stop feeling things when I see the news, so I change the channel sometimes because I get frustrated". One lecturer tried to be positive about the propaganda: "It was sort of aspirational in a propagandistic way because at least you can say 'well things are being done', it remains violent but at least something is being done". Two of the female secretaries produced more dominant readings (Hall, 1980): "She feel very proud when she saw the soldiers catch El Loco but she feel angry and scared when she see the face of the Loco."

Emotive: Several lecturers and students thought the WJ arrest story was emotive: "A little too emphatic on violence and dramatic in that way", said a lecturer, while another thought it was labelling: "We hate El Loco for what he has done, we hate the violence, that it's wrong but it serves the purpose of providing us with something to hate to that we can complain daily." And one of the students felt that the inclusion of such images in global news labelled Mexico as criminal world hot spot: "It's sad to see that this person is like the ambassador in media of our country".

Limitations of the Study in Mexico

The number of participants in the quantitative research was well down on previous field trips with only 36 students filling out questionnaires compared with 65 in South Africa and 99 in the Philippines. All the FGDs were conducted within the University campus, unlike South Africa where two of the groups were drawn from community samples. However, the Mexican student group comprised mostly middle level professionals studying part time, so could be regarded as a community sample.

There were only four stories created for each research bulletin compared with five for both the Philippines and South Africa and seven for Australia. However, this probably proved to be a gain rather than a loss given students were writing their TLPs in a second language. Some of the language used in the questionnaire,

particularly the DES and STAI, was perhaps challenging for non-native English speakers and with more time the study could have benefited from a brief explanation of the use of terminology before testing got under way. As with other countries, the DES had the added limitation that people do not always know what they are feeling, or lack the linguistic capacity to describe it.

The other limitation was in the production of the research bulletins where a partner mainstream news organisation could not readily be found. Unlike in the other three countries in the study, the PJ news items were not pitched to fall within reach o the "idiom and range" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2012: 1044) of mainstream television news. Here, the peace journalism bulletins had a much higher quotient of PJ than in other countries, with most scoring 5 on Shinar's five headings. And such coding differences received very favourable responses, particularly amongst the focus groups.

Conclusion

The Mexican field study provided the strongest positive reaction to peace journalism of all the studies. Although a small minority of persistent dissenters wrote negatively about the PJ, such comments were not present in the focus groups, suggesting these opinions were isolated to a few individuals. PJ viewers primarily referred to the bulletin being "real" and showing "reality", thus decoding (Hall, 1980) the background, ideas, views and images of peace that had deliberately been coded into the stories. Reading across both the FGD and TLP results, PJ viewers felt more hopeful; some "tranquillity"; more interested; more compassionate and more empathy than their WJ counterparts. They also showed a much greater proclivity for considering cooperative, nonviolent responses to all of Mexico's conflicts, whether it be the 'war on drugs' or the abject poverty. WJ watchers, by contrast, generally favoured punitive solutions to such issues. There were also times when PJ evoked sadness to the point where women wanted to "cry" when confronted with the "reality" of Maria's life at the hands of a violent husband. But such sadness differed greatly from the strong anger, frustration,

hopelessness, depressed feelings and state of denial and switch-off triggered by the WJ. As if to encapsulate the contrast between the nightmares sparked by WJ and optimism engendered by PJ, the final comment of the final focus group closed with: "If all the news was like this [meaning PJ] I think I could even watch it before I go to bed if I see these kind of things (laughs)."

Next, the closing two chapters 9 and 10 begin by weaving together all the data, from Mexico and the other three countries selected for fieldwork in this study. Following Hallin & Macini (2004), Chapter 9 compares and contrasts responses to WJ and PJ in Mexico, South Africa, the Philippines and Australia. Chapter 10 then draws the threads further together in making tentative conclusions on how far the case for peace journalism has evolved through the mental and physical global journey embarked on throughout this thesis.

PART III
Discussion

CHAPTER 9

Discussion:

Reviewing the emerging study themes: How far has the case for peace journalism evolved?

Introduction

This is the first of two concluding chapters of this thesis. In them, I reflect on whether, how and how far the propositions introduced at the outset have been supported by results from the experimental research. In the final chapter, I consider in what respects it is possible to deduce the key emotional influences on the processes of meaning-making carried out by participants as they watched war journalism and peace journalism versions of familiar television news stories, respectively. It pays particular attention to the role of hope and empathy in prompting and enabling viewers to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict.

Before that, in the present chapter, I draw together some common themes from the conclusions drawn in previous chapters by comparing and contrasting analysed data from Australia, the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico. Discussion of such themes is integrated with aspects of the theoretical

framework set out in the first part of this thesis, about the distinctions in the PJ model and the process of operationalising them as a set of headings, general enough to permit comparison between countries, while allowing sufficient flexibility to permit detailed codification of a wide range of different stories.

Across the study as a whole, stronger audience reactions occurred with some stories where participants were led, by their viewing experience, to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict. Some distinctions were more influential than others. The strongest reactions came where audience attention was 'won' by offering human stories that switched on their empathy with carefully chosen protagonists, such as a 'boat person' in Australia, a Communist guerrilla leader in the Philippines, a reformed rapist in South Africa and a former narco-gangster in Mexico. This prompted and equipped them to engage with unfamiliar arguments; arguments that challenge propaganda and dominant frames and narratives.

The strongest results came when this effect was augmented by the provision of unusual and therefore unexpected material against a 'grey background' of familiar representational patterns, as for instance with the Israel-Palestine conflict and US-sponsored 'peace talks', which has been a constant in the news in Australia (as elsewhere) for many years, generating a sense of switching-off.

Overall, results from the fieldwork suggest that peace journalism does lead audiences to think and feel differently. PJ evokes less anger and less disgust, while promoting hope, empathy and understanding and the engagement of our "best cognitive capacity" (Castells, 2009: 191) to unravel the interlocking crises facing our planet (Cottle, 2010). By assessing the effects of PJ, with a 'new enlightenment' view of the mind, a deep rationality, which is primarily "unconscious, embodied, emotional, empathic, metaphorical, and only partly universal" (Lakoff, 2009: 13), the data from this study that analysed both cognitive and emotional responses support a contention that the case for peace journalism has indeed evolved, developed and strengthened through this research.

Stories with the Strongest Effects

In Australia, the stories demonstrating the strongest peace journalism responses were the Israel-Palestine peace talks, the asylum seekers story and the Iran nuclear item. In the Philippines, the communist New People's Army (NPA) landmine story generated the greatest reactions in both the focus groups discussions (FGDs) and the Thought Listing Protocols (TLPs). In South Africa it was the gang rape story, and in Mexico all four stories generated the strongest positive reaction to peace journalism of any individual country study.

What, if anything, did these stories have in common? Table 10.1 shows scores of 3 or above according to Shinar's (2007) criteria for all these stories. All these news items brought into focus elements of background and context which prompted and equipped viewers to take issue with dominant discourses, primarily war journalistic "strict father frames" (Lakoff, 2009: 77). They enabled critical scrutiny of familiar assumptions that have the effect of validating violent responses, or inuring publics to ongoing injustices (structural and/or cultural violence (Galtung, 1969)). In general, this cognitive engagement was triggered by (or at least indissociable from) emotional engagement, as the background and context issues emerged from human stories of protagonists who spoke from their own experience to offer peace journalistic "nurturant parent frames" (Lakoff, 2009: 81). In effect peace discourses were brought to life in the viewer's imagination through a human connection, as suggested in Chapter 1, by engaging the "emotional public sphere" (Richards, 2010: 301).

In the Israel-Palestine story the protagonist was Bishara Constandi, the Palestinian refugee who made the analogy of travelling from Marrickville to Glebe and having to pass through 14 checkpoints. The Asylum Seeker item included an interview with Ali Jafaari, the Hazara from Aghanistan who forged a new life in Sydney and wanted Australia to be proud of him. In the Philippines, Ka Oris, the communist spokesperson for the New People's Army, offered rare insight into why the rebels had spent years fighting in the hills, and two Lumad leaders in traditional dress spoke about the effect of the conflict in their community. South Africa's shocking record of sexual violence was considered

through the experience of Dumisani Rebombo, who not only testified as to the cultural pressures on perpetrators, but also offered a story of personal atonement, with his campaign training other men to be good fathers and husbands.

All the Mexican stories scored a maximum 5 points, and each offered a transformational narrative. The story of El Loco's arrest contained the interview and picture sequence with grieving father Eduardo Gallo y Tello, a prominent business executive whose daughter Paola, then 25, was kidnapped and killed by members of a drug cartel. His personal testimony demanded respect, and won audience attention for the logical argument he presented: regulating drugs is the only way to bring down the price, and make the trade less attractive to criminals. There was apparently some counter-intuitive 'surprise value' at work here – he was not a vengeful grieving relative, but a thoughtful, analytical one.

The Cartel Violence item visited one of the world's toughest cities, Ciudad Juarez, but focused on the centre where former gang member Eric Ponce was now a music student after finding nurture, and someone to recognise his potential. A story that exemplified Lakoff's nurtuant parent frame (Lakoff, 2009: 81) as well as peace journalism. The item on the Mexican election featured the downtrodden tractor driver, Jose Torres, in need of greater rights at work, as well as the campaign for rights and dignity led by Professor Robles. And what started out, in the war journalism version, as a familiar slice of electioneering – Enrique Peña Nieto's speech for Mother's Day – was transformed in the PJ version to highlight the dangers of violence confronting Mexican women, as well as the possibilities of creating a better life, through the harrowing but ultimately uplifting story of Maria.

The sole exception, among the stories that yielded the strongest results, was the package in Australia about Iran's so-called "nuclear ambitions". Here, the contribution by Paul Ingram, the security analyst, foregrounded Iranian fears by explaining that hostile countries surround Iran. This was important in revealing a context that is kept, for the most part in Australian news, firmly in the background. In this case, while there was no comparable 'human story', it was

apparently the sheer phenomenology of its occurrence in television news that explained its striking effect. As several participants explicitly explained, in FGDs and TLPs, they had simply never met it before, at least in that context. The element among the other stories listed above that bore the strongest similarity in its impact was perhaps the map showing the "amazing disappearing Palestine" (Cook, 2008) – the shrinkage over decades of the space available to Palestinians as Israeli occupation and settlements have expanded.

The conclusions offered here, tentative as they are, find further support from the 'counter-factual'. Other stories, in bulletins in Australia, the Philippines and South Africa, included reasoning that took issue with familiar justifications for violence. The stories challenged familiar assumptions that normalise and naturalise power imbalances or relations of dominance that perpetuate injustice. But these items lacked the testimony of an individual protagonist to 'carry' their message and, as such, they enjoyed much less audience impact. In some cases, this was apparently because viewers' emotional responses took them in a different direction than a focus on the arguments presented.

The item on Afghanistan, in the Sydney bulletin, for instance, followed a familiar pattern in 'rounding up the day's events in Canberra' – a task often allotted to political correspondents in TV news. In the PJ version, a speaker from the exiled Afghan community in Blacktown directly contradicted the notion that Australia's troops in the country are, in a general sense, 'doing good' – a notion generally left unquestioned in Australian political discourse. The Greens Senator, Lee Rhiannon, said Australia could better help Afghanistan by spending the same money on aid instead, and the director of a military think-tank in London urged a pull-back of US-allied forces, long before that thought entered the official political agenda in troop-supplying countries. But these angles were all overshadowed, in the responses of most viewers, by their emotional reaction to other elements, common to both versions: the dramatic 'helmet video' of a battle in Afghanistan in which an Australian soldier was killed (Australia Department of Defence, 2010); the grief of his widow, and anger, in some cases, that politicians who attended his funeral were 'exploiting' it for party advantage. Plus there were

the other technical challenges within the production of this item as mentioned in Chapter 4.

In the Philippines, feuding between rival clans had penetrated the 'ring of steel' around the city of Davao, resulting in a deadly shooting at a shopping mall. The PJ version placed this event in a more questioning framework, signalling the need for decisive action to address legal and political issues unresolved since the conflict spilled over into national and international consciousness with the killing of 58 unarmed civilians in the Maguindanao massacre eighteen months earlier. The call to postpone elections scheduled for the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao, to avoid further bloodshed, was made by the leader of a street demonstration, interviewed for inclusion in the revised version. Months later, a vote in the Philippines Senate did cause the election to be postponed. But the argument that ultimately proved persuasive to legislators struggled to glean any attention from most viewers, whose reactions tended to be dominated by shock and fear – emotions prompted by the eruption of violence, in their own supposedly safe environment, that had previously been assumed to belong 'over there'. Perhaps this was similar to Newhagen's findings (1998) that fear, anger and disgust provokes an "approach-avoidance" reaction (Newhagen 1998: 266).

In South Africa, FGDs and TLPs showed a moderately strong response to the story about poverty and deficient service delivery in Meadowlands. PJ viewers were more likely to diagnose a systemic (shared) problem at the root of the presenting symptoms, and to consider and favour cooperative political responses, consistent with PJ "nurturant parent frames" (Lakoff, 2009: 81). Participants mostly regretted the inequality built into South African society, but WJ viewers were somewhat more likely to regard it as an unchangeable 'fact of life'. Engaging viewers' empathy with the plight of Meadowlands residents provided a "window"[60] through which they proved able and inclined, at least in some cases, to grasp the significance of having that inequality further illustrated by the sequences, shot for the PJ version, at the opulent Sandton Mall. Some of these viewers had their attention further heightened by the disclosure, in this

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[60] The concept of a "window" was first raised in Austalian student focus group, where a participants talked about stories that offered a "window of hope".

story, that South Africa is not only unequal but *one of the most unequal societies on earth* (World Bank, 2009). Others, however, were distracted from this line of reasoning by their angry reaction to politicians. The story 'peg'[61] was a visit to the area by representatives of an opposition political party, the Democratic Alliance (DA), to draw attention to shortcomings of service provision overseen by the ruling African National Congress.

Comparing Audience Responses

Comparing and contrasting responses means "merging or converging the two datasets" as suggested in Chapter 2 "by having one build on the other… so that one type of data provides a supportive role for the other dataset" (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007: 7). This entailed weaving together qualitative and quantitative data from 543 participants in four countries (see table 3.1): a process that was not without its challenges.

On the production side, coding for the bulletins was based on Shinar's five criteria (2007). But these represent a thematic outline of published research in the field to yield a set of general headings, under which story elements could be built in to the PJ versions. Crucially, those elements were selected according to distinctions relevant to the individual story, determined from overall consideration of the cultural context and the prevailing "idiom and range" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2012: 1044) of news stories in that particular country. This process answered the question raised at the end of Chapter 1 – whether such distinctions can be applied to 'real' mainstream news stories.

To replicate that combination of the general and the particular in the codification of audience responses, however – allowing both comparison between stories and countries, and engagement with the detail of emotional and cognitive responses

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[61] As mentioned in Chapter 7 the word 'peg' is journalistic parlance for the event of the day that legitimizes that story being commissioned on that day. In this case the visit of a Democratic Alliance member of parliament to inspect how many of the houses promised by the ruling ANC had been built.

to different story elements – is automatically more difficult, since these responses were not under the control of the research team.

For the TLP returns, a grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) drawing on Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006 and Smith, Jarman & Osborn, 1999) of the text led to a simplified version of Entman's framing model (1993) being adopted, to organise the data, in themes of: moral evaluation; problem diagnosis and treatment recommendation. Sub-themes were created, under these headings, to ensure responsiveness to the particular meaning-making experiences taking place in response to different stories in different contexts. However comparing these sub-themes is not always straightforward, thus creating challenges of interpretation.

The job of peace journalism was summarised by Johan Galtung as "making audible and visible the subjugated aspects of reality" (personal communication, March 21, 2003 cited in Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 224). The adage conveys the pervasiveness of journalistic conventions that ensure the predominance of war journalism. As indicated above, strong audience interactions with the PJ versions of stories in the present study came in response to accounts or arguments that are unfamiliar because they are subjugated, and therefore generally confined to the background. "Backgrounds are at the back because a surface narrative of events has been built in front... The peripheral has been marginalised by accounts of power from the centre" (Lynch, 2013: 27).

With just one exception, however, audience engagement with these accounts or arguments came after they had been carried into the foreground by the testimony of a particular individual protagonist, who drew viewer empathy. This, then, gave rise to a heading under which audience responses to different stories, in different contexts, could be compared. For table 9.1, which combines the strongest Differential Emotional Scale (DES) interactions with selected TLP returns, it has been called: 'Empathy with carrier(s) of subjugated narrative(s)'. Watching PJ, people clearly require even an intrinsically striking element of background to be *drawn* to their attention, just as participants in Simons and Chabris's (1999) experiment, mentioned in Chapter 1, found viewers missed a

gorilla dancing among a group of basketball players they watched on screen – unless it was pointed out to them. In the PJ stories that generated the strongest interactions in table 9.1 that was done emotionally – by engaging empathy with a resonant story of an individual actor. McGilchrist (2010) would suggest that such material has engaged their brains' routinely subjugated right hemisphere, as well as the left.

The stories identified above as eliciting the strongest results offer clear examples of this engagement of empathy. In other stories, the role of empathy is less clear. In the Iran story, the subjugated narrative had no obvious carrier, but instead stood in its own right and produced its effect through novelty value. Empathy was taken to mean that viewers appreciated that: "Iran was under threat". The carrier of the subjugated narrative in the South African gang rape story, Dumisani Rebombo from Sonke Gender Justice, was the subject of a sprinkling of approving TLP references for his campaigning efforts, but as a man (and an unprosecuted rapist) he hardly represented a subjugated group. There were many responses blaming men (20 WJ and 12 PJ) but no specific expressions of empathy for men.

A second heading: 'Hopeless about peace', is suggested as a gathering point for data arising from audience responses to various issues generated by the stories they viewed. Some involved addressing peace, named more directly as such than in others. In the conflict involving the NPA, in the Philippines, for example, the PJ version considered prospects for the peace talks with the government, then about to begin in Norway, which were ignored altogether in the WJ version. Peace was therefore put explicitly on the agenda, along with contextualising material to match. In the DES, PJ viewers' feelings of hope increased, and in TLP returns, 50% more comments from WJ viewers indicated hopelessness over prospects for peace, than comments from PJ viewers.

In other stories, however, indications of hope or hopelessness about peace required more interpretation, to be able to discern them. In response to the Australian asylum item, there was a great deal of anger expressed towards politicians, particularly among WJ viewers, so this was interpreted as the equivalent – a hopelessness about political agency, perhaps, and about the

possibility of devising and applying acceptable political responses. In the Iran nuclear story, fear about Iran's nuclear development was taken to indicate pessimism over the prospects for reaching international agreement over this issue, and therefore the equivalent of hopelessness about peace. And in South Africa, in relation to the gang rape story, there were strong expressions of disgust and anger, without these being linked to prospects for tackling the problem of sexual violence through exertion of political agency from whatever level, which were taken as the nearest equivalent of hopelessness about peace.

In Mexico, in the story of El Loco's arrest, WJ viewers did not specifically express hopelessness about peace but many did suggest instead that the 'arrest was bad', meaning the currently government strategy is not working, thus implying a sense of hopelessness about bringing an end to the violence. However, with the Cartel Violence story there was no specific mention of 'hopeless about peace' or any direct equivalent. As for 'Empathy with carrier(s) of subjugated narrative(s)' this was extrapolated from expressions of concern for the young people shown in that story and their vulnerability to drug gangs, whether as recruits or targets. In fact, many of the children in the centre were described by its director, in an on-screen interview, as "former gang members".

The Mexico stories in particular show how these two elements belong together. Empathy enables hope for positive change, while presenting the problems besetting the individuals portrayed in the stories as capable of being resolved enables empathy. Where empathetic responses become "dimmer", Cohen has proposed that it is most likely because people have received a "message… that nothing, nothing after all, can be done about problems like these or people like this" (Cohen, 2001: 195). This is similar to the findings of Philo and Berry, also mentioned in Chapter 1, who identified "a sense of powerlessness" among news consumers when the world seems to be an "inexplicable mess" (2004: 239) because they cannot understand why the events are occurring. It seems that reporting on ideas for change and people participating in change could be the key to switching empathy back on: "To see events as having causes can be a first step towards understanding the possibilities for change" (Philo & Berry, 2004: 239). As will be considered further in the next chapter, empathy triggers anger to

overcome fear when people hear of "an unbearable event suffered by someone with whom they identify" (Castells, 2012: 15).

		Shinar score	DES emotion ↑	DES emotion ↓	TLP Hopeless about peace	TLP Empathy for Subjugated group	TLP shared problem	TLP Cooperative solutions	TLP switch off disconnected
Australia **Asylum**	WJ	-1.5	Anger Hopeless distaste revulsion Contempt astonished		52	31	6	24	2
	PJ	4			11	72	10	36	3
Australia **Is/Pal**	War	-1.5	hopeless		91	2	13	0	7
	Peace	3		hopeless	47	43	14	11	3
Australia **Iran**	War	-1.5	Fear Anger disgust hopeless		73	0	5	13	2
	Peace	3			26	12	44	14	10
Philippines **NPA**	War	-1.5	Anger	Happiness Delight amazement	21	0	1	5	n/a
	Peace	4	Empathy Hope		**14**	16	**23**	45	n/a
South Africa **Gang Rape**	War	0	Hopeless Empathy alert		25	0	31	3	2
	Peace	2.5			26	0	46	33	3
Mexico **El Loco**	War	-1.5		concentration	17	5	12	5	0
	Peace	5	Compassion Hopeless Amazed frustrated Distaste concentration		5	12	22	26 (14)	0
Mexico **Cartels**	War	-1.5		Hopeful concentration	n/a	0	0	11	5
	Peace	5	Compassion Hopeless concentration		n/a	17	12	22	0

Table 9.1 The strongest TLP and emotional DES results from Chapters 4, 6, 7 & 8.

In the individual emotional measures for the Israel/Palestinian peace talks, the strongest interaction was revealed in the *hopelessness* measure, which rose significantly by almost two full points for WJ viewers but just edged up by a fraction of a point for PJ viewers. This was mirrored in the TLPs, which also showed double the number of hopelessness statements for WJ watchers (91 WJ to 47 PJ), and double the number of hopeful statements from PJ viewers (10 WJ to 20 PJ). The other stark contrast was the empathy displayed for the Palestinians (2 WJ to 43 PJ). This found clear echoes in the TLP returns, with comments including: "Excellent putting the occupation into an Australian context of free movement"; "educational... oh my god.... such strict borders and tolls". One PJ viewer suggested the story could have a great impact in contributing to positive social change, writing that it "would raise (a) huge outcry if screened", but another felt frustrated by the information, asking, "what am I supposed to do... what was the point of putting the onus on the viewer to empathise with them"?

Selective avoidance?

The last statement typifies a subset of the responses, which – while representing a small minority – deserves further discussion here. These responses furnished evidence to support the theory of "selective avoidance", in which media consumers are said to be inclined to shut out "attitude-discrepant" material (Holbert et al., 2010: 19). Bennett and Iyengar (2008) studied the online reading habits of "political partisans" in the closely fought US presidential election of 2004, between the Republican incumbent, George W Bush and his Democratic challenger, John Kerry. Political communication aimed at winning people over had to contend with a high level of resistance, they found: increasing numbers of voters had already made up their mind and simply "ignore[d] sources or arguments from the opposing side" (2008: 723).

At the same time, psychologist Drew Westen (2008) was studying the same phenomenon, which he called "turning off the spigot" (Westen, 2008: xiii), as

mentioned in Chapter 2. Being confronted with apparent contradictions, in statements made by their favoured candidate, caused measurable psychological distress among partisan supporters of either Bush or Kerry. This discomfort was apparently experienced unconsciously, in the amygdala, the limbic or reptilian portion of the brain, associated with the sympathetic nervous system, which reacts much faster than the higher processing circuits, as explored briefly in Chapter 1 with reference to Daniel Goleman's "limbic news" (1996). Hence it prevented rational consideration of the arguments:

> The neural circuits [in the limbic system] charged with regulation of emotional states seemed to recruit beliefs that eliminated the distress… this all seemed to happen with little involvement of the [neocortical] neural circuits normally involved in reasoning (Westen, 2008: xiii–xiv).

The same or similar processes appeared to be evident in a few of the written TLP returns, and occasional comments in FGDs, in all the countries studied. In response to the PJ version of the Asylum Seeker story, in Australia, a member of the clerical workers group called it "very biased and manipulative". Mr Jafaari himself seemed a "perfectly reasonable, normal, nice guy but there are a lot of them [asylum seekers] who are not… it was obvious he was put in there to make people change their minds about asylum seekers". Most asylum seekers were not like him, she went on, but "horribly bigoted". In Mexico, participants who watched the re-worked El Loco arrest story included a small minority who appeared to resist its message. TLP returns included comments such as: "Sentimental"; "too emotional"; "lack of objectivity"; "why are they turning this arrest into a rehab story?"

In South Africa, this effect was most noticeable in FGDs of the gang rape story, with the PJ version briefly giving the latest legal developments in the case itself, before veering off into the efforts by Dumisani Rebombo to address a widespread culture of violence towards women. Some female members of the focus group drawn from general professional or administrative workers in Johannesburg showed particularly strong adverse reactions – at least initially. "You were talking about this girl and what happened to her, it's not about him", one said; "it's just such vast varying emotions". Another commented: "Okay, it's

just about gang rape, then they come in with the positive and I'm still focusing on how negative it is". Yet a third said: "Unlink them... yeah, he's trying to reform himself and trying to reform all these men, but you just told me about how a girl got gang-raped". However, there were also suggestions that the attention this had generated was enabling some of these reactions to be dislodged, or at least called into question once viewers had had time to engage with the reasoning behind the story. One of these same participants later remarked: "Yes, his story is fine and the fact that he's turning around and he's doing the positive side and re-educating everyone".

Bennett and Iyengar's (2008) contentions have been the subject of continued debate among communication researchers. Holbert and colleagues (2010) acknowledge the growing tendency to "seek... attitude-consistent information", while other studies (such as Newhagen, 1998 cited earlier) have shown that material generating the greatest disgust is avoided. A media habit of seeking out material consistent with one's own views is facilitated more than ever before in today's online media milieu, but without that necessarily leading, in most cases, to the outright "avoid[ance of] attitude-discrepant information" (Holbert et al., 2010: 20).

This brings the discussion to consider one of the most important early critiques of Peace Journalism, after its emergence into scholarly literature, by Thomas Hanitzsch (2008). Peace Journalism, he complained, tended to model its audiences as a "passive mass that needs to be enlightened", without sufficient regard to well-established research findings that audiences approach media actively, to derive "uses and gratifications" (Hanitzsch, 2008: 75). This approach emphasises the importance of pre-existing audience frames, in the meanings news audiences are likely to make in response to particular stories, but it may underplay the role of media frames. Greg Philo (2010), reflecting on his research on news about the Israel-Palestine conflict, cautions against assuming that viewer responses are "infinitely flexible". For most viewers, the way the story is presented can "dramatically affect . . . how actions are perceived and the legitimacy of different positions" through "the context in which they are understood and the information which is given" (Philo, 2010: 412). Castells has

suggested that "each individual human mind constructs its own meaning by interpreting the communicated materials in its own terms, this mental processing is conditioned by the communication environment" (2012: 6).

The distinctions between the WJ and PJ versions of stories in the bulletins for this research were coded according to a five-point schema based on Shinar's survey (2007) of published literature in the peace journalism field, as discussed in Chapter 2. To recap, researchers writing about PJ meant journalism that:

1. Explores backgrounds and contexts of conflict formation, and presents causes and options on every side so as to portray conflict in realistic terms, transparent to the audience;

2. Gives voice to the views of all rival parties, not merely the leaders of two antagonistic 'sides';

3. Airs creative ideas, from any source, for conflict resolution, development, peacemaking and peacekeeping;

4. Exposes lies, cover-up attempts and culprits on all sides, and revealing excesses committed by, and suffering inflicted on, peoples of all parties;

5. Pays attention to peace stories and post-war developments (Shinar, 2007: 200).

Before the present study, there was no direct evidence that this exercise – presenting different groups of television viewers with WJ and PJ versions of the same stories – would make any difference to their responses at all. Would watching PJ leave audiences thinking and feeling differently? Would it alter their meaning-making processes, prompting and enabling them to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict? Previous studies by Schaefer (2006), Kempf (2007) and Thorson et al. (2003), referenced in Chapter 3 and utilised in designing the experimental protocols, all involved readers of newspaper articles. And those researchers exploring affective responses to television (Unz et al., 2008; Szabo & Hopkinson, 2007; Sturm & Grewe-Partsch, 1987) had not specifically studied either news media or peace journalism.

All the stories, in all the countries in this study, concerned familiar contested issues, on which participants could have been expected to reach opinions long before their participation in the research experiments. If they had *all* behaved like the political partisans in the studies referenced above by Westen (2008), and Bennett and Iyengar (2008), then the results of this study would have supported the view that – to quote the latter – we have entered an era of "minimal media effects". But the evidence from the present study is largely to the contrary.

Data from FGDs were themed and sub-themed with specific reference to Shinar's five headings (2007) to check the extent to which the distinctions encoded in the research material were successfully decoded by participants, as a framework of information and context in which to make cognitive responses. Like the analysis of the TLPs, an approach broadly in the tradition of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006 and Smith, Jarman & Osborn, 1999) was used. In general, PJ viewers noticed, and in most cases appreciated, the provision of backgrounds and contexts that are so often absent or subjugated from WJ.

To take one example from Sydney, in the Israel-Palestine story, many picked up on the 'shrinking Palestine' map. "I don't think I ever saw a map of Palestine like that", one research student said; "definitely not on the news". A frequent comment from building attendants and clerical workers who watched this version was that they had "learned a little more". The map "gave… a tangible sense of… the fence moving and one country building in another country's property zone. Imagine if your next-door neighbour moved his fence, that's the nature of the issue, you wouldn't let it happen!" said a banker. There were similar comments from building attendants and Muslims too: "It makes it more real", one said.

To these remarks indicating the ideational effect of including elements of background and context were added comments that showed viewer appreciation of the range of views expressed, particularly when projected on to an imagined equivalent situation locally, through the words of Bishara Costandi, the Palestinian refugee interviewed in Sydney. "He was speaking from the heart and it came across well. It seemed rare to me, it seemed valuable", a clerical worker

said. A building attendant talked of making a connection with him "because he was just a regular bloke", while another clerical worker reflected: "Like suddenly his experience of larger policies, expressed in terms that could be clearly understood here, was really powerful". Amid noises of agreement from others in the group, a banker added: "That really drove it home, saying it's based on the whim of a soldier, whether he'll let you through today or not".

In the focus groups that watched the War Journalism version of the Israel-Palestine story, there was a persistent theme of complaints that elements missing from this (and present in the PJ one, albeit unbeknownst to them at the time), impeded their process of meaning-making. Such comments included: "Makes people forget maybe the context"; "I think politicians get way too much airtime"; "You don't see the humanity", and, "it's just the same story day in day out, nothing is getting better". The encoded peace journalism elements, when combined with a story that enabled empathy and presented novel or surprising information, 'switched on' emotional and cognitive responses that led to them being decoded in like form. This is clearly what Robinson identified as "empathy framing" (2000: 615) with the war journalism, hearing primarily from politicians, containing an "empathy distance framing" (2000: 615) as mentioned in Chapter 1. But peace journalism is not using empathy to promote calls for a government intervention, in the way discussed by Robinson. It is used specifically to open, as one female student in an Australian FGD said, "a window" of hope that something could be different. "There might be suggestions for change" said this focus group participant, which will be considered further in Chapter 10, in the discussion about the role of 'hope'. 'Empathy framing' prompted focus group participants to notice and appreciate those people often subjugated and voiceless, such as asylum seekers or Palestinians. In this way, empathy framing allows audiences to come to consider and value the nonviolent conflict responses – the creative ideas for conflict resolution, development, peacemaking and peacekeeping – that were being reported on.

With the Philippines focus groups, once again there was a constant stream of complaints from WJ viewers about what they felt was left out of the stories, whereas the PJ FGDs spoke more about what was present, especially the new

elements of background, views, ideas, and challenges to propaganda. Significant differences in the responses, corresponding directly to the distinctions in the PJ model described by Shinar's five headings (2007), were evident from the very opening of the discussion, when participants were asked to make initial comments on the bulletin they had just watched, as a whole. One PJ viewer described it as "very complete… like we can get the whole story", while another called it "informative". Responses by WJ viewers in the same initial phase show them unwittingly describing the very deficiencies in the bulletin that were made good in the PJ version: "I did feel there was something lacking"; "there's always something missing" [from television news]. Several complained specifically that stories were delivered with insufficient explanation: "Why this floods is going on?"; "Why do we need the coal plant?"

Viewers also noticed and appreciated the wide range of views included in the PJ bulletin, with a widespread reaction that it was "balanced". On the NPA story, one said:

> Only now I saw the real explanation with the head of the NPA, not like when you listen to the [usual] discussion on the television, it's cut and we don't know the vision of the leader.

Viewers of the WJ versions often commented on the narrowness of the range of views included in this story. One specifically mentioned the NPA's own perspective as subjugated, as "another side of the story that hasn't been presented". Others expressed similar opinions about the narrow range of sources in the WJ bulletin as a whole: "There are like two sides to every story, or sometime three or four or five sides, so something is missing", one said.

In focus group remarks themed under Shinar's third heading about airing creative ideas for responding to conflict issues, some WJ viewers complained about the absence of such material: "You get tired of hearing the same things again and again with no solutions". Asked to respond specifically to the WJ version of the story about the fatal flooding incident, one woman reflected, "One thing missing is that they also did not say how we can help".

Once again, it underlines Cohen's point, quoted earlier, that it is not a case of

compassion fatigue (Moeller, 1999) that makes news "emotionally exhausting" as a participant described it to Philo & Berry (2004: 239), but an absence of solutions. It is the connection between empathy, with bereaved families in this case, and the availability and feasibility of creative ideas for problem-solving, that sparks renewed interest. Another Philippines WJ viewer wanted more ideas for addressing the electricity shortage discussed in the coal-plant-row story: "Present some alternatives: if not a coal plant, what other alternatives are there?" In response to the PJ version of the flood story, by contrast, one viewer said: "It also highlights the need for co-operation in society". And the peace ideas in the PJ version of the story about the MILF left one man with a sense of "optimism".

In the Mexico focus group discussions, the most interest among participants was generated by the Cartel Violence story, which offered ideas for solutions and an image of peace, in the former gang members now being facilitated to express themselves through creating their own music, prompting many to feelings of hope and optimism. It also embodied a hopeful new model for Mexican television journalism – a form of representation from which many felt alienated.

Conclusion

This integration of findings, from all four countries selected for field research in this study, supports a contention that Peace Journalism is a set of distinctions in the representation of conflict that lends itself to being 'operationalised' in a television news format. Differences in content, encoded into the medium according to Shinar's five headings (2007), are usually decoded, in like fashion, by most viewers of most stories.

These distinctions, moreover, prove ideational, in the sense of having a discernible effect on both emotional and cognitive responses. This research vindicates the central contention of the Peace Journalism movement: coverage that includes backgrounds and contexts; a range of voices; creative ideas for problem-solving; material to prompt and equip viewers to take issue with propaganda, and images of peace, does indeed enable audiences to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict.

Experimental data also show that some aspects of the PJ model, in some contexts, are more effective at doing this than others. To that extent, the case for Peace Journalism has evolved through this research. In television news in all four countries, many of the strongest effects came when challenges to dominant narratives, which serve to justify violence and/or perpetuate injustice, were carried by a 'character' whose personal story won attention and engagement by triggering empathy and hope. The results support the conclusion of a correlation, at least, between these emotional and cognitive responses. The final closing chapter of the thesis considers the corollary of this observation: on what basis, and to what extent, can any conclusions be drawn as to the role of these emotions in *causing* news audiences to frame issues of conflict in such a way as to render them more receptive to peace?

CHAPTER 10

Closing the evolving case for Peace Journalism

Explaining the results; the role of hope and empathy, and future research directions

Introduction

Chapter 9, the first of these two concluding chapters of the thesis, presented an integrated summary of the strongest results from all four countries chosen as fieldwork locations for the study. These results confirmed the ideational qualities of distinctions in the peace journalism model as a basis for re-framing familiar stories of conflict issues on the news agenda of all four countries. The clearest conclusion, from a consideration of these results, was that viewers can be brought to consider and value nonviolent responses to conflict, and challenges to injustice, especially if supplied with a narrative enabling them to empathise with the personal story of a carefully selected protagonist who acts as the carrier of a

subjugated narrative.

The attention elicited by the inclusion of such material prompted and enabled viewers to focus on issues in the background and context of conflict, thus rendering that conflict more intelligible. There was a connection, the previous chapter concluded, between this form of cognitive engagement and the provision of creative ideas for "treatment recommendations" (Entman, 1993: 52), which enabled viewers to respond with hope for the possibilities of positive change in the situations portrayed. In this chapter, therefore, I will go on to probe more deeply into the possible causal relations between these responses.

In the process, I will refer back to more of the propositions raised and considered at the outset of the thesis, with particular reference to the (often under-stated) importance of empathy as an influence on meaning-making, both in response to news and in general when engaging with issues of common concern in public spheres. But this section begins by considering what is required for viewers to develop a sense of hope that problems in society, as portrayed in the news, are capable of being constructively addressed. "The job of the news media", Seib remarks, "is not to try to solve all the world's problems, but to shake awake the world's conscience" (Seib, 2002: xiv) by presenting the world as capable of improvement.

Emotional and Cognitive responses:

Do they reinforce each other?

As discussed in Chapter 1, Peace Journalism is a campaign for reform in reporting conflict, based on "the policy implications" (Lynch & Galtung, 2010: xii) of the influential essay by Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge, 'The Structure of Foreign News' (1965). The latter identified a number of "tuning factors", determining newsworthiness, one of which was "negativity": bad news sells. A familiar task of journalism in its 'watchdog' role is to draw attention to problems, but not usually with any specific accompanying proposals to solve them. As Spencer argues, in considering the claims of Peace Journalism: "Without access

to counter-arguments which challenge dominant parties, news discourse not only legitimizes that discourse, but renders alternative articulations incidental, even worthless" (2005: 2).

Couple this with the dominant surface narrative of war journalism, which leaves or leads audiences to form "dispositional" (Zimbardo, 2005) explanations for observed behaviours, and there is a risk of communicating an impression of a world beset by irresoluble conflicts, driven by unintelligible evil, to be regarded with fear and suspicion.

The potential political consequences of such forms of representation have been considered in specific reference to the news in South Africa. The same South Africa focus group data used in the present study were analysed (in Lynch & McGoldrick, 2012) applying a separate but complementary theme of "agency positive" versus "agency negative". At issue were key assumptions about social structure and process that ensure "inequality persists" (Dorling, 2010). Underlying reasons for inequality, and its role as an incubator of crime and disorder, leave the domain of the political, and come to be accepted as "an inevitable fact of life" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2012: 91).

For journalism to reproduce such representations of inequality may be to contribute unwittingly to violence. News reporting of public protests over service delivery deficiencies in disadvantaged communities typically adopts "formulaic" templates, according to an account of a roundtable on Peace Journalism perspectives in South African media. These templates show the characteristics of war journalism, with a concentration on the surface events at the expense of explaining the goals of the protestors. With no serious attention to their grievances or any prospect of bringing about substantive political change, "the public… begins to believe that violence is inevitable and little can be done to correct it; this, in turn, resulting in feelings of disempowerment and hopelessness that again may lead to further violence" (Hyde-Clarke, 2012: 31).

Comments by members of South African focus groups about the gang rape story, and the complaints over service delivery in Meadowlands, were therefore themed according to whether participants constructed the problems as capable

of being effectively addressed by "exertions of political agency" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2012: 78) – from whatever level – or not. On the gang rape story, one member of the focus groups at the information technology (IT) company watching PJ commented: "The more they do the workshop and sit like this and talk to them and motivate them, tell them that there's hope and there's life, be educated – I think they will go far with it". By contrast, several in the WJ group agreed with another IT worker who said, "the government can't do anything" about the problems it revealed.

The juxtaposition of poverty and deprivation in Meadowlands with the glittering Sandton Mall, and the discussion of inequality in South Africa, in the PJ version, led one IT worker to reflect on political priorities in public spending by the Gauteng provincial government. Instead of allocating "billions on new roads… they could have built lots of houses and then those homeless people would at least have something". Overall, the PJ viewers made 25 "agency optimism" comments on these two stories as against just four by WJ viewers, and PJ viewers made nine "agency pessimism" comments compared with ten for the WJ viewers (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2012). These showed that viewers were not only successfully decoding the encoded PJ elements of backgrounds and contexts, range of views and ideas for peace, but also translating them into challenges to the pervasive political orthodoxy that no alternative policies are feasible. In other words the PJ viewers took more of a nurturant parent approach, to apply Lakoff's master frame concept of "the politics of empathy, protection, empowerment, and community" (2009: 81).

In Mexico, focus group participants described the PJ versions as providing "more information in depth" and being "closer to reality" than the television news they were used to – signalling their appreciation of the provision of backgrounds and contexts. Broadening out the range of speakers beyond the usual official sources was also noticed and appreciated: television news, in their conception, usually concentrated on presenting "whatever the high[est] power says and not what the common people say, so that was surprising for me: it's a more balanced and accurate way of giving us news". On the other hand, members of the WJ focus groups expressed frustration at the lack of these elements. The stories were

"incomplete", with "clips of colourful notes [stories] but you don't have any depth", in the words of one male lecturer. Another in a WJ focus group called for PJ without naming it, wanting "a mixture of having good news and then bad news… good news, not make them corny but just truthful to reality". A secretary complained that the voices of ordinary people were left out: "There is not interest in the common people, just in the main people". Many members of the PJ groups expressed enthusiasm for the creative ideas being put into practice and presented in each story, particularly by offering hope of a better life to young people who would otherwise become swept up in the world of narco-cartels: "I feel hope again and how the junk people [drug addicts] can change the way of life, to see the light we can make a difference, it's very interesting", a different male lecturer said.

This brief recap of some of the highlights of FGDs in each of the four countries chosen for the study suggests that key distinctions in the Peace Journalism model, when coded into familiar stories in television news, are noticed by audiences and appreciated by most viewers. Those observations must be made with caveats about the inherent limitations of focus group discussions as a method of data collection. While focus groups have strengths, there are also weaknesses, as mentioned in Chapter 3, including the power of the group to influence how individuals respond, quietening dissent, as well as demand characteristics (Orne, 1962), perhaps in the 20% of participants in Australia who were known to me personally as fellow students, or staff. Mirca Madianou's research (2010) suggests that denunciations of television news, made as if ritually by many focus group participants especially in response to the WJ bulletins, should be taken with a pinch of salt. Her interview subjects would habitually present themselves as:

> Critical towards the news, sometimes to the point of appearing cynical, [but] when looking into their practices I found that people were avid news watchers and had daily rituals of news viewing, reading, or listening which often revealed an affective connection with the news (Madianou, 2010: 432).

Looking back over the transcripts of the focus groups as a complete subset of the

data for the present study, what is most convincing as to the research value of testimony by participants is the widely shared and often fervently expressed feeling of *hope* triggered by the experience of watching the PJ bulletins. This would often come in people's initial responses, when asked to make any comments that came to mind on the bulletin they had just watched, as a whole. The social pressure – perhaps a demand characteristic, in a study that participants clearly realise is placing some lens of critical scrutiny on news content – to adopt a critical stance, rapidly gave way, in several groups, to this hopeful response. A group of bankers in Sydney, for example, were about two minutes into their initial critical comments when one interjected, unprompted by the researchers, to switch the course and character of the discussion: "I did think a lot of those stories actually had hope attached to them". Sydney research students likewise began to recall specific hope-inducing content when one said, again in this early, unstructured part of the discussion:

> There would be this little kind of window that would open where you could see maybe if the story went on in that direction it might be suggestions for change… but I want to hear more about, well, what do they suggest can be done?

In all the other countries as well, hope was a recurrent theme in focus group discussions among viewers of Peace Journalism. Indeed, hope can be seen as the thread that links all the domains of research data for the study together. In the encoded content, the inclusion of backgrounds and contexts in the sense denoted by the first Shinar heading corresponds to the line in Galtung's original table (Appendix A), setting out the PJ schema: "*x* parties, *y* goals, causes and exits anywhere". Representing the conflict as being 'about' something, rather than just a tug of war to divide winners from losers, automatically invites consideration of how the underlying problems can be addressed. Hence the natural connection with the third heading, featuring creative ideas, which allows audiences to perceive some hope of improvement in the situation as presented. This came through in their responses, as focus group participants successfully decoded the PJ elements in the same terms. The Differential Emotional Scale (DES) results contain several significant interactions where recorded hopelessness increased

in response to the experience of watching WJ and went down among viewers of the PJ versions, and one where PJ triggered a recorded significant increase in hope. In TLP returns, this PJ content prompted respondents to write more, and more approvingly, about the possibility of cooperative treatment recommendations. In focus groups, in all four countries, participants who watched the peace journalism bulletins made frequent rhetorical connections between the opportunity to view the work of people implementing creative, nonviolent responses to conflict, and hope for a better future.

So, one of the key claims for peace journalism is supported by the results of this research: audience data in four countries, being subjected to "comparative analysis" (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 3), shows that, in general, experience of watching familiar stories, reframed to reflect Shinar's five headings (2007), does alter the image of reality formed by viewing publics. One can imagine, as per Galtung's claim quoted in Chapter 1, that if the conflict in and over Northern Ireland had been reported in accordance with what he called the "high road" (1998/2013) of journalistic practice, then the violence that disfigured the province for so long could have been ended much earlier.

In Chapter 1, the concept of emotional empathy was considered at length, along with any pointers, from existing research, as to its role in behavioural motivation. "Social change outcomes" are "productively shape[d]", say Thomas et al., when empathy is deployed through "group processes" to stimulate "moral outrage" (2009: 311). Castells makes a similar argument, that social movements owe their origins to emotional responses: "The big bang of social movements starts with the transformation of emotion into action" (Castells, 2012: 14). The key emotion is hope, he argues, because it enables us to "project behavior into the future". For hope to rise, it must overcome anxiety, which leads to paralysis in the face of a perceived threat. Anxiety is generated by the "avoidance motivation system", whereas hope is generated by "the approach system". For television viewers to be presented with opportunities to respond with empathy, therefore makes them more likely to make an emotional investment in the hope of improvement to the situation as portrayed. It is unsurprising, then, that audiences of the peace journalism bulletins in this study formed more "agency

positive" assessments of the potential for cooperative treatment recommendations. "Once the individual overcomes fear, positive emotions take over, as enthusiasm activates action and hope anticipates the rewards from the risky action" (Castells, 2012: 14).

Castells is discussing the possibilities of motivating people, not just to change their minds or alter their value system but to take to the streets, to join the Occupy movement. The motivational threshold in the present study is lower, since evidence is being sought that viewers are simply prompted and enabled to consider and value nonviolent, cooperative responses to conflict. There is no assumption that they will then actually go out and join in such action. But Castells' explanation does suggest that hope and empathy together – both generated by the strongest PJ stories – are key ingredients for the approach-goal-seeking-reward systems in the brain. The opposite to the paralyzing fear, triggered by avoidance and anxiety, that formed a prominent strand of responses to war journalism.

Human Consciousness: A 'New Enlightenment' view?

A "New Enlightenment" view of consciousness provides another prism to appreciate the benefits, qualities and advantages of Peace Journalism. Chapter 1 extensively reviewed this "New Enlightenment" understanding of the mind offered by cognitive scientist George Lakoff (2009: 13), and others (such as Damasio, 1994; Castells, 2009; McGilchrist, 2010; Rifkin, 2009), that we are not simply rational beings but emotional beings; that the mechanisms for forming meaning in our minds are "largely unconscious, embodied, emotional, empathic, metaphorical, and only partly universal" (Lakoff, 2009: 13). Tversky and Kahneman (1984) were able to demonstrate the inaccuracy of the rational actor model that had been widely accepted in economics. The pair showed that, due to unconscious associations, emotions and perceptions, simple changes in the words used to present people with choices can have a profound effect on their responses.

Peace Journalism is based on what Max Weber called an "ethic of responsibility", acknowledging that 'foreseeability' in the consequences of reporting conflict confers responsibility to exercise a "critical self-awareness" (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005: xvi) with regard to the journalist's role. This approach is an alternative to the equivalent in journalism of the rational economic actor, namely the 'detached' objective reporter, a concept which is, in Deuze's words, "an ideological cornerstone of journalism" (2005: 448). Peace Journalism, by contrast, conceptualizes the journalist as possessing a relational consciousness or "relational self" as suggested by Christians (2010: 18). It then makes sense for journalists to provide opportunities for audiences to value nonviolent responses, particularly with regard to the effects on the emotional components of group identity, formation and – as in Northern Ireland – enmity and suspicion. Argo et al. (2009) found evidence that "group-related reasoning and perception" is "untouchable via traditional cognitive and rational approaches" (2009: 33). Peace journalism is not a matter of merely reporting facts, but asking what effects such facts could have on rival groups unless they are placed in context comprising background factors; a full range of different views; ideas for bringing about constructive change, and material to prompt and equip audiences to challenge propaganda and dominant accounts of key meanings and versions of events (to adapt the original five headings from Shinar, 2007: 200).

By exploring McGilchrist's dual hemispheric view of the brain, this thesis has suggested that peace journalism reflects more of the often subjugated, right hemisphere view; a view of the world that is interpreted from a more embodied, emotional perspective, one that provides the context and sees the whole, the big picture. And one that is more empathic. Chapter 1 considered several layers of the argument about empathy, concluding that we have empathy circuits in the brain (Baron-Cohen, 2011; de Waal, 2011; McGilchrist, 2009), or that we are soft-wired for empathy (Rifkin, 2009). The argument that empathy can be strengthened – or weakened – by parenting patterns, patterns that are reinforced by media frames or media discourse, deserves further analysis than can be given here (Lakoff, 2009; Castells, 2009; Baron-Cohen, 2011). But the fact that Johan Galtung included empathy in his first iteration of the PJ model suggests that he too was thinking that way: "giving voice to all parties; empathy,

understanding" (see Appendix A). This too adds another layer to the case for peace journalism, positioning it as a route into Journalism Studies for the multiple insights emerging from the swelling stream of new literature on the role of empathy in relationships and social change such as Krznaric's *Empathy: A handbook for revolution* (2014).

Lakoff's equivalent of WJ and PJ are the master frames of "strict father" (2009: 77) versus "nurturant parent" (2009: 81), and such metaphors also map neatly onto McGilchrist's description of the hemispheres. McGilchrist's other contention is that large swathes of Western intellectual culture have elevated a dominant left hemispheric view of the world at the expense of this empathic approach, thereby subjugating those parts of our 'nature' that could make us more nurturing and peaceful as a society. If, as Richards suggests, news is a space where emotions are strengthened or weakened in the "emotional public sphere" (Richards, 2010: 300), then it has the potential to strengthen our collective compassion, empathy and hope. By engaging the cognitive and the emotional it means, in Castells' terms, that we can apply our "best cognitive capacity" (2009: 191) to deal with the most pressing global crises facing our planet, ranging from the 'war on terror' to climate change and the very survival of our species (Cottle, 2010). It may be too bold a claim but perhaps peace journalism can play a part in redressing the hemispheric balance both inside our minds and in wider society.

Time, then, to appraise progress, in this investigation, towards the aim set out in the Introduction to facilitate a connection between psychotherapy and journalism – one that draws on the insights of therapy to assist journalism in reasserting its role as a meaning-making vehicle for a planet in crisis.

Peace journalism is an approach to news about conflict that somewhat resembles the role and degree of self-awareness required of the psychotherapist, while carrying out processes that have been seen as closely analogous: "Like therapists, journalists listen to people and construct meaning" (Brayne, 2006).

This study has shown that the meanings audiences construct in response to PJ leave them with a more optimistic sense about the conflicts covered. Watching peace journalism versions of familiar news stories about conflict issues prompts

audiences to believe in and value less punitive, more cooperative, creative solutions to various locally relevant manifestations of global crises, whether it be domestic violence in Mexico; communist rebels in the Philippines or gang rape in South Africa.

As mentioned in the Introduction, psychotherapy has clear parallels with peace journalism in assisting clients to make new narratives in their lives:

> Peace Journalism embodies, and equips readers and audiences to apply, that same multi-perspectival approach, prompting and enabling us to connect empathically with events we are not personally participating in, and with actors apparently at far remove. We can, if supplied with the right cues and clues, imagine ourselves 'in the shoes' of people in the news, even when we cannot, by definition, be there in person (McGoldrick, 2011: 123).

So as the psychotherapist, how far has this thesis got in 'treating' the war journalist as an imaginary 'patient' whose standard methods and conventions – relational behaviours – have unwittingly escalated global conflict? The thesis is perhaps a diagnosis, with supporting evidence for the likely effectiveness of a particular remedy, but it is not the treatment.

The treatment may be what comes next as part of my own and others' social activism. The thesis has clearly strengthened the case that "PJ embodies an approach to reporting conflicts that can be regarded as good journalism", (Lynch, 2013: 51), and could therefore be drawn upon to facilitate constructive conversations with such a patient, the war reporter, who can be presented with the evidence that viewers are often more attentive to PJ, with more engagement, more hope and more empathy. (And there is less selective avoidance than many might suppose). This could perhaps help them to appreciate the emerging science of empathy: that the subjugated aspects of our nature are those that enable us to function as empathic, caring, altruistic, compassionate, connected beings in need of new paradigms to perceive this multi-perspectival reality. The results of this research could further strengthen calls for material to enable this arc of our meaning-making and relational capacity to be engaged by journalism

about conflicts – calls, perhaps, by activist and journalist groups, and international agencies, in the worldwide Peace Journalism movement.

Limitations of the Study

There are clear constraints and complexities imposed by a study that at least attempts some integral thinking, inspired by Wilber's remark, cited in Chapter 1, that "a little bit of wholeness is better than none at all" (2001: xii). This study has also dealt with both news production and its effects, which Hanusch described as desirable, if "rare in journalism and communication research" (2010: 6); but each decision regarding the research imposed its own limitations.

Implicit in the decision to base myself in a real newsroom in each country to produce the research material news bulletins is that the Peace Journalism thus produced remains broadly within reach of the "existing idiom and range" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2012: 1044) of news already broadcast in the country concerned. In many respects the stories fell short of the potential presaged in the key iterative text of the field, that Peace Journalism could "bring us to the point of a journalistic revolution" (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: xix). Keeble, however, complains that "Lynch and McGoldrick… fail to carry this 'revolutionary' point to its logical conclusion" (2010: 50). Peace Journalism theorists are too ready, he argues, to overlook the critical issues of political economy embedded in the dominant model of journalism as a "privileged, professional activity" (Keeble, 2010: 51), which commit such journalism in advance, at least in structural terms, to defend its privilege and the political economic arrangements that sustain it.

In some cases, the new versions felt, in retrospect, trapped in what Entman calls "the difference between including scattered oppositional facts and challenging a dominant frame" (Entman, 1993: 57). The Afghanistan story in the Sydney bulletin, for instance, questioned the effect of Australian troops' presence in the country as part of an alliance led by the United States. But the interview with Greens Senator Lee Rhiannon, recorded for use in the PJ version, contained material that could have been used to construct a more thoroughgoing challenge,

since she referred to the US "military-industrial complex" – amounting to a proposition that America's wars are motivated more by political dynamics in America itself than in any of the intervened-in countries. Why not include this section of the interview, and use it to re-conceive the piece altogether? Principally because, to show it on television would have required the use of copious file footage, both modern-day and historical, and would have risked taking the story away from the urgent on-the-day elements. It would have ended up, fundamentally, as a different story, suitable perhaps for a different news programme put out in a different mediascape.

Such root-and-branch changes of framing and emphasis, in news concerning military activities and agendas in countries where militaries occupy a dominant symbolic role, may be thought desirable in themselves. To take another example, the peace talks involving the Philippines government and the communist New People's Army (NPA) rebels were reported, in the context of an incident involving an army hearts-and-minds campaign, with no hint of the prominent "spoiler" role the military is accused, with good reason, of playing in such negotiations (Sales, 2012). Producing the item, I behaved – as local journalists generally do – as though the military are deployed because there is no peace, whereas a re-framing of the issue could equally diagnose the problem the other way round, there is no peace because of the military deployment. Looking back on the production process and the decisions made, it felt important, however, to produce alternative versions of familiar stories that would seem feasible and capable of being 'called for' – in a media reform campaign, perhaps. That would be to honour the "peace journalism movement" (Kempf, 2007: 145; Youngblood, 2011), which has its roots in education and training of professional journalists, rather than what could risk being seen as rather 'pie-in-the-sky' academic theorising.

As outlined in Chapter 2, the methodology for this study was conceived in a spirit of pragmatism, following John W Burton (Dunn, 1995). This approach means shaping arguments and conclusions in ways helpful to practitioners seeking practical solutions to the world's most pressing problems – helpful, in this case, to journalistic discussions over the rights, responsibilities and potentialities of

their practice in reporting issues of conflict. "Be the change you want to see in the world", Gandhi said, and in journalism training that has meant giving due consideration to the "benefit transferred" (Davis, 2007: 59) which entails asking oneself how far journalist participants will be able to implement the lessons learned when they return to the newsroom.

The distinctions under Shinar's five general headings (2007) were made specific, to each country case, to intersect with key meaning-making nodes in that country's own media discourse. In keeping with the observations above about the limits of re-framing, the aim was to confront viewers with something familiar – that they would view as genuine television news, rather than an 'alternative' to it – but also containing unfamiliar ideas, perspectives and versions of events that would prompt them to regard the issues afresh. This yielded disappointing results from some mixed student groups in Sydney, where students, including significant numbers of undergraduates, were recruited and asked to fill in questionnaires. It subsequently transpired that some of these were young internationals who did not therefore have the viewing experience or immersion in the local mediascape to be able to decode the encoded distinctions with sufficient sensitivity. Nuances, important to viewers versed in Australian political debates, seemed to be lost on some of them. Many were, moreover, students of experimental, non-social science disciplines such as Psychology, so had not necessarily been called upon, in the course of their studies, to think critically about the issues of social dynamics that were implicitly 'in play' during the stories.

As discussed in Chapter 6, a reliance on self-reporting questionnaires to gauge emotional responses brings its own intrinsic difficulties. Difficulties perhaps connected with 95% of brain activity being unconscious (Libet, 1985) and the emotions being undetectable with language. These questionnaires were not translated for the Philippines and Mexico branches of the research, where English is not the first language. Perhaps there were significant cultural differences in the socially constructed desirability and acceptability of certain emotional responses to certain kinds of stimulus, or the terminology itself may have been unfamiliar to the participants. As it was, the number of questions

participants were called upon to answer was steadily reduced as the study progressed, on the basis of anecdotal evidence and impressions from the field that some were 'overwhelmed' by the scale of the exercise.

Then, there are the limitations imposed by a focus group methodology, discussed above. This was a major shortcoming of my previous study, which formed the prototype for this research (McGoldrick, 2008). In the 2008 study, both versions of a story about a suicide bombing in Jerusalem were shown to 13 participants. The PJ version had my own voice as the reporter, and I appeared in it on camera, as mentioned in Chapter 2. Most or all of the subjects were aware of my own investment in PJ advocacy and training, making the results impossible to disentangle from demand characteristics. Hence the precaution in the present study of having the same journalist voice both the WJ and the PJ versions, and also the fact that different groups viewed different versions, with no participant being made aware, until after the experiment, that a second version even existed. What was lost in this research, however, was some of the idiographic richness of discussions with participants in that earlier study about the nature of news framing, once they had watched both versions. There is a sense that people 'get it' much more when they watch both versions consecutively.

The other major limitation was that participants were given only a brief encounter with peace journalism, watching less than half an hour of news. If "neurons that wire together fire together" (cited in Lakoff 2009: 83) then a little bit of peace journalism is not going to have the same impact as a year of watching peace journalism, which would allow more neural binding to take place between responses to key points in the stories.

Another limitation was the absence of pre-test measures of participants' previous attitudes or understanding of the conflict. These were not measured before viewers watched PJ. The other limitation to the questionnaire study was that by asking participants to fill in questionnaires in a lecture room, a somewhat artificial environment was created, analogous to a laboratory. The experiment was not truly 'ethnographic' in the sense that it did not involve observing people watching news in their homes. It is possible that some wrote things just for the sake of writing, ticking boxes just because they had been handed a questionnaire.

On the other hand the TLPs were uncensored by the group, spontaneous and more likely to offer glimpses into unconscious responses.

Lessons Learned and Future Research

Peace Journalism in television news can make a difference to emotional and cognitive viewer responses. This research has supported the conclusion that people do notice and, in most cases, appreciate the differences from the dominant form of war journalism. It does prompt people to make different "moral evaluations" and "problem diagnoses" and perceive, even value, different "treatment recommendations" (Entman, 1993: 52). If, as Castells suggests, "the media have become the social space where power is decided" (2007: 238) then more peace journalism could influence the climate of expectations among its publics in favour of greater receptiveness to creative, nonviolent conflict responses.

This conclusion is all very well, but how can it be implemented in practice? In fact, the decline in traditional, commercial funding models for journalism in Western countries like Australia has ushered in a new era where donor, subscriber or institutional funding is underwriting a growing sector of journalistic production, and responsible for a growing share of media influence (Bruns, 2012). A study of US journalism looks forward to the media of 2020, when:

> There will be more nonprofit news organizations, driven by several kinds of donation – direct cash subsidy by philanthropies and other donor organizations… user donations of cash… and in-kind donations of the time and talents of a particular community (Anderson, Bell & Shirky, 2012: 107).

Establishing that Peace Journalism works, in the sense of delivering what journalist trainer Alan Davis calls a "benefit beyond" (2007: 60) the journalism itself and into audience responses, creates a well-attested argument for it to be

supported by anyone interested in creating more propitious circumstances for peace. Donors interested in shaping the climate of public expectation and the referential framework in which conflicts are represented and responded to, in favour of nonviolent, cooperative solutions, can invest in Peace Journalism with some confidence of seeing a return on their investment, so to speak.

As indicated above, the peace journalism produced in the research material for this study was all based on what journalists in the countries concerned could do straight away, if given the opportunity and the ideas. That is to make assumptions about the complex interplay of structure and agency, as sources of influence over the content of news, which have themselves been the subject of intensive study (e.g. Hanitzsch et al., 2010). Through many years of involvement in the Peace Journalism Movement, I have gathered countless fragments of anecdotal evidence of journalists succeeding in changing their reporting of conflict. Mindanews, partner for this research in the Philippines, which is donor-funded, is a highly successful systematic example. Future research could try to put these fragments into more organised form, perhaps through comparisons of the reporting produced by workshop participants before and after undergoing PJ training – and interviewing them about their successes and failures, and the reasons for them.

Other future avenues for research on this strengthened case for peace journalism may arise from its potential role in informing debates about the future of public service broadcasting, as are currently (at the time of writing) beginning to take place in the context of the proposed independent Scotland, leading up to a referendum in September 2014. Perhaps the findings could inform producer guidelines or even recommend a peace correspondent: "The war correspondent has no equivalent peace correspondent and extensive analysis about media and war… finds no comparative interest with the media and peace… this absence of interest raises important moral and social questions about what journalistic responsibility means" (Spencer, 2005: 1).

Directions for future research

Future research could explore the long-term impact of PJ in a longitudinal study much like the one Elizabeth Paluck and Donald Green (2009) carried out in Rwanda, with the reconciliation radio soap operas. This would deal with the limitation mentioned above about the 'brief encounter'. Repeat exposure to Peace Journalism, over a longer time-frame, could be expected to strengthen and deepen the distinctions in audience responses picked up in the present study.

Other avenues for research could involve experimenting with different methods to yield data on the processes of meaning-making that take place unconsciously, as perhaps as little as 1% of brain activity is conscious (Libet, 1985). Such research could use physiological measures such as heart rate and skin conductance level (SCL), enabling more direct, less filtered indications of emotional responses to be gathered. This would be a way to compensate for cultural differences at play in the written responses to questionnaires by people of different nationality and background.

Such procedures would follow in the footsteps of an influential[62] German experiment in which children watched different versions of a television film about a melting snowman (Sturm & Grewe-Partsch, 1987). As in this study, Sturm & Grewe-Partsch (1987) used cognitive and emotional self-reporting, but they also included Heart Rate Variability (HRV) measures. HRV has been shown to correspond to responses in the sympathetic and parasympathetic nervous systems (Porges, Doussard-Roosevelt & Maiti, 1994) to stimuli such as the experience of watching video material (Wallentin et al., 2011 and Gomez, Zimmermann, Guttormsen Schär & Danuser, 2009), corresponding to emotional states – so a similar procedure would be possible to gauge viewer responses to distinctions in the PJ model, when encoded into research material such as television news. It would mean using less TV news, and testing people one at a time, while their HRV and SCL were taken. In Australia, for example, if the Israel/Palestine story was used, then further in-depth exploration of shifting

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[62] This is the experiment discussed in Chapter 2 that was influential in shaping the 'Affective Turn' and written about extensively by Leys (2012); Massumi (2002); Clough & Altieri.

attitudes could be attempted. Han and Rane (2011) used ten questions to explore public understanding of the conflict. In this research, such questions could be used to assess what difference watching PJ made.

Future studies could venture further into the terrain of neuroscience by utilising MRI brain-scans of individual viewers as they watch either war or peace journalism, similar to methods used by Immordino-Yang (2011) in her studies of inspiration, motivation and purposefulness. It might mean isolating yet further than this study attempted, particular delineations between WJ and PJ that demonstrate greater differences. For example showing just a small portion of each story from one country such as Mexico showing El Loco on display versus the young people in the community centre.

And as a female journalist and researcher, in drawing to a close with this research I realize that further studies are needed on the gender dimensions of peace journalism. Previous writings, including my own, have suggested that women could make better peace journalists (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2010; Soderberg Jacobson, 2010; Lynch and Galtung, 2010). These studies have avoided essentialising gender differences with reference to studies in sociolinguistics, for example, suggesting that women, in most cultures, have cause to adopt and inhabit a wider variety of different social and discursive registers. Holmes (1997: 215) finds that "stylistic variability is often greater in women's speech than men's", and relates this to "the ways in which women are often required to use language to construct a much wider range of social identities and express a wider range of social roles than men". They may therefore be more likely to seek to broaden the range of perspectives consulted on any single issue, which is a handy predisposition to the techniques of peace journalism.

Conclusion

The overall aim of this study was to evaluate the evolving case for PJ by exploring the kinds of differences PJ makes to audiences, as a means of testing and validating the PJ theory assumptions. This thesis draws on new theories of the mind influenced by interdisciplinary propositions that rational processing is emotionally cued. Responses to news framed as war journalism and peace journalism used mixed methods to triangulate (Denzin, 1978) with qualitative and quantitative data from four countries: Australia; the Philippines; South Africa and Mexico. Countries were selected for the study because they reflected different stages of conflict (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005; Blasi, 2009; Mogekwu, 2011).

The research found that, across the globe, viewers of PJ can discern the distinctions in the peace journalism model, and the vast majority welcome it. To quote the final comment of the final focus group in Mexico: "If all the news was like this [meaning PJ] I think I could even watch it before I go to bed if I see these kind of things (laughs)."

Questionnaires and focus groups revealed for the first time that viewers of television news framed as peace journalism do think and feel differently, even after as much as only 20 minutes of watching, from those who saw WJ. It has been shown in this study that peace journalism evokes less anger and less disgust, while promoting hope, empathy and understanding. And through such emotions PJ can mobilize the human approach system (Castells, 2012: 14). This could explain why viewers, in this study, responded to the PJ framing with at least double the number of "treatment recommendation[s]" (Entman, 1993: 52) to problems diagnosed in the various stages of conflict (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005; Blasi, 2009; Mogekwu, 2011), as WJ viewers. In South Africa, PJ viewers came up with 11 times more transformative non-punitive responses, than WJ watchers (33 PJ to 3 WJ see table 9.1 in Chapter 9) to a story about extreme sexual violence – gang rape. PJ viewers offered nine times more nonviolent, cooperative, developmental solutions than the WJ group (45 PJ to 5 WJ), in the Philippines when responding to news about the NPA laying a landmine in their conflict with the government.

So it is reasonable to posit, from these findings, that peace journalism engages people's "best cognitive capacities" (Castells, 2009: 191). Capacities that create space for viewers to consider and value nonviolent, cooperative, developmental and transformative responses to conflict in its many forms, from the internal and personal, through inter-personal, between classes and inter-communal, up to international and civilisational. It is then not unreasonable to extrapolate that peace journalism could be pivotal in assisting humanity to unravel the interlocking crises facing our planet, as suggested in Chapter 1.

> From climate change to the global war on terror, from financial meltdowns to forced migrations, from pandemics to world poverty, and from humanitarian disasters to the denial of human rights, global crises present the dark side of our 'negatively globalized planet' (Cottle, 2010: 473).

On a more practical and pragmatic level, this study has added to the growing body of knowledge about peace journalism with its evidence on cognitive and emotional audience effects. The findings also add to the emerging interdisciplinary debate about the role of emotions in shaping and influencing the public sphere (Richards, 2010; Karatzogianni & Kuntsman, 2012) and political communication (Marcus, 2000; Castells, 2009; Westen, 2008; Lakoff, 2009). It also engaged critically with the 'Affective Turn' in the humanities and social sciences (Clough, 2007; Altieri, 2012; Massumi, 2002; Leys, 2011).

Beyond these specific findings, the personal journey of researching and writing the Evolving Case for Peace Journalism has enhanced and enriched my own deep rationality. It has helped me as a woman, a mother, an academic, a psychotherapist and a journalist to appreciate the ever-evolving case for peace journalism. That appreciation began with an intuitive hunch in the august surroundings of Taplow Court, in leafy southern England, back in 1997. Professor Galtung presented the ideas in embryonic form – contained on a single side of A4 paper – at what turned out to be, it seems, a life-long journey. It began with a series of residential Summer schools, entitled 'The Peace Journalism Option'. The second, held in the same place one year on, was called 'What Are Journalists For?' The evolution of Peace Journalism since then, including this

research and this thesis, has drawn me, and perhaps others, somewhat closer to an answer to that important question regarding the purpose and potential of journalism.

ENDS

Annabel McGoldrick

January 2014

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