

The role of media in conflict: Integrating peace journalism in the journalism curriculum

RUKHSANA ASLAM

November 4, 2014

A thesis submitted to Auckland University of Technology in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Pacific Media Centre, School of Communication Studies, AUT, New Zealand

To those, who believe in the value of peace and contribute towards achieving it.

ABSTRACT

Many scholars argue that the media plays a significant role in reporting conflict. The nature of that role – as a perpetuator of conflict or agent for peace – largely depends on the framing and agenda setting of the media. Media can also play a crucial role in informing public about conflicts, analysing it and helping to resolve them. This research shows the findings that favour the integration of the knowledge of conflict analysis, conflict resolution and prevention into journalistic education and training along with developing journalistic sensitivity towards social responsibility. Peace journalism is argued to provide an alternate professional paradigm for the journalists to enable them to view, interpret, source and narrate conflicts in ways that seek non-violent responses in society – an approach that ultimately would help transform conflict and lead it towards resolution. This way journalists can educate, inform, correct misperceptions, build confidence and can offer options for resolution.

To that objective, this study examines peace journalism from three perspectives: (i) how the journalists regard conflict reporting and what they think is lacking in the contemporary journalism curriculum; (ii) what the conflict resolution workers and educators see as relevant to the journalism profession; and (iii) the view of the peace journalism academics about how peace journalism can complement overall journalism education and training.

Participatory Action Research (PAR) was chosen as the appropriate methodology to do the research with three cycles of planning, action and reaction. A content analysis of what was available in terms of peace journalism education in the universities was conducted, along with interviews with twelve international journalists, conflict resolution workers and academics. In the light of the data collected, answers to three questions were sought: (i) can peace journalism be a means of integrating conflict resolution into the journalism curriculum? (ii) Can

the ideals of peace journalism be translated into professional practices? And (iii) can the principles of conflict analysis and resolution be integrated into journalism curriculum using the journalistic tools and practices?

The researcher's personal experiences as a journalist and later as an academic in Pakistan provide relevant contextual background to the objectives of this study. America's so-called 'War on Terror' was a daily living reality in her home country from 2003 onwards until she came to New Zealand in 2010 for her research. Her perspective of the conflict was formed after years of living through the political upheaval, social unrest and countless suicide bombings in her city Islamabad.

The study concludes that a synergised media strategy needs to be established between the journalists, educators, peace workers and researchers to use the mainstream media space by employing the journalistic creativity that peace journalism offers.

Attestation

I, Rukhsana Aslam, hereby declare that to the best of my knowledge and belief, the information given in this thesis is true and correct; and I certify that that all the materials that are not my own work have been identified and acknowledged.

Rukhsana Aslam

14 Nov 2014

CONTENTS

Abstract

Acknowledgements

Introduction.....	8
1. Media, Conflict and Conflict Resolution	17
2. Peace Journalism.....	58
3. Participatory Action Research.....	94
4. Findings	120
5. Discussion and Analysis.....	167
5.1. Introduction.....	167
5.2. Peace journalism education: finding unity in diversity.....	169
5.3. The inverted trident of peace journalism model.....	181
5.4. CAUSE: the generic model for peace journalism education.....	184
5.5. 'It heals when it reveals'.....	197
5.6. Paradigm shift for peace journalism.....	212
5.7. Issues and concerns arising out during the cycles of action, reflection and reaction	222
6. Conclusion and Recommendations	233
References.....	245
Appendices	

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

FIGURES

1.1. Galtung’s triangle of conflict.....	31
2.1. Peace journalism application in Mitchell’s Triangle.....	90
2.2. Role of media in ‘escalation of conflict’ theory dimension.....	91
5.1. The inverted trident of peace journalism model.....	183
5.2. The 4P Model for peace journalism.....	219

TABLES

2.1. War journalism and peace journalism model.....	59
2.2. Tehranian’s 10 commandments for peace journalism.....	72
2.3. Comparison of human rights journalism with peace journalism.....	75
4.1. Selected universities that offer courses on peace journalism.....	123
5.1. Parallels between peace journalism and Investigative journalism.....	200

Acknowledgements

The researcher wishes to express deepest gratitude to her primary supervisor Professor David Robie, Director of the Pacific Media Centre, School of Communication Studies, AUT; secondary supervisor Dr. Heather Devere, National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago, Dunedin; and mentor Dr. Frances Nelson, Head of Postgraduate Studies, AUT.

Their academic input and guidance has been invaluable for this study; their sharing of knowledge inspirational; and their support and encouragement motivational for the author.

Sincere thanks to the Pacific Media Centre and its team, especially Del Abcede, for their friendship, goodwill and well wishes.

Special thanks to Dr. Alan Cocker, Head of the School of Communication Studies, AUT, and Kevin Upton, School Manager, for their moral and financial support in enabling the author to present this research at various forums and taking it to completion.

Acknowledgment is expressed to the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney, its director, Associate Professor Jake Lynch and his wife Annabel McGoldrick, for graciously co-hosting the author's visit to Sydney and participating in this research.

Special acknowledgement is made to Tanveer Shahzad, friend and journalist in Pakistan, for organising the visit to Peshawar and arranging interviews with the local journalists. Thanks also to all the journalists, academics and peace activists who agreed to participate in this research and shared their views and experiences.

Words of gratitude are also expressed to the family and friends in Pakistan. Last, but not the least, heartfelt thanks to husband Waqar and daughters, Amn and Aleena, for their never-ending supply of love and encouragement.

Introduction

The reporting of conflicts and conflict resolution in the media and the way it shapes public opinion has been the focus of a debate among journalists and academics in the last two decades. The ability to affect public perception and knowledge among individuals is one of the most important aspects of the power of mass communication (McComb, 1993, cited in Brosius, 1996). The framing and agenda setting by the media, in terms of what makes the news, determines not only the process of public opinion-making; it can also reflect the personal perceptions and prejudices of journalists in interpreting the conflict situations (Aslam, 2010). One element of media that affects the political conflict is the competition that exists among the news media to capture the audience and ratings (Wolfsfeld, 1997; Hackett, 2007). Castells (2007) argues that the increased usage of the alternate media through the internet in the twenty-first century demonstrates a 'historic shift of the public sphere from the institutional realm to [a] new communication space' – one in which 'insurgent politics and social movements can intervene more decisively'. In fact, 'the media have become the social space where power is decided', he asserts (p. 238).

Such media centric stance warrants 'further scrutiny of the power relations at work within media domains' (Shaw, Lynch & Hackett, 2011, p. 8). Hence there have been efforts by the journalists and academics including Bell (1998); Galtung, (1965, 1969, 1996, 2010); Lynch and McGoldrick (2005a, 2005); Shaw et al, (2011), Lynch (2001a, 2003b, 2007, 2010, 2013); Tehranian (2002, 2007); Shaw (2011); Shinar (2003b, 2007); Keeble, Tulloch and Zollmann (2010); and Hackett (1998, 2007, 2011) to find alternate ways to help journalists engage in the 'journalism of attachment', one that 'cares as well as knows' (Bell, 1998, p. 16); that is 'responsible' and 'accountable' (Howard, 2003) in reporting conflicts. Such journalism would not contribute to escalating conflict situations but would

find 'non-violent' responses to them (Galtung, 1996); such journalism would also be 'ethical' and professionally ascribe to the standards of 'good' journalism (Lynch, 2013).

Galtung and Ruge (1965) in their examination of the structure of what makes the foreign news have presented the 'peace journalism' model as an alternative to the prevalent model of 'war journalism'. Peace journalism has its orientation towards *peace process* as opposed to violent events; *truth* as opposed to propaganda; *people* as opposed to the elite and *solution* as opposed to victory. It is seen as an 'insurgent form' of the traditional norms and practices of the media coverage of conflict (Lynch, 2013; discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2). Peace journalism is defined as 'a set of tools, both conceptual and practical intended to equip journalists to offer a better public service' (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005a, p. 5). It is a form of journalism that tells stories 'in a way that encourages conflict analysis and a non-violent response in society' (Mogekwu, 2011, p. 247).

Peace journalism is seen by its advocates as a 'deliberate creative strategy conceived as a specific response' (Lynch, 2013, p. 36) to Galtung & Ruge's (1965) study of the 12 factors 'which make an event a worthy candidate to become news' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, ix). Its 'value-explicit approach' (Shaw et al, 2011, p. 9) with the journalistic commitment to remit the facts and a clear recount of how these facts are met, lends it the legitimacy to be included within the paradigm of professional journalism (Lynch, 2013).

Conflict reporting then becomes an opportunity for 'not only reporting the truth but the whole truth' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 2). Truth, which can be gleaned through the journalistic 'supply of cues and clues, to alert readers and audiences' to the propaganda trappings of the conflicting sides (Lynch, 2013, p. 38). It also gives a choice to the editors and reporters of what to report and how to report which in turn creates opportunities for the audiences to find non-violent responses in society (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, p. 5). 'Peace journalism is a

serious, inquisitive, professional reporting making conflict more transparent' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 17).

It is also apparent that the origin and conceptualisation of peace journalism is rooted in the larger canvas of media and conflict. Therefore it is in this context that this study has been undertaken. As the title – 'The role of media in conflict: integrating peace journalism into journalism curriculum' – indicates, the study is about the role of media in conflict which also provides the fundamental framework or frame of reference for the research that follows. Hence Chapter 1 examines the concepts of 'conflict', 'peace', 'conflict resolution' and 'conflict transformation' and discusses the role of media through these lenses. For instance, while the positive approaches to conflict (p. 28-29) and peace like agonistic and liberal peace (p. 34-35) are discussed, the study looks at them 'in relation to war and armed conflict' (p. 36). The discussion on the growth of the media, the problems journalists face in conflict situations (p. 17-28) and the media discourse on peace (p. 38) is also done in the same light. Similarly, section 1.6 looks at the initiatives taken in journalistic training at the professional as well as academic level from the lens of conflict resolution. Hence, it is within the framework of conflict and peace that journalism curriculum has been looked at in the literature review (p. 92), data collection (p. 108) and analysis (p. 167).

The deliberations on peace journalism, though pertinent to journalists at the professional level, are also vital for media educators in terms of how the ideals and principles of peace journalism can be translated and transmitted into journalistic education and training. Journalism education and training has been debated from many perspectives but the consensus from scholars (Hackett, 2007; Robie, 2004a, 2005; Lynch & McGoldrick 2003, 2005, 2005a, 2007; Reese, 2009; Bacon, 2006; Falkerts, Hamilton & Lemann, 2013; Watson, 2011; Papoutsaki, Mcmanus & Matbob, 2011; Ross, 2007; Carey, 1978; Weaver et al, 2002; and Aslam, 2010 to name a few) is on the need to improve the standards

of contemporary journalistic education and training, and to make it more reflexive, critical, thorough and innovative.

However it also noted that the terms 'education' and 'training' within the journalism field are used intermittently to convey the broader aspects of professional and theoretical knowledge of journalists at various stages and levels. This study distinguishes between the terms 'education' and 'training', and focuses on the 'curriculum' (p. 108). 'Training' pertains to enhancing skills in a profession by employing formal or semi-formal means: in journalism it may include improving skills in using technical equipment, using camera, designing or writing, usually focusing on one aspect of the work journalists do. 'Education' refers to the academic form of gaining knowledge, usually engaging students in schools, colleges and universities; in the journalistic context, it involves a holistic approach encompassing the theoretical and practical aspects of journalism as a field and profession. 'Curriculum' denotes the formalised and specific path of academic knowledge over a period of time that is employed by an institution. Hence journalism curriculum would mean the specific extent of particular knowledge that journalism schools and department in universities deem necessary to impart to the students in order for them to understand and master that field at a given level.

It is understood that there is an overlapping between the three terms; but in the author's understanding, journalism 'education' and 'training' are wide canvases which deal with a broad range of issues, topics and debates whereas journalism 'curriculum' is the path specific to each level of journalism education and training (e.g. from school to college to universities, each level has its own curriculum but together they make-up the overall extent of journalism education). Keeping within the limitations of time and space of this doctoral study, the author has focused on how peace journalism might address some of

the issues, concerns and problems specific to conflict reporting and how it might be integrated into the journalism curriculum.

In doing so, this thesis also deals with the role of media in conflict. It explores what conflicts are; how they occur; what are the tools to help societies build peace and how media can help them in achieving it. In this perspective, the researcher's personal experiences as a journalist and later as an academic in Pakistan provide relevant contextual background to the objectives of this study. America's so-called 'War on Terror' was a daily living reality in her home country from 2003 onwards until she came to New Zealand in 2010 for her research. The researcher's perspective of the conflict at personal level was formed after years of living through the political upheaval, social unrest and countless suicide bombings in her city Islamabad, including the one in her institution, the International Islamic University, on October 20, 2009 (www.iiui.edu.pk), which injured several students and killed many others ('A tragedy beyond description'. *The News*, Wednesday, October 21, 2009). During that period, the role of media in reporting conflicts was a topic of discussion in every newsroom and journalism classroom.

In reviewing the literature, she discusses several cases of violence against the local journalists during the conflict to analyse how they contribute to the debate on media's role in conflict resolution. Some of these aspects were published in her earlier work, including a contributing chapter in *Peace Journalism, War and Conflict Resolution* (Keeble et al, 2010) and an article in WACC's journal *Media Development* (2011/2, Vol. LVVIII). She also narrates examples from her experiences as an academic and how her students evolved in their response to violence and conflict which was reflected in their assignments. During her research based in New Zealand, the author gave seminars at various academic institutions and interacted with the NZ graduate and postgraduate students. She also recorded their response to conflicts in the Pacific region as well as their

response to her research. These varied experiences contribute to her arguments in her analysis and conclusions.

Structurally, the research is presented in the form of six main chapters. The title of the study demanded an understanding of several complementary areas – conflict, peace, conflict reporting, conflict resolution and conflict transformation – that needed to be studied in their own respect. The development of peace journalism as a possible means to enhance media's positive role in conflict resolution also needed to be explored in detail.

Chapter 1 provides the contextual background to the topic. It explores various scholarly approaches to, and interpretations of, peace, conflict and conflict resolution. It discusses their relationship with the media in terms of journalistic reporting of conflicts and the factors like framing, agenda setting and physical hurdles for journalists, which contribute towards making it a complex phenomenon. It also talks about the various initiatives taken across the world to improve journalistic training in conflict reporting, both at professional and academic levels.

Chapter 2 focuses on the conceptual and theoretical development of peace journalism as a response to the prevalent trends and practices that are considered as the attributes of war journalism. It reviews the literature on the critical and comparative approaches to peace journalism, including the scholarly arguments made against and in favour of it. The theoretical framework of peace journalism is built within the frameworks of journalism as well as peace and conflict studies. The theories that relate to the structure and agency of journalism include Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1963) social responsibility of journalism model; Herman and Chomsky (2002) propaganda model of the media; Shoemaker and Reese (1996) hierarchical model of influences on media content; and Pierre Bourdieu (1998) notion of journalism as a field, as examined by Hackett (2007). At the same time, theories formulated by Mitchell (1981) in his

triangle of Situation-Attitude-Behaviour and the Spatial Escalation model of conflict given by Schattschneider (1983) are discussed to place peace journalism within the peace and conflict dimension.

The methodology chosen for this study – Participatory Action Research (PAR) – is discussed in Chapter 3 along with the explanation of the cycles of planning, action and reaction that the researcher went through. It was a complicated and lengthy process but found appropriate because of the interactive role that the various actors, such as the journalists, the peace workers and the academics, play in developing the perception and understanding of the general audience. The approach was useful in allowing the researcher to be an active participant thus helping her to utilise her own experience as a journalist and an academic. The traditional techniques of data collection like the content analysis and interviews helped to find out about the on-ground journalism practices and coverage of the conflicts; what was lacking in it from the perspective of peace workers; and how could these be improved and included into the journalism curriculum. Three research statements were formulated regarding the possible ways to integrate elements of conflict resolution and conflict transformation that overlap with peace journalism into the journalism curriculum.

The findings of the content analysis of what is available in terms of conflict-related journalism education, as well as the findings derived out of the twelve interviews conducted for this study, are given in Chapter 4. The discussion and analysis is done in Chapter 5. This chapter is divided into six sections, each dealing with a theme of discussion and analysis. It is in these chapters that the author presents her arguments and proposes three original models: the Inverted Trident of peace journalism that consolidates the various approaches of peace journalism; *CAUSE*: the generic model for peace journalism that brings together various elements to design a course on it; and the IJ-PJ Model that helps link the two strands so that they can be mutually beneficial. Together, these models

signify the conceptual understanding of peace journalism, how to translate its values and ideals into tangibles and implement them in a practical manner.

The final chapter gives the conclusions drawn out by the researcher and the recommendations she makes for further action and research. The recommendations are not region or country specific; each one of them can be applied to region's specific needs, concerns and resources. Indeed the study argues in favour of having generic models for not only understanding peace journalism approaches but also implementing it within the journalism curriculum without imposing national or regional boundaries on it (p. 53; p. 189-190; p. 231).

It should be kept in mind that the study does not aim to turn journalists into conflict resolution practitioners; the objective of the study is to improve journalism curriculum vis-à-vis the role media plays and can play in conflicts. Hence it is journalism oriented and sees conflict resolution and transformation not as an end in itself but as offering some relevant and practical means to help journalists in reporting conflicts.

The study also does not suggest that enhancing knowledge of conflict resolution is the answer to all ills in the contemporary standards of conflict reporting. A range of factors presented in the findings (Chapter 4) point to the existing issues and concerns in conflict reporting. Not all of them are directly related to training; some of them are applicable at personal, social or organisational levels. But they do act as contributing factors in making conflict reporting a complex phenomenon for the journalists. The author makes the case for making journalists aware of them as the first step towards finding ways to overcome them.

What the study does endeavour to do is to make an original contribution to the field: it brings together the different resources on peace journalism; analyses them through a range of perspectives; and suggests various models to

understand and implement peace journalism as part of journalism curriculum. Equally important is that it offers new possibilities of further research for other scholars which can build up to constructive knowledge in this area.

On a more personal note, the study is the researcher's doctoral thesis, and hence an important milestone for her. But it also her response as a journalist, an academic and a researcher to the overall debate on how media can play a more positive role in conflict to the overall debate. The study has taken her on a journey that has been very exciting and stimulating: a few surprises here and a few challenges there, but never stagnant. The process has enriched her knowledge and understanding of the subject and it has helped her make a sincere and honest contribution to the debate on how to conceptualise and implement peace journalism through the three models that she has proposed. She is sincerely optimistic that the outcome of the study is cognizant with the demands of the journalistic profession and that it would benefit the journalists and students in their careers in New Zealand and in other countries.

Chapter 1: Media, Conflict and Conflict Resolution

1.1. Introduction

This chapter is an introduction to the concepts of peace, conflict and conflict resolution. It discusses various scholarly definitions and critical approaches to these terms in relation to the media along with the factors that contribute towards the prevalent trends and practices in conflict reporting. The concepts of conflict resolution and conflict transformation are also explored keeping in view the different models of conflict resolution. It is followed by a discussion on the various forms of journalistic training available in different countries. The last section talks about the challenges faced in the journalists training in conflict reporting and resolution.

Journalism is considered to make the first draft of history (Tomalin, 1969). Journalists followed the oral tradition of storytelling, but their 'stories' were the reporting of facts using their skills of observation, description and writing. 'To grow up in the profession was to discover a trove of impressions, claims, images and declarations' (Lynch, 2013, p. 2). The ideals of the journalists' role in society were to inform and educate the public. They were the 'watchdog of democracy' in society, guarding the interests of the people, fulfilling their socially responsible role in society (Robie, 2004). The socially positive role of the journalists in safeguarding the people's right to equality, freedom of speech and social justice became a reflection of the principles of democracy and media being termed as the fourth pillar of the state (Curran, 2011).

That role evolved with what Castells terms 'a historic shift of the public sphere from the institutional realm to [a] new communication space' which became the

platform for social dialogue and power play (Castells, 2007, p. 238). Media became 'the social space where power is decided' (p. 238). News was not only about power, money and politics; it was also about 'entertainment' (Harcup & O'Neil, 2001). The advent of the digital revolution and new media technologies made news more 'entertaining, interactive and instantaneous' (Aslam, 2010, p. 346). It also gave people 'unprecedented access to global events, with immediate and detailed reporting of war'. In a paradox, it also became the tool for state propaganda; a means 'to inculcate and defend the economic, social and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state' (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 298).

Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model demonstrated a 'predictive potency' (Lynch, 2013, p. 2). Reflecting on the elements of agenda setting and framing of the news, it brought a major shift in the way the news is perceived and scrutinised, 'especially when it comes to reporting conflicts' (p. 2).

The media assumes 'a central role in international affairs', argues Ross (2007) because 'citizens are dependent on media to provide timely, credible information of distant events' (p. 54) and journalists act as the communication agents to provide this information. Communication itself, Peleg (2007) points out, 'is a crucial determinant in conflict and conflict resolution: it creates consciousness of, and attentiveness to, the other' (p. 26). The 'information failures' of the media in providing timely and credible information can become a 'primary contributor' in escalating the conflict (Lake & Rothchild, 1996, p. 73). Such failures occur when the media constructs and reinforces simplistic or negative portrayal of those representing the other side (Hofman, 1972; Ibrahim, 1972).

'Decades of study of the role of media in ongoing conflicts suggests that media rarely report conflict neutrally', argues Ross (2007, p. 57). In her study on deconstructing conflict reporting, she points out several factors that contribute to the contemporary reporting of conflicts: such as the government pressures, political influences, propaganda mechanism, foreign policy issues, commercial considerations, structural constraints, political cultures, norms and traditions of societies and nationalistic emotions. Under these influences, the media frames the news on conflict in ways which serve the hidden or prominent interests of the various players in the conflict (Ross, 2007; Herman & Chomsky, 2002).

For instance, after the Gulf War of 1991, many Western journalists claimed they had been duped by the US-led forces (Keeble, 2010). Several reporters gave accounts of how they – despite their ideals of professional objectivity and social responsibility – became obsessed with the military jargon surrounding the sophisticated weaponry. 'Iraqi civilians were reduced to 'targets' and the night air raids were described as 'fireworks'. The horror of the mass slaughter of Iraqi soldiers and citizens lay hidden behind claims of 'heroic victory' (Aslam, 2010, p. 336). That was mainly done through framing of the news.

i. Framing

McCombs and Shaw (1972) argue that the ability to affect public perception and knowledge among individuals is one of the most important aspects of the power of mass communication, which is intensified by the process of framing news. Framing and agenda setting by the media not only affects the process of public opinion-making but also reflects the personal perceptions and prejudices of journalists in interpreting the conflict situations.

According to McCombs and Shaw (1972; also Brosius & Weimann, 1996), audiences not only learn about public issues and other matters through the media, they also learn how much importance is attached to an issue or topic from the emphasis the mass media place upon it.

This ability to effect cognitive change among individuals is one of the most important aspects of the power of mass communication, which is intensified by the process of framing news. Entman (1993; also cited in Norris, Kern & Just, 2003, p. 329) argues that framing occurs when the media make some aspects of a particular issue more prominent to promote 'a certain problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation'.

Schramm (1993) suggests that journalists' own attitude and approach to conflict is also crucial to how they report it. He argues:

News exists in the minds of men. It is not an event; it is something perceived *after* the event...it is an attempt to reconstruct the essential framework of the event which is calculated to make the event meaningful to the reader. (Schramm, 1993, p. 36)

After going through the various stages of observing, collating, writing, editing and publishing, the end product is the combination of 'witness accounts, second hand accounts, tertiary comments and explanations and the reporter's own knowledge and predispositions' (Ibid., p. 36).

The framing of the Pakistan-India conflict frequently comes under scrutiny by the journalists on both sides (Sethi, 1999; Thibeault, 2000; Singh, 2007; Ninan, 2007; Aslam, 2010). Sethi (1999), a Pakistani journalist, says that 'the role the press plays in both countries in reinforcing prejudices and old enmities' makes 'the press part of the problem rather than part of the solution'. Thibeault (2000), in

his study of the media coverage published online on the Kashmir issue between the two neighbouring countries, concluded that many editorials ‘manifested the deep scepticism, and often hostility, with which journalists in India and Pakistan view the actions and pronouncements of their neighbour and rival’.

Although sometimes media reports do provide a *positive perspective* (Chattarji, 2006), both Hindi and Urdu news media in India and Pakistan have the tendency to report *negatively* on each other.

Clearly the personal biases of the Pakistani and Indian journalists against each have its roots in the bloody partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947 that resulted in displacement of hundreds of thousands of families and in the long-standing rivalry between Hindus and Muslims. (Aslam, 2010, p. 337)

Media then has a role to play in conflict situations. The nature of that role – as a perpetuator of a conflict or agent for peace – largely depends on the framing and agenda setting of the media. If the agenda of the media is *non-violence* and the framing is *peace-oriented* aimed to reduce the conflict and support the rapprochement, it can de-escalate the violence and influence the public opinion towards resolving conflict (Lynch & Galtung, 2010).

ii. New Media Technologies

The digital revolution has affected both the nature of the information and the speed with which it reaches the audience, argues Mottaghi (2008). The news is immediate and round-the-clock; the media choice is multiple ranging from the print to the cyber; and the audience is both local and global. It is important for the journalists to respond to the global events without losing the local audience.

And while the 'fundamental tenets of journalism' – such as authenticity, balance and accuracy – remain unaltered by the new media technologies, they do change user behaviour and hence 'news room paradigms, discussions and decisions' (Aslam, 2010, p. 346).

The new media technologies have also brought the aspect of 'entertainment' on media-war axis. Schubart in her book *War Isn't Hell, It's Entertainment* (2009) deals with the close relationship between war and media - offering no apology for the existence of such a relationship. Neither does she try to condemn it or separate the two. 'It is much too late for that,' Schubart admits in her introduction (p.4). She notes that while in almost all societies and cultures, conflict has always been the theme for stage, drama and oral story-telling tradition, it has now transcended to becoming a visual entertainment that is universally accepted in the form of video games, movies and TV shows. The 'disturbing part' is not the theme itself, but the 'actualisation and identification of the characters' (the heroes are mostly dressed as American soldiers or citizens) against the enemies (such as the games in which the enemy is Osama bin Laden) (Schubart, 2009, p. 4).

Schubart questions anyone who is the active user of the visual media to pause and question their response to war and its exploitation in the visual media. Many people enjoy killing the enemy while playing the war video games; they watch the personal recordings of war on YouTube precisely because they are entertaining; they like the war action movies because of the special effects; and they admire and remember the famous world war films. But it is done on the pretext that it is just a game or a film – a means of entertainment. A make believe, not reality. 'In our world of reality shows and visual effects, war has become an entertainment' (2009, p. 4).

iii. Trauma and survival

One of the biggest challenges for the journalists is to survive the trauma of witnessing the conflict – both physically and emotionally (Barnes, 2013). Especially for the local journalists, consequences of what could happen to them, their life, family, job or property after the story is published are far pressing issues.

This has been happening every day in Baluchistan, the south-west province of Pakistan, for the past several years during which the US forces fought the so-called ‘War on Terror’ in neighbouring Afghanistan, using Pakistani soil as a military base, says the special report *Press in Stress: Media under threat in Baluchistan* compiled by Intermedia Pakistan in 2012. The report contains the findings of the ‘Assessment Mission’ that went to Baluchistan in 2011 to determine the state of media in the country. It was supported by the Pakistan Journalists Safety Fund (PJSF), an initiative run by an independent Steering Committee of Pakistan’s renowned journalists and human rights activists, and managed by the Pakistan Union of Journalists and non-governmental organisation Intermedia Pakistan.

The report gives an account of how journalists gathered in Kabir building – ‘Quetta’s Fleet Street where national and international media offices jostle for space in the 1950s building compound’ – and discuss their stories (*Press in stress*, Intermedia Pakistan, 2011, p. 2). Most of the conversation revolved around which stories should be ‘filed’ and which should be ‘killed’. The test question was always the same: ‘But is it worth your life?’

The report also acknowledges the threats and dangers faced by the journalists in a conflict zone when they are 'ill-qualified, ill-equipped, inexperienced and not trained' especially when there is no organizational support system at any level for them. They are learning conflict reporting the hardest way, it says – 'by risking their lives' in their efforts to 'keep the flow of information running, uncluttered from the all-round propaganda that permeates the province' (Intermedia Special Report, 2012, p. 2)

Intermedia's report notes that about 76 journalists in Pakistan were killed for doing their job and investigating events between January 2000 and December 2011, making Pakistan one of the most dangerous countries for journalists in the world at the time. It adds:

The decision [to investigate] can be tough for journalists but then they are reporting on the toughest beat one can ask for – Baluchistan. Torn between duty, ambition – the relentless drive, that is breaking news, to keep a job or hunger for scoop – and the anxiety to stay safe, journalists in Baluchistan are watchful of both news and the consequences of reporting it (p. 3).

The 'War on Terror' was also fought in Pakistan's other tribal areas from 2005 till 2012, and cost many Pakistan journalists their lives. But it provides a 'unique case' in the analysis of conflict reporting. These tribal areas lie in the remote region of the North-West of Pakistan bordering Afghanistan. Despite being the epicentre of the conflict, there is no access for Pakistani or foreign journalists to cover the conflict. The foreign journalists are looked upon as spies and the local journalists not only face death everyday but are also looked upon with mistrust by the government as well as the local community (Aslam, 2010).

Two cases are discussed below to demonstrate how journalistic investigations into stories led to them being harassed, kidnapped, tortured and killed.

Hayatullah Khan, a young journalist in his thirties, was a reporter for the English language daily *The Nation* and the Urdu newspaper, *Ausaf*; he was also the general secretary of the Tribal Union of Journalists (TUJ) and had been covering the US-led 'drone attacks' in Waziristan since the beginning. In the midst of the US's denial of such attacks, he was the first journalist to show the remains of the drone after one attack. He was kidnapped by gunmen, and six months later on 16 June 2006, shot in North Waziristan. His family and many others believe he was kidnapped and detained by the security agencies for his reporting on US military action in tribal areas. On the other hand, the local Taliban's approach towards the media is even worse. They are hostile to the presence of any outside media person considering them all 'Western spies' (Dietz, 2006).

Syed Saleem Shahzad, 40, worked for an Italian news agency and was the bureau chief of *Asia Times Online*, Hong Kong. He reported on the naval base attack on May 22, 2011 that took 17 hours to repel (Dawn, 2011). The Taliban had claimed responsibility, saying the attack was carried out to avenge the US killing of Osama bin Laden in Pakistan.

Shahzad's last piece was an investigative report that al-Qaeda had carried out the attack on Pakistan's naval air base on May 22, 2011 to avenge the arrest of naval officials arrested on suspicion of having Al-Qaeda links. He alleged that the attack was facilitated by someone in uniform. There had been rumours for months about some navy personnel picked up by intelligence agencies for links to jihadi groups, but the veil of secrecy was tight and media reports had not got very far on the details.

Shahzad went missing the next day after he left his home in the capital to take part in a television talk show, but never arrived. His body was found two days later about 150 km southeast of Islamabad. Police said it bore marks of torture. The news report on Dawn.com, June 3, 2011 termed the incident as 'the perennial squeeze on the truth' and warned that 'burying the truth and journalists like Saleem Shahzad is [not] making Pakistan any safer or stronger' (www.dawn.com, 2011; also see Saleem, 2011).

iv. Contradiction and speculation

An example of how the news coming from Waziristan is contradictory, speculative and confusing due to the lack of journalistic access to the conflict, is the report of the Taliban leader Baitullah Mehsud being killed in the drone attacks in August 2009. Lanche (2009), a research intern at Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), wrote in an article that it was a fact that a missile strike had destroyed Taliban leader Baitullah Mehsud father-in-law's house in Zanghora, South Waziristan, on 5 August 2009. But ironically 'no one knows for sure if the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) chief was either killed or injured in the blast,' he writes. 'Since then, various contradictory statements have been made by US officials, Pakistani intelligence and Taliban commanders to confirm or invalidate Mehsud's death.' The US media reported in the affirmative followed by the confirmation by the Pakistan's foreign office official and the Interior Minister but denied by the Taliban. Lanche concludes:

...neither the Government nor the Taliban have been able to produce any material evidence that TTP's charismatic leader is either dead or alive. 'Time will reveal the truth', most Pakistani commentators say. But

patience will be required here, for one cannot step in South Waziristan to confirm the facts so easily. (Lanche, 2009)

Chandran (2006) argues in his article on-line that while the murder of Daniel Pearl (South Asia bureau chief of the *Wall Street Journal*) in February 2002 attracted much attention and occupied the headlines, the Taliban ban on media in the region had gone largely unnoticed. For instance, two journalists working for the *Frontier Post* and Khyber TV, Amir Nawab Khan and Allah Noor Wazir, were killed in Wana town by the militants in February 2005. Some were luckier: Dilawar Khan Wazir, a Wana-based journalist working with BBC World Service, was warned with a bomb in his compound after he participated in a Voice of America radio programme in December 2005. 'Militants have repeatedly issued threats against any adverse reports, both in the electronic and print media,' Chandran (2006) says.

Other media-related NGOs, such as Internews Pakistan, reported in June 2006 that at least 20 journalists in the tribal areas were killed, kidnapped, arrested, tortured or threatened by the local administration, the law enforcement agencies and Taliban – all during the first six months of the conflict. The Pakistan Press Freedom Report (2007) concluded that 'most journalists in tribal areas have either been forced to give up their profession or leave their home town. The few that remain, limit their coverage to innocuous topics such as school functions and activities of administration officers.'

Since then, the only source of information left in the tribal areas is provided by the Inter Services Public Relations (ISPR) which is the army's official agency (Aslam, 2010). Its news credibility remains 'questionable as most of it is written in and disseminated not from the conflicted areas but its offices in Islamabad' (p. 348).

ISPR has claimed dozens of Taliban leaders have been killed yet not a single photograph has been released to the press. It has claimed the tribal area of Swat has been cleared of all Taliban elements yet the Radio News Network reported on 21 July 2009 the Taliban were running an FM radio station – just days after the internally displaced people (IDPs) from the valley were allowed to go back to their homes. (Before the military operation in Swat began in April 2009, an estimated 88 FM radio stations were estimated to be operating illegally in the area, mostly by the Taliban.) (Aslam, 2010, p. 348)

These examples highlight the magnitude of the problems facing journalists engaged in conflict reporting in a situation like this: when they have no access to the conflict; when no information is available to them about the human suffering; when there is no opportunity to capture images and when all the parties in the conflict, including the local community, are not willing to trust them.

1.2. Conflict

In basic terms, 'conflict' can be seen as the clash between hostile and opposing elements, ideas or forces. The early definitions range between Coser (1956) defining it as a 'struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources' (1956, p. 8), to Kriesberg's definition of conflict as 'a relationship between two or more parties who believe they have incompatible goals' (Kriesberg, 1973). A more modern definition is given by Bonta (1996, p. 405) who says that it is 'the interpersonal antagonism and at times, hostile encounters' between two or more parties.

A broader accepted definition is provided by the Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIK) that defines conflict as:

...the clashing of interests (personal differences) on national values of some duration and magnitude between at least two parties (organised groups, states, groups of state, organisations) that are determined to pursue their interests and win their cases. (HIK, 2005, p. 2)

Other definitions of conflict are given (Singer & Small, 1972, p. 8; Wallensteen & Sollenberg, 2005, p. 635) relating to the number of deaths required in the battlefield to enable it to be defined as a *conflict* – a minimum 35 deaths is prescribed by Singer and Small and at least 25 by Wallensteen and Sollenberg.

One common thread in the above definitions is that conflict has an ‘element of disagreement’ either on points of principle, perception, values, ideology or culture. The other common element is that conflict is cyclic in process, it ‘occurs and progresses in stages’ (Mogekwu, 2012, p. 241).

Conflicts thus can be seen in terms of a process and set of human relationships having ‘good and bad stages’ (Lederach, 2003). They are a ‘central part of living with others’ (Hamelink, 2011, p. 11) because people will always have different values and beliefs and therefore will always ‘see things differently’. Lynch and Galtung (2010) argue:

[A] conflict is also a clear opportunity for human progress, using the conflict to find new ways, being imaginative, creative, transforming conflict so that the opportunities take the upper hand. Without violence. (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 2)

Anstey (1991) terms conflict as a *process* rather than a static one-off event. He says that conflict is present in society in both ‘latent’ and ‘manifest’ forms:

Conflicts exist in a relationship when parties believe that aspirations cannot be achieved simultaneously, or perceive a divergence in their values, needs and interests (latent conflict) and purposely employ their power in an effort to defeat, neutralise, or eliminate each other to protect or further their interests in the interaction (manifest conflict). (Anstey, cited in Moge kwu, 2011, p. 241)

Following this argument, Brahm (2003) draws a curve of the progression of conflict, breaking it into seven stages that include the latent stage, the conflict emergence stage, the conflict escalation stage, the stalemate stage, the de-escalation stage, the dispute settlement stage and the post-conflict peace building stage.

Noll (2000) argues that as conflict escalates through various phases; parties tend to show behaviours indicating movement backward through stress. He identifies five phases of conflict escalation starting from the phase in which the parties are willing to cooperate and find solutions and leading, upon failure, to a phase where much of their actions become one-sided and irrational. In between are the stages where each side loses the will to see or acknowledge the other side's perspective, hostilities grow and physical manifestations of conflicts start taking place. This clearly indicates a relationship between conflicts and people through their perceptions, behaviours and actions.

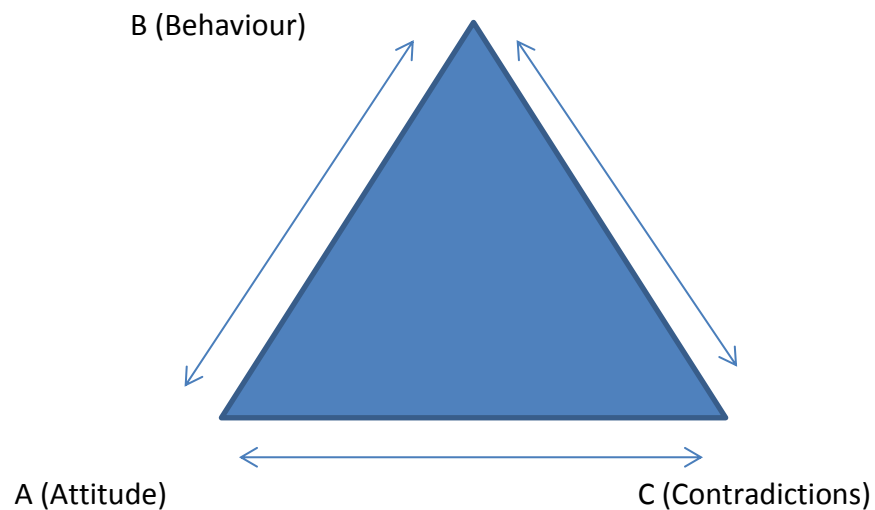
Related to the conflict are the concepts of 'conflict management', 'conflict resolution' and 'conflict transformation'. Conflict management covers a range of efforts towards positive conflict handling and aims to help towards containing violent conflict (Miall, Ramsbotham & Woodhouse, 1999). Conflict resolution implies that behaviour of the conflicting parties is no longer violent and their attitudes no longer hostile (Bonta, 1996). Conflict Transformation is a complex

term which hints at the change in the relationships between the conflicting parties over the period of time and thereby also changing the nature of the conflict (Lederach, 2003). The terms are discussed in sections 1.5 and 1.5.3.

1.2.1. Galtung's Triangle of Conflict

Galtung (1996, p. 72), who introduced the concept of peace and war journalism in the 1970s, demonstrates the relationship between people and conflicts through his ABC triangle shown in Figure 1.1:

Figure 1.1. Galtung's ABC triangle of conflict.



(Source: Miall, Ramsbotham & Woodhouse, 1999, pp. 18-19)

According to Galtung, a conflict consists of people's (A) assumptions and attitudes, (B) behaviour and (C) contradictions [in actions]. Conflict occurs when there are contradictions in the 'goals' of the different sides and they are 'incompatible'. In a 'shock of goals', conflict may also produce violence which is

then reported as a 'game' in which one side plays against the other. Thus the conflict takes the form of a triangle, and the interaction between the three corners of the triangle, reflect the dynamic and ongoing nature of human relationships (Galtung, 1996, p. 72).

Integrally related to the dynamics of conflict is Galtung's (1969) concept of violence. It is a state when '[h]uman beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realisations are below their potential' (1969, p. 168). Violence can manifest itself in society at both 'structural' and 'cultural' levels. *Structural violence* is built within the structure, ranking and classification of different segments of population in society held through custom or practice that justifies violence against a segment of a population (Galtung, 1996); whereas *cultural violence* comprises those aspects of culture that can justify any form of violence through artefacts, practices and production. 'Apartheid is perhaps known as the most conspicuous localised example' of structural violence while cultural violence includes examples such as 'initiation rites in traditional societies, to the statues of war heroes' (Lynch, 2013, p. 49).

Conflicts in their totality result from the interplay of these forces and, in order to resolve a conflict, one needs to address all these components. With reference to the conflict triangle (see figure 1.1), it can be suggested that *peacemaking* aims to change the attitudes of the main protagonists by lowering the level of destructive behaviour; whereas *peacebuilding* tries to overcome the contradictions which lie at the root of the conflict (Galtung, 1996, p. 112).

Mitchell's (1981) slightly different model of what constitutes conflict is based on *situation-attitude-behaviour* axes. Peleg (2007) explains that the situation-axis connotes the 'initial interests' and circumstances that 'galvanise the parties to confrontation' (p. 28). The attitude-axis is the 'psychological dimension' which

symbolises 'all the stigma, prejudice, labelling, demonising and de-legitimising' that the conflicting parties engage in. Lastly, the behaviour-axis is how the parties act towards each other 'with regards to the situation they are in and following the attitude they develop towards the other' (p. 28).

Looking at these triangles from Anstey's (1991) above-given perspective that sees conflict in manifest and latent forms, this would mean that while B-component (behaviour) is the manifest aspect of conflict, the A, C and S components (attitudes, contradictions and situation) are the latent aspects. Similarly Brahm's (2003) and Noll's (2000) stages that overlap each other can also be divided into the manifest and latent aspects of conflict. Mogeckwu's (2011) argument for finding means of conflict resolution through the media is based on this division discussed further along in this chapter.

1.3. Peace

Peace has always been associated with war and conflict. Barash (2000) argues that peace is never fully achieved, but can only be approached. Kempf (2003b) gives various meanings of peace ranging from it being the 'absence of war' to being a 'state of harmony'.

Galtung (1996) argues that peace has a 'fatal connection' with war – he termed the mere 'absence of war' or ceasefire as 'negative peace'. On the other hand, 'positive peace' is the condition in which other 'non-violent' ways are available to the society to deal with conflict. 'In positive peace, aspects of structural and cultural violence are exposed, and challenged, and this requires openness and inclusiveness in public spheres, to allow monitory democracy' (Lynch, 2013, p.

50). If conflict is defined in terms of 'human relationships'; peace is defined 'not as the absence of conflict, but as the absence of violence' (p. 50).

Related to peace, are the concepts of *peacebuilding* and *peacekeeping*. Peacekeeping is defined as 'the maintenance of peace, especially the prevention of further fighting between hostile forces in an area' (Collins, 2003). It may require the presence of internal and external forces to monitor and execute the truce between the opposing sides – a role that has been increasingly assigned to the UN Peacekeeping forces (Mogekwu, 2011).

Peacebuilding, on the other hand, is a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships (Lederach, 1997). The term involves a wide range of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords. Metaphorically, peace can be seen not merely as a stage in time or a condition; it is a dynamic and social process of constructing peace (Lederach 1997). Lederach also introduced the concept of 'conflict transformation' further discussed in section 1.4.3.

Galtung (1998) explains peacebuilding as the process of creating self-supporting structures that remove causes of wars and offer alternatives in war-like situations. Such mechanisms should be built into the structures of society and be present there as a reservoir for the system itself to draw upon, just as a healthy body has the ability to generate its own antibodies and does not need ad hoc administration of medicine (Galtung, 1998; Lynch & Galtung 2010).

Other efforts to conceptualise peace and peacebuilding can be found in the concepts of 'liberal peace' and 'agonistic' peace approaches that embody the principles of fairness, equality and consensus building; these approaches also

imply a deep respect and concern for *the other* and are rooted in the works of political theorists including Adorno (1974) and Foucault (1991). Both approaches have been criticised for their limitations (Shinko, 2008; Richmond 2006; Gutmann & Thompson, 2002).

Shinko (2008) suggests the conceptualisation of agonistic peace that requires feelings of mutual respect and concern of the parties for each other, needs more critical research to enable it 'to resist the trap wherein peace emerges as just another tactic for reinscribing hegemonic structures of domination, exclusion, and marginalisation' (Shinko, 2008 p. 473).

The implications of such an approach are significant because it ultimately requires that we problematise considerations of respect and recognition when we approach the study of conflicts and that we self-reflexively question our own moral analytical frameworks embedded in the structural components of the peace we strive to create. (Shinko, 2008, p. 473)

Richmond (2006) argues that the construction of liberal peace, and its associated discourses and practices in post-conflict environments 'is far from coherent'. It is subject to 'significant intellectual and practical shortcomings' that are related to its focus on political, social, and economic reforms as 'long-term institutional processes resting on the reform of governance' (Richmond, 2012, p. 291).

It thereby neglects interim issues such as the character, agency and needs of civil society actors, especially related to the ending of war economies, and their replacement with frameworks that respond to individual social and economic needs, as well as political needs. The resultant peace is therefore often very flimsy and at best virtual, rather than emancipatory. (Richmond, 2012, p. 291)

Gutmann and Thompson (2002) have argued more in favour of 'deliberative democracy' than the 'liberal' peace. It is a form of democracy in which deliberation is crucial to decision making. They define it as:

a form of government in which free and equal citizens and their representatives justify decisions in a process in which they give one another reasons that are mutually acceptable and generally accessible, with the aim of reaching decisions that are binding on all at present but open to challenge in the future. (Gutmann & Thompson, 2002, p. 3)

They state that the principles of fairness, equality, justice, co-operation, open-mindedness and dialogue embedded in the concept of deliberative democracy are crucial for 'free and equal' participation of the people in the affairs of the state and lay the foundations of a harmonious and peaceful society (Gutmann & Thompson, 2002).

This study however looks at peace in relation to war and armed conflict. Hamelink (2011, p. 11) contends that conflict are natural part of living with others and that ultimately 'history takes its bloody route' because as long as people have different values and beliefs they will always 'see things differently'. Lynch (2013) argues that this would 'invalidate peace, if peace were indeed an end state requiring everyone to agree on everything' (Lynch, 2013, p. 50). Peace is worth pursuing because 'peace allows for people to live with conflict' and in its non-violent response to conflicts, peace finds 'alternatives to "bloody routes"' (p. 50).

Non-violence then, according to Lynch (2013), is an essential aspect of peace, a thread that he traces in the history of anti-war and peace movements against the threat of nuclear warfare, which led American President Johnson (and later

his successor Richard Nixon) to turn down Pentagon's proposal to launch nuclear strikes against Vietnam in 1966. The biggest ever demonstration in New York's Central Park by the Nuclear Freeze Movement 'effectively' toned down President Reagan's rhetoric on waging nuclear attacks against the Soviet Union and he declared it 'unwinnable' (Lynch, 2013, p. 47). Some other examples of successful non-violent movements include Gandhi's non-violent civil disobedience movement during the Indian freedom struggle (1936-1947); the US Civil rights Movements led by Martin Luther King Jr; and 'the mass movements that brought down the Communist regimes of Eastern Europe in 1989' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 59).

In this respect where peace is associated with a country's interests and goals, Lynch argues that the term *peace* can be 'notoriously polysemic, to the point where it can sometimes seem to mean all things to all people' (Lynch, 2013, p. 46). He argues:

A definition of peace capable of accommodating security arrangements...might be regarded as a stretch too far, even for such a flexible notion. Such a catastrophe has been avoided up to now by good fortune in respect of a series of near-fatal mishaps and...the role of peace movement activism in monitoring democracy. (Lynch, 2013, p. 47)

Peace also carries different meanings in different cultures. Chami (2010), member of Beirut-based NGO, the Forum for Development, Culture and Dialogue, records his experience in media training that involved journalists from Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Palestine – countries where the US-sponsored Middle East peace process has given peace a bad name (Zogby, 2003). The term 'peace' in Arabic could be translated as *salam*, he says, but this 'has been sensitised to give the connotation of peace with Israel which tends to be problematic to many Arabs who would shy away from, if not attack the discipline

altogether without really delving into its depth' (Chami, 2010, p. 18). Instead the participants were willing to accept the translation as *silim* which 'portrays more a kind of civil peace – something more internal' (p. 18).

Chami's experience also provides 'an alternative understanding of peace' in its attempt 'to discern and live by peaceful values, at every level: from our own interiority' (Lynch, 2013, p. 47). It is an 'insurgent form' that is 'nurtured and developed in peace movements' and is contrary to the prevalent Western 'teleological' view of peace which is 'victory oriented' (p. 47).

1.3.1. Media discourse on peace

Mandelzis (2007) argues that in relation to the news media, 'the notion of "peace" has still not been adequately conceptualised' (p. 99). In her study of peace discourse in the Israeli news media, she found that 'studies on media peace discourse *per se* are extremely rare, and peace itself is not strongly emphasised in the media or elsewhere' (p. 98). She also notes the observations made by Groff and Smoker (2002) who said that although the term 'peace' has been 'increasingly popular' among the leadership of UNESCO; there is no 'clear consensus' on how to interpret it. Mandelzis further argues that 'perhaps it is the lack of perspectives on 'peace', among other things, that also explains the scarcity of literature on the relationships among the mass media, communication and the culture of 'peace' (2007, p. 98).

Bratic and Schirch (2008), too, have argued that while there has been an 'optimistic shift' in the media's role in conflict, 'the theoretical argument for the media's impact on peace is under-developed, the practical projects are vastly scattered and a systematic analysis of the practice is missing'. Moreover, the

debate reiterates the media's social responsibility model and 'its universal and philosophical nature tends to divert and dilute the discussion'.

Hawkins' (2011) maintains that it is because 'peace is a process, not an event' (p. 262) and because the 'needs of the media corporations' in going about the business of constructing news 'do not fit well' with the needs of peace related journalism (p. 263). He quotes Wolsfield (2008):

A successful peace process requires patience and the news media demand immediacy. Peace is most likely to develop within a calm environment and the media have an obsessive interest in threats and violence. Peace building is a complex process and the news media deal with simple events. (Wolsfield 2008, cited in Hawkins, 2011, p. 263)

But this is not to assume that the peace events cannot be 'exciting' (Mandelziz, 2007) or without the promise of 'drama' (Hawkins, 2011). Events like 'the historic Oslo handshake on the White House lawn in September 1993', 'the ceremony marking the peace agreement between Israel and Jordan (27 October 1994)', and 'Elton John's concert in Belfast (May 1998) celebrating the peace agreement in Northern Ireland' can be 'fascinating ceremonies' (Mandelziz, 2007, p. 109). Whereas 'the tension of the bitter foes coming to sit at the same table, the outbreaks of residual violence that threaten to ruin the process, the threat of walkouts, the anticipation of a successful outcome' can provide the media with 'both action and drama' (Hawkins, 2011, p. 264).

On the other hand, says Tehranian (2007, p. 7), 'the media are an active part of any conflict.' They are 'notoriously drawn to instantaneous and dramatic events, winners and losers, victories and defeats'. Conflict makes the news and such news sells (Aslam, 2010; Keeble, 2010). Conflict reporting has its own rewards, challenges and dangers (Mogekwu, 2011).

1.4. Conflict resolution

Bonta defines conflict resolution as ‘the settlement or avoidance of disputes between individuals or groups of people through solutions that refrain from violence’ (Bonta, 1996, p. 405). It implies settling of an issue in a manner that is acceptable to all the conflicting parties and each party going back to their lives with an answer to their problem (Spiller, 2002). He adds:

This answer may range from one which addresses the disputing parties underlying needs, both tangible and intangible, through to a decision which simply puts an end to the current contest in which the parties are involved. (Spiller, 2002, p. 1)

Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (1999) argue that while conflict resolution implies the addressing and transformation of deep-rooted sources of conflict, it can be ambiguous since the term is used to refer both to the process to bring about these changes and to the completion of the process. Conflict resolution can refer to a particular defined specialist field (e.g. a journal in conflict resolution), as well as to an activity carried on by people who may or may not use the term or even be aware of it (e.g. conflict resolution in Israel–Palestine context) (Miall, Ramsbotham & Woodhouse, 1999).

Peleg (2007) calls communication ‘a crucial determinant in conflict and conflict resolution’. He argues:

Destructive and debilitating communication, which promotes noises, distortions, interruptions, ploys and false clues, promotes and expedites conflict. In contrast, constructive or beneficial communication relies on honesty, open channels and the effort to align the sent message with the

received one. Such a pattern of interaction strives for accommodation and the relaxation of tensions and hostilities. (Peleg, 2007, p. 26)

According to Spiller (2002; also Botes, 2000) the first two pre-requisites of conflict resolution are 'communication and effective client interviewing'. Effective interviewing and communication skills are 'not a natural occurrence, and need to be developed' (Spiller (2002, p. 7). This is important as this establishes the link between the media (whose main function is to communicate with the mass audience) and conflict resolution. As this study looks at the conflict as a dynamic process demonstrating relationships between people and groups; conflict resolution is also seen in the similar light.

Conflict resolution comprises four principles: *arbitration, litigation, negotiation and mediation*. While the first two principles entail formal procedures involving court room proceedings; the latter two principles are less formal and may or may not require third party participation. For the purpose and scope of this study, emphasis is given to negotiation and mediation.

Negotiation refers to the activity of conferring or bargaining with a view to reaching agreement. It is a part of everyday life both at personal, social, public and legal levels. People negotiate with families, employers, organisations, communities and governments (Spiller, 2002). In legal terms, it is acknowledged as a way to finding power, resources and identities but it can also be seen as a means to find alternative actions, possible solutions and healing the differences. 'At its best, negotiation is a creative process in which the parties involved in an issue discuss their positions, needs and interests in order to find a positive, realistic and wide-ranging solution' (Spiller, 2002, p. 21).

Macduff (1995) says negotiation may need the third party involvement:

We recognise that we negotiate all the time, we may not always do it very well, but we do so because there are things that *we cannot achieve by ourselves* or that we prefer to do with others, because we need to find ways of working and living together, because without negotiation we may not consider *other and better options* to the proposals that one side has in mind, and because we need to find *ways to heal differences* (Macduff, 1995, p. 144, emphasis added)

Mediation is 'a consensual process in which disputing parties and an intermediary work together to bring about a better understanding of the background facts and issues, involved in conflict' (Spiller, 2002, p. 57). Once the facts and the issues are put across each other, 'the participants work through a process which may culminate in a resolution of all or some of the issue in the conflict,' (p. 57).

Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (1999) define mediation as a voluntary process giving flexibility to the parties to meet in a comfortable and confidential environment with the choice to involve the third party. 'The aim of mediation is to preserve and enhance relationships and humanise the dispute resolution process', explains Spiller (2002, p. 58).

The emphasis on the relationships tends to *change the attention of the process* from what happened in the past to what can be done to address the needs of the parties now and in the future. (Spiller, 2002, p. 58, emphasis added)

Related to mediation is the term *facilitation* that refers to intermediary efforts to encourage the parties to move towards negotiations through a minimalist role of providing good offices (Miall, Ramsbotham & Woodhouse, 1999). *Problem-solving* is a more ambitious undertaking in which parties are invited to re-

conceptualise the conflict with a view to finding creative, win– win outcomes. *Reconciliation* is a longer- term process of overcoming hostility and mistrust between divided peoples (Miall, Ramsbotham & Woodhouse, 1999).

1.4.1. Conflict resolution through human ‘needs’ and ‘goals’

Maslow (1943, p. 370) in his ‘hierarchy of prepotency’ model presented the pyramid of human ‘needs’ divided into several levels starting with basic needs like ‘air’, ‘food’, ‘safety’ and ‘shelter’ and going up to the needs like ‘love’, ‘belonging’ and ‘esteem’. At the top is the ‘self-actualisation’ which is fulfilled when one compares it with the treatment given to or received from others. Denial or nonfulfillment of any of these needs could then be the underlying cause of a conflict.

Burton (1990), Australian diplomat, conflict resolution practitioner and peace researcher, based his argument on Maslow’s division of human ‘needs’. Human ‘needs’ define us and hence are ‘unnegotiable’ and when not satisfied ‘will lead to behaviour that is outside the legal norms of society’ (p. 36). In another article, he said that if conflict resolution is to be ‘more than just introducing altered perceptions and goodwill into some specific situations’, then the societies must ‘adjust to the needs of the people, and not the other way round’ (1998).

Burton’s theory essentially differentiates between ‘disputes’ such as over physical resources and ‘conflicts’ that exist over human needs and aspirations. ‘No threat can deter when there are human behavioural needs at stake. Great powers can be defeated by small nations in their struggle for independence, ethnic violence cannot be contained, domestic violence persists despite legal consequences’ (1998).

Conflicts then need 'a positive approach', Burton argues (1998) to the issues of giving 'a sense of identity' to the minorities and ethnic groups enabling them to modify their behaviour. 'There is no reason why human needs should be a source of conflict once their existence is recognised and institutions are adjusted accordingly'.

But conflicts not only depend on 'needs' they also exist because of the 'incompatible goals' of the parties which can be wilful and deliberate and are placed higher at the Maslow's pyramid (Lynch & Galtung, 2010). In order to change to the pattern of human behaviour in conflicts then requires a big 'cognitive leap' that may require 'conflict to be *transformed* rather than resolved in a Burtonian sense' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 44).

1.5. Conflict transformation

A significant model for conflict resolution was presented by Lederach (2003), a noted peace scholar who drew links in the late 1980s between people and conflict thereby suggesting that disputes could be solved by working on the relationship between the conflicting sides. His model of 'conflict transformation' sees conflicts 'in the great sea of relationships' between the conflicting groups or sides. He argues:

Rather than narrowly focusing on the single wave rising and crashing on the shore, conflict transformation starts with an understanding of the greater patterns, the ebb and flow of energies, times, and even whole seasons, in the great sea of relationships. The sea as a metaphor suggests that there is a rhythm and pattern to the movements in our relational lives. At times the sea movements are predictable, calm, even soothing. Periodically, events, seasons, and climates combine to create great sea changes that affect everything around them. (Lederach, 2003)

He advances his argument by maintaining that a situation of armed conflict between states or intra-state has, at its root, changes in relationships. A relationship that was previously good, or at the very worst merely functional, has been transformed for the worst. Therefore, he argues, conflict transformation as a model of conflict resolution, holds out the potential to transform negative and destructive interactions and behaviours and build positive ones leading to *positive* peace (Lederach & Jennifer, 2003; Graf, Kramer & Nicolescou, 2006).

Lederach's (2003) focus then is on the dialectic nature of conflict. He does not look at the single peak or valley of conflict, but rather views the entire mountain range. The rationale is the need to stop from simply focusing on simple 'resolution' of the conflict; as it is equally possible that while armed conflict may cease, issues, injustices, fear, cultural and relationship issues remain unresolved.

He says:

A transformational approach seeks to understand the particular episode of conflict not in isolation, but as embedded in the greater pattern. Change is understood both at the level of immediate presenting issues and that of broader patterns and issues. The sea is constantly moving, fluid, and dynamic. Yet at the same time it has shape and form and can have monumental purpose. (Lederach, 2013).

According to Väyrynen (1991, p. 1-2) conflict transformation can be triggered by various factors including the actor, issue, rule and structure. The *Actor Transformation* is the change that occurs within the parties involved in the conflict, or when new parties get involved. The *Issue Transformation* is the finding of common ground, which will often involve substantial changes to thinking and behaviour. The *Rule Transformation* happens when there are changes to the norms of the interactions of parties to the conflict. And *Structural*

Transformation involves a new power distribution, actions in respect to the parties' best interests. In this way the destabilising effects of conflict are transformed to stability, which of itself will need to be constantly evolving to ensure its lasting impact (Väyrynen, 1991, p. 1-2).

According to Miall (2004), conflict transformation is a process. It engages with people and transforms their relationships, interests, discourses and, if necessary, the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict. Thus, conflict transformation is a long-term process which takes place at various levels of society (the personal, the relational, the structural and the cultural) and which aims at transforming conflict through negotiation, the development of understanding and knowledge, and compromise (Miall, 2004).

An advantage of *conflict transformation* approach is that it enables the media to see conflict outside the legal jargon and courtroom and bring it into the circle of humanity – representing human emotions and feelings of pride, fear, losses and gains (Laderach, 2013; Lynch & Galtung, 2010).

1.5.1. Conflict resolution and transformation in media

The media's role in reporting conflicts has been discussed in section 1.1. in terms of framing, constructing and distributing the news. This section deals with the arguments many scholars (Hofman, 1972; Ibrahim 1972; Arno, 1984; Botes, 2003; Becker, 1995; Wolsfeld, 1997b) have made on the potentially positive role of communication – and thereby that of the media – in conflict resolution. Arno (1984) said that the media can and do 'operate as effective third parties' in conflict resolution (p. 233). Wolsfeld (1997b) suggested the media serves as the public forums in which disputing parties can be engaged in a dialogue. Spencer

(2004) argues that media inherently can play a role in peace by attracting public attention and pressuring the politicians to 'facilitate diplomacy' and engage in peace negotiations (p. 604). Vayrynen (1991) notes significantly that the media bring parties into the dialogue, thereby transforming the power dynamics and redefining the conflict. Botes (2003) suggests that media can facilitate when the communication among conflicting parties is limited or strained.

Mogekwu (2011) argues that Anstey's (1991) latent/manifest division of conflict is helpful in understanding how journalism can play a meaningful role in the pursuit of peace:

More often than not, when we read about the conflict, it is conflict of the manifest kind. Latent conflict is usually ignored because it is often not obvious enough to attract [media's] attention...On the other hand, manifest conflict is the stuff that makes for 'good news' and makes 'good' reporting. It does not call for much critical thinking. It is easier to describe and report than latent conflict, which calls for more profound understanding and analysis. (Mogekwu, 2011, p. 243)

He argues that reporting on manifest conflicts is 'less intellectually demanding' – it focuses on events and counting dead bodies; it reports facts as presented by spokespersons; and it is speculative rather than being assertive. But because it sells and attracts audience attention, such reporting also carries the 'positive incentives' such as career recognition and prestige. In short, it has all the attributes of war journalism.

In contrast, Mogekwu maintains, reporting on latent conflicts is less attractive but 'it is at this level that protagonists are probably more likely to listen to one another and communicate more effectively' (2011, p. 246). It is also at this level where the egos, prides and face-losing threats are still not dominant and where

mediation and negotiation – two of the main components of conflict resolution - can have a greater chance of working.

I argue here that the application of peace journalism at the level of latent conflict reporting will more effectively help prevent the conflagration that manifest conflicts usually exemplify. (2011, p. 246)

Scholars like Deutsch (1957) and Hamelink (1997) have noted the media's potential to detect initial signs of violence in society thus enabling an early intervention in inter-state conflicts. Having an 'early warning system' to register the amount of media attention given to the conflict areas and any such provocations that might incite further violence. Hamelink's suggestion of having an International Media Alert System (IMAR) would alert 'where and when media set the climate for crimes against humanity and begin to motivate people to kill others' (Hamelink, 1997, p. 38).

An example of this could be the Rwanda genocide where community radio played an integral role in inciting violence against each other. If the external media had given warnings as to what was happening in the area, many lives could have been spared (Mogekwu, 2011). To the contrary, '[d]uring the 1990 confrontation between townspeople at Oka, Qu'ebec, and the people of the Kanehsatake Mohawk First Nation, radio played a crucial role in providing public information, conflict prevention and conflict resolution' (Alia, 2010, p. 128).

1.6. Conflict resolution and journalistic training

At the 2003 conference on the role of media in public scrutiny and democratic oversight of the security sector, Budapest, Howard talked about the media's role in war and peace building. He argued:

As a profession, journalists are in constant search of conflict as news, and they have rudimentary to highly sophisticated skills in reporting it in conventional terms. But world-wide, journalism training and development contains almost no reference to the discipline of conflict analysis. Little of the wisdom of nearly five decades of academic and professional study of conflict is included in journalism training, and certainly not at the basic level. This is unfortunate because such knowledge can better inform journalists in their work, especially in their analysis of conflict, its sources and its alternative responses and in their reporting of efforts to diffuse conflict (Howard, 2003).

There are two aspects to this kind of journalistic education: theoretical knowledge and practical exposure. The first can give the contextual and conceptual understanding of what constitutes conflict, peace and violence, while the second can provide the skills and tools required to report on conflict situations.

1.6.1. Journalistic training at professional level

Journalistic training in the field is meant for journalists already working in the profession. 'It may be conducted by the non-profit organisations, media organisations or by a self-motivated group of media workers and aims towards skills enhancement and capacity-building of journalists in the form of training workshops and seminars' (Aslam, 2010, p. 341). She lists several examples of such field training projects around the world which target various aspects of journalistic training in conflict resolution ranging from developing reporting skills in the conflict areas to employing safety and survival techniques and post-conflict trauma awareness programmes.

i. Network of Conflict Resolution in Canada (NICR)

The Network of Conflict Resolution in Canada (www.nicr.ca) promotes research and guidance for journalists in conflict situations. One of the tools it offers is the Alternative 5Ws for conflict reporting is reproduced as below:

Who: Who is affected by this conflict; who has a distinct stake in its outcome? What is their relationship to one another, including relative power, influence and affluence?

What: What triggered the dispute; what drew it to your attention at this time? What issues do the parties need to resolve?

When: When did this conflict begin; how often have the circumstances existed that gave rise to this dispute?

Where: What geographical or political jurisdictions are affected by the dispute? How has this issue been handled in other places?

Why: Why do the involved parties hold the positions they do; what needs, interests, fears and concerns need to be addressed?

How: How are they going to resolve this e.g. negotiation, mediation, arbitration, administrative hearing, court, armed warfare; what are the costs/benefits of the chosen method?

Options: What options have the parties explored, how do the various options relate to the interests identified? (source: www.nicr.ca)

ii. Medios Para La Paz

The non-profit organisation Medios Para La Paz (Media for Peace) (www.mediosparalapaz.org) was created in Colombia in 1997 by a group of journalists who wanted to find a way to contribute to peace-building. Since then, Medios Para La Paz has delivered 37 workshops, round-tables, publications and created a network of hundreds of journalists. The topics include conflict resolution, Colombian and international law, humanitarian law and journalistic efforts to contribute to peace but their efforts chiefly promote what they describe as the 'disarmament of language' used by journalists so that words may become instruments of understanding and reconciliation. They published a dictionary entitled *Para desarmar la palabra* (Disarming words) 1999. It was followed by *Traps of War Journalism and Conflict* in July 2001 which records the peace process negotiations in Colombia since the 19th century. It analyses the current peace efforts and recommends actions for an approach to journalism which can serve the peace process.

iii. Crimes of War Project

Yet another effort in professional journalistic training is the Crimes of War Project which was set up following the publication of *The crimes of war: What the public should know* in 1999 by Roy Guttman, the Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist who exposed the Serbian concentration camps during the Bosnian war (1992-5). The project is collaboration between journalists, lawyers and scholars dedicated to raising public awareness of the laws of war and their application to situations of conflict among journalists, policy makers and the general public. Through its website (www.crimesofwar.org), educational programmes and seminars, the project also hopes to promote consultation among journalists,

legal experts and humanitarian agencies about how to increase compliance with international humanitarian law.

iv. The Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development (AIBD)

AIBD has initiated a number of projects to train journalists in conflict resolution. They have conducted a number of workshops in Nepal, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, India, Philippines, Bangladesh and Indonesia. Their latest project is a joint television project by two producers, one from Pakistan and one from India, on the children of Kashmir entitled 'Children growing up in a conflict situation'. In these joint programmes, they hope to reduce the tensions between the two countries by highlighting the stories of children through entertainment (Mottaghi, 2008).

v. Dart Centre Europe

The UK-based Dart Centre Europe is a global network (www.dartcenter.org/europe) of journalists and mental health professionals, working to improve the coverage of violence, trauma and tragedy. It works with the BBC on helping them to develop a trauma awareness curriculum for their foreign news teams. The network has also worked with the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) in Australia, the Washington Post, Al Jazeera, National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) USA, WDR in Germany and other international news organisations as well as some major journalism schools in the USA and UK. They help journalists cope with post-conflict trauma and provide them with much needed space to think about these issues and to discuss them with their peers. 'Our work is very much journalism-led', says the Centre's director, Dr Rees (2008). 'We present concrete information on evidence-based

research into traumatic stress, but the Dart method relies on drawing on the previous experience of the group. Rather than imposing a set of solutions on people we work with, we ask the group to develop their own set of proposals for self-care and best practice that reflects their own needs and working methods. We shape the direction of these conversations by feeding into them our own knowledge and experience.’ (2008)

vi. The International Institute for Journalism (IJ)

Based at InWENT-Capacity Building International, Germany (www.inwent.org/ij/index.php.en), IJ has been offering advanced training courses for mid-career journalists from developing and transitional countries since 1964 with special focus on print and on-line media in Sub-Saharan, Africa, Asia and the Middle East. The emphasis is placed on political reporting, economic and financial reporting, on-line journalism and media ethics in the light of conflict transformation and peace building.

vii. Internet-based independent media centres (Indymedia)

Indymedia ‘is a democratic media outlet for the creation of radical, accurate, and passionate tellings of truth’ (<http://www.indymedia.org/en/index.shtml>). It is a non-hierarchical collective platform of independent media organisations with hundreds of journalists as its members. Indymedia advances the objectives of peaceful journalism through grass-roots, non-corporate coverage with access for alternate voices.

1.6.2. Improving the journalism curriculum

Howard (2003) favours including the discipline of conflict resolution in journalism training at basic level 'because such knowledge can better inform journalists in their work, especially in their analysis of conflict, its sources and its alternative responses and in their reporting of efforts to diffuse conflict.' At a media forum in Columbia, Adam and Holguin (2003) took the argument further by pointing out:

Bearing in mind the proliferation of local and regional conflicts since the end of the Cold War, along with the emergence of new communications technologies, the interaction of media and conflict is likely to be a growth activity. What is needed is an academic institution to monitor this field and publish action research. There also needs to be much more research into an evaluation methodology which can help determine the media's impact in the peace-building process. This would need to be an innovative, participatory methodology that could be used by production teams as well as specialist evaluators (2003).

Integrating knowledge of conflict resolution in journalism education would require an innovative approach as the contemporary journalistic professional practice considers 'conflict' as a primary news value (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). In many journalism text books, *conflict* makes the news as do the *important people* (Aslam, 2010). 'Can such an approach, which judges the value of a news item in terms of the numbers of deaths or the position of a person speaking, make room for the slow process of peace building or be a voice of the people at grass root level against the high profile politicians or officials?', she asks (p. 334).

Such 'conceptual reforms' are 'necessary to modernise the study of journalism, as taught to journalism students; a contribution to problematising elements of

journalistic practice which pass unexamined in many current courses' (Lynch, 2007, p. 162). A discussion on the kinds of courses that are offered in such fashion is provided in Chapter 4.

The model curricula for journalism education, prepared by UNSECO in 2007, is another important initiative regarding improving journalism curricula available at <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001512/151209E.pdf>. These curricula for undergraduate and postgraduate programmes were designed by some of the top journalism educators in the world 'to be adaptable to just about any situation'. The curricula have three categories: professional practice, journalism studies and arts and science. They advance the concept that a democracy is based on the free flow of information which represents the full spectrum of the community. These model curricula have been translated into French, Spanish Arabic, Russian and several other languages and widely distributed among journalism schools in both developing countries and countries in transition. UNESCO has also developed a *Freedom of Expression Toolkit* for secondary school students in post-conflict societies.

A somewhat different initiative which is partly academic in nature is Deutsche Welle's series of Global Media Forum. Starting in 2008, the symposium takes place regularly in Bonn. The main agenda items change but the event always addresses ways to cope with the professionalisation of journalists. At the first forum, with the theme of 'Journalistic training in conflict situations', experts and scholars in journalism were brought together along with the media representatives and internationally experienced trainers from all over the world. The forum provided a central platform for those present to share their experiences and discuss the central theme of what qualifications and know-how journalists need in order to contribute to peace and conflict de-escalation. In 2009, the topic was 'Bridging the digital divide – how to prepare your staff'.

1.7. Challenges in journalistic training

Training can influence the news values and practices among journalists, say Weaver, Beam, Brownlee, Voakes and Wilhoit (2002). But several challenges are faced when it comes to journalistic training in conflict reporting and resolution.

First, the above mentioned initiatives though effective within their own spheres are important but nevertheless scattered (Bratic & Schirch, 2008). A holistic approach towards journalistic training at both professional and academic levels is still lacking as is the availability of expertise to train journalists in the developing world (Aslam, 2010).

Second, Ross (2007, p. 71) argues that ‘the contemporary training of professional journalists stifles original and critical thinking’. Scholars like Carey (1978), Howard (2003) and Weaver et al (2002), she points out, have also argued for improving journalistic training and practice journalists which requires them ‘to be more self-reflexive and to better understand their role in society and conflict’ (Ross, 2007, p. 71).

Third, training though given collectively to groups of journalists is as much about ‘individual journalists’ and the ‘choices’ they make in how to report the conflict (Lynch & McGoldrick 2005a, p.5). ‘Individual journalists can be made keenly aware of the heavy costs of war. They can voice this awareness as part of their professional ethics, and their duty to the public. And they can play a critical role in building bridges of understanding and roads to peace’ (Tehrani, 2007, p. 7). ‘At the time of reporting, it is journalist-the-individual whose are being read or heard, whose images are seen and whose interpretation of events forms the “first draft of history”’ (Aslam, 2010, p. 339). It is important therefore that

journalists are trained in 'strategies to inoculate themselves against the knee-jerk responses to evocations of fear and the realities of violence' (Ross, 2007, p. 73).

Fourth, as argued earlier reporting on conflicts has its own dangers for journalists who investigate them. The Pakistani journalists who were harassed, kidnapped, tortured and killed died not for a cause but for their investigations. While training in survival techniques is a pre-requisite for such journalistic training, investigative methods should also be an important part of it.

Lastly, is the fact that while the digital revolution and new media technologies may have changed the nature of the news in its dissemination and distribution, conflicts still need to be studied within their local and regional contexts so that their analysis is 'critically deliberative' (Robie, 2013). That can help the journalists 'become part of the solution than being part of the problem', he argues (2014, p. 361). This requires building up of expertise in 'responsible conflict reporting' at the local and regional levels (Singh, 2013) and not 'swallow[ing] lock-stock-and-barrel the Western ideological and methodological concepts of democracy' (Moala, 2011, p. 22).

Chapter 2: Peace Journalism

The previous chapter dealt with exploring the concepts of conflict, peace, conflict resolution and conflict transformation and reviewing the literature about them. This chapter focusses on the concept of peace journalism and its growth amidst the prevalent trends and practices in war journalism. It also reviews the critical approaches to peace journalism and the criticisms made against it. The theoretical framework of peace journalism is examined within the frameworks of journalism as well as the peace and conflict studies.

2.1. War Journalism

Conflicts are 'a central part' of human lives (Hamelink, 2011, p. 11), and the media are 'an active part of any conflict' (Tehrani, 2007, p. 2). Conflicts ought to be reported because they are part of the 'ebb and flow' of human relationships (Lederach, 2003) and they also provide 'a clear opportunity for human progress' and 'transformation' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 2). Indeed conflicts are on Galtung's list of the elements that make the structure of foreign news (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). He objects when conflicts are seen as synonymous to 'violence' – when '[r]eporting conflict is bracketed in time between the breakout and breakdown of violence, and limited in space to the battlefield, the arena' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 6).

Such 'grotesque simplification' sees conflicts as a game between two sides fighting to win the game ignoring the under-lying geo-economic, geo-political and geo-cultural aspects of the conflict. In real life conflicts, 'there are never only two parties (teams), never only one ball, the field is tilted, not even, and the

numerous parties are not necessarily playing the same games with the same balls' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 6). 'Some parties are not playing at all, are only around hoping for some spoils to pick up' (p. 6). Such an approach marks the first step towards 'war journalism' (Galtung & Ruge, 1965).

2.1.1. Attributes of war journalism

War Journalism, Galtung argues, has a bias towards violence by virtue of focusing on the events taking place in a conflict and their physical details like the number of people dying or the nature of weaponry used. It does not analyse the processes that lead to the conflict including its causes, outcomes and impact on human lives; nor does it take into account the 'structural' and 'cultural' aspects of violence. Also, war journalism tends to view the conflicts in terms of defeat or victory for the either side.

According to this argument 'violence' and 'victory' constitutes two characteristics of war journalism; the other two are 'propaganda' and focus on 'elites' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 12) as shown in Table 2.1.:

Table 2.1. War journalism and peace journalism model

War journalism	Peace journalism
<p>War/ violence oriented</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - two parties, one goal - win-lose situation - closed space, close time frame, cause-effect approach - focus only on visible aspects of violence - making wars secret/opaque - 'us- them' approach 	<p>Peace / oriented</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - x parties, y goals, z issues - win-win situation for all - Open space, open time, places in history and context - Focus on invisible effects of violence - Making conflict transparent - Giving voices to all parties

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Dehumanisation of 'them' - reactive: waiting for violence to occur before reporting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - humanisation of all sides - Proactive: reporting before, during and after conflicts
<p>Propaganda oriented</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - expose 'their' untruths - cover 'our' lies 	<p>Truth oriented</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - expose untruth on all sides - uncover all cover-ups
<p>Elite oriented</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - focus on 'their' violence and our suffering - give name of their evil-doer - focus on elite peacemakers - focus on elite and official sources 	<p>People oriented</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - focus on violence by all sides and suffering of all - give name to all evil-doers - focus on people peacemakers - give voice to the voiceless
<p>Victory oriented</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - peace = victory + ceasefire - conceal peace initiatives before victory is at hand - focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society - leaving for another war, return if the old flares up 	<p>Solutions oriented</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - peace= non-violence + creativity - highlight peace initiative to prevent more war - focus structure, culture - aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation

(Source: Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 12-14)

Conceptually then, war journalism is seen as a reflection of 'the warrior's logic of a world of states pitted against each other, with the inter-state/national conflict and war being matters of the state and statesmen, not to be touched by the common folk' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 17). Structurally, by following the conventional journalism practices of 'objectivity' and 'balance', it shows bias towards 'violence' as opposed to 'context' as its content; it prefers 'elites' against 'people' as sources of information; and aims to find 'victory' rather than 'solutions' as the outcome of the conflict. In doing so, it becomes a propaganda tool for the state and corporate agencies (Herman & Chomsky, 2002).

Jowett and O'Donnell (1999) define propaganda 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' (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999, p. 6). 'News is the ideal vehicle for this because it weaves images and snippets of information into what Gaye Tuchman calls 'a web of facticity...[i.e.] to flesh out any one supposed fact, one amasses a host of supposed facts that, when taken together, present themselves as both individually and collectively self-validating' (Tuchman, 1978, as cited in Lynch, 2010, p. 72). War journalism is 'propagandist' because it is fed on embedded journalism and the 'communiqués from the top military command' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 17). In an age of globalisation, new media technologies and visual images, 'we are immersed in war propaganda; our media relations, our very medialised existence perhaps, is saturated in it' (Lynch, 2010, p. 81).

The elitist approach of war journalism is based on the fact that negativism sells and important people say important things (Galtung, 1998). 'War itself is negative and particularly newsworthy if it happens to elite persons in elite countries, or at least to elite buildings' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 22). The news about Osama Bin Laden, the White House or Pentagon therefore is more likely to become news than the downslide of world economy or what the people at the grass-root level have to say about the conflict they are going through, they argue.

Similarly striving to keep 'balance' in conflict reporting is often taken as keeping in mind what one side said against the other side. This approach neglects giving 'voice to the voiceless' people who are actually affected by the conflict but never asked to express their vision of the peace (Lynch & Galtung, 2010). Simultaneously, it could also be 'a cover-up for a media strategy to stay away

from anything controversial and be in line with the authority/majority deep culture' (p. 55). Balance, they argue, should also be about following the 'before, during and after' phases of the conflict; about covering 'remote conflicts' for a varied and diversified audience alongside domestic conflicts; and paying attention to 'all goals of all parties'. 'More important and more positive is to balance violent action with peace action' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 55).

Objectivity, another fundamental tenet of contemporary reporting, refers to the factual basis of reporting. It is 'the value of fairness' and 'the ethic of restraining your own biases' says American journalist Rosen (cited in Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005a, p. 203). Bell's (1998) experience of covering the Bosnian ethnic cleansing in 1994–95 as a BBC correspondent led him to criticise the BBC's guidelines for reporters to be objective and dispassionate. He argued:

I am no longer sure what 'objective' means: I see nothing object-like in the relationship between the reporter and the event, but rather a human and dynamic interaction between them. As for 'dispassionate', it is not only impossible but inappropriate to be thus neutralised – I would say even neutered – at the scene of an atrocity or massacre, or most man-made calamities (1998, p. 18)

Lynch and McGoldrick (2005a) are particularly critical of the journalists' defence of objectivity. For them, journalists are involved whether they like it or not. Nor can they be wholly objective – they only see a fraction of the action especially in battle, they do not know the whole picture. For the same reason they question how the reporter can claim to be reporting the truth – a small slice of truth, perhaps, not the whole picture. And a partial reporting of the truth often distorts the overall picture.

For them it is about making 'choices' in terms of 'what to report, and how to report' in conflict (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005a, p. 5). These choices 'create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict'.

Objectivity then is not the issue. 'Selection is the issue, the criteria applied and the codes and the context in which the event is placed and interpreted' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 52). Rosen (cited in Howard, 2003) says:

We make an error if we assume that the price of an interest in conflict resolution is giving up commitment to truth and professional objectivity. It is in fact quite the opposite: conflict sensitivity is a journalist's pass into a deeper understanding of what it means to seek the truth in journalism. (2003)

2.2. Journalism of attachment' and its various forms

The realisation from *what is* to *what should be* the role of media in conflict brought forth a host of new concepts starting from 'the journalism of attachment' (Bell, 1998) to include notions of 'citizen journalism' (Allan, 2007); 'reliable journalism' (Howard, 2003); 'development journalism' (Dixit, 2010); 'critically deliberative journalism' (Robie, 2013); and 'conflict sensitive journalism' (Howard, 2003). All of them are essentially drawn from the notions which stress the social responsibility of the media and advocate a proactive role for the media in resolving conflicts.

Bell (1998) calls for a journalism of attachment 'that cares as well as knows ... that will not stand neutrally between good and evil, right and wrong, the victim and the oppressor' (p. 16) after his experiences as a BBC correspondent while covering the Bosnian ethnic cleansing in 1994–95. Howard (2003) points out the

need for a more 'reliable journalism' with 'journalism practices which meet the international standards of accuracy, impartiality and social responsibility'. Such journalism would find 'support for creating diversity within the media industry to reflect competing opinions and to ensure the industry enjoys independence,' he argues.

Howard also favours 'intended outcome programming' which sees entertainment, street theatre, dramas and posters as means to communicate attitudes towards conflict resolution. This way, the media becomes 'a facilitator of positive social change rather than a professional disinterested observer'. 'This kind of initiative...is not journalism as we know it, although it adheres to values such as accuracy, fairness and responsibility,' he argues, and 'is attracting audiences and donor support.' (2003). Allan (2007) sees the rise of 'citizen journalism and mass-self communication' (through email, blogs SMS and such like) as a direct alternative to 'journalism's traditional role or mission, its public responsibilities'.

The concept of 'development journalism' arose in the 20th century as an attempt to correlate the natural environment and human efforts and improve the living conditions in the world. Its origins are rooted in the aftermath of the revolutionary journalism (that called for the US colonists' revolution against Britain) and radical journalism (which advocated a just society and better living conditions). These changes included better health and life for people, less dangers of dying early, less poverty, better education for children and empowerment for women. The development journalists were encouraged to travel to remote areas, interact with the citizens of the country and analyse the effectiveness of the government projects and social planning. Often, this type of development journalism encourages a cooperative effort between citizens of the nation and the outside world (Dixit, 2010).

While development journalism is looked upon as a nation-building exercise, the preferred view is that of empowering the communities by investigating the government projects, exposing injustices and looking at things from the people's perspective. But there is an edge. The development journalists act 'as information feedback mechanisms so (that) constituencies are informed and policymakers will take necessary decisions. But if these corrections are not made or are unsuccessful, fatalism caused by chronic failure and lack of control will lead to despair and apathy' (Dixit, 2010, p. 113). No wonder then, he argues, that it walked on thin line and gradually 'has outlived its usefulness and it is time to drop it altogether'.

The 21st century media trends rely more on 'deliberative journalism', a concept that calls for a deliberate and conscious reflection on the issues pertaining to people and their relationship with decision makers. It can be also prophetic: journalists should not only just report on coups and quakes, they should be able to predict them (Dixit, 2010). In the case of smaller indigenous societies, such as in the Pacific region, Robie (2013) advocates 'critically deliberative journalism' that would look at the issue more 'critically' because of the complex relationships between the people, their cultures, politics and the environment.

Related more to the rapid growth of the social media in the past two decades, is the re-emerging trend of 'independent journalism' in the alternate media sphere. Empowered by the community stake holders, the social media can be made more effective sphere for public communication with far larger audience outreach than the traditional media (Keeble, 2010; Hackett, 2011). Such journalism is better able to perform some of the tasks associated with socially responsible journalism. The journalism practised here is more *in* the public interest than *for* the public interest.

However what exactly is 'public interest journalism' initiates another debate. Elliott (2012) undertook an interesting exercise and asked *Guardian* readers and editorial colleagues what they think it means, and whether it should be strengthened or extended. About 16 colleagues and 150 readers commented on it.

Elliott found a range of opinions. There were those who called it a means to assist 'in the proper functioning of a democracy' while some called it 'nothing' but journalists' excuse for grabbing an audience for sleazy stories. The rationale behind it is that the public is not a cohesive group with a single point of view. Therefore nothing can be truly done in the 'public interest'.

Yet public interest is recognised as something desirable. Elliott argues that 'in the public interest' should by no means be synonymous with 'whatever interests the public', which is how most newspapers have chosen to interpret it.

The UK Press Complaints Commission code defines the public interest as including but not confined to detecting and exposing crime, or serious impropriety; protecting public health and safety and preventing the public from being misled by an action or statement of an individual or organisation. There is also public interest in freedom of expression in itself. David Leigh, the *Guardian's* chief investigations editor, suggests that a useful addition to the PCC would be: 'Information is in the public interest if it assists in the proper functioning of a democracy.' This is an idea reflected in the BBC's editorial guidelines, which state the public interest includes, '...disclosing information that assists people to better comprehend or make decisions on matters of public importance' (<http://www.bbc.co.uk>).

A more realistic and open explanation is offered by Andrew Sparrow, the *Guardian's* award-winning blogger, who argues that 'public interest' should not be defined in static terms:

I'm wary about attempts to define it or to pin it down, partly because I think this could end up being restrictive, but mainly because our view of what the public interest entails changes quite dramatically over time and I think, as journalists, we should be willing to fight the public-interest battle on a case-by-case basis. For example, 50 years ago it was assumed that there was a public interest in knowing that an MP was gay, but little or no public interest in whether he drove home drunk, hit his wife or furnished his house using wood from non-sustainable sources. Now, obviously, it's the other way round. Society does – and should – constantly redefine what the public interest entails and journalism should be part of that (as cited in Elliott, 2012).

Regardless of the debate on how 'public interest' should be defined, the important aspect is that it is people-oriented and the stories or their outcome should be 'in' the interest of the people.

2.3. Peace journalism

It is against the backdrop of such deliberations that the concept of peace journalism has developed. In its simplest definition, peace journalism is 'a set of tools, both conceptual and practical intended to equip journalists to offer a better public service' (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005a, p. 5). It is a form of journalism that tells stories 'in a way that encourages conflict analysis and a non-violent response in society' (Mogekwu, 2011, p. 247).

Tehrani (2002) defines peace journalism as a kind of journalism and media ethics that attempts 'to transform conflicts from their violent channels into constructive forms by conceptualizing news, empowering the voiceless, and seeking common grounds that unify rather than divide human societies'.

Taking a slightly different angle, Futamura (2010) looks at peace journalism in relation to spirituality. He argues that society needs a 'social dialogue' in order to change our existing materialistic values and incorporate spiritual wellbeing. Journalism can be a critical factor in this equation:

In order to create this kind of dialogue, I would like to look at the potential of journalism. Journalism already plays a key role in identifying important issues for people, but it can be used as a tool for creating value in peoples' lives only when the motivational forces behind it focus on the value of human life before financial gain. Journalism can make people apathetic, powerless or fearful, but at the same time it can inspire people, make people reflect, and help people learn about others. (Futamura, 2010, p. 1)

For the pioneers of peace journalism, if war journalism is the 'low road journalism', peace journalism is the 'high road journalism'; if war journalism is explained using the analogy of sports journalism, then peace journalism is equated with health journalism (Lynch & Galtung, 2010). It is an upstream movement of the journalists against the downstream flow of war journalism practices: 'Peace journalism is a serious, inquisitive, professional reporting making conflict more transparent' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 17).

2.3.1. The 'logic' of peace journalism

Chapter 1 discusses various approaches to peace: it is an ideal and a process (Barash, 2000; Hawkins, 2011). It is elusive yet something to yearn for. In its connection with war, peace can be positive and negative (Galtung, 1996). In its ambiguity, peace can mean 'all things to all people' (Lynch, 2013, p. 46). Within

the framework of media and conflict, it connotes the values of non-violence, truth and justice for all sides (Galtung, 1969; Lynch 2013; Rees, 2003).

But peace journalism 'is not peace advocacy', warn Lynch and Galtung. 'That task is better left to peace workers and activists' (2010, p. 17). There is a challenge in the term that is 'entirely intended', they say, which lies in making a choice between the two forms of journalism:

...war journalism and peace journalism are two different ways of reporting the same set of events. They are two angles, two discourses, with underlying cognitive and normative assumptions. Both are based on reporting...both descriptive of reality....the difference is that peace journalism takes in more of reality...their task is to clarify, unveil, reveal reality to enable others to draw normative conclusions. (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 52)

The rationality of peace journalism lies, then, in its placement within the media. Lynch argues that if we want to 'take issues with power relations in the media domain, it is in that domain that we must work' (2010, p. 81). Peace, in his opinion, has claims as 'an organising principle for journalism, a discursive practice with a remit to report the facts' (2013, p. 50).

The logic of peace journalism then, agrees Lynch (2013), lies in its 'insurgent approach' against the attributes of war journalism (Table 2.1) giving it the orientation towards *peace, truth, people* and *solution*. Because while 'the content of the news is *governed* by the structures in which it is produced...we do not have to accept that it is fully *determined* by them' (p. 38). These 'insurgent forms' enable peace journalism to supply the 'cues and clues, to alert readers and audiences' to the hidden meanings of news and propaganda (p. 38).

This is not to say that peace journalism does not report on violence; it does, but 'violence by all sides, and the suffering of all sides, not *their* violence and *our* suffering' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 12, emphasis added). It goes deeper into the context and causes of the conflict without confusing conflict with violence. It tries to 'depolarise by showing the black and white of all sides, and to de-escalate by highlighting peace and conflict resolution as much as violence' (p. 16).

Truth is not the first victim in a war, is another argument made by Lynch and Galtung. 'The first victim, of course, is peace' (2010, p. 3). It is naïve to think that reporting before war is always truthful, they argue. There may have been some untruths around before the war but the war produces even more. Also, truth may have different meanings for the different sides in a conflict. 'The truth aspect in peace journalism holds for all sides, like exploration of the conflict formation and giving voice (*glasnost*) to all sides, not only two, and to people not only to the elites', they argue (p. 17). It 'introduces other truths because it is based on a different way of reporting violence and conflict' (p. 3).

Peace journalism also is 'solution oriented, highlighting peace initiatives, and in the aftermath of violence, efforts to promote resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation' (Lynch, 2013, p. 39). This is connected with its axis of 'people-orientation'. Globalisation, new information and media technologies, multicultural identities and diasporas, and global audiences have brought new demands on the people's 'right to participate in matters affecting them' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 17); and democratic rights to vote and education is no longer an 'elite privilege'. People often have 'their own vision of peace emerging often from their own experience of pain', says Lederach (1997, p. 94). But they are 'overlooked and disempowered either because they do not represent 'official' power...or because they are written off as biased and too personally affected by

the conflict' (Lederach, 1997, p. 94). In its refusal to be 'corrupted' by embedded journalism and the 'PR machinery of the military' and in giving 'voice to the voiceless', peace journalism becomes 'people' oriented, giving 'deep meanings, root causes and social contexts' in conflicts (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 15-17).

Peace journalism's insurgency also lies in its ability to find 'news' in peace when war becomes a 'routine, terrible but repetitive, monotonous, plainly boring' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 18). At this point, any peace image is a farewell to boredom. 'War and peace are texts, whether they are events, depends on the context' (p. 19).

2.4. Critical approaches to peace journalism

Galtung suggests that the peace journalism approach should be modeled on health journalism, which not only focuses on how to cure disease but also on possible ways how to overcome it and even prevent it (Galtung, 2002, p. 259). This led to the attempts to understand peace journalism by focusing on the 'dos' and 'don'ts' of it. Suchenwirth and Keeble (2011) point out the list of 'practical or professional guidelines' offered by Lynch and McGoldrick and based on Galtung (2002, p. 6). Lynch and McGoldrick (2005a) also include the importance of semiotics and use of language that frame the stories in a provocative or stereotypical manner. For instance they suggest not using words like 'genocide',

i. The 10 commandments

Tehrani (2002) came out with the '10 commandments' of peace journalism that should be kept in mind while practicing peace journalism (2002, App 1, p. 82). Although he stresses that these commandments are negotiable and

‘suggestive rather than exhaustive’, they are similar to what Lynch and McGoldrick have prescribed to their students.

Table 2.2. Tehranian’s 10 commandments for peace journalism

1	Never reduce the parties in human conflicts to two. Remember that when two elephants fight, the grass gets hurt. Pay attention to the poor grass.
2	Identify the views and interests of all parties to human conflicts. There is no single Truth; there are many truths.
3	Don’t be hostage to one source, particularly those of governments that control sources of information.
4	Develop a good sense of scepticism. Remember that reporting is representation. Bias is endemic to human conditions. You, your media organization, and your sources are not exceptions.
5	Give voice to the oppressed and peacemakers in order to represent and empower them
6	Seek peaceful solutions to conflict problems, but never fall prey to panaceas.
7	Your representation of conflict problems can become part of the problem if it exacerbates dualisms and hatreds.
8	Your representation of conflict problems can become part of the solution if it employs the creative tensions in any human conflict to seek common ground and non-violent solutions.
9	Always exercise the professional media ethics of accuracy, veracity, fairness, and respect for human rights and dignity.
10	Transcend your own ethnic, national, or ideological biases in order to see and represent the parties to human conflicts fairly and accurately.

(Source: Tehranian, 2002, App 1, p. 82)

These characteristics of peace journalism can also be traced in ‘conflict sensitive journalism’ (Howard, 2003). Conflict sensitive journalism is when news reports are ‘constructive’ making people ‘better informed’ and ‘possibly safer’ along with promoting efforts to reduce conflict’s intensity. He says:

A conflict sensitive journalist applies conflict analysis and searches for new voices and new ideas about the conflict. He or she reports on who is trying to resolve the conflict, looks closely at all sides, and reports on how other conflicts were resolved. A conflict sensitive journalist takes no sides, but it is engaged in the search for solutions. Conflict sensitive journalists choose their words carefully (Howard, 2003, p. 15).

ii. The four promises of peace journalism

Shinar (2007) defines peace journalism as 'a normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflict that aims at contributing to peacemaking, peace keeping and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals, and audiences towards war and peace' (Shinar, 2007, p. 199).

In a somewhat similar listing to what is given above by Galtung, Lynch and Tehranian; Shinar (2007) gives his model of what constitutes peace journalism. By fulfilling this criterion, peace journalism becomes 'a fairer way to cover conflict' (p. 200):

- a. 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 audiences;
- b. Giving voice to the views of all rival parties;
- c. Offering creative ideas for conflict resolution, development, peacemaking and peacekeeping;
- d. Exposing lies cover-ups attempts and culprits on all sides, and revealing excesses committed by, and suffering inflicted on peoples of all parties;

- e. Paying attention to peace stories and post war developments. (2007, p. 200)

Shinar argues that peace journalism makes four promises: 'to improve professional attitudes and performance; strengthen human, moral and ethical values in the media; widen scholarly and professional horizons; and provide better public service by the media' (2007, p. 200). These promises are rooted within the parameters of market, media structure, leadership, and on the critique of peace journalism. In the first parameter, the corporate media assaults journalism by the 'ratings culture that represents particular economic interests, on the alleged autonomy previously enjoyed by universal aesthetic and artistic values' (p. 202). The second parameter is governed by the media ownership and leadership structure which have led to the argument that 'The structure is the message' (Tehranian 2002; Hackett 2006a). The third parameter deals with the personalities that 'occupy the centre stage in war'. And the last parameter is the criticism against peace journalism that 'does not accept the very idea of normative journalism beyond the norms of objectivity and neutrality' (Shinar, 2007, p. 204).

However, Shinar (2007) argues that there are ways for peace journalism to fulfill its promises: if its advocates, scholars and practitioners can 'strengthen the resistance against the exaggerated adherence of the media to extreme neo-liberal concepts and to over-dosed patriotism' (p. 203); if they can 'redress the balance in media structures with increased support for public and community media, to be achieved by commercial media systems' (p. 204); if they can 'attenuate tendencies personalize conflicts in the media and elsewhere, so as to broaden the scope of journalistic coverage towards human dimensions' (p. 204); and if they can build a case that additional normative frameworks 'exist and can

be analysed as legitimate alternative frames of reference for journalistic coverage’(p. 204).

iii. Synergy with human rights journalism

Shaw (2011) extends the dimensions of peace journalism to include human rights by arguing that the two strands complement each other in fighting the plight of mainstream journalism. Human Rights journalism ‘has the potential to complement peace journalism’s contribution to global, long-term, proactive, and sustainable justpeace-building’ (Shaw, 2011, p. 108). He compares the attributes of peace journalism and human rights journalism in the following table (2011, p. 109), reproduced below:

Table 2.3. Comparison between human rights journalism and peace journalism

Peace journalism	Human rights journalism
Peace/conflict oriented: prevention/win-win	Non-violence/structural/cultural violence oriented: proactive; preventing direct violence; triple win situation
Truth oriented: exposes all untruths	Human wrongs oriented: exposes all human wrongs
People oriented: names all victims	People/human-face oriented: cares for and empowers all but is biased in favour of vulnerable people
Solution oriented	Holistic problem-solving: present problems now/tomorrow; and surface/hidden problems

(Source: Shaw, 2011, p. 109)

Shaw describes the concept of justpeace is seen as 'a holistic and practical framework informed by the idea that war is not simply an isolated event but very much rooted within the fabric of our societies' where families, friends and communities act as the 'third side' to resolve disputes and conflicts using the tool of 'positive interactive dialogue' (P. 105).

He links it with human rights journalism because the notion of justpeace implies the provision of social justice for all vulnerable victims of human rights violations. Human rights journalism in Shaw's words is 'the journalism without borders, based on human rights and global justice, challenging political, economic, social and cultural imbalances of society at both local and global level' (Shaw, 2011, p. 107). The human wrongs journalism, on the other hand, is the one that 'reinforces, instead of challenges, the problematic representational imbalances in society and the concentration of power in the hands of the few people and political communities within global society' (p. 108).

Shaw argues that both peace journalism and justpeace 'have elements of critical conflict analysis and creativity' that favours dialogue and resolution. While the traditional media approach to conflict reporting is win-lose for the two parties, peace journalism's approach is 'win-win logic of finding solutions' for both sides. The point where 'justpeace goes further in the solution-oriented approach is where its own targeted end product is a *triple win*, a solution that meets the needs of the two parties in the conflict and the community as the 'third side'' (2011, p. 107, emphasis added).

The foundation of Shaw's argument to link these three strands lies on the 'proactive (preventive)' role of media in conflict rather than a 'reactive (prescriptive)' role. If journalism is to play any agency role in conflict, it should 'focus on deconstructing the underlying structural causes of political violence

such as poverty, famine, exclusion of minorities, youth marginalization, human trafficking....rather than focusing merely on the attitudes and behaviours of the elite that benefit from direct and uncensored violence' (2011, p. 108).

This approach would not only support Galtung's and Lynch and McGoldrick's peace journalism model of value-orientation – i.e. solution, truth, people and win-win – Shaw argues. It adds four other values to their model: global rather than selective reporting; a bias in favour of vulnerable voices; a proactive rather than reactive approach to reporting and an attachment to, rather than detachment from, victims of violence. He says:

With these attributes of HRJ, Peace journalism ... will be able to lay justifiable claim to the observation of the values of 'humanitarianism, truth, holism and empowerment'.... These four values resonate with principles of rights-based approach to journalism: participation, accountability, non-discrimination, empowerment and linkages to human rights standards. (Shaw, p. 116)

The synergy between peace journalism and human rights journalism is 'an enticing step' (Lynch et al, 2011, p. 17) but 'also a risky one'. Commonly, human rights reporting is considered as a 'good thing' but can create 'some cognitive dissonance in the formation and application of starting assumptions' in situations like the 'humanitarian military interventions' in West Asia and South East Europe or America's Food for Aid Programme for the Afghan people after they had been raided and bombed by American fighter jets (Lynch et al, 2011).

iv. Empathy and Compassion

McGoldrick (2011) positions peace journalism as a tool for creating and encouraging 'empathy' among the readers regarding the sufferings of other

people in conflict situations and can thus modify their behavior and improve relationships. 'If peace journalism can offer us more empathic responses to conflict, more examples of those working cooperatively for bridge-building or human rights, we have more behaviours to mirror', she argues (2011, p. 140).

Drawing upon the new 'empathic' discovery, Tivona (2011) adds a gender perspective to the debate that challenges the prevalent neglect of women's role in mitigating conflicts and bringing peace. She argues that while the history gives an account of 'the full gamut' of *mankind*, 'right from the clusters of hunter-gatherers, religious holy warriors and modern imperial regimes concentrating wealth and resources for their own benefit ..., it still lacks cogent analysis of *womankind's* activities during all this time' (2011, p. 341)

In her study of nine women selected out of the 1000 peace women collectively nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005, Tivona argues that the time has come to reveal the healing acts of women who have been 'attending to allies and former enemies, reaching out in local communities and across borders; and indeed, restoring mother earth herself' (2011, p. 341).

v. A reverse approach

Manoff (1998) offers an innovative, albeit a reverse approach to facilitate media in preventing and resolving conflicts. Instead of asking what is possible for the media to do in conflicts, he argues, we should ask what does conflict resolution theory and practice tell us needs to be done to prevent the conflict? In other words, instead of starting with the media's understanding of their own possibilities, as determined by current paradigms, one should establish the media's plan of action on the basis of the work of the negotiators, diplomats, Track Two practitioners, and protagonists who have participated in the

resolution of conflict, or who have studied the process or developed a body of theory about it.

Things can change but it has to be through the combined efforts of media professionals, diplomats, conflict resolvers and diverse protagonists. Manoff argues it needs the process of 'social invention, in which the spontaneous, largely uncoordinated, but nor random activities of diverse actors could create new institutions and behaviours' (1998). He says:

Journalism itself, in fact, is a by-product of precisely this process over time, as it is the sitcom, soap opera, rap song, the portable radio and the sports page. It would be folly to believe that the history of the media has ended here, and that we do not possess the social imagination to meet the challenge now being posed by the threat of mass social violence to human societies everywhere. (Manoff, 1998)

2.5. Criticism against peace journalism

2.5.1. Arguments

Peace journalism does not come without objections and criticism both at the conceptual and structural levels. The first is associating 'peace' with losing 'journalistic objectivity' (McGoldrick, 2007). Kempf says it is like 'throw[ing] the baby out with the bath-water' (2008, p. 156). He predicts that if seen as a form of advocacy in the newsrooms, it would endanger the 'acceptance of peace journalism in the journalistic community' (Kempf, 2008, p. 156). Moreover, such perceptions would put its 'potential "trust bonus" in jeopardy' (p. 156) which is the trust lent to the journalists by the audiences when they 'believe' in their stories. For Kempf (2002) then, objectivity, neutrality and detachment are a

means of reaching *accuracy* in reporting. 'Peace is notoriously polysemic, to the point where it can sometime seem to mean all things to all people' with different meanings and interpretations in different languages, argues Lynch (2013, p. 46; other definitions also discussed in chapter 1). 'These are also the reasons why the Pecojon network in the Philippines adopted a different title, 'conflict sensitive reporting'' (Lynch, 2013, 46). There were other titles too, mentioned by Shinar (2007, p. 205) that include 'victim journalism' (Hume, 1997); 'justice journalism' (Messman, 2001) and 'engaged journalism' (Lynch, 2003b). [However these concepts have not developed to the degree, peace journalism has been].

Loyn (2007) argues in favour of 'good' journalism as 'the opposite' of peace journalism. There is nothing that peace journalism could achieve which good journalism did not, he argues. He is especially critical of the notion of losing journalistic objectivity. Objectivity, Loyn notes, may be 'chimerical' but it is an essential goal of news. It is 'desirable' as it acts as 'a useful vaccine against the relativism of attached journalism' (2008, p. 54).

Most of the criticism on this aspect comes from two aspects, argues Shinar (2007, p. 205). First is peace journalism's deviation from 'the media principle of objectivity' and the second aspect relates 'to the function of war as a source of media inspiration and exploitation of audience feelings'. 'War provides visuals and images of action. It is associated with heroism and conflict, focuses on the emotional rather than on the rational, and satisfies-news values demands' (Shinar, 2003b, pp. 5-6; also Knightley, 2000). Both reasons have fuelled the debate 'that goes far beyond the orthodox of objectivity' (Shinar, 2007, p. 205). The way media organisations and newspapers romanticise and glamourise their war correspondents also compounds the problem (Hedges, 2008).

Lofflin (2012) has raised arguments in his blog regarding the passive and pacifist aspects of peace journalism. He advises peace journalism advocates taking peace journalism to its 'logical conclusion', which is 'pacifist journalism'. In plain terms this would simply mean condemning all violence, from capital punishment to war and everything.

If the difference between freedom fighter and terrorist is in eye of the perceiver – in other words, [if] it boils down to the perceptions of the aggrieved vs the perceptions of the privileged -- then both will always see it differently. So you try to define the difference in terms both can agree on. And that is really thorny. (Blog post, 2012)

Peace Journalism is also criticised for its 'structural constraints' in assuming linear media effects (Fawcett, 2002; Hanitzsch, 2008). The study of 'conflict frames' for sectarian events in Irish newspapers made Fawcett argue that 'peace journalism isn't news'. Hanitzsch (2008, p. 75) argued that peace journalism takes 'an overly individualistic and voluntaristic perspective' of the media's structure and political economy. He further said that 'a peaceful culture is a *precondition* of peace journalism rather than its outcome' (2008, p. 75).

Moreover taking an impetus from peace research, peace journalism 'fails to take into account' the media realities of ownership, organisational value, market forces, vested socio-economic and political interests and the ratings culture in terms of structuring and production of the news. Peace journalism therefore requires 'structural reform' to become more effective (Shinar, 2007; Hackett, 2006a; Tehranian, 2002).

2.5.2. Counter-arguments

The arguments on peace advocacy and objectivity have been discussed above (sections 2.1.1. & 2.3.1.), and not repeated here. Suffice to say that the pioneers of peace journalism claim it to be 'a serious, inquisitive, professional reporting...not peace advocacy' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 17). McGoldrick has dealt in detail about the 'bias' and 'dualism' inherent in the notion of objectivity (McGoldrick, 2007, p. 21). The 'challenge in the term' is 'entirely intended' for the journalists (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 15) to shun the ideal of 'being a dispassionate observer' and to make 'a selection' in aligning themselves to the attributes of 'peace' as positive values in society.

It is also noteworthy that despite all its criticism, it is peace journalism, and not the alternate forms of journalism (mentioned above), that has been the focus of the debate and whose theoretical and conceptual framework has been developed. It could be partly because the term 'peace' is provocative in both ways, eliciting a negative and positive response from people (McGoldrick, 2007). And partly because many scholars do not see peace journalism deviating from good journalism practices. Robie (2010) argues that much of peace journalism is the combination of an individual's approach to a conflict situation and plain good contextual journalism. Ross (2007, p. 74) maintains that 'peace journalism does not involve any radical departure from contemporary journalism practice'.

Youngblood, Director of the US-based Peace and Development Collaborative Network (www.internationalpeaceandconflict.org), refutes all charges of peace journalism being pacifist. He insists that peace journalists 'still operate under a professional and ethical code that is sorely needed in this day and age of disinformation overload' (2012).

Lynch (2013) counter-argues the criticism on the 'structural constraints' and lack of research in peace journalism by pointing out studies which showed that peace journalism could be practised. 'Crucially, such studies invariably find that *some* PJ is underway, on some counts – and if there is some, it is tempting to wonder how there could be more' (2013, p. 44). In his new book *The Global Standard for Conflict Reporting* (2013), he undertakes the task of marrying *peace* journalism with *good* journalism. His argument: 'peace journalism embodies an approach to reporting conflicts that can be regarded as good journalism' (p. 51). Good journalism is imbued with 'critical awareness' and hence 'bound to take insurgent forms' against 'the structuration and biases always already at work in any journalistic work, even before it is performed' (p. 33).

2.6. Theoretical framework of peace journalism

'Peace journalism is not, in itself, a theory' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, pp. 26-27). 'Theoretical propositions are implicit in it' that pertain to 'peace, conflict and violence as well as communication and its effects'. And while there are several 'structural constraints' that shape the message (Tehrani, 2002; Hackett, 2007; Hanitzsch, 2007); 'the theoretical proposition implicit in peace journalism is that familiar structural forces such as market, ownership, routines of journalism and professional values, should be seen as the *governing*, rather than *determining* the content of news' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, pp. 26-27).

This section explores various theoretical frameworks models for peace journalism from the perspectives of peace, conflict and communication.

2.6.1. Social responsibility of journalism model

Shaw, however, argues that the theoretical framework of peace journalism is essentially rooted in the Siebert's social responsibility of journalism model (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1963). The model assigns social responsibility to journalists watch over 'those in power on behalf of peoples and societies more or less serving as their watchdogs' because they enjoy 'communication rights' (Shaw, 2011, p. 114). Article 3 of the 1978 UNESCO Declaration states that 'the mass media have an important contribution to make in countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war' (UNESCO, 1978, p. 1). Shaw argues that Lynch and McGoldrick (2005a, p. 5) place the journalist's social responsibility role within this framework when they assert that journalists are responsible for the way they report and for creating 'opportunities for society at large to consider and to value nonviolent responses to conflict' (cited in Shaw, 2011, p. 114).

Hackett (2007) examines peace journalism within three conceptual frameworks: Herman and Chomsky's (2002) propaganda model of the media; Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) hierarchical model of influences on media content, and Pierre Bourdieu's (1993) notion of journalism as a field.

2.6.2. Herman and Chomsky (2002) propaganda model

Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model states that the media's true societal purpose is 'to inculcate and defend the economic, social and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the domestic society and the state' (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 298). Based on the extensive studies of the American media coverage during the Cold War, the model establishes 'specific cultural links' between media and power that is exemplified by the state and the elite (Hackett, 2007, p. 79). The model's 'moral and empirical clarity has helped it gain

a hearing amongst youth and social movements', notes Hackett; and it is considered 'an antidote to naïve liberal notions of the free press' (p. 79).

2.6.3. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) Hierarchical model of Influences

As compared to the propaganda model, Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) Hierarchical model deals with the 'broader range of pressures on media content' (Hackett, 2007, p. 80). It identifies five layers of 'influences' on media existing at the micro and macro levels of professional media. The hierarchy of these five layers is structured as: 'the media workers themselves'; 'daily work routines within the newsrooms'; 'the broader organisational imperatives of media institutions'; 'extra-media influences'; and 'the influence of ideology' (Shoemaker & Reese 1996, cited in Hackett, 2007, p. 80-81).

The first layer consists of the media workers, their professional roles, ethics and personal belief that can shape the news especially if they are in editorial position. The second layer is made up of the day-to-day work routines outside of their personal backgrounds – such newsrooms routine of 'gathering raw materials (information) garnered from suppliers (sources) and delivering it to customers (audiences) results in standardised and recurring patterns of content' (Shoemaker & Reese 1996, p. 109, cited in Hackett, 2007, p. 80).

The third layer comprises broader organisational imperatives of media institutions such as profit, ownerships and community influences. The fourth layer is made up of the outside influences like advertisers, sources, market structures and technology. And the fifth layer is the influence of ideology, defined by Shoemaker and Reese, as a system of values and beliefs that governs what audiences, journalists and other players in the news system see as natural

or obvious and that furthermore serves in part to maintain prevailing relations of power (1996).

In Hackett's opinion, Shoemaker and Reese model is 'useful in organising the media sociology literature with a view to identifying the extent of corporate influence...at different levels of the press system. It should be possible to do likewise with respect to the forces which reinforce war journalism, and the opening for the practice of peace journalism' (2007, p. 81).

2.6.4. Bourdieu (1993) model of journalism as a 'field'

The third model examined by Hackett (2007) is based on the French social theory of social structure (Foucault 1984; Bourdieu, 1993) which sees media as 'a relatively autonomous institutional sphere...which has a certain logic of its own' (Hackett & Zhao, 1998, p. 6). Bourdieu's notion of journalism as a 'field' is useful in understanding media structures since 'it pays more attention to the potentially asymmetrical relationship *between* as well as within institutional spheres' (Hackett, 2007, p. 85). Each *field* is 'relatively autonomous', governed by its own laws, rules and logic but structurally homologous with the others' which give it the second and third dimensions like 'symbolic power' and 'reality effect' (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 21-22; cited in Hackett, 2007, p. 86).

Bourdieu's approach 'invites us to consider journalism and mass media as relatively autonomous fields within a broader field of power' and economics, which can be seen in the rise of the corporate visual media and the prevalent culture of ratings (Hackett, p. 86). '[Th]is framework is very rich, and can be applied to news characteristics more directly relevant to peace journalism' (p. 87).

2.6.5. Hackett's arguments

However all three frameworks discussed above 'have limitations', argues Hackett (2007):

All three were developed in the context of powerful western nation-states (respectively the US and France). Each of them assumes that journalism operates within entrenched institutional settings, with well-established and relatively stable relationships with mass audiences and with economic and political institutions...the three models may have less to offer as a "map" for peace journalism. (Hackett, 2007, p. 91)

Hackett's elucidates his reasons on the fact that the socio-economic conditions of the Cold War era do not apply to the present world scenario; and 'journalism's weakness as a distinct field is evident in the significant erosion of the regime of objectivity during the past two decades' as exemplified by Rupert Murdoch's Fox News Channel (p. 90). Moreover:

...the global media landscape is changing in ways that these models cannot fully handle, premised as they are on relatively stable national systems. Oppositional and grassroots Internet-based outlets are challenging the dominance of mass media, introducing new voices and expanding the definition of journalism (Ibid., p. 91).

Hackett's conclusion then foresees a silver lining for peace journalism: 'This presents opportunities for peace journalism – there are more niches in the system to practice and find a constituency and experimental forms of journalism' (p. 92). But there is also a challenge that requires a 'structural reform in that field, raising the strategic issue of how to build coalitions for media coverage' (p. 76).

The workable approaches, in the final analysis of Hackett, would be for peace journalism 'to build a new field, parallel to currently-existing journalism. This is the option of creating alternate media organisations, supported by civil society, insulated from corporate or state power, and capable of putting into practice the ethos of peace journalism' (p. 93). Another approach would be 'to change the environment of journalism, the gravitational pulls to which it is subject' (p. 94). These include citizen movements 'to help bring about more accountable, diverse and better quality media' as their right to demand 'democratic reform of state communication policies'. Finally, the third approach would be for peace journalism to 'reform the journalism field from within' (p. 93). 'There is indeed a necessary role for dedicated journalists to take the lead; as teachers, practitioners, writers and advocates,' he says (p. 93).

2.6.6. Peace Journalism in the light of conflict theories

Peleg (2007) argues that irresolvable disputes 'usually require a third party to mediate the rivalling parties or at least to facilitate their interaction' and that the third party's role is to 'stimulate mutual positive motivation to reduce conflict' (p. 27).

I suggest therefore, that peace journalism will assume the role of the third party in its facilitation capacity: allowing for the rivaling sides to get to know one another, to uphold understanding and empathy, to focus on creativity and human ingenuity to resolve conflicts and to emphasise truth-oriented, people oriented and solution journalism to expedite peace. (2007, p. 27)

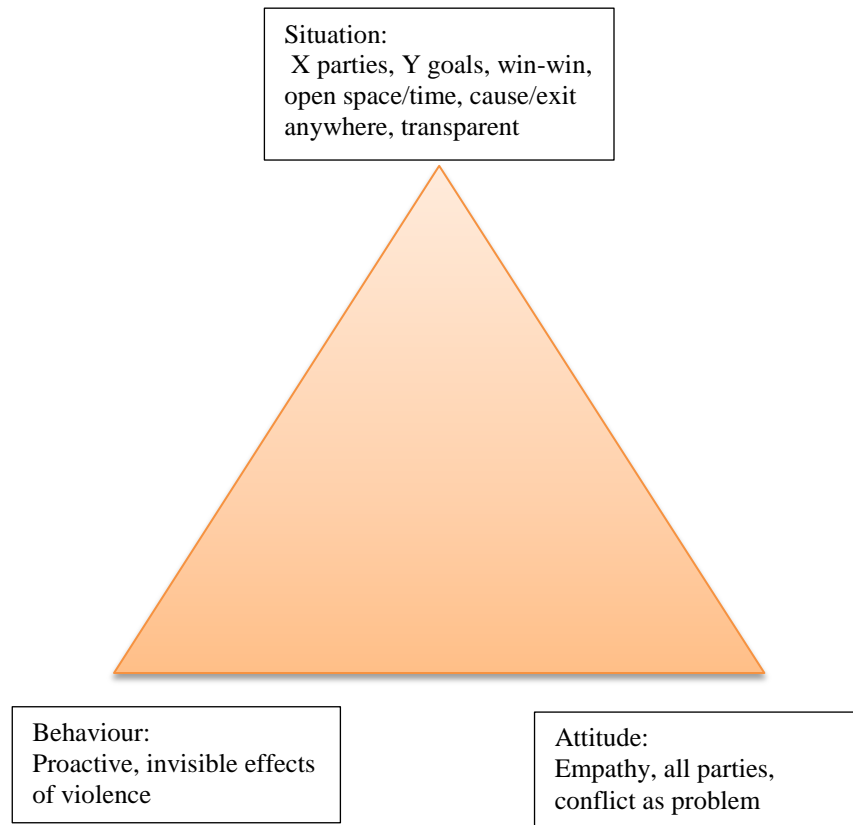
To demonstrate his argument, he examines peace journalism from the perspective of the triangular construction of conflict as given by Mitchell's (1981) triangle of Situation-Attitude-Behaviour – similar to Galtung's (1969) ABC triangle (of Attitudes-Behaviour-Contradiction) – and the Spatial Escalation model of conflict given by Schattschneider (1983). Mitchell's model looks at conflict in terms of the *situation* in which the conflict is placed along with the interests of the involved parties; the psychological *attitudes* of the parties towards each other; and the *behaviour* of the parties in terms of their actions.

The spatial escalation theory suggests that parties in the conflict are less interested in each other but are 'more occupied in communication with the environment and fortify their relative position by attracting other parties to join forces with them to outweigh the opponent' (Peleg, 2007, p. 44) Media then become 'the communication channels' and journalists 'carry the message' constructed in their 'talent and style' (p. 44).

Peleg examined three conflicts – the conflict in Northern Ireland; the Israel-Palestine conflict and the conflict in the Basque country – within these two model to 'demonstrate the putative merit of peace journalism as a third party in conflict' (p. 27). He concludes that in Mitchell's model, peace journalism can play a positive role by equally presenting 'all sides' and scenarios and putting situations within 'historical context' in the situation vertex; it can avoid 'volatile' language, labelling and generalisation in the attitude vertex; and it can be more proactive in raising 'awareness of cores and hub of potential violence in order to prevent them before they erupt' (p. 48).

His figure (2007, p. 33) is shown in figure 2.1.:

Figure 2.1. Peace journalism application in Mitchell's Triangle dimension

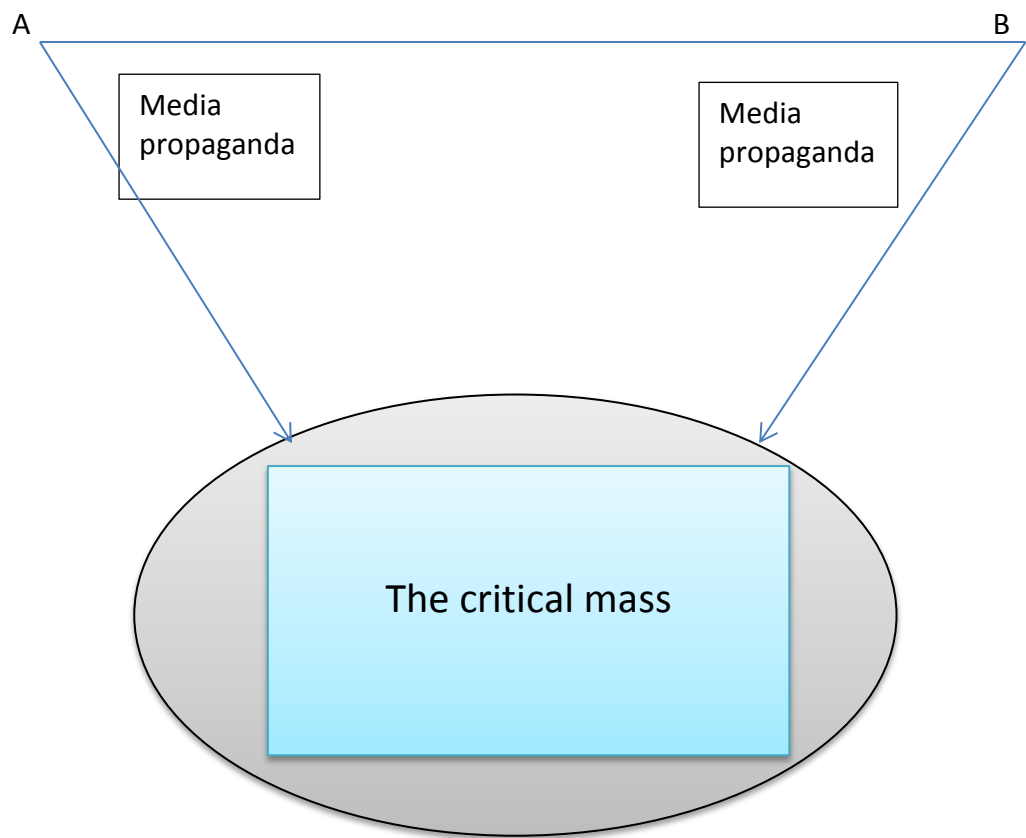


(Source: Peleg, 2007, p. 33)

In the second model of spatial escalation theory, he asserts: 'the contribution of media...is crucial and this is where the transformation from regular, sensational and contention-prone journalism to the accountable, even-handed and rigorous peace journalism, is most desired' (p. 46).

His drawing of this scenario (2007, p. 45) is reproduced as Figure 2.2.:

Figure 2.2. Role of media in ‘escalation of conflict’ theory dimension



(Source: Peleg, 2007, p. 45)

Peleg argues that media have a ‘heavy responsibility to carry’ when it comes to forming ‘communication channel between the warring sides and the attentive crowd’ (2007, p. 52). The way they construct and transmit message could accelerate or inhibit the hostilities. Moreover, the nexus between peace journalism and conflict theory can be beneficial both ways: peace journalism can be ‘strengthened theoretically’ and it can supply conflict theory with ‘new

evidence from the field' which can result in a 'fruitful collaboration' between the scholars, journalists and conflict resolution practitioners (p. 52).

2.6.7. Conflict transformation

Lederch's (2003) theory of conflict transformation has been discussed in detail in Chapter 1. The theory argues that a situation of armed conflict between states or intra-state has, at its root, changes in relationships. A relationship that was previously good, or at the very worst merely functional, has been transformed for the worst. Therefore disputes could be solved by working on the relationship between the conflicting sides. 'A transformational approach seeks to understand the particular episode of conflict not in isolation, but as embedded in the greater pattern' (Lederach, 2003).

The idea of conflict transformation as a model of conflict resolution was endorsed by other scholars including Lynch and Galtung (2010), Shinar (2003b), Ross (2007), Shaw (2011) and Tehranian (2002). Shinar (2003b) suggests it is important to transform 'the images of the self and the other' when it comes to long-term intractable cultural conflicts. Image transformation occurs wherein 'the groups engaged in conflicts achieve a fairly accurate understanding of each other'. Ross endorses the 'focus of image transformation as vital to resolution of all conflicts regardless of whether essentialist or not' (Ross, 2007, p. 72).

2.7. Theoretical Framework for this study

The present study relates to the role of media in conflict and explores if peace journalism can be integrated in the journalism curriculum. Hence it looks at the issue from both the perspectives of journalism and peace/conflict: It approaches conflict resolution and conflict transformation as deliberated by Galtung (1969),

and Lederach (2003) in relation to their practical application within the structure and agency of the media as elaborated by Hackett (2007) and Lynch (2013).

‘It is in the practical application of theory, and the deployment of research findings to bolster arguments and campaigns for change that peace journalism is worth pursuing’ (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 49).

The review of the literature in the last two chapters demonstrates several observations made by scholars who underline the need for the ‘shift’ in journalistic approach to the way conflicts are viewed, reported and constructed by the media agency; and how journalists can facilitate in deconstructing them and help resolve conflicts by finding non-violent responses in society. Peace journalism, with its ‘subtle and cumulative shifts in seeing, thinking, sourcing, narrating and financing the news’ (Ross, 2007, p. 74) is suggested as one way to pave the way. Hackett’s proposition is also noteworthy: that ‘there is indeed a necessary role for dedicated journalists to take the lead; as teachers, practitioners, writers and advocates’ (Hackett, 2007, p. 93). Journalistic training would then form an important part of bringing about these ‘shifts’ not only at professional level but beginning from the classroom.

This poses three questions regarding peace journalism from the perspective of this study: can peace journalism can be a means to integrate conflict resolution in journalism curriculum?; Can the principles and ideals of peace journalism be translated into the tangible do’s and don’ts of the journalistic practice?; and can the principles of conflict analysis and resolution be integrated into the journalism curriculum using the journalistic tools and practices?

These questions, discussed in the next chapter, form the basis of the methodology of this study taking into consideration what Adam and Holguin (2003) suggest as the participatory research methods.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

Several observations were made in the Chapters 1 and 2 regarding the media's role in conflict. Prominent among them was that it can play a positive role in providing information on conflicts, analysing them in their context and increase the public understanding of such events (Ross, 2007). Several initiatives were discussed in Chapter 1 that provide training to the journalists at professional level pertaining to their skill enhancement, and in the form of academic education that relates to the development of theoretical and conceptual knowledge of conflict and violence. Peace journalism is argued by many scholars including Galtung (1969); Lynch & McGoldrick (2005a); Lederach (2003); Hackett (2007); Tehranian (2007); and Shaw (2011) as the way to develop conflict sensitivity in the journalists and enhance their skills to play a positive role in transforming and resolving the conflict. This study aims to integrate peace journalism into the journalism curriculum. This chapter proposes Participatory Action Research as the appropriate methodology for this.

3.2. Research questions

Although there is no specific hypothesis, the research develops and explores the following research questions:

- i. Can peace journalism be a means to integrate conflict resolution in journalism curriculum?
- ii. Can the principles and ideals of peace journalism be translated into the tangible dos and don'ts of the journalistic practice?

- iii. Can some of the principles of conflict resolution be integrated into the journalism curriculum using the journalistic tools and practices?

3.3. Methodology

The intended outcome of this study is to identify areas that would help in developing an improved curriculum in journalism education; one that is according to the needs and demands of the working journalists, media academics and conflict resolution experts. In a broader perspective, it might also open new opportunities:

- a. to increase the value of media as its Fourth Estate role in society; and
- b. to increase the opportunities for resolving conflicts.

Participatory Action Research (henceforth referred to as PAR) has been chosen as the most appropriate over-arching methodology to explore this topic. This study incorporates comparative research for assessing different journalism curricula and interviews with experts and scholars in the fields of conflict resolution and journalism. The process involves a cycle of planning, action and reflection. The researcher's role in the research is as an active participant as both a journalist and an academic involved in journalism education.

These methods have been chosen because the topic is both wide-ranging and complex and needs to take account of the interaction between the players (including the researcher) and the disciplines. The experts who have an impact on forming the perception and interpretation of conflict among the general audience include scholars, media educators, field experts and journalists. Their assessment regarding the role of media in any conflict is recorded in articles,

books and reports which are included in literature, but individual interviews allow more direct interaction and directed questions relevant to the topic.

All these players are actively involved in forming the perception and interpretation of conflict among the general audience. They also have a complex relationship with each other: while they possess independent experience and understanding of the conflict situation as individuals, they also depend upon each other for their own understanding of the conflicts. Hence a study which aims to investigate the input of all these players is bound to be complex and a participatory approach is best able to incorporate some of this complexity.

3.3.1. Participatory Action Research (PAR)

Participatory Action Research has emerged in recent years as a significant methodology with roots in social psychology. Wadsworth (1998) defines Participatory Action Research as the:

...research which involves all relevant parties in actively examining together current action (which they experience as problematic) in order to change and improve it. They do this by critically reflecting on the historical, political, cultural, economic, geographic, and other contexts which make sense of it. ... Participatory Action Research is not just research which is hoped will be followed by action. It is action which is researched, changed and re-researched, within the research process by participants. (Wadsworth, 1998)

McIntyre (2008) identifies three characteristics of PAR which enable the researchers and participants to co-develop processes through 'individual and collective reflection and investigation' (p. ix). These include:

...the active participation of researchers and participants in the co-construction of knowledge; the promotion of self-and critical awareness that leads to individual, collective, and/or social change; and the building of alliances between researchers and participants in the planning. (McIntyre, 2008, p. ix)

PAR therefore, according to McIntyre, provides opportunities for research and knowledge '*with* people rather than *for* people' (2008, p. xii). It emphasises people's lived experiences and their knowledge as a 'legitimate mode' of action. In this way, it has the potential to 'create public spaces where researchers and participants can reshape their understanding of how political, educational, social, economic, and familial context mediate people's lives' (McIntyre, 2008, p. xii).

Kemmis and McTaggart (2005) stress that participatory action research involves the 'investigation of *actual* practices and not *abstract* practices' of all the participants (2005, p. 566). They argue:

By understanding their practices as the product of particular circumstances, participatory action researchers become alert to clues about how it may be possible to *transform* the practices they are producing and reproducing through their current ways of working. If their current practices are the product of one particular set of intentions, conditions, and circumstances, other (or transformed) practices may be produced and reproduced under other (or transformed) intentions, conditions, and circumstances. (Kemmis & McTaggart, 2005, p. 566)

Bergold and Thomas (2012) argue that the PAR methods converge things from two perspective – that of science and of practice. ‘In the best case, both sides benefit from the research process’ (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). The strength of the participatory research process is that it ‘enables co-researchers to step back cognitively from familiar routines, forms of interaction, and power relationships in order to fundamentally question and rethink established interpretations of situations and strategies’ (Bergold & Thomas, 2012).

At its core, PAR methodology revolves around three sets of relations: relations between individuals within communities and groups; relations between those groups and communities, and relations between people and their physical environment (Israel et al, 1998). It recognises all groups as a unit of identity; encourages equal participation of all participants; builds on their knowledge and partnerships for mutual benefit of all participants; and involves a cyclic and iterative process that empowers and disseminates knowledge to all partners (Israel et al, 1998).

According to Bergold and Thomas (2012), participatory research has been found particularly useful in the fields of health, medicine, minority or ethnic groups, youth groups, and marginalised communities. The reasons for this, they argue, lie the principles of PAR process which includes a ‘free’, and ‘equal’ involvement of the researcher and other participants; an ‘open’ and ‘safe’ working space for them; and their ‘willingness’ to share experiences and knowledge with each other in an atmosphere of ‘mutual respect’ and understanding. Thus maintaining a democratic atmosphere is important to the PAR process, as is retaining the ‘multi’ aspects of the perspectives and vocal responses of all participants in the findings.

While PAR principles provide considerable flexibility and freedom to both the researcher and the participants, Bergold and Thomas (2012) also point out the issues of 'control' and 'direction' in the research process, which are deemed important in conventional research methods. The process of getting-to-know-the-participants and building relationships with each other, can make the research lose its 'contours'. The researchers also face the dilemma of finding financial and logistic resources for PAR projects as they take time, efforts and financial support to be completed. Also, contrary to conventional methods, the hypothesis is not formed at the beginning but emerges during the participatory process of dialogue and research.

PAR methods also involve ethical concerns about the 'safety' and 'privacy' of the participants (by virtue of them sharing their experiences and knowledge with others); the power-relations between the participating groups (e.g. one group dominating the other socially or economically); the visibility of the invisible members of the field (such as in the case of marginalised community members who can be more vulnerable than the others); and the possibility of the findings becoming public. 'Neither the researchers nor the research funders can exercise sufficient control over the way findings are reported' (Bergold & Thomas, 2012). This aspect is demonstrated in a study by Dentith et al. (2012) who describe how the British tabloid press used government reports of participatory research findings about teenage pregnancy to publish sensationalist reports.

The present study employs several PAR methods: it explores the sets of relationships between the scholars, journalists, peace workers and the education/training institutions. Some of the aspects identified above by Bergold and Thomas (2012) regarding the power-relations and invisible members of the same field, can be applied to the groups of journalists which comprise of sub-

groups of photojournalists, reporters and editors. The media structure and agency has its own power relations and influences (e.g. advertising, political influences, and government/peer pressures). They are theorised in Herman and Chomsky (2002) propaganda model of the media; Shoemaker and Reese (1996) hierarchical model of influences on media content, and Pierre Bourdieu's (1993) notion of journalism as a field. They have been discussed in Section 2.6 alongside Hackett's (2007) critique on them.

Ethically, care was taken to ensure the 'willing' participation of all the participants who were interviewed and invited to share their knowledge and experiences without feeling any threat to their 'safety' and 'privacy'. All of them were briefed about the nature, objectives and scope of this research and their signatures were obtained on the ethical consent form. The issue of 'privacy' or 'confidentiality' did not arise as most of the work of the journalists, scholars and peace workers is available in the form of published reports, articles, and publications. Whatever they shared was willing, open and offered willingly. However, it was observed that the 'trust' factor was important in making the participants open up to the researcher. By virtue of being a former journalist in Pakistan, the researcher was trusted by the Pakistani journalists who were interviewed for this study. In New Zealand, Fiji and Australia, she found the interviewees accepting and trusting the institution (AUT) she represented.

As mentioned above, the objective of the present study is to identify areas that would help formulate a new course in journalistic training which will incorporate peace journalism as a body of knowledge and skills. Hence, the methodology combines the above aspects of PAR along with various traditional techniques to obtain and analyse data, such as comparative analysis and interviews. While a part of the research in this study involves surveying the courses on peace

journalism that are taught in some universities, it also includes interviews of journalists, academics and peace workers in the field, both face-to-face and online, depending on their accessibility. The researcher also deems it important to take into consideration the perspective of the journalism and peace studies students and their opinions formulated in the light of the journalistic trends and values taught in class rooms, and that are prevalent in the professional practice. These aspects are analysed in the light of the questions such as what should be included in peace journalism education; how should it be taught and what could be the most effective media platform for it.

Because of the limit of time and space, the number of cycles of planning, action, reaction and reflection, for this study was limited to three. But the ongoing cyclic nature of the PAR methodology, in the author's estimation, would be useful in evaluating the models presented in this research and in implementing them. She was able to get evaluation of the investigative journalism-peace journalism model by two peace journalism scholars Lynch and Hackett (Cycles II and III; p. 107 -108); and their positive feedback resulted in her visit to the University of Sydney. The oral examination process of this doctoral study would serve as the beginning of the fourth cycle in the current process in which the proposed models are examined by a panel of three credible academics independently, making them the active participants in the cycle. This would lend 'validation' to the models which would then enable the author to go back to the participants with enhanced credibility for these models and initiate their implementation. The PAR methodology therefore allows her to continue the process of implementation, evaluation and re-evaluation without breaking the continuity of the research cycles.

The author in her earlier research (Aslam, 2010; 2011) has pointed out the need of having a journalism education that is sensitive to conflict and is oriented towards seeing conflicts in the form of human relationships (with history and context) that can be improved, resolved and transformed. She also has noted the calls made by other scholars (Galtung, 2010; Lynch, 2010, 2013; Keeble, 2010; Hackett 2011) for a 'new paradigm' in traditional media approach to conflict, arguing in turn that evidence of such 'paradigm shifts' can be traced in the work of journalists such as Dixit (2010). She deems it particularly significant that such calls are made by the professional journalists and scholars of Communication Studies. Hence the researcher is sincerely optimistic that this study would enable her to establish close links between journalism, conflict transformation and resolution; and find the ways to integrate peace journalism in the journalism curriculum.

The researcher is also hopeful that the outcome of the study would be cognizant with the demands of the journalistic profession so that it would benefit the journalists and students in their careers – in New Zealand and in other countries.

As a journalist-turned-academic, the researcher has been inspired by the current initiatives of the Australian and New Zealand investigative journalists-turned-academics to get investigative journalism methods recognised as 'academic research methodology' in the universities (Bacon, 2011). Professor Robie, her primary supervisor, is among the initiators of these efforts (Robie, 2012). Several Australian academics made the case to Australian Research Council's Excellence in Research Australia (ERA) for the practice-based 'journalism methodological approaches and practice-led research accompanied by scholarly reflections' (Bacon, 2012, p. 158). It was argued that while journalism as a research methodology has some features in common with the qualitative research methodologies used in other disciplines in the humanities, it 'also includes

interrogative and opportunistic practices that make it unique, but not necessarily unethical or lacking in rigor' (Lamble, 2004, as cited in Davies, 2011, p. 161).

Spaces were also created to publish such investigative work. For instance the Pacific Media Centre at Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand, created a special section, *Frontline*, in the Asia-Pacific research journal *Pacific Journalism Review* to link 'robust and informed journalism' with 'scholarly journalism research' (Bacon, 2012, p. 153). Edith Cowan University's online journal *Research Journalism* was also an attempt to 'build experience and support for reflexive practice-based journalism research' (Ibid., p. 158). Hence some glimpses of journalistic narrative style combined with 'scholarly reflections' can be seen in the presentation and analysis of the data in the study.

The PAR methodology took forward the cycle of reflection and suggestion to planning, action and further reflection using the following methods:

3.4. Comparative research

The first phase of this research focused on the comparative analysis of the documentation in the form of existing outlines of peace journalism curricula from the selected sample of the universities that were available on their websites. According to Heidenheimer, Hecllo & Adams (1983, p. 505), comparative research is the act of comparing two or more things with a view to discovering something about one or all of the things being compared. The general method of comparison is the same for comparative research as it is in our everyday practice of comparison. Like cases are treated alike, and different cases are treated differently; the extent of difference determines how differently

cases are to be treated. If one is able to sufficiently distinguish two cases, comparative research conclusions will not be very helpful (Jones, 1985).

Documentary research is the use of outside sources to support the viewpoint or argument of an academic work. The process of documentary research often involves conceptualising, using and assessing documents. The analysis of the documents in documentary research would be either quantitative or qualitative analysis or both (Balihar, 2007).

The intention of this comparative and documentary research was to gauge the range of trends and practices taught in university peace journalism courses. Scott (2006) says that documentary research, along with surveys and ethnography, is the third most widely used method of research in sociology and other social sciences. It involves the use of texts and documents as source materials: government publications, newspapers, certificates, census publications, novels, film and video, paintings, personal photographs, diaries and innumerable other written, visual and pictorial sources in paper, electronic, or other 'hard copy' form.

In this study, it is the course outlines of the peace journalism curricula that were available on the websites of a selection of universities across the world, that constitute the documents from which to obtain further information for analysis. They were accessed and retrieved in the time frame between July 2012 and November 2012 and studied in the following six months (January 2013 and June 2013). Since they were online documents, the possibility cannot be ruled out that they have been amended or updated since then.

3.5. Interviews

In order to clarify information from the literature and documentary evidence of peace journalism, conflict resolution and journalist training, and to gain first-hand knowledge from their expertise, twelve people were interviewed for this study, including a selection of journalists, academics, conflict resolution scholars and peace workers. The direct involvement of these participants signifies the 'action' stage of PAR methodology and the data collected was used to refine the research outcome.

Kvale (1983, p. 174) defines interview as a tool in qualitative research that is used 'to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena.' They can be conducted face-to-face, on telephone, on the internet (e.g. MSN) or via e-mail. While the face-t-face interviews are conducted in a *real* place and not a *virtual* place like the cyberspace or internet, they are '*synchronous* communication' (Opdenakker, 2008). The preference of one over the other depends on 'the nature of the information one wants to obtain, especially the importance of social cues' which are reflected in 'voice, intonation, body language etc.' (Opdenakker, 2008). Such interviews conducted within groups, or with an individual, form an important part of participatory research process.

As different conflicts have different contextual interpretations, semi-structured interviews were used to give more room to ask closed as well as open-ended questions. While a structured interview has a formalised, limited set of questions, as Lindlof and Taylor (2002) point out, a semi-structured interview is flexible, allowing new questions to be brought up during the interview as a result

of what the interviewee says. The interviewer in a semi-structured interview generally has a framework of themes to be explored.

An interview guide was constructed for this study to frame the questions. An 'interview guide' is defined as an informal but specific-to-the-topic 'grouping of topics and questions that the interviewer can ask in different ways for different participants' (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 195). Interview-guides focus an interview on the topics at hand without constraining them to a particular format. 'This freedom can help interviewers to tailor their questions to the interview context/situation, and to the people they are interviewing' (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 195).

Some aspects of 'responsive interviews' as described by Rubin and Rubin (2012) were also employed by the researcher, which means that she asked further questions in response to what the participant had said rather than depending on pre-determined questions. 'Responsive interviewing emphasizes the importance of working with interviewees as partners rather than as objects of research' (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p. xv) and is cognisant with the spirit of participatory action research methods.

Many interviews were conducted face-to-face during research visits and in trips made to attend conferences. They were recorded and later transcribed. They were found useful by the researcher in terms of saving time, noting non-verbal reactions and responses of the participants and formulating new questions as a response to their answers – advantages of face-to-face interviewing as outlined by Opdenakker (2008). However some interviews were also conducted online as a cost-and-time-effective means to communicate with them. An advantage

gained was that such emails became a documentary record of the interviews conducted for writing the final thesis. As a hard copy, the interviews can help in collating and analysing the data more effectively (Opdenakker, 2008).

An interview with conflict resolution academic was conducted in order to assess what is needed to enhance opportunities and possibilities for conflict resolution. This interview also explored the complexities and strategies of conflict resolution as a discipline and a specialized field.

The research process was then refined by a second round of interviewing to gauge the relevance for journalism in light of the input from conflict resolution scholar. Journalists selected for these interviews were those who had first-hand experience of reporting in conflict and were also involved in media education/training at some level. A distinction was made between a media academic and media trainer; the former being the one who possesses an academic qualification and is involved in teaching at a university or institute of higher education. S/he engages in scholarly debate, discourse and analysis as reflected in his/her writings. Whereas a media trainer might not have an academic qualification but engages in professional and skill-oriented training due to his/her expertise in that area, e.g. a highly skilled photographer or camera person (Oxford Advanced learner's Dictionary, 2013)

Most of the academics in the fields of conflict resolution and communication who were interviewed for this research were fully qualified in the scholarly knowledge of their discipline with considerable number of publications to their credit.

A distinction was also made between the terms 'journalism training', 'journalism education' and 'journalism curriculum'. The Oxford Advanced Learner's dictionary (2013) defines 'training' as 'the process of learning the skills that you need to do a job'; the term is usually pertains to a profession by employing formal or semi-formal means: in journalism it may include improving skills in using technical equipment, using camera, designing or writing, usually focusing on one aspect of the work journalists do. 'Education' refers to the academic form of 'gaining knowledge', usually engaging students in schools, colleges and universities; in the journalistic context, it involves a holistic approach encompassing the theoretical and practical aspects of journalism as a field and profession. 'Curriculum' is defined as 'the subjects that are included in a course of study or taught in a school, college'. It denotes the formalised path of academic knowledge over a period of time that is employed by an institution. Hence journalism curriculum would mean the scope and extent of knowledge that journalism schools and department in universities deem necessary to impart to the students in order for them to understand and master that field at a given level.

A selection criterion was also made for the peace workers; they must have worked with the people at grass roots level as well as had some experience in dealing with the media so that they were familiar with the professional needs of the journalists.

When the study was presented before the School of Communication Studies Postgraduate Research Committee in 2011, this was the recommendation for the number of interviews to be conducted should not exceed five. However the

researcher interviewed 12 internationally renowned journalists, academics and peace workers, which was more than twice the number recommended for this study. The endeavour was to balance out the limited number of interviews with the rich and reliable data collected by selecting the individuals whose expertise and credibility in their field was validated. This was supplemented by the researcher's active participation in two of the courses and some interviews with academics in Auckland, Sydney and Fiji. Further interviews were constrained by time, space and funding constraints.

The twelve selected interviews conducted were:

1. Professor Jake Lynch, Australia (journalist-turned-academic)
2. Professor Steve Youngblood, USA (journalist-turned-academic)
3. Annabel McGoldrick, Australia (journalist/academic/peace advocate)
4. Jon Stephenson, New Zealand (journalist, independent)
5. Professor Robert Hackett, Canada (academic)
6. Tanveer Shahzad, Pakistan (photojournalist, media trainer)
7. Abdul Majeed Goraya, Pakistan (journalist, media trainer)
8. Bilal Ahmed, Pakistan (photojournalist)
9. Zahir Shah Shirazi, Pakistan (journalist, media educator)
10. Bilal Sarwari, Afghanistan (journalist, BBC World)
11. Mohammad Wajih Akhtar, Pakistan (peace worker)
12. Dr. Jane Verbitsky, New Zealand (conflict resolution academic)

Some interviews were conducted face-to-face during the researcher's visits to Pakistan in 2012 and to Sydney in 2013. Opportunity was also availed when they visited Auckland on a seminar such as when journalist from Afghanistan, Bilal Sarwari, visited AUT in May 2013. Jon Stephenson, a journalist from New

Zealand, also visited AUT after his return from Afghanistan. Some interviews were lined up during the author's visit to the United States and United Kingdom in April 2013 to present papers at two conferences in San Francisco and London. Unfortunately the visits were cancelled due to the delay in getting the visa for UK. Some interviews were conducted as personal communication in conferences and seminars, such as with Abdul Siraj, Director of the Department of Communication Studies at Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad; and Robert Hackett, Professor of Communication Studies, Canada. All of the interviewees were briefed about the topic and its ethics; their signatures were obtained on the approved consent form as per the policy of AUT (AUTEK Reference number 11/290, approved on 18 November 2011).

This action resulted in collecting their reflections on the specific journalistic needs (for instance the need to find credible sources, fair-play, deadline pressures) knowledge (e.g. of the area, context and situation) and skills (e.g. effective interviewing, language and delivery) required in such situations. Although there are hints of these areas in their published work, it was important to know how they grade the importance in terms of training.

3.6. Cycle of planning → action → reflection → re-action → re-reflection

In line with the cycle of reflection, action and re-reflection, the outcome of the research were taken before an audience of journalists, students, academics and professionals at various stages in the form of seminars and lectures. Their feedback was collected, and the questions/issues raised were re-reflected upon through further research, and the present research was modified (re-action). The cycle was repeated at least three times.

Cycle I.

Planning: The initial planning dealt with the gathering of information that included the rationale and significance of the study and the prevalent literature. The findings were presented in a seminar on 'Peace Journalism: a developing nation's perspective', at Pacific Media Centre, AUT, on June 5, 2011. The audience consisted of journalists, academics, students and NGO representatives. There was a question-and-answer session which helped obtain the feedback from the audience. The feedback was then noted and filed to refine the study later. A guest lecture was also given to students in the Asia-Pacific Journalism course in week 10 for the same purpose of getting feedback.

Action: Field research trip to Pakistan was undertaken in March – April 2012 to conduct interviews and gather other data and engage in conversations reflecting on the information gained to date. It included visiting the journalism departments in three universities (Fatima Jinnah University, Rawalpindi; International Islamic University, Islamabad; and University of Peshawar, Peshawar). Their journalism curricula were studied, and informal interactions with students and faculty held. Five other formal interviews were conducted, one in Rawalpindi, three in Peshawar and one in Islamabad. They were recorded and transcribed by the researcher.

Reflection: On return to AUT, these findings were presented in a seminar on 'Press Freedom: Rhetoric & Reality', organised by the Pacific Media Centre, AUT, to celebrate the UNESCO's World Press Freedom Day on May 3, 2012. The audience was a mix of students, academics, journalists and peace workers. The feedback in the form of questions and comments was obtained and noted to further refine the study.

Cycle II.

Re-planning: In order to develop the conceptual and theoretical understanding of conflict, conflict resolution and conflict transformation, the researcher enrolled in the course 'War and Peace' run by Jane Verbitsky in July 2012. This course, involving six hours of class every week for twelve weeks, is offered to undergraduate students by the School of Social Sciences at AUT. The course enhanced the researcher's understanding of the dynamics of conflict and war, the various models of conflict resolution and conflict transformation as well as the peace agencies and movements. Concurrently, she in the course 149118 'Asia-Pacific Journalism' offered in the School of Communication Studies. It is a 15 point course with three hours blocks of lectures, seminars and workshops each week for the Honours, Postgraduate Diploma and Masters students. The course deals with the journalistic trends and practices in the Pacific region and in doing so also provides a comprehensive understanding of the wide ranging issues including conflicts in the region.

The researcher found it an invaluable experience as her understanding of conflict, conflict resolution and transformation deepened and she started exploring ways to develop a process for practicing peace journalism that would be familiar to journalists and fulfill the basic attributes of peace journalism.

Re-action: The result of these deliberations was compiled in the research paper: 'Entering the realms of investigative journalism: a defence case for Peace Journalism'. It was presented at the Media and Democracy in the Pacific Conference, held at the University of South Pacific, Suva, Fiji, from 4-5 September 2012, with a special session on peace journalism. The keynote

speaker at the conference was Professor Robert Hackett, who has written extensively on the theoretical framework of peace journalism (including Hackett, 2007; Hackett, 2011) and the researcher was able to talk to him. The issues and questions arising out of this moot were again noted to modify the research.

Re-Reflection: On return to AUT, the researcher gave two lectures in the second half of 2012 to both journalism and conflict resolution students. The first lecture to the journalism students in Asia-Pacific Journalism was revised from the previous year by the research process. The second lecture was given in the War and Peace class which comprised of students of social sciences and conflict resolution. Due to the difference in the experience and perspectives of the students, the range of questions raised covered a broad spectrum.

Cycle III.

Re-re-planning: In 2013, the researcher continued to assist in the Asia-Pacific Journalism course attending the classes, running the class blog and holding class discussions. She sent her work on establishing links between investigative and peace journalism to one of the pioneers of peace journalism, Professor Jake Lynch, Director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS) at the University of Sydney. She was in return invited by him to attend his course on 'Conflict Resolving Media' and present her research before his students.

Re-re-action: In May 2013, the researcher went to Sydney to attend the short course on 'Conflict Resolving Media' offered by the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney, Australia. The 5-day course is run by the Centre's director Professor Jake Lynch and his wife Annabel McGoldrick and probably comes closest to the tenets of peace journalism as we know it now. The researcher became a part of the class, participating in discussions and activities, and observing the teaching methodology of the instructors.

When she presented her research to the students of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies on day 4 of the course, it was a different audience, more mature with a different outlook and experiences than those in Auckland, who were mostly focused on preparing for a professional career as a journalist. This was reflected in their response to the researcher's findings and their feedback which was more candid and insightful.

Re-re-reflection: On return, the researcher integrated her findings and observations into the present research and presented it before the new class of Asia-Pacific Journalism. As always, questions were asked and issues discussed which were noted to refine the study.

The findings of the process of planning, reflection and action are discussed in the next chapter, including the questions/issues raised during the presentations showing how they helped to refine and modify the outcomes of this research.

3.7. Collection and Collation of data

The data gathered from all the above stages was then collated and analysed to identify the following aspects:

- a. What is available in the universities in terms of peace or conflict related journalism education?
- b. What do the journalists say about peace or conflict related journalism education?
- c. What can the field of conflict resolution and transformation offer to peace journalism education?
- d. Can peace journalism become a means to integrate conflict resolution or conflict transformation in journalism education?
- e. What are the issues and concerns of the students/journalists/peace workers regarding peace journalism?

3.8. Findings & Analysis

The findings of the study were compiled to identify the areas that could be included to develop a course on peace journalism and, in light of the above, integrated in the journalism curriculum. They were analysed keeping in view the following three aspects:

- a. The aspects of conflict resolution and transformation which the experts in the discipline think should be useful for journalists to understand violence and conflict resolution.
- b. The aspects of conflict reporting which the journalists and peace workers think are lacking in current journalism curriculum and should be integrated.
- c. The journalistic trends, practices and values as highlighted by the journalism and peace studies students, which are relevant to the study and can be worked upon to improve conflict reporting.

These aspects were analysed in the light of (a) what should be included in peace journalism education; (b) how should peace journalism education be taught; and (c) what could be the most effective media platform for peace journalism. The first aspect relates to the content, the second to the methodology and the third aspect relates to the practical output of peace journalism education.

It is important to note that a specific course was not developed for this particular study as it was beyond its scope. The present study was limited to finding the 'what-should-be' aspects and not the 'how-to-teach-these' aspects. However the study suggests that the 'what' aspects could be further developed into 'how' in a separate study at the post-doctorate level.

3.9. Limitations of the Study

This study is a doctoral research project with limited time, funds and resources. The limitations posed by the maximum word count for the thesis (total word count not exceeding 80,000) became a factor in limiting what was included in the research.

- i. The number of cycles of planning, action, reaction and reflection was limited to three. The researcher was able to get evaluation of the investigative journalism-peace journalism model by two experts, Lynch and Hackett (Cycles II and III; p. 107 -108). However the other two models of Inverted Trident and CAUSE were finalised very close to the submission of the thesis, so will be tested in future work.
- ii. The ongoing cyclic nature of the PAR methodology, in the author's estimation, would prove useful in further evaluating the models presented in this research and in implementing them. The oral examination process of this doctoral study would serve as the beginning of the fourth Cycle in the current process in which the proposed models are examined by a panel of three credible academics independently, making them the active participants in the cycle. This would lend 'validation' to the models which would then enable the author to go back to the participants with enhanced credibility for these models and initiate their implementation. The PAR methodology therefore allows her to continue the process of implementation, evaluation and re-evaluation without breaking the continuity of the research cycles.
- iii. There are some limitations pertaining to the small size of the study sample. When the study was presented before the Postgraduate Research Committee in 2011, their recommendation was that the

number of interviews to be conducted should not exceed five. However the researcher interviewed 12 internationally renowned journalists, academics and peace workers, which was more than twice the number recommended for this study. The endeavour was to balance out the limited number of interviews with the rich and reliable data collected by selecting the individuals whose expertise and credibility in their field was validated. This was supplemented by the researcher's active participation in two of the courses and some interviews with academics in Auckland, Sydney and Fiji. Further interviews were constrained by time, space and funding limitations. The researcher had also initially wanted to design a peace journalism course but it became obvious that this was beyond the scope of the thesis due to constraints of time, space and funding.

- iv. The study is limited to highlighting the areas that can be included in an academic course on peace journalism. The next logical step, not included in this study, would be to translate this into designing the specific modules of peace journalism course.
- v. At the time of the research, a small number of universities were found to offer courses either on peace journalism or related to it. It is possible that their number has increased by the time this research is published.
- vi. This study is limited to researching the universities. Other organisations that offer trainings to professional journalists in conflict related areas were not included. These trainings range from providing guidelines in conflict reporting and teaching survival techniques to post-conflict trauma workshops and have been discussed in Chapter 1.

3.10. Scope of the study

The study attempts to identify the ways to integrate peace journalism into the journalism curriculum. So far this has not been a fully explored area so there are many avenues where this research can be taken forward:

- i. A logical step forward would be to design a full semester course on peace journalism that could be taught in universities at graduate, Honours and post graduate levels. Areas have been identified and highlighted in this study which could be included in designing a course on peace journalism. They could be further developed as modules entailing a specific teaching methodology, possible reading material and relevant practical exercises that would help students practice what they learn. It could be offered to the students of journalism as well as those studying peace and conflict studies. That would be a study worth undertaking at post-doctorate level.
- ii. Another option would be to further the cycles of this research by going back to the participants and with their partnership, implement the models so that they can be evaluated for their effectiveness in implementing peace journalism education.
- iii. This study looked into a select number of universities which offered courses on peace journalism. A more extensive and thorough research could be conducted by including more such institutions. This would help in generalising the results on a broader level.
- iv. Another approach would be to study the organisations offering peace journalism courses to journalists at professional level rather than at academic level. The literature shows that several organisations offer training to working journalists in conflict related areas. This training ranges from providing guidelines in conflict reporting and teaching survival techniques to post-conflict trauma workshops. These initiatives, not a part of this study, could be researched separately.

- v. The time-period of this study was from October 2010 to September 2013. Tremendous growth was seen in the conceptualisation and development of 'peace journalism' in this period. As the critical debate on peace journalism continues, it will bring new approaches to light. Hence there will be a need to revisit the study again in a few years to identify new possibilities of research in this area.

Chapter 4: Findings

4.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the findings of the research undertaken for this study. The findings are divided into different sections in accordance with the five aspects that were identified in the previous chapter. They were:

- i. What is available in the universities in terms of conflict related journalism education?
- ii. What do the journalists say about peace or conflict related journalism education?
- iii. What can the field of conflict resolution and peacebuilding offer to journalism education?
- iv. Can peace journalism become a means to integrate conflict resolution or conflict transformation in journalism education?
- v. What are the issues and concerns of the students/journalists/peace workers regarding peace journalism?

The findings were gathered after using various techniques including the content analysis and interviews. The content analysis consists of the conflict related journalism courses available in the universities. It indicates which areas are broadly covered in teaching of these courses. The interviews were conducted with the selected journalists, peace workers and academics in the light of their experiences in working in conflict situations. The aim was to find out about the on-ground journalism practices and coverage of the conflicts; what was lacking in it from the perspective of peace workers; and how could these be improved and included in journalism education. Lastly, as the research findings were presented before the different audiences in the cycles of planning, action and reflection,

their concerns and questions were noted and effort was made to find answers to them.

Discussion and analysis on the findings is done in the following sections:

4.2. What is available in conflict related journalism education?

The initial research of the journalism curricula conducted between July 2012 and November 2012 offered in universities across the world shows that they are heavily tilted towards developing the skills required to become a journalist. Such as writing, sub-editing, lay-out and design, photojournalism, broadcasting, camera handling and online journalism. They also included the more theoretical aspects of communication such as critical media discourse, media and society, linguistics, advertising, public relations, advocacy, public affairs, international relations and media law and ethics. The specialisations offered were in advertising, public relations, print media, broadcasting and magazine journalism. In some cases where a course on war reporting was offered, it was confined within the framework of media law and ethics and embedded journalism. Conflict resolution was not included as a course.

However, further research conducted between and July 2013 and September 2013 reveals that a select number of universities were offering courses related to 'peace journalism' or conflict related journalism in various formats and in different disciplines. It was being offered as a short workshop style course, a full time semester long course, an on-line course and as a module within a course. This posed difficulty for the researcher to study the courses from the same criterion: how could an online course or a workshop-like course compare to a regular full semester course?

Moreover, it was found that one-off special workshop-like short courses on peace journalism had been conducted in some universities such as the USP University, Fiji; Cardiff University, Wales, UK; Oslo University, Norway; University of Queensland, Australia; and Orebro University Sweden. But they do not comprise the integral part of journalism curricula of these universities. Since this study focuses on the regular journalism curricula in universities, such one-off special short courses were discarded from the selection.

The course Asia-Pacific Journalism taught in AUT was selected because of the author's involvement in it as a supporting lecturer to the course leader. She also delivered the lectures on peace journalism and therefore knew firsthand that peace journalism comprised a part of the course. It is therefore noted that there could be other courses in other universities with similar modules on peace journalism but which were not possible to be included in this study due to time constraint.

In the end, six universities were selected as a sample to demonstrate the variations in the way courses on peace journalism, or related to it, were being taught. They were studied not in terms of what was better or more effective but in terms of finding out the similarities and differences in the aims, objectives and orientation of their content.

The results were compiled in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Selected universities that offer courses on peace journalism

Name	School/Centre	Programme level	Course specific to CR	Duration	Student Body
University of Sydney, Australia	Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies	Masters	Conflict Resolving Media	5 days	Journalism; Peace & Conflict Studies
University of Lincoln, United Kingdom	Lincoln School of Journalism	Masters (Journalism, War and International Human Rights)	War and Media; Journalism and conflict resolution	One semester	Journalism
AUT University, New Zealand	Pacific Media Centre, School of Communication Studies	Bachelors, Masters, Post Graduate Diploma	Asia-Pacific Journalism	One semester	Journalism & Communication Studies
New York University, USA	Centre for War, Peace and the News Media	Masters (Media & Conflict)	Critical Issues in Conflict Resolution	One semester	Journalism; Peace & Conflict Studies
Park University, Missouri, USA	Centre for Global Peace Journalism	Online	Advanced Peace and Conflict Sensitive Journalism	8 weeks	Ugandan peace and security personnel
Park University, Missouri, USA	Centre for Global Peace Journalism	Bachelors Masters	Integrative and Interdisciplinary Learning Capstone: Peace Journalism	One semester	Journalism, peace and conflict studies

University of Peshawar, Pakistan	Department of Journalism	Masters	Conflict Reporting	One semester	Journalism
----------------------------------	--------------------------	---------	--------------------	--------------	------------

4.2.1. Perhaps the most significant finding in the study is that there are several variations in the way conflict related journalism courses are being offered and taught. None of the above six universities that offer such courses have titled them as exclusively ‘peace journalism’. Only at Park University, does the course include ‘peace’ in the title; it is called ‘Integrative and Interdisciplinary Learning Capstone: Peace Journalism’ and Youngblood’s on-line course is titled ‘Advanced Peace and Conflict Sensitive Journalism Course’ on their website. Three are related to conflict resolution, i.e. ‘Conflict Resolving Media’, ‘Critical Issues in Conflict Resolution’ and ‘Journalism and Conflict Resolution’. One is titled ‘Conflict Reporting’ and one as ‘Asia-Pacific Journalism’.

4.2.2. It is also significant to note that in some cases these courses are not offered in the journalism programme but in the Peace and Conflict Studies programme. The Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS) at the University of Sydney, Australia, offers ‘Conflict Resolving Media’ to Masters students of Peace and Conflict Studies as part of the regular scheme of study. The Director of the Centre for Global Peace Journalism at Park University offers an on-line course on conflict sensitive journalism as part of the peace media and counterterrorism course he led and taught in Uganda in 2011-13 (Youngblood, Interview). The course currently offered at the Park University that is related to peace journalism is titled ‘Integrative and Interdisciplinary Learning Capstone: Peace Journalism’ and offered to

the students of journalism and other 'mixed disciplines'. The University plans to start a Minor in Peace Journalism starting July 2014 which will be offered to the same category of students.

Similarly, the Centre for War, Peace and the News Media, New York University, USA, coordinates the 'Media & Conflict' programme that is placed within the Department of Media, Communication and Culture ('Critical Issues in Conflict Resolution' is one course). The programme is interdisciplinary in nature and offered both in the journalism as well as peace and conflict studies departments. In the Lincoln School of Journalism, University of Lincoln, UK, 'Journalism and Conflict Resolution' is placed within the study of international human rights. The course offered at the AUT and Peshawar University is run by their Communication Studies and Journalism schools respectively.

4.2.3. It is also observed that although the above courses revolve around 'media' or 'journalism' in the titles, the student body is not restricted to journalism students alone. Rather it includes a mix of students of peace studies, journalism, international law and Pacific Studies/Affairs. The CPACS at University of Sydney offers its course on 'Conflict Resolving Media' to journalism students as a summer course also. Youngblood's on-line course is not taught at the Park University but is offered to Uganda 'media and security personnel' (Youngblood, Interview). On the other hand, according to Youngblood, the Park University's regular course enrolls students from 'mixed disciplines' and is open 'to anyone who enrolls and pays the tuition' (personal communication, 2014).

4.2.4. Moreover, the courses vary in their time duration. 'Conflict Resolving Media' is a 5-day short course. The 'Advanced Peace and Conflict

Sensitive Journalism' is an eight-week on-line course. The remaining courses are run through one semester.

- 4.2.5. A closer look at the aims and objectives of the courses as identified in their outlines, available on the universities' websites, shows that the overall aim of the courses is similar in terms of developing in their students 'an understanding' of the media's role in conflict and to provide them 'skills' to provide information as journalists and peace workers. The Peshawar University is a case in example. However, there were also some differences. For instance, in Lincoln University, the course aims to provide the students with an understanding of the 'modes of reporting in print, online and broadcast journalism, in particular war, peace and human rights journalism, and relevant techniques for processing and disseminating journalistic products in their chosen medium to target audiences'.

The course 'Conflict Resolving Media' at CPACS, aims to teach students in four ways: (a) to analyse critically the reporting of conflicts and to identify War Journalism and Peace Journalism; (b) to understand the 'potential impact and influence of different patterns of media response on readers and audience members', and on the actions and motivations of parties to conflict; (c) to consider how to devise and implement a range of possible media interventions to enhance the prospects for achieving peace with justice, including techniques for writing Peace Journalism; and (d) to acquire and develop ideas for promoting media accountability and democracy.

The online course on PJ/conflict sensitive journalism at Park University is aimed at giving 'an understanding of the principles and ethics of accepted journalistic practice, and how those principles form

the foundation of peace journalism'. The course 'Integrative and Interdisciplinary Learning Capstone: Peace Journalism' aims to teach its students to recognise, analyse and practice peace journalism and provide them an understanding of 'how the role of journalism in different social, economic, cultural, ethical, and governmental systems affects the prospects for peace'.

According to the Manoff, Director of the Centre for War, Peace and the News Media at New York University, one of the objectives of their 'Media and Conflict' programme is 'to develop a media strategy for helping to prevent, manage, and resolve ethno-national, religious, racial and other forms of sub-state and international conflict' (Manoff, 1998).

The course at AUT aims to provide their students a mixture of theory and practice, according to the course outline, by studying 'relevant applied theoretical perspectives' and deploying them 'as part of the conceptual development of journalism practice' in the selected Asia-Pacific countries.

- 4.2.6. It is also observed that the variation in the aims and objectives of these courses is reflected in the approach the courses take towards the topic with a clear geographical tilt. For instance, the Lincoln University pegs its course to 'the theory and practice of peace journalism that is developing globally' and claims that their programme on Journalism, War and International Human Rights is 'the first in the UK to explore this field in depth'. It is described on their website as 'an innovative programme for people who are concerned with human rights and the issues relating to war and

peace, and who want to communicate this to a wider public'. Hence the programme aims to equip students with the 'full range of practical and professional skills necessary to work as a journalist' in the media, NGOs or national and international governmental bodies.

The Asia-Pacific journalism course at AUT, deals with the study of journalism trends and practices in the Pacific region. It is not specifically targeted towards teaching conflict resolution but aims to provide the contextual and cultural understanding of regional conflicts (a pre-requisite for peace journalism) in the Pacific region to young journalists who then can produce better researched and contextualised stories on issues and events happening in the region.

The on-line course at Park University studies the principles and ethics of peace journalism and analyzes how these apply both in the U.S. and abroad. This is done through papers, blogs, and podcasts thus focusing on the social media. The course also analyses the role of journalism in different social, economic, cultural, ethical, and governmental systems in East Africa and how it affects the prospects for peace.

CPACS's short course focusses more closely on the critical analysis of the reporting of conflicts within and outside Australian media and to identify War Journalism and Peace Journalism practices. Youngblood's Uganda-specific online course caters to the needs of the Ugandan media and security personnel in relation to their internal state of terrorism. Park University's course analyses how the principles and ethics of peace journalism 'apply both in the U.S. and abroad'.

The New York University's Centre for War, Peace and the News Media takes a more holistic approach. It includes the news and entertainment media as a means to diffuse or resolve conflict and indicates that media's role in conflict is not limited to conflict reporting only. The programme engages professionals from media-related industries like advertising, social marketing, public relations, television and radio entertainment programming. The approach is based on the premise that professionals in many such fields have long been associated with industries or government bodies, especially in the United States, to create and promote messages 'that would alter social or political behaviour'.

The Journalism department of the University of Peshawar takes another view of conflict. The city of Peshawar is the capital of the North Western Frontier Province (now renamed Khyber Pukhtoon Khwah, KPK) that borders with Afghanistan and independently administered tribal areas. It is the area where Taliban infiltration is at a maximum. Hence, news about the US drone attacks, suicide bombings and skirmishes between the coalition soldiers, Taliban and locals are a routine matter in last ten years. Amidst such social surroundings, the journalism students at the University of Peshawar have a tendency to look beyond the conventional reporting of conflicts. They look for peace stories not because they are 'educated' in peace journalism but because they are 'simply tired of the war'.

- 4.2.7. Content-wise, the courses indicate similarities as well as differences. Most of them feature the elements of 'theory and practice'; how to analyse conflicts in different cultures and societies and how to

differentiate between the traditional and conflict sensitive reports. The study of 'ethics' as applicable in conflict related journalism is also an important aspect of these courses and how to develop the skills required to report conflicts ethically and responsibly (the do's and don'ts). Most of these are interactive and participatory in terms of teaching methodology; this is done by guest lectures, presentations and practical exercises for the students in the form of projects, exegesis and analytical reports.

The difference in their content is more due to the overall approach of the programme towards conflict. For instance, the programme at New York University looks at both the news and entertainment media as a means to diffuse or resolve conflict, indicating that media's role in conflict is not limited to conflict reporting alone. The programme engages all kinds of media professionals from advertising, social marketing, public relations, television and radio entertainment programming.

The Lincoln University places its course in the discipline of international human rights and hence includes modules like war and the media, international human rights, law and institution and journalism and conflict resolution. They also become familiar with the ethical context in which war and peace reporting and other forms of journalism are practiced and current debates about right conduct and professional identity. The other main areas taught are war and the media; journalism and conflict resolution; International human rights for journalists; core broadcast; core writing. According to the programme booklet, the programme is innovative in the sense that

‘no other university in the UK provides a programme exploring issues relating to journalism, war, peace and conflict resolution.’

The Asia-Pacific Journalism course takes a case-study approach to regional journalism practices with a strong emphasis on the Pacific region. According to Professor of Journalism, Mark Pearson, of Griffith University, Australia, who reviewed the course in May 2013, the curriculum features ‘an excellent mix of theory and practice for a post graduate journalism course, with journalism strategies considered alongside theories of the press systems and cultural and political economy issues’ (p. 2).

CPACS conducts its 5-day course in workshop style. It engages the students in interactive sessions on the conceptual, theoretical and critical perspectives of peace journalism including objectivity, propaganda and activism. This is done alongside daily practical exercises.

The Park University course focuses more on the ‘ethics and principles of peace journalism’ and how they can be translated and practiced in real situations. For that purpose the students are taught the case studies of Uganda, Afghanistan, Lebanon and other conflicted countries. Youngblood’s endeavour to impart ‘an understanding of the principles and ethics of accepted journalistic practice, and how those principles form the foundation of peace journalism’ through his on-line course is ‘done through papers, blogs, and podcasts’.

Difference also lies in the format of the courses, for example the online course has a different format than the regular courses which, in turn, are different from CPACS's short course.

4.3. What do the journalists say about on-ground conflict related journalism trends and practices?

This section deals with the interviews conducted with the journalists who are engaged in conflict reporting; the peace workers who deal with the local communities and the media; and that of the media educators. It is divided into four parts: the first part deals with the perspectives of the local journalists; the second part deals with the perspectives of the foreign journalists; the third part gives the comments of the peace worker and conflict resolution expert/academic; and the last part contains the interviews with Jake Lynch and McGoldrick – two influential proponents of peace journalism – as well as Youngblood, who talk about several aspects related to peace journalism including what it can offer to the journalists in terms of initiating the process of communication, dialogue and facilitation between the conflicting sides and thereby helping to transform, or even help to resolve, the conflicts.

4.3.1. The local journalists' perspective

In a small room of a building in Peshawar, the provincial capital city of the north western province of Pakistan, was located the bureau office of Dawn TV channel, one of the most influential media groups in Pakistan. Inside, Ahmed Bilal worked on his camera equipment. The 27-year old cameraman was assigned to the reporting team to cover Taliban activities along the areas of North and South Waziristan, Khyber Agency and other tribal areas where they have a stronghold. Looking at this simple, serious looking and humble young man, no one would

think that he was kidnapped by the Taliban, imprisoned for several days and then released. Bilal was one of the few lucky ones to have survived the experience, mainly because he was a local journalist and knew their language and customs. But feeling helpless and captive, not knowing how long he would live, admitted Bilal, was nonetheless a harrowing experience for him. When he was released by the Taliban after being assured that he was 'not a spy', there was another surprise waiting for him in his office. 'So when I came back to my office afterwards, my editor looked at me and said: 'Oh, you are back. Good. What's up?'

i. Lack of organisational support

Bilal's recount of what he called 'the remarkable apathy' on the part of the editor towards a colleague who was kidnapped and held captive by the Taliban reflects two things about the mindset in the newsrooms in Peshawar. First, that the organisation takes no responsibility or liability regarding the risk to a journalist's life, property or job. And second, he added, the threats to journalists in the form of kidnappings and killings have become so common that they have become a routine matter – nothing to be worried or excited about.

As the author talked to Bilal, he laid out a list of what was lacking in the 'organisational support system' to provide health and safety for journalists when they covered conflict areas in Pakistan. It included no background briefing, no formal training on survival techniques, no additional expenses and no transport from the organisation. In the case of injury, he added, there is no medical or life insurance by the organisation and no disability allowance in terms of financial benefit. According to him it affects the Pakistani photojournalists and cameramen more who have to rely on either the reporter for his knowledge and experience or on the party they are travelling with – the armed forces or the tribal people. The training on first-aid was

given to them once, said Bilal, 'but it was organised by the Peshawar Press Club and funded by an NGO. No news organisation does it.' In Bilal's own case, there was no post-trauma therapy or care provided to him by his organisation after he came back from his ordeal.

Another senior photojournalist, Abdul Majeed Goraya, who has worked with Bilal several times on assignments, endorsed Bilal's comments. He recalled an incident in which he and his team were shot at by the soldiers at a check-post that borders the tribal Mahmud Agency. They ran for life but the driver got shot in his back and was disabled for the rest of his life. 'He got no compensation for getting injured while on duty; rather he lost his job and his savings. In the end, other journalists in the city and members of the press union collected some funds to help him,' he said.

ii. Threats to life, jobs and equipment

There is also no job security or reward for the journalists for risking their life. 'Most of the time we are on our own when we travel on such assignments. We don't get any money for travel fare, food, lodgings or transport,' Goraya said. 'Sometimes we get reimbursed – for instance if we get good stories and pictures – but not always'. Their incentive is their byline or what gets sold to international news agencies like Reuters, AFP or AP etc.

But Goraya said that this is accepted by many photojournalists. What disturbs them more, in his opinion, is the risk to their equipment in case of breakage, accidents or confiscation by the army or government agencies. 'The first thing that happens when we they don't want us to film and take photos is that they break our cameras and recorders. That's the worst part. So the first thing we do on such occasions is hide the equipment,' he said. He conceded that it may seem ironic to worry about one's equipment more than one's life. But the equipment is very expensive, is the personal property of the photographers and not provided by the organisation; hence it is seldom

insured. Getting it broken or confiscated can effectively cripple their work and livelihood, he pointed out. Without hopes of an insurance covering it, the loss can be too great for many photojournalists to take it lightly, he added.

The only thing that the Pakistani journalists do get when they are travelling with the army is the protective jacket. 'But many of us cannot use them,' said Bilal. 'They are the military jackets provided by the American army and easily recognized by the locals and the Taliban. We will be considered a spy and shot before we can say "surrender",' he explained albeit laughingly. Moreover, the design of the jackets does not provide an 'adequate cover'. Upward they can protect the chest, 'but what about the rest of the body – the arms, the head, the spine and the legs', said Bilal. 'A bullet in any of these parts can be equally dangerous.'

iii. Greater risks for photojournalist

Tanveer Shahzad is yet another well-known Pakistan-based photojournalist who works with a national English language newspaper. He also works freelance with several international news and wire agencies. He argues that photojournalists face greater threats and dangers than the reporters and hence have a tougher job to do. 'Reporters have many sources on their hand and can write a story sitting on their desks and getting information on their phone or computer. It is secondary information but a much safer option. But a photojournalist needs to be on the spot where things happen,' he explained.

'Moreover photojournalists need greater presence of mind and energy to make on-the-moment decisions and judgment calls. Sometimes having other people around hinders their creativity. So they work best when they are on their own and, therefore, they are exposed to greater risk to their life and equipment.'

Recalling his own experiences during many assignments while covering the War on Terror in the Swat region, which won him the prize for best coverage in 2011, Shahzad said: 'A picture that is worth a thousand words does not come by itself. Sometimes I had to spend hours working on my own to find a new angle and a new perspective for my pictures.' It was risky and many times he had to rely on his knowledge of the local area and customs to help him out in tricky situations. But it was always 'more satisfying because a good creative picture that really does not need a story,' he said.

iv. Call for access, trust and respect

In Shahzad's opinion, the lack of organisational support system, recognition and reward at professional level can cause both disillusionment and lack of motivation for the journalists when it comes to conflict reporting and conflict resolution. The researcher asked each of them what could be the motivating factors for the journalists. Shahzad, Bilal and Goraya agreed on the three things they would like to see coming more from their peers: *access, trust* and *respect*. To put it in Goraya's words: 'Give the journalist access to the story; trust the journalist enough not to kill him; and give the journalist respect enough not to kill his story.'

Goraya's call for *access, trust and respect* is a comment on the direct stakeholders in conflicts including the government, insurgents and people who do not want journalists investigating conflicts. But he said that it is also a comment on the sometimes invisible interests of the media owners and editors. 'The editors can help journalists gain *access* to story through their political and official contacts and networks but in most cases they don't, and editors can *kill* the story out of political pressure, affiliations and stakes,' he explains. 'That adds insult to an injury for journalists who put their life at stake to get a story.'

v. Empowering journalists through training

Zahir Shah Shirazi, another senior journalist and media educator from Pakistan, believes that in a conflict situation, attempts to coerce journalists are made by all parties as well as from the media industry itself. 'Media organisations tend to see events in relation to their ratings or the number of copies sold and hence they try to seduce journalists towards their side in the name of nationalism, heroism, professionalism or for the humanity,' he said, 'Pakistan is no different'.

'Most of the time the journalists succumb to the peer pressure, but in ten or twenty journalists, one will change his tactics, find his space and come out with a story that changes the entire scenario' he said. 'He is the one that matters.'

According to Shirazi, improving the ratio in favour of journalists who 'matter' requires training and capacity building of journalists that includes 'ethics, skills and attitudes of the organisation and society'. 'Journalists are a part of society and media is a tool, regardless of it being news or entertainment,' he explained. 'Journalists can give hope to the people after wars and give voice to their needs and issues. They need to learn constantly to adapt themselves to the changing situations and therefore must be empowered through organisation's support, better education and professional training.'

But this requires a harmonious relationship between the editors, media practitioners and media trainers or academics, he added. 'The problem is that these three players have different values, perspectives and interests and the dichotomy results in the poor standards in both journalistic training and education. When the classroom ideals clash with the opposite practices and demands of the industry, it creates a conflict within the journalists themselves that results in frustration, disillusionment and a sense of failure.'

In Shirazi's opinion, peace journalism can bring the change if the change in journalistic attitude is balanced with improved skills. Even though the media follows social trends, he emphasized, it also creates trends in society. 'With time, people get tired of old angling of war and want new perspectives to the conflict; that is the time when peace journalism should come into play.'

4.3.2. The foreign journalists' perspective

To sum up the views of Bilal, Goraya, Shahzad and Shirazi, empowering local journalists and building their capacity to report better on conflicts means that the media organisations need to invest in improving their 'organisational support system'. This includes enhancing the professional abilities of local journalists, like language and writing skills; computer or other technical training; teaching survival techniques and providing them better facilities for personal well-being like stress handling. This can be done by the news organisations as well as the NGOs working on media related issues. Many organisations in the developed societies provide such professional trainings workshops for the western journalists which have been discussed in chapter 1.

The researcher interviewed two journalists to find out if these issues are also priority concerns for the western journalists who travel to war zones in less developed countries as 'parachute journalists' – a term usually given to the journalists who work for international or domestic news organisations but who travel for a short period to cover a particular conflict zone and fly out after their work is done (Dixit, 2010). One was Jon Stephenson, an independent journalist from New Zealand who has spent considerable time covering the war in Afghanistan. The other was Bilal Sarwary, an Afghanistan-born journalist, who lived and was educated in the USA and now works for BBC World.

i. Challenges in a foreign land

According to Stephenson, other than the immediate health and safety issues, the concerns of the foreign journalists in war zones could be different: they included finding credible sources in a new country; understanding local customs and culture; coping with the language barrier; and overcoming their own presumptions and biases.

‘Most of the time, foreign journalists depend on the local journalists who are freelancers or stringers (local journalist working for overseas news organisations) to overcome the language and cultural barriers. But that might not always be the case. In such a scenario, they often seek out other foreign journalists in that area, sort of hanging together, sharing sources and information,’ said Stephenson.

Stephenson said that the ‘hanging together’ of foreign journalists can become a problem in finding stories; making them look ‘outsiders’ to the local communities and creating psychological and cultural barriers, especially if there are language issues also. It stops them from reaching out to the locals and getting first-hand information, he added.

According to Sarwary, an Afghani journalist working for the BBC World, this happens frequently in Afghanistan. ‘International journalists need to learn to leave their bureau offices and clubs, get out and have five cups of green tea with the Afghan locals. They are not talking to people, partly because they don’t know the language and partly because of their own inhibitions,’ he suggested. This lack of communication has resulted in ‘more reporting happening (in Afghanistan) than journalism’. Reporting, he explained, was when the focus was on the events as and when they took place and not taking into account any contextual or historical background. Journalism, he said, was more than that; it is about telling others why such events were taking place in the first place and how it was impacting on the people.

Also, continued Sarwary, 'a very loose definition of journalism' operated in the area. 'There are all kinds of reporters and photographers and camerapersons working for all kinds of newspapers, magazines and TV channels. There are also private film makers and documentary makers, book writers, free lancers and photographers who exhibit privately. It is difficult to filter real journalism from all this kind of variety,' he said.

Sarwary faced another problem. Although working for the internationally acclaimed news organisation like the BBC World, he still could be a 'soft target' for the Afghan warlords and deprived of 'the protection that foreign journalists would have from their organisation'. For instance, if faced with life threats, Sarwary said he could not claim amnesty or leave the country as easily as a parachute journalist would. 'The procedural delays would be enormous,' he said. Moreover, he conceded that the foreign journalists had a better organisational support system to survive and cope in such situations than what the local journalists had.

ii. Assumptions and Presumptions

There is a criticism against the foreign journalists made by Shahzad, a Pakistan-based photojournalist, who works as a freelance with several international news and wire agencies and hence deals with them frequently. He felt that many foreign journalists representing big newspapers or organisations come 'with an agenda'.

'On the one hand, they are better prepared in terms of survival and safety, but they are also briefed by their offices and embassies about the strategic interests of their countries in the region,' he argued. 'So they see things from their own perspective and interpret situations accordingly. They give a one-sided picture by making generalisations, sticking to the official sources and so on. Facts are collected to prove their presumptions,' he said.

When Stephenson was asked to comment on this allegation, he neither endorsed nor denied it. He said that one of the reasons why Western journalists rely on their embassies for background briefing in a foreign country could be that threat to life is taken much more seriously by the foreign journalists. Most of them follow the newsroom dictum: *dead people do not write stories*. 'That's also what encourages most of the foreign journalists to go embedded with the troops: physical protection,' Stephenson said. Although the situation could be different for the independent journalists like himself who refused to be 'embedded' and was criticized many times by the New Zealand army for his 'independent' reporting on Afghanistan.

Stephenson admitted that there was little doubt that the local and foreign journalists could report the same story differently because 'they see it from different perspectives'. If the local journalists can place the story in history and context, he said, the foreign journalists can see it in a broader perspective and therefore can identify a pattern in the larger canvass of events developing. The ideal would be 'each supporting the other,' Stephenson acknowledged, but he admitted that the foreign journalists could have their own biases and presumption about the local areas and people.

'The most common factor is when - coming from a more developed and privileged society - they feel culturally superior to the locals in terms of social development, poor hygiene standards or lack of basic amenities,' he explained.

Sometimes the bitterness and anger of the local people with regards to what the foreign troops are seen to be doing to their homes and villages also sparks 'a defensive reaction' in journalists that can blind them to the actual reasons behind such reactions, he said. 'But mostly it is the lack of understanding and accepting the opposite value systems and ideologies that results in one-sided stories.'

iii. Journalistic 'ignorance' or 'arrogance'

Stephenson pointed out yet another problem faced by the foreign journalists: too much relying on stringers and local journalists can be risky. 'For though the pictures and information – the raw material of the story – can be supplied by someone who understands the context better; those compiling or editing the story at their desk in their overseas offices may not. This may still produce biased coverage,' he said.

Sarwary opinion on the issue was that the biased coverage of foreign conflicts was a case of both 'journalistic ignorance and arrogance'. He pointed out the international media's short-failing in highlighting the questions in Afghan War that it 'should have' – such as the frequent bombing of villages by the American forces and the drone attacks. 'The international media should have pointed out that you never win insurgencies by bombing villages. And neither does kicking doors in small villages. The Vietnam War should have taught them that,' he said.

'The Western media also should have asked their governments why foreign aid worth billions of US dollars, which was their public tax money, was being given to the corrupt Afghan officials and warlords. How could that have helped peace? And most of the allied forces under the blue UN banner were there to help people in peace-building. How many reported on that? It was always about the insurgencies, the bombs and the number of deaths.'

The author's next question to Stephenson was that given the dangers and risks involved in conflict reporting, what still makes the foreign journalists pursue it? Stephenson took some moments to reflect. 'I think there is an element of self-glamourisation here. Afghanistan or any conflict zone looks good on their CV,' he responded.

There are several issues at hand regarding the journalists' role in conflicts, according to Stephenson. But what matters at the end of the day, he said, was the journalists' commitment to the principles of 'truth, fairness, accuracy, social justice and empathy that capture the spirit of journalism.' 'The job of the journalists is to try and overcome their biases and represent the people, to humanize them and present them with empathy and sympathy,' he added.

These are the values, in Stephenson's opinion, that the journalism schools should inculcate in their students. He felt that tertiary education in the Western universities has become more 'job-oriented' and 'ranking-oriented' despite the fact that there are several 'well intentioned teachers engaged in imparting a value-based education'. But administratively, the universities put 'too much emphasis on "ticking the boxes" than developing critical thinking in the students', he said.

4.4. What can the field of conflict resolution and peacebuilding offer to journalism education?

What followed from the discussion above was that both local and foreign journalists felt that there were many gaps and holes that needed to be filled if journalists were to report ethically and responsibly in conflicts. The study has argued earlier in Chapter 1 the importance of training the journalists in conflict resolution. Virtually everyone interviewed for this study agreed on this.

The next point of inquiry in this study was: where to start? The question was put before Mohammad Wajih, peace worker, who works with people in peace and conflict situations in Pakistan, and conflict resolution academic at AUT, New Zealand, Jane Verbitsky, in the following section.

4.4.1. The on-ground realities in peace building and resolving conflicts

i. Connecting with people

‘A good point to begin is by connecting with people’, said Wajih, former programme director for Search for Commonground in Islamabad, the US-based NGO that funds projects in peace building and Track II diplomacy, helping the communities bridge the conflicting issues at social level (www.sfcg.org). ‘Most of the time, conflicting parties focus on the differences between them than the similarities,’ he said. ‘We try to identify the common interests between the two sides and build on them through the local media. Our particular target group is the youth so that it does not get involved in the violence.’

Wajih currently worked as the Director Programmes, Intermedia, Pakistan, non-profit organisation that works on bridging the communication gap between people through media. In his opinion it was important for the journalists to connect with the people who were affected by the conflict rather than tag along the official line. Focusing on the similarities between the different sides is even better especially if it is an old conflict. He supported his argument by giving this example from his experience in dealing with the Nepal-Sri Lanka and Pakistan-India conflicts:

‘One of the main areas of common grounds between nations is sports, so we built on football during the Nepal-Sri Lanka conflict and cricket for Pakistan-India conflict. This way we tried to create a positive channel for the youthful energies,’ Wajih explained. ‘We produced a 26-episode radio drama called ‘The Team’ in 2011 for the audience in Pakistan, Kashmir and India. It was a series of stories about the cricket players who came from different regions with different social, cultural or political backgrounds in a team but each story also highlighted the common issues and situations that faced them as human beings while they interacted with each other.’ In the end, the players

were able to reconcile their differences and develop positive relationships among themselves.

‘The project was a great success’, told Wajih. One of the reasons, why it was so readily accepted by the audience was probably the fact that the project did not use professional actors. ‘We went on a ‘talent hunt’ from within the communities to find young men and women for playacting and they connected with the audience immediately as ‘real people’ facing ‘real issues’ that were similar to their own,’ he said.

ii. Choosing the right media

Wajih’s belief in the media’s ability to leave a positive impact when it is ‘connected’ with people and communities is supplemented by another equally strong belief: the importance on choosing ‘the right kind of media’ to relay such messages. ‘When you are working with the communities, it is important to engage with them in the language they understand and the medium that is part of their daily lives,’ he said.

Therefore local and regional language-based community radio or TV channel could become an effective means of promoting messages among the rural communities helping them change attitudes, accept peace building initiatives and ultimately helping to resolve conflicts, he said. In the bigger cities with a more literate audience, it would be the newspapers, magazines and national TV channels and at the international level, the social media can be effective.

Wajih’s personal preference for training journalists in conflict resolution was the category of young television anchors at regional level because ‘they have the language and the local context; they have the face and the microphone; and they have the medium which is becoming more and more

interactive. They can really connect with people and change opinions,' he said.

iii. Knowing 'how' to do it

Journalists, in Wajih's opinion, therefore can play an important role in resolving conflicts and reducing violence if they know 'how' to do it. 'If journalists are not trained professionally; if they do not know how to engage the conflicting parties in a dialogue without losing the control of the conversation (e.g., in a talk show); and if they do not know how to connect with people, they will only enhance the conflict without even knowing it,' he warned.

However Wajih pointed out another problem and that was when all kinds of journalists get involved in reporting and analysing a conflict. 'This brings forth a plethora of assumptions, presumptions and biases which makes conflict resolution even more complicated because then people do not know what and who to believe,' he said.

'At the basic level, all journalists need to know how to analyse conflicts and how to communicate with people. But they also need to identify their own role as to 'how' they do it? Newspaper commentators and analysts, TV anchors, talk-show hosts, programme mediators, even entertainers, all have roles in the media that is very different from the role of the journalists who work and report in the conflict zones. The important thing is to know the best and most effective way to give the message of peace within their areas of expertise,' he said.

iv. Being honest to oneself and the audience

Equally important is for the journalists to be 'honest and forthright in what they say and why they say it', continued Wajih. 'It is a matter of personal ethics and integrity. It is commonly thought that the big names in journalism

always say the right thing; not necessarily so. In my experience big-time old-hand journalists are equally – if not more than their younger colleagues – susceptible to taking positions on an issue out of ignorance or arrogance,’ he argued. ‘Also, because they are famous they are specifically targeted by the parties who have stakes in the conflict and can fall prey to coercion or corruption.’

Wajih recalled when in 1984 India carried out nuclear missile tests and there was international diplomatic pressure on Pakistan not to retaliate in a similar manner, the Pakistani media was urging the government to do otherwise. When Pakistan carried out its own nuclear tests, many countries enforced sanctions against Pakistan. ‘How was that a peaceful suggestion (made by the Pakistan media) for the country? Or even helpful for the people who for the many next years had to face severe economic and social problems,’ he asked.

On a more pragmatic level, the focus of the journalists should be to help diffuse the violence in society within their capacity as journalists. ‘No one can actually resolve conflicts; they have a way of resolving themselves. They form in the minds of people and resolve when people are ready to resolve them,’ Wajih reflected in a philosophical tone. ‘Besides, what is the beauty of human life without conflicts? Let the differences be – just don’t let in the violence.’

4.4.2. The challenges in journalism education

At the professional level, Wajih’s suggestions to fill the gaps in journalistic training regarding conflict resolution, peacebuilding and conflict transformation included the ‘honest and forthright’ attitude of the journalists; skill-oriented training and choosing the ‘right kind of media’. At personal level, journalists’

ethics, integrity and attitude towards conflict play an important role in highlighting the conflict issues and positively transforming their attitudes towards each other. Much of it can be achieved by providing training to journalists at professional level. The author moved to her next point of inquiry: can any of it be made part of journalism education in the universities?

i. Changing the mindset

Syed Abdul Siraj, a Pakistan-based academic and Director of the Media Department at Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad, thought such a step would pose two major challenges for the media educators and the students because it would require changing the existing newsrooms practices and values.

‘Although reporting on conflict may require certain skills, it is also about the attitudes of journalists and how they approach a conflict. So changing the existing mindset of the journalists is the first challenge,’ he said.

Explaining his point, Siraj said that the problem with the journalists’ playing a positive role towards resolving conflicts or transforming them is that conflict sells in the media, especially if it is privately-owned media. ‘Media owners are businessmen and not journalists, so you have two scenarios. In one scenario, the journalists tow the owners’ line and frame their stories within the editorial policy framework. In the other scenario, there develops a conflict of interest between the owners and journalists which creates hurdles for the journalists even if at individual level they try to overcome these to report ethically and responsibly,’ he said.

ii. Finding suitable job opportunities

The second challenge, continued Siraj, would be to create suitable job opportunities for the graduates of conflict sensitive journalism. ‘If one is going to bring this change in journalism education against the existing

newsroom practices and values, then it must be supplemented by creating a suitable job market for the young graduates,' he said. 'Otherwise, you will create more problems if they have to find jobs in the same organisations and work in the same newsrooms with the same-minded people as before.'

For Wajih, a possible solution could be for the senior, established journalists with proven track record of 'responsible journalism' to come together and create space within their work domain for young journalists to work as 'apprentices' [i.e. the senior journalists become the mentors] rather than letting them find 'internship' in news organisations. In other words, he said that mentoring students, teaching them by practice and showing that such journalism could still be successful could be a more effective method. He also believed that there should be 'no permanent hiring for journalists; it should be performance based.'

iii. Drawing a line between journalists and conflict resolution practitioners

Verbitsky, an academic on conflict resolution at Auckland University of Technology (AUT), drew the line between conflict resolution as a practice and as a means to help journalists play a positive role in reporting conflicts. In her opinion, the journalists needed not to become 'conflict resolution practitioners' in order to help resolve conflicts. Rather, one needed to be careful 'in trying to delineate the parameters of what journalist could do,' she said. There are other ways 'of being a journalist, of being faithful to what journalism is about, without having to take that model (of conflict resolution) on board,' she said. Journalists should be able to work within 'the new models to deliver information and possibilities about how conflicts can be resolved.'

This, in her opinion, required 'a broadening of the concept of journalism to embrace other forms and models which are much more cognizant' than the 'orthodox model' of objectivity that dominates the mainstream media. She

said that she found this model 'much more limited,' 'very rigid and modest in how it approaches the war'. 'For me the old model is fine for the period in which it came into being, but for the 21st century it is too simplistic, too commercial,' she said.

However, the difficulty for the journalists in doing so, Verbitsky conceded, is in 'trying to persuade the editors and media owners they can do it without threatening the integrity of the news that they are producing'. But the argument could be made, she pointed out, that the journalists' integrity lies in their ability to ask questions: 'because if they don't, how do you get a critical analysis of what is going on....So for journalists to have integrity, I think, they have to ask questions of everybody. And it's not just who is the most powerful one, it's just everybody who is connected with that conflict in order to try and get to a space where people can make their own judgments as to where the truth lies; and to open up the possibilities for a dialogue and the space for engagement in conflict resolution,' she said.

'One of the reasons why people get cynical about the news is that when the orthodox model is employed, it's all gloom and doom on conflicts and no prospect of anything other than conflict continuing on indefinitely,' she said. But the journalists could also see conflicts in terms of 'human relationships' and help people in connecting with each other. Giving the examples of Rwanda and Nazi Germany, Verbitsky said: 'that's where Track II diplomacy is very valuable'. For people at the level of community leadership 'to meet their counterparts in Track II diplomacy, to exchange stories and narratives, to hear about how the conflict impact each other, to recognise each other's humanity and to see the possible spaces, even if they are small spaces, where some kind of conflict resolution can be engendered, can be important,' she said.

iv. Broadening the journalism model

When asked if the peace journalism model could provide that kind of space and possibilities to start dialogue between the conflicting parties, Verbitsky replied: 'Absolutely.' 'I kind of like what Gandhi said, 'be the change' to what you want to see the world. So why not go for peace journalism because if ultimately what you want to do is try and move the model to embrace or encompass other things, then peace journalism embodies that flexibility.'

Verbitsky's call to broaden journalism's model to enable the journalists to ask critical questions, expose truth, find spaces and open dialogues is reinforced by her emphasis on what they could learn from the field of conflict resolution: conflict analysis, conflict transformation, dialogue building, and facilitation in bring the parties on a platform to communicate.

'In the 21st century we have seen so many changes in so many situations, so many transmutations, that I think journalism needs to transmute to keep pace with what is happening and to reflect the reality of situations. So I would hope that conflict resolution training in peace journalism training becomes an embedded part in standard journalism training around the world,' she said.

The journalism students also must learn 'how to deconstruct a conflict', Verbitsky pointed out. The journalistic way of asking 5Ws (who, what, when, where, why) 'are a good point to start with', she said. 'But then you need to add on more information about the needs and interests of the conflicting parties, as well as those of the other stake holders in the world such as the super powers, nuclear powers and the regional players. There is also the element of the historical context and exploring what avenues can be opened for a dialogue,' she said.

i. Embedding conflict resolution into journalism curriculum

Verbitsky suggestions came with a warning: 'Many educationists are very fond of what I call the add-on courses,' she said, 'but to be effective, I think you have to weave it right throughout the course. You are not learning just one thing or the other, but you are learning and applying, and it becomes inter-woven into the practice of journalism so it becomes a part of the whole training.'

Such learning can be included at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, she said. 'But given the fact that many communication studies schools run Bachelor programmes, I would really like to see peace journalism become a part of them. So that for people who go out into the communication industry or end up in journalism, even if they not intended to be one, still have a background of peace journalism, still have an understanding, a cognizance of what PJ is.'

Cool Schools is a programme set up by Peace Foundation, in New Zealand High Schools to teach them to resolve inter-personal conflicts themselves, rather than going to the teacher or somebody else at the school to resolve such issues for them. According to Verbitsky, having something in conjunction with Cool Schools Programme 'would be really nice', whereby the high school students can 'start linking peace journalism with conflict resolution'. 'So you may have a whole new generation that comes through with the idea that it is the natural part of what journalists do rather than the orthodox model....[thus making] PJ as a more natural fit for this century.'

To sum up, although Verbitsky conceded that it is not the journalists' job to resolve conflicts, she insisted they can still 'play an important role' by employing negotiation and mediation techniques which are the two main principles of conflict resolution. 'They can utilize effective communication and interviewing skills to bring together the conflicting sides to the table and

make them talk,' she said. 'This kind of mediation by the journalists can start a dialogue and negotiation process which can help bring all the parties to a compromise, if not a solution.' The difference is that the journalists initiate or facilitate mediation and negotiation processes within the media sphere for the good of the people and society at large and not *on behalf* of any particular side, she said.

But all of this requires education and training on the journalists' part to 'know the dynamics of conflict, conflict resolution and transformation as well as how to use their communications and interviewing skills effectively and creatively to their advantage,'" she said.

4.5. Can peace journalism become a means to integrate conflict resolution in journalism curriculum?

Jake Lynch and his colleague and wife, McGoldrick McGoldrick, are the chief proponents of peace journalism. Journalists-turned-academics, they have been running the course on 'Conflict Resolving Media' at the Centre for Conflict and Peace Studies (CPACS) at the University of Sydney, Australia, for the past thirteen years. The course content and their methods of teaching it reflect their philosophy and definition of peace journalism: as 'a choice for the reporters and editors to search for non-violent responses to conflicts' (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005a). Hence, their aim has been to sensitise students on the peace option while reporting conflicts and to show them how to make such choices when working within the media or dealing with it as peace workers.

In this section, they talked about the strengths of peace journalism and the challenges it faced in being taught as part of journalism curriculum.

4.5.1. The strengths of peace journalism

i. Positive attitude and understanding

Lynch believes that peace journalism education has many points in its favour. First and foremost, it can help students develop positive attitudes and understanding of peace both as journalists and as peace workers. 'Over time, we have very good examples of using peace journalism both as journalists and as workers providing information for journalists,' he said. Giving the example of a female journalist from Kashmir who attended the course and later produced a write prize winning documentary and another journalist who went to become the head of media in UNICEF in Pakistan, Lynch argued that peace journalism can benefit both in journalism and humanitarian work.

'The unit never has been just for the journalists,' he emphasised. 'Some journalism students have done and then gone on to apply it in journalism. But equally important, the typical CPAC student goes on to a mid-range managerial position in a humanitarian agency or aid agency or NGO, and if this unit helps them to collaborate the message of a peace group in a way suitable for journalism to be picked up and used in public sphere then it's another useful job for it,' he said.

ii. New Perspective to see conflicts

Second, peace journalism gives the students a new perspective to see conflicts. Lynch argued: 'Peace Journalism is about creating a different space alongside the first one; it's about reminding people that there is more to journalism than series of events like tit-for-tat; that it's about connecting with grass roots peace initiatives or activities to ameliorate the conflict therefore opening up new angles for the conflict; and it's about showing that there may be different ways to conceive the parties to conflict; maybe there

are some areas of common grounds; maybe there are divisions within the parties’.

Lynch said the students today ‘are better informed now and know more about the conflicts’ than ever, as he talked about the recent Afghan and Iraq wars. ‘They are much more savvy, much wiser to the way these conflicts have been presented and spun in the media’ over the period of time, he said. Therefore, they are ready to see conflicts in a perspective other than what is traditionally presented to them.

iii. Flexibility of the medium

The third strength of peace journalism is the flexibility of the medium that it can provide to the journalists especially in the social media. ‘The lines are getting blurred in journalism careers,’ Lynch said. He gave the example of his former student Venessa Basil, a Lebanese journalist, who went through peace journalism workshop in Lebanon which he had facilitated. She got a commission from the local office of the US-based NGO Search for Commonground to write a feature article about youth groups making contact across Lebanon’s confessional divides. The article was used by a range of other media outlets including the *Al-Arabia*, a commercial conventional outlet, which used it on its front page. She was later commissioned from the editor of another commercial newspaper that tied to a political party who found it surprising that people from different faith groups in Lebanon could gather for discussion for a few days together and talk to each other without squabbling or fighting. Basil toured with conferences with a presentation about peace journalism which won her the prize to get an internship at *Itaras*, the news agency’s Paris and Cairo offices.

Lynch said: ‘So she is now an intern in the conventional media and doing peace journalism on what’s happening in the streets of Cairo. I know this because I am following her progress on Facebook page. So she is also active

in social media, intended outcome, donor media, commercial media, Arab media, western media, and international media. She is doing “gigs” in all kinds of media and she has built her own identity through using social media. She is a very good example of how she has made use of social media and creating opportunities for herself through it.’

McGoldrick said both she and Lynch too had ‘dilly-danced between mainstream media, academics, (and) campaign groups.’ ‘I think its operative in all things and the boundaries are more blurred. We have been funded by peace groups to make films that we have been used in training courses but that have subsequently sold a couple of stories Channel 9 in Australia, or to the BBC or Sky News,’ she said. ‘So we have been at same game all along, operating on many different levels. And they are all important to each other because they all feed each other.’

The important thing, McGoldrick insisted, is that the ‘more audience are mobilized or engaged in this discussion, the more chance we have to raise the bar and improve journalism’.

iv. Value explicit attributes

The fourth strength of peace journalism is that it is *value explicit*. The main purpose of peace journalism, according to Lynch, is ‘to give peace a chance’, that makes peace journalism ‘*value explicit*’. He felt that it was an important attribute as it brought in the values of transparency and responsibility. ‘The opposite of *value explicit* is not *value neutral* but *value concealed*,’ he said. ‘And if you are *value explicit* and you are in favour of ‘peace’ and you are in a privileged position (which we are in the university) then there is an onus to follow through from theory to practice; there is an onus to involve oneself in debates generally and make a contribution to them. Not only to reflect opinion but also to lead opinion,’ he added.

Both Lynch and McGoldrick believed that these are good 'values' and good 'graduate attributes' for their students. '...we want to turn out graduates who are equipped and able and confident and prepared to take a lead in debates where they advocate for peace - debates in every context: within their own workplace, within their family. That's our aim,' they said.

v. Donor funding possibilities

An advantage of being value explicit towards peace is that it can help secure funding for journalism. 'I think in general there is going to be more and more need to find non-commercial or extra – commercial funding mechanism for quality journalism,' Lynch said. 'People will have to give money *to* journalism rather than spending money *on* journalism...So if there is going to be donor funds then the interests of the donors will have to be engaged.'

And peace journalism can be helpful in 'building up the case for donor funding in peace journalism to extend both the training opportunities for the people to do it and for the actual slots for them to practice it,' Lynch maintained.

'We can show peace journalism is a good thing because we can already show that there is some peace journalism. We can show that where peace journalism is presented to the audiences it makes a difference in their responses; it does make them more receptive to peaceful non-violent responses to conflict. And if we further show that journalists who undergo training in peace journalism can then carry it out in their own media then it will be a very good reason to fund more training in PJ. And if there are not enough spaces for PJ then there is an equally good reason to fund those spaces,' he said.

4.5.2. The hurdles in peace journalism education

Lynch and McGoldrick made several arguments in favour of peace journalism but they were pragmatic enough to acknowledge that it did not mean smooth sailing for peace journalism. They agreed that there were 'many hurdles' for peace journalism to establish itself as a part of journalism education in the universities.

i. Naming the course

Their first hurdle was the difficulty in naming their course. Their course is called the 'Conflict Resolving Media' instead of 'peace journalism'. McGoldrick explained that the reasons were partly historic as 'it was primarily established in the peace centre in a university that at the time did not have a media department. Hence it was given a touch of 'conflict resolving media',' she said.

But in Lynch's opinion most of it was 'bureaucratic nuisance'. The University of Sydney has a fully functional media department but '...we would not be allowed to take a unit now with words like 'journalism' or 'media or communication' in it because that is the prerogative of the department of media and communication which is headquartered across the foot bridge from here. Which is why we have not renamed it when we could have renamed the unit 'peace journalism', but we would not have been allowed to rename the unit with the title 'journalism' in it because of those bureaucratic reasons,' he elaborated.

ii. Limited resources for research

Finding enough financial resources for research is another hurdle as 'the competition is very intense' and it is a 'highly bureaucratic process', Lynch argued. The process requires one to nominate a particular field of research in which the research project would take place. 'All fields of research have a numerical code and there isn't one for peace,' Lynch explained. 'So we have

to pick a code which corresponds to another field in which can do peace.’ Lynch said he manages to do this because while he is ‘an exponent in peace journalism’, he has a PhD in journalism. ‘So I can propose my projects in the field of journalism studies that is recognised and has a code.’

iii. Increasing bureaucratic practices in the universities

There are also other more serious issues involved with regard to the values the Centre adheres to. Lynch argued above about being ‘value explicit’ in favour of peace and making them the ‘graduate attributes’ for his Centre. ‘But they are different attributes to the ones that are promoted by the university,’ he said.

The public universities in Australia, Lynch observed, ‘are becoming much more bureaucratic, becoming much more controlling, much more centralised’ and thus putting several constraints on the faculties and departments. And ‘so we are implicitly in the position to keep on justifying and re-justifying our own study, our own values, our own precepts, our own pedagogical approach in the context of this tightening, intensifying bureaucratising environment. As peace educators we are being, slowly but surely, squeezed by the kind of a neo-liberal instrumentality of a public university in Australia at this time,’ Lynch added.

iv. Accepting ‘peace’ as value

Accepting the value of ‘peace’ in contemporary journalism practices can be a real problem in allowing peace journalism to start ‘a thousand dialogues’, said McGoldrick as she reflected on the term and the reaction it provoked among different people. ‘I often think why do journalists protest so much about the concept of peace? For me it is because they really don’t understand what it is and how it is achieved,’ said McGoldrick. ‘They think it is asking them to have an agenda and no, no, no they don’t have an agenda.’

But it is a little bit like saying to me that no, no, no, you can't have an opinion, that you can't side with anybody. Well, that's what human beings do. But it is my responsibility to be conscious of what is going inside of me, conscious of my biases and how they play out. That's what PJ is inviting the journalists to do,' she said.

The good thing, added McGoldrick, is that if many journalists find peace journalism 'extremely provocative', it is 'equally mobilising and supportive for some people.' She said: 'There were people who responded to it positively. For example, an Indonesian journalist downloaded Lynch's work on 'the peace journalism option' in 2002 and created a peace journalism prize. And there have been so many letters from journalists around the world saying 'Thank God, for writing that. We have been doing the same thing for so long and nobody gave a name to us for it.' So I think it does both things. It is 'provocative' because it engages people in talking about it but it is also makes people react in a totally opposite manner, it shuts them down,' she said.

v. Debate on peace journalism

Lynch picked up on another issue that had been problematic: the debate on whether peace journalism is 'good journalism'. Lynch's own belief: they are the same. His argument is that what is 'valuable' and 'good' in journalism is 'the capacity of journalism to throw up those occasional deviations from the norm' - i.e. when it gives a different account of conflicts than what is usually given and therefore 'triggers a strong response' from the people. To support his argument, Lynch cited an example from his new research (published in 2013, *A global standard for reporting conflict*) in which there was a story about a Palestinian exile in Sydney talking about the reality of life of the Palestinians in the West Bank and trying to move distance equivalent to between adjacent Sydney suburbs only to find 14 check posts along the way.

‘That attracted more comments than anything else,’ he said. ‘The other thing that attracted a lot of comment was showing the maps of so-called disappearing Palestine, showing how the space for Palestine is being encroached upon over the years by Israeli settlements. They are both noteworthy and people responded strongly to them because that’s unusual for them. In other words, there are no logical explanations there. And therefore one asks oneself, why are they so unusual? They are primely stating some important facts about the conflict, there is nothing counter-factual about them, but the reason why they are so unusual is because of the ‘over-arching archeology’ and the non-material structures within which journalism about conflict here in Australian media is being assembled,’ he explained.

‘Peace Journalism has the job of throwing up those bits and therefore it is good journalism. So good journalism is peace journalism; and peace journalism is good journalism,’ he added.

4.5.3. The ideal peace journalism education

When asked if there should be another name for peace journalism, like ‘conflict sensitive journalism’, to avoid controversy attached with the term, Lynch shook his head in negative. ‘The main purpose of peace journalism is to give peace a chance,’ he said. ‘Journalists report the facts,’ he said. ‘And that remit has to be conducted with self-awareness. There are certain identifiable biases that are developed over time just through the sheer application of journalistic conventions and those biases add up to a bias towards war or social violence that conditions audiences to be receptive to proposals for social violence; it conditions them to become near to structural violence. So anything that counteracts those effects can be labeled peace journalism even if the people who do it do not call it that,’ he added.

What is needed more, in Lynch's opinion, is to have a more focused and directed agenda for peace journalism research. So far there is 'anecdotal evidence' that peace journalism exists and that it can be implemented however many questions remain unanswered. Such as can journalist carry it out? Under what conditions? What fosters it and what hinders it?

'There needs to be more study on this aspect,' Lynch emphasised. 'And the perfect study would be a longitudinal study which would take a group of journalists, analyse their content of reporting of conflict issues; then expose them to a course on peace journalism workshop and then work with them and follow them afterwards and keep analysing the contents of their reporting as they attempt to carry out what have just absorbed. And that would give us some indication of what they could carry out. That needs to be supported by subject interviews about the reasons why they could or could not do what they wanted to do - which would enable us to build up a systematic picture of the conditions and influences that bear upon peace journalism and prevent it from being real. That's the central peace journalism research agenda as I see it,' he said.

Asked how, at what level and to whom, he would like to teach peace journalism in the universities, Lynch said his ideal would be to combine peace journalism practice with critical perspectives on media and communication at the postgraduate level. 'I would actually like to have a post graduate degree in critical practice; and peace journalism would be a part of it. Its aim would be to take in people who are already working in the media in some form somewhere and it would send them back after the degree with an enhanced set of skills to bring their perspectives to bare in various media,' he replied.

Lynch also felt it was important to have the 'critical scholarly debate' in peace journalism education. 'So as well as news writing, there would be opportunities to learn editing, camera work, how to write a blog, how to build a website – all

these kinds of things will be a part of it, but also to bring in the critical scholarly aspect to bear. That's what we try to do here. We try to have a kind of critical debate about why the news coverage is as it is and how it could be different. And that's what I would like to really capture and distill into a full scale postgraduate degree programme and offer it perhaps in partnership with one or two universities in other countries. That will be another opportunity,' he said.

In another interview, Associate Steven Youngblood, Director of the Center for Global Peace Journalism at Park University, USA, was also asked to give his views on the difference between peace journalism and conflict sensitive journalism. His response was that there was no 'substantive difference' between the two. 'The conflict sensitive people would say that they are not as radical as the peace journalists, that they do not openly advocate peace or any other cause.' The reality is the opposite, he said: 'it [peace journalism] simply asks journalists to consider the consequences of their reporting.'

For Youngblood, peace journalism is not about advocacy. It is also not a niche or a specialisation like environment or crime reporting. '[T]he principles of peace journalism can inform and guide reporting across media and topic areas. I talk in class about peace journalism and crime reporting, for example. On my blog right now is an article that talks about applying Peace Journalism principles to the coverage of the typhoon (<http://stevenyoungblood.blogspot.com>). Peace journalism principles also have strong ties to professional electoral reporting. Peace journalism is not a niche; it provides a foundation upon which we can build (or re-build) responsible, professional reporting,' he argued.

Also was the question: should peace journalists tag themselves as such while introducing themselves? Youngblood asked a counter-question: 'Would a non-peace journalist say, "I'm going to sensationalise what you say, and whip up an angry mob that might burn down your headquarters?" Would any journalist say,

“I’m going to be objective, treat you fairly, double check the facts you give me, balance the story, and go beyond official sources in my research?” There is no agenda here, other than responsible, non-inflammatory reporting, so there’s no need to announce anything,’ he said.

In Youngblood’s view there are ‘already accepted principles of peace journalism’ as articulated by Lynch and McGoldrick, 2000, and ‘expanded upon’ by other researchers and practitioners and will continue to do so. ‘This isn’t like, say, mathematics, where a theorem either checks out or it doesn’t. These founding concepts are a good starting point, although we all understand that different realities in different countries will, by necessity, change the way that these are interpreted and applied,’ he said.

In his own classroom, Youngblood admits that he and his students ‘constantly struggle with the ethical questions involved’ such as what role, if any, should a journalist have in this story? Should I as a journalist retain objective distance even though if I intervened lives could be saved? His book *Professor Komagum: Teaching peace journalism and battling insanity in Uganda* is about such ethical dilemmas (<http://professorkomagum.blogspot.com>). He said that also challenging is ‘bringing students up to speed on the conditions on the ground’ in the countries they study — Uganda, Lebanon, Kenya, Afghanistan, etc. The students ‘need a primer in international relations, NGO study, international cultures and economics, corruption, etc.’

4.6. The issues and concerns of the students, journalists and media educators regarding peace journalism.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Participatory Action Research methodology entails equal participation of various groups. PAR methods adopted for this study included the cycles of planning, action and reflection. In this study, the participants included journalists, academics, researchers, peace workers as well as the students. This section entails the issues and questions of the audiences to whom the research was presented at various stages in the form of lectures and seminars. These issues and questions were noted and researched so that answers could be found and research improved. Three cycles of planning, action and reflection were conducted for this study.

In all, eleven questions and issues were raised by the participants, which are listed below as findings. They are discussed in Chapter 5.

- i. Is peace journalism a 'niche', a specialisation or is it part of the mainstream journalism?
- ii. Does a journalist have the moral authority to pass an opinion on what he is reporting?
- iii. Is it important to choose between war journalism and peace journalism? Why can't I practice both?
- iv. How do you challenge the media's dictum 'If it bleeds, it leads' that is taught in the classrooms?
- v. What aspects of conflict resolution can be included in journalism?
- vi. Is social media the main platform for peace journalism then?
- vii. How do you differentiate between investigative journalism and peace journalism? And isn't investigative in decline itself?

viii. If you include non-news media in PJ does it not step away from journalism?

ix. What is the relationship between good journalism, peace journalism and determined journalism?

x. Can there be a universal standard for practising peace journalism?

xi. Do the peace journalists have to tag themselves as such when introducing themselves to others?

Chapter 5: Discussion and Analysis

5.1. Introduction

This study aims to explore the ways to integrate peace journalism into the journalism curriculum. The objective is to improve journalism curricula vis-à-vis the role media plays or can play in conflicts. Hence, the study is journalism oriented and sees the field of conflict resolution not as an end in itself but as the means to help journalists in reporting conflicts, diffusing tensions in society and suggesting peaceful solutions to the conflict thereby helping to fulfil their social responsibility role in society. For that, Participatory Action Research was chosen as useful methodology and data was gathered by using various techniques.

A comparative analysis was carried out to find what kind courses were available in the universities in different parts of the world. A select number of journalists, peace workers and academics were interviewed to find out what they thought were on-the-ground realities in conflict reporting and what, in their opinion, were the possibilities of integrating elements/principles of conflict resolution, peace building and conflict transformation into the journalism education. The findings were presented in the previous chapter. This chapter discusses the findings and analyses them along with the issues related to peace journalism that have been raised by the students, journalists, academics and peace workers.

Chapter 4 presented the findings of the research in the sections divided into five sections: *What is available in the universities in terms of peace and conflict related journalism education? What do the journalists say about peace and conflict related journalism education? What can the area of conflict resolution, peacebuilding and conflict transformation offer to journalism education? Can peace journalism become a means to integrate conflict resolution in journalism*

education? What are the issues and concerns of the students/journalists/peace workers regarding peace journalism?

The present chapter is divided into sections to discuss the findings and analyse them along with the issues related to peace journalism that have been raised by the students, journalists and academics who were participants in this research. Three aspects were kept in mind while discussing and analysing the findings. They are:

- (a) What should be included in peace journalism education?
- (b) How should peace journalism education be taught?
- (c) What could be the most effective media platform for peace journalism?

The first aspect relates to the content, the second to the methodology and the third aspect relates to the practical output of peace journalism education.

In the course of discussing these aspects, the researcher makes her own arguments. In the light of the findings of this study and the scholarly research that has already taken place in the field of peace journalism, she argues three things in this chapter:

The first argument is that there is a need for a model that would consolidate the various critical approaches to peace journalism. The author presents a possible new model for peace journalism, named 'the inverted trident of peace journalism'.

The second argument is based on the stance of scholars (Galtung, 1969; Lynch & McGoldrick 2005a; Tehranian, 2002; Hackett, 2007, 2011) who view peace journalism as a means to find non-violent responses in society at large thereby initiating, assisting in or leading to the process of conflict resolution, conflict transformation and peacebuilding. The author argues that several links can be drawn between peace journalism and investigative journalism models. The

investigative journalism is already considered 'the best practice' (Protest et al, 1991; Bacon 2011; Davies, 2011) in journalism and the tools of investigative journalism are already being taught in journalism schools. These tools can be used to teach the practical aspects of peace journalism, helping to convert its 'intangibles' into 'tangibles'. In other words, placing investigative journalism within the peace journalism framework and integrating the two approaches into the journalism curriculum, would be a significant step forward in improving the quality of journalistic training and integrating peace journalism in the journalism curriculum. The author also suggests replacing the traditional mantra in classrooms 'if it bleeds, it leads' with the new mantra of 'It heals when it reveals'.

The author's third argument in this chapter is that the advent of the social media in the global information systems as an alternate platform to disseminate information, clearly affects the traditional 3P model of media that stands for power, politics and profit as identified by Rai (2010, p. 209; also Knightley, 2000). This model needs to be revisited; and in the past decade several calls have been made for it (Keeble, 2010; Ross, 2007; Hackett, 2010; Robie, 2013). The author argues that there are already signs of a paradigm shift in traditional media's approach towards conflict which is stretching the lines of the existing triangle into a quadrilateral. She calls it the '4P model' for peace journalism.

In the final section, the author uses her arguments and suggestions to address the questions, issues and concerns of the students, journalists and academics that were raised in different sessions when she presented this research before them in the cycles of planning, action and reflection.

5.2. Peace journalism education: finding unity in diversity

Several similarities and differences were observed from the content analysis, interviews and reading of what is available in terms of conflict related journalism

or peace journalism courses in the universities discussed in Section 4.1. Six types of courses were selected that were offered at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels in the University of Sydney, Australia; Park University, USA; New York University, USA; University of Lincoln, UK; Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand; and Peshawar University, Pakistan. The titles of conflict related or peace journalism courses were 'Conflict Resolving Media', 'Critical Issues in Conflict Resolution', 'Conflict Reporting', 'Journalism and Conflict Resolution', 'Asia-Pacific Journalism', 'Integrative and Interdisciplinary Learning Capstone: Peace Journalism' and on-line 'Advanced peace and conflict sensitive journalism'. The University of Sydney placed its course in the peace and conflict studies programme. While the Park University, the University of Lincoln, New York University, Auckland University of Technology and Peshawar University have placed these courses in their communication studies or journalism programmes. As discussed in Section 4.1., further variations were observed in the way the subject was being approached by the universities. These variations were also reflected in the aims, objectives, content and teaching methodology of these courses.

The fact that different programmes have approached the media's role in conflict resolution in different ways is of great significance. Not only because the contemporary media has become the 'new communication space' for public debates and communication (Castells, 2007; Lynch et al, 2011; Keeble, 2010) but also because all approaches are relevant and can play different - and equally important - roles in creating media strategies to relay peace messages, reduce violence and help to resolve conflicts in societies. If peace journalism is linked with the disciplines of peace studies, conflict resolution and international human rights, then it can be deduced that it can train students in a broader spectrum that would open up career choices for them in the fields of journalism, conflict resolution or peace related work at national and international levels.

In CPACS's case, the main student body in the course 'Conflict Resolving Media' consists of peace and conflict studies programme. According to the Centre's Director, Lynch, 'some journalism students have done the course and then gone on to apply it in journalism'. But for him equally important is the typical CPACS student who goes on to a 'mid-range managerial position' in a humanitarian agency or aid agency or NGO. 'If this unit helps them to collaborate the message of a peace group in a way suitable for journalism to be picked up and used in public sphere then it's another useful job for it' (Section 4.5.1.).

The author, in her visit to CPACS to attend this course, as a supplement to the comparative analysis and the interviews, observed that it was a workshop styled course format with a mixture of guest lectures, presentations, discussions and exercises that is designed to critically analyse and evaluate the media from both sides – as reporters and as their source. In the course evaluation session, one student said it was 'refreshing to unpack and demystify the industry that looks so complicated most of the time'. All students agreed that the course gave them 'an insight into violence' and 'peace journalism'.

In the Lincoln School of Journalism, at the University of Lincoln, in the UK, peace journalism is placed within the study of international human rights. The programme is titled 'Journalism, War and International Human Rights'. It includes courses like war and the media, international human rights, law and institution and journalism and conflict resolution. According to the programme specification document, these courses aims to provide the students with an understanding of the 'modes of reporting in print, online and broadcast journalism, in particular war, peace and human rights journalism, and relevant techniques for processing and disseminating journalistic products in their chosen medium to target audiences'. They also become familiar with 'the ethical context in which war and peace reporting and other forms of journalism are practiced and current debates made about right conduct and professional identity'.

The Lincoln School programme is innovative, according to the programme booklet, in the sense that 'no other university in the UK provides a programme exploring issues relating to journalism, war, peace and conflict resolution', even though there is a phenomenal increase in the amount of media coverage of war, conflict resolution and international human rights that indicates the need for working journalists with specialist knowledge of these areas. The programme booklet adds that 'too often journalists with no subject knowledge or background (such as that relating to international law) are allocated to highly technical stories, and flounder. The result is poor reporting and an often unintentional lack of accuracy and sensationalism.' (p. 8)

There is holistic approach at New York University's Centre for War, Peace and the News Media where the programme on Media and Conflict promotes the news and entertainment media as a means to diffuse or resolve conflict, thereby indicating that media's role in conflict is not limited to reporting alone. The programme engages professionals from media-related industries such as advertising, social marketing, public relations, television and radio entertainment programming. The objective according to Manoff, the Centre's Director, is 'to develop a media strategy for helping to prevent, manage, and resolve ethno-national, religious, racial and other forms of sub-state and international conflict' (Manoff, 1998). The approach is based on the premise that professionals in many such fields have long been associated with industries or government bodies to create and promote messages 'that would alter social or political behaviour and has been used for issues like drug use, family planning and domestic violence. Much like the concept of intended outward programming (Howard, 2003) it facilitates social change by challenging popular perceptions about issues and norms.

Interestingly, Manoff's 'all-for-one' approach taps into the potential of all kinds of media forms distributed to mass audiences by all technologies. His emphasis that the international community 'needs to understand and fully develop the potential' of all forms of media to prevent conflict entails that 'much more than journalism must be (put) on the table' (1998). This includes popular music, journalism, soap operas, advertising, public relations, TV and radio dramas and comedies, interactive video dialogues, talk shows, social marketing, posters, matchbooks and the social media.

In other words, Manoff argues that the media content 'must be supplemented by the development of initiatives designed to explore the institutional dimension of the media'. This can be done by addressing 'professional codes and guidelines, government and multilateral policies, the interests of media personnel or the economic stakes of their employers, and the potential of training programs, and journalist and management exchanges as well' (Manoff, 1998).

Youngblood, Director of the Centre for Global Peace Journalism based in the Park University, USA, says it is 'the only center devoted specifically to peace journalism'. Starting July 2014, the Park University would be the only university to offer a Minor in Peace Journalism. According to the course specification, the course is designed to enable the students to 'recognise, analyse and practice Peace Journalism' using the case studies of Uganda, Kenya, Mexico, Afghanistan and Lebanon. The students are also asked to design 'a country-specific peace journalism project' that includes 'an analysis of the level of peace journalism practiced in the country, as well as achievable program outcomes'. Acting as over-arching umbrella over the course is the debate on the ethical issues involved and a primer in 'international relations, NGO study, international cultures and economics'.

According to Youngblood, the course does not differentiate much between Peace journalism and Conflict Sensitive journalism as there is no 'substantive

difference' between the two. Peace journalism is neither radical nor advocate of peace, he says, 'it simply asks journalists to consider the consequences of their reporting' (Section 4.5.4.). Hence the course teaches the students to frame their stories in such a way that 'they do not exacerbate already bad situations' while giving 'proportionate voice to peace-makers, and also being careful not to over-rely on official sources'.

Youngblood's other course 'Advanced Peace and Conflict Sensitive Journalism' offered online is offered to the Ugandan media and security personnel as 'part of a peace media and counter terrorism course' that he led and taught in Uganda in 2011-13. The course is audience and location-specific and thus deals with the 'already accepted principles of peace journalism' founded by Lynch and McGoldrick in 2005. Also, because the course relates to a specific situation in a specific country, 'these founding concepts are a good starting point,' Youngblood acknowledges, although 'different realities in different countries will, by necessity, change the way that these are interpreted and applied' (Section 4.5.4.)

Another course which is related to conflict and journalism— although more in terms of providing appropriate context to a political economy approach – and includes a module on peace journalism is Asia-Pacific Journalism (APJ) offered to the Journalism and Communication Studies students of the School of Communication Studies, Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand. It is led by Professor David Robie, Director of the Pacific Media Centre, and deals with the journalism trends and practices in the Pacific region.

The Pacific region, also referred to as the 'arc of instability' by several Australian commentators including Dobell (2006), comprises of a group of Polynesian, Micronesian and Malenesian countries that have a complex history of conflicts, coups and disasters that are man-made as well as natural. 'Four Fiji coups between 1987 and 2006, the Solomon Islands ethnic conflict from the end of the 1990s, paramilitary revolts in Vanuatu, the Bougainville civil war, tribal conflicts

in the highlands of PNG, and an attempted political coup in Papua New Guinea in 2011 have contributed to this labelling' (Wilson & Devere, 2013, p. 134). According to PMC's Director, Professor Robie, 'conflict has had quite a big impact in the region not readily understood by neighbouring countries, particularly many journalists in Australia and New Zealand,' (personal communication, 2013). The APJ course aims to provide an insight into the socio-political fabric of the region because it is 'important for journalists in the region to understand and deal with the[ir] post-colonial legacy of conflict'.

[T]he APJ course offers tools that help provide greater awareness and in-depth understanding of the background and contributing factors to conflict in the region. The emphasis is on explanation and contextualising the conflict, an introduction to humanitarian and civil rights law, and on solutions rather than just reporting problems. (Robie, personal communication, 2013)

The course offers lectures on various innovative journalistic models ranging from social responsibility model to four-worlds model and peace journalism as alternatives to the existing models that, according to Robie, have resulted in the *under-reporting* or *mis-reporting* of the Pacific issues in New Zealand's and Australian media. His own models of 'critical deliberative journalism' and '*Talanoa* paradigm' are significant steps towards providing a 'solution' to the issues pertaining to the journalistic coverage of the Pacific region in the region's media (Robie, 2013).

So although the course is not about 'peace journalism' or 'conflict resolution' as per se, it is valuable in two ways. One, it provides a contextual and cultural understanding of regional conflicts (a pre-requisite for peace journalism) in the Pacific region to young journalists who should then be able to produce better stories on events happening in the region. Two, it provides the students with a platform to publish their stories. The students write three portfolio stories with a

minimum of five sources each and an exegesis during the course, which are current and available to the media industry. The stories are published on *Pacific Scoop* (www.pacific.scoop.co.nz), an online publishing enterprise, working in partnership with the Pacific Media Centre and Scoop Media Limited. This helps the students to not only develop better skills to produce comprehensive and contextual stories but also to build up their portfolio and Curriculum Vitae.

Such innovations, argues Robie, are important in providing a balanced and comprehensive journalism education to students. He says:

It is not simply an issue of how can 'Peace journalism' education help; it **must**. Journalists live daily with conflict in their lives around the Pacific. They develop a coping ability, but this isn't always contextualised or discussed constructively. With critical studies on 'peace/war' journalism debate, journalists develop more nuanced journalism education methodologies (and also with their cultural and linguistic general knowledge) and are thus able to provide reportage in much greater depth very often than their colleagues in Australia and New Zealand. It can be easily added to the curriculum as a part of comparative international studies, and also introduced to balance out 'war reporting' components, or replace them entirely. (Robie, personal communication, 2013)

There is another interesting scenario where peace journalism is being taught and learnt not as a philosophy but as a reaction to the events happening in society that are related to a long term conflict. The Journalism Department of the University of Peshawar in Pakistan is one such place. The city of Peshawar is the capital of the North Western Frontier Province (now renamed Khyber Pukhtoon Khawah, KPK) that borders with Afghanistan and independently administered tribal areas. It is the area where Taliban infiltration is high. Hence, news about

the US drone attacks, suicide bombings and skirmishes between the allied soldiers, Taliban and locals have been a routine matter over the last ten years. Amidst such social surroundings, the journalism students at the University of Peshawar have a tendency to look beyond the conventional reporting of conflicts. One of the students, Khan said that he looks for peace stories not because he is 'educated' in peace journalism but because he is 'simply tired of the war' (Ali Gul Khan, personal communication, 2011). He also feels that there is a 'shameful ignorance in the world media about the real context' of the war on terror so he and his friends *want* to provide that context in their stories. They *want* to give their side of the story because they feel the Western media coverage is 'one-sided'.

Given the fact that peace journalism has not formally reached the University of Peshawar, the presence of 'some' peace journalism reflects that it has arrived as the natural outcome of the decades of people suffering in war. It also reflects that 'peace' becomes a 'new' goal to strive for when the community reaches its limit in suffering violence and chaos.

Lynch calls this kind of peace journalism 'accidental'. (Lynch et al, 2011). He argues that peace journalism is being practised at three levels in the world: one where it is adopted as a deliberate 'editorial policy' by the news organisation (such as in an external conflict situation); second, where a newspaper or television channel takes a 'stance on a particular issue' (such as on a terrorist attack) and third, where it is 'accidental' – i.e. where a story is not deliberately peace-journalism oriented but shows attributes of peace journalism. The author argues that instead of calling it 'accidental', probably *a natural outcome of experiencing prolonged conflict* would be a better terminology. For, it is not 'unintended' as the term suggests but demonstrates a *deliberate* desire to give a *new perspective* that has so far been either ignored or neglected.

Galtung (1996) has already hinted at this phenomenon when he said that in a scenario when the news on conflict becomes so common that it no longer is 'new' to the audience, peace stories can deliver the element of 'newness' that is a prominent news value and can immediately capture the audience attention. 'Peace becomes an event when war has become a routine,' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 24). Lynch voiced similar thoughts in his interview when he said that what is 'valuable in journalism' is its capacity to throw up stories which are 'unusual' or different from the traditional coverage of conflicts. These 'occasional deviations from the norm' are 'the good bits in journalism... And PJ has the job of throwing up those bits' (Section 4.5.2.).

The findings from the interviews, detailed in the previous chapter, clearly show that designing a universally accepted course on 'peace journalism' is not simple. There are many issues involved: some conceptual, some practical. For instance, Lynch's experience shows that there is the issue for the departments to counter the increasing bureaucratic practices and tendencies in the universities and the fact that peace journalism needs much more research and scholarly study to establish its credibility. Siraj and Shirazi pointed out the challenge in changing the existing mindset in the newsrooms and the need to create the right kind of job market for the peace journalism students. And Wajih and Sarwary talked about the dangers of the lack of training in journalists that can lead to ignorance as well as arrogance.

Underlying these issues, is the matter of having realistic expectations with regards to what journalists can achieve in terms of resolving and transforming the conflicts (Section 4.4.2). Literature suggest that as reporters and journalists, they can deconstruct and analyse conflicts placing them in context and history; they can also explore maximum sources for their stories and give 'voice to the voiceless' and employ improved skills in investigating the stories (Galtung, 1998; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005a; Lynch and Galtung, 2010). Some scholars (Botes

2003; Becker et al, 1995) have questioned the media's ability to extend their ability to employ communication skills to actually negotiate and mediate on conflict issues on behalf of the people. But several scholars (including Vayrynen, 1991; Tehranian 2002; Shinar, 2007; Hackett 2007; and Shaw 2011) are explicit in noting the media's ability to bring out the conflicting parties to a media platform; initiating a dialogue between them and facilitating to transform the hostile relationships to more positive ones.

There is also the issue to consider the best format and duration for teaching a course on peace journalism – should it be a short intensive course, an online long duration course, or a full semester course? The findings show that different universities have adopted different time-periods for their courses according to their aims and approaches to the subject. The literature suggests that one way to educate the journalists and desk-editors would be 'to launch peace journalism in schools of journalism and those editors [who are not educated in peace journalism] will in due time peter out' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 69). However, they add:

A more promising approach would be to offer intensive summer courses for the highly motivated, in cooperation with media organisations (newspapers, radio stations, television channels, news agencies) which themselves are motivated. The handwriting on the wall is registered, no need for persuasion. Courses for the whole staff would produce results quickly. One successful media organisation will have impact on others. There will be more peace/conflict transformation and less war/victory news. (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 69)

With so many variations and such diversity in the way the role of media in conflicts is approached, it cannot be said that one approach is better than the others. In the author's opinion, rather the opposite is true: all approaches are

important within their own spheres of creating, constructing and relaying meaningful and non-violent messages in society.

Starting from Bell's call in 1998 for the 'journalism of attachment' that 'cares as well as knows', to the calls for 'reliable journalism' (Howard, 2003), 'conflict sensitive journalism' (Howard, 2003), 'citizen journalism' (Allan, 2003) and 'peace journalism' (Galtung 1998; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005a), the effort of the scholars has been to find the means to a more ethical and responsible journalism in conflicts. In the case of peace journalism, several scholars have made their own critical approaches in terms of what peace journalism is and what it should achieve in terms of resolving conflicts.

Lynch (2013) believes that peace journalism is *good* journalism (Section 2.5.1. & 4.5.2.) and its main purpose is 'to give peace a chance'. Moge kwu (2011) says peace journalism is better than *good* journalism: it is *determined journalism*. He also says that peace journalism should be able to *prevent* the conflicts in society through monitoring and detecting the early signs of discord in society. Hawkins (2011) says that peace journalism should aim towards *peacebuilding* thus expanding the peace journalism movement to include not only the coverage of conflicts but also peace processes.

Hackett (2007) argues that the 'trust-bonus' that people lend to the media should be capitalised by peace journalists. Shaw (2011, p. 116) extends the dimensions of peace journalism by including human rights in it and suggesting that human rights journalism be made 'a complimentary strand of peace journalism'; McGoldrick (2011) links the new scientific discovery of human capacity for 'empathy' with peace journalists arguing how they can produce a more realistic and authentic representation of human relationships in conflicts. Tiviona (2011) has brought the gender aspect to the debate and makes a call to expand the scope of peace journalism to incorporate coverage of largely invisible peace building efforts of women in conflicts.

The broad spectrum of the way peace journalism is being approached and debated in terms of what it is and what it should achieve in conflict situations can cause confusion in classrooms. And indeed it happened many a time when this study was presented before the students, journalists and academics at different forums and in different institutions. The audience's main concern was always: what exactly peace journalism is supposed to do and how is it practised? Bratic and Schirch (2008) have also argued on this aspect at a symposium. While they acknowledge the role of media in conflicts, they point out that the philosophical nature of the debate 'tends to divert and dilute the discussion' and 'it rarely leads towards a broader and more comprehensive understanding of the media.'

5.3. The inverted trident of peace journalism model

As argued above, all critical approaches are important in the conceptualisation of peace journalism as a field of study. What is needed is a model that consolidates all these approaches. The author argues that this can be achieved with what she has called *the model of the inverted trident*.

The word 'trident' comes from the French word *trident*, which in turn comes from the Latin word *tridens* or *tridentis*: *tri* 'three' and *dentes* 'teeth'. It is also related to Sanskrit *tri* ('three') - *danta* 'tooth'), although several Indian languages prefer another similar word, *trishula* (three-thorn), derived from Sanskrit, meaning 'triple spears' (Roland, 1994). In Greek mythology, trident is a three-pronged spear of the sea-god Poseidon and is the symbol of his mighty power. It is also associated with the gods Neptune and Shiva in the Roman and Hindu mythologies respectively. Commonly it is associated with being a weapon in combat and war. When inverted, it is used as a tool to catch fish and prepare ground in agriculture (Roland, 1994).

The author chooses this term because the values deemed useful for peace journalism, in the light of the above argument, come from the three strands of the media, conflict resolution and peace research. Some of these are the values of public trust, honesty, creativity, effective communication, facilitation and initiation of dialogue by employing negotiation and mediation skills, respect for human rights, empathy and compassion for each other which can lead to the prevention of conflict, its transformation and peace-building. She thus defines peace journalism as...

...a form of journalism that takes its impetus from the values offered by the three strands of media, conflict resolution and peace research – that share the values of understanding, trust, creativity, communication, dialogue, human rights, empathy and compassion – which converge together with the primary objective of de-escalating an armed conflict. It then develops into peacebuilding and prevention of further conflict using the tools of skills, strategy and analysis. This is the *inverted trident of peace journalism*, a metaphor that sees the weapon of war turned into a tool for peace. This model has the capacity to absorb the critical approaches of peace journalism, and to consolidate them into an image that can help the students in the ‘understanding’ part of peace journalism education.

The visual presentation of the inverted trident of peace journalism is given in the figure 5.1.

Figure: 5.1. The inverted trident of peace journalism model



(Source: Aslam, 2014)

5.4. C.A.U.S.E.: the generic model for peace journalism education

Having presented ‘the inverted trident of peace journalism model’, the author now discusses the formulation of what could be the suitable content for peace journalism education. For that she chooses to focus on the similarities in the courses rather than the differences in them. The findings (Section 4.2) show that all of the above courses aim to develop an ‘understanding’ of conflicts and violence as well as to ‘equip’ their students with the ‘skills’ required to do ethical and responsible reporting on the conflicts. All of them include the elements of conflict analysis and critical discourse of media texts/reports to identify what is lacking in them. And all courses incorporate a noticeable number of practical exercises and assignments to allow the students to learn the practical aspects of conflict reporting, the semiotics, and the language, the dos and the don’ts.

The author combines this approach with the observations that were made by the local journalist, foreign journalists, peace workers and academics in the interviews conducted for this study. As Chapter 4 shows, the interviews have brought forth a wide range of comments and opinions regarding the opportunities for the journalists to positively enhance their role in conflicts and improving journalism education through employing peace journalism ideals and principles. Although there is no straight and ready-made answer as to what should be the ideal content for designing a course on peace journalism education, one can find several hints in the findings that point towards that direction, keeping in view what is already present in terms of peace journalism education. For that purpose, the matter of what should be the title of the course is left out.

The findings of the interviews highlight the importance of understanding of the conflicts in their local, cultural and historical context; knowledge of the structural and cultural aspects of violence within a society; self-awareness of one’s own biases, inhibitions and presumptions; developing the ability to understand

conflicts in terms of human relationships which can be improved through employment of dialogue and effective communication skills as aspects of negotiation and mediation; to apply these skills in an ethical manner in relation to the people who are the victims of the conflict; the journalistic creativity to give new perspective to see conflict, to connect with people as sources and as stake holders in conflicts, to construct meaningful messages and to choose the right medium in all its diversity; and lastly, inculcating supportive and encouraging attitude among the editors and finding ways to increase the organisational support and capacity building for journalists.

These aspects clearly underline five areas that can be used to formulate a generic model for peace journalism education: creativity, attitude, understanding, skills and ethics. Since it does not matter by what name peace journalism is called as long as it gives peace a chance (Section 4.5.4.), the model can be used both for peace journalism or any other conflict-related journalism. These attributes are discussed further as below:

i. Understanding

After the above argument on findings, it is surmised here that '**understanding**' makes the basis of any form of journalistic training in peace journalism. Journalists need to understand the dynamics of conflict and violence at structural and cultural levels and how they are constructed in different societies and context (Galtung 1998). They need to understand the origin, evolution and theoretical perspective of peace journalism as argued by its pioneers including Shinar 2007; Kempf 2002, 2007, 2008; Hackett, 2006, 2007, 2011; Lynch 2007, 2010, 2013 among many others. The theoretical knowledge then needs to be supplemented with the understanding of the practical issues and challenges that journalists can face in the field. Some of them were articulated by Stephenson and Sarwary,

including problems of finding credible sources in a new country; understanding local customs and culture; coping with the language barrier; and overcoming their own presumptions and biases. According to Stephenson it is important for the foreign journalists to 'understand the local context'; break the cultural and language barriers and overcome their own inhibitions.

Journalists also need to understand the principles of conflict resolution, especially some of the aspects of mediation and negotiation as identified by Spiller (2002), Macduff (1995) and Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse (1999) (Section 1.4). Out of the four principles of conflict resolution, negotiation and mediation or facilitation are probably the most relevant for journalists but not as specific skills applied in the field of conflict resolution but in terms of those areas which overlap with their journalistic skills to communicate with varied groups effectively, interview them, and facilitate the conflicting parties to start a dialogue. However, journalists in their 'watchdog' role can and have assume mediating and negotiating role on behalf of the people by highlighting issues that can safeguard public welfare and interests (Shaw, 2011). In fulfilling their 'social responsibility' role towards society, they become what Galtung (1996) calls the 'voice of the voiceless'.

Negotiation and mediation are part of everyday life both at personal, social, public and legal levels. According to Macduff (1995), people negotiate and mediate with themselves, families, employers, organisations, communities and governments (Section 1.4.). In some cases people let others do it for them because there are things that 'we cannot achieve by ourselves'. Journalists therefore can help people realize that there are 'other and better options' available to them by initiating the negotiation process; whereas through mediating between the opposing sides, they can help to 'heal the

differences' between the various segments of society. They provide a bridge between different groups, communities and societies.

Mogekwu (2011, p. 244) has also talked about this aspect (Section 1.4.) arguing how the latent/manifest division of conflict is helpful in understanding how journalists can play a meaningful role in the pursuit of peace. Most of the time conflict coverage in media is of the manifest kind as it is 'less intellectually demanding' – it focuses on events and counting dead bodies, it reports facts as presented by spokespersons; and it is speculative rather than being assertive. But because it sells and attracts audience attention, such reporting also carries the 'positive incentives' such as career recognition and prestige for reporters. According to Mogekwu, it has all the attributes of war journalism (Mogekwu, 2011, p. 244).

In contrast, he maintains, reporting on latent conflicts is less attractive but 'it is at this level that protagonists are probably more likely to listen to one another and communicate more effectively' (p. 246). It is at this point where *mediation* and *negotiation*, Mogekwu asserts, can 'have a greater chance of working' because the egos, prides and face-losing threats are still not dominant. That is also the level where peace journalism can be applied 'more effectively to help prevent the conflagration that manifest conflicts usually exemplify' (p. 246).

ii. Skills

All journalism is skill-oriented. So equally important is that journalists learn the '*skills*' required not only to analyse conflicts and make sense out of the events but also to interpret and report them for the audiences in responsible manner. This would entail finding ways to give voices to the voiceless, exploring as many sources of information as possible, reaching out to the

local communities, establishing links of communication with them and trying to overcome the language and cultural barriers. As Sarwary puts it, the journalists 'need to learn' to communicate with the locals. Conflict sensitive or peace journalism can work on the principles of 5Ws + H but adding the 'O' for options. As discussed in Section 1.6, the alternate 5Ws+H+O system is being practiced by the Canada's Network for Conflict Resolution (www.nicra.ca) which has a different checklist for conflict reporting.

Offering options as 'possible solutions' to violent situations, also constitutes an important part of Kempf's two-step model to deconstruct war journalism discourse (Kempf, 2003b). The first step entails 'de-escalation-oriented conflict reporting' and means that the journalists should keep searching for information and questioning sources while keeping their distance in consonance with the tenets of 'quality journalism'. The second step is the 'solution oriented conflict reporting' which can provide a 'powerful stimulus' to the journalists to focus on people, their rights and peace initiatives.

Such training would also include a healthy dose of other skills related to health and safety, survival techniques, stress handling, effective interviewing techniques, inter-personal communication skills and computer skills. A professional working knowledge of modern technology and camera handling would also be useful.

From the perspective of working with the people on peace-building, three areas can be highlighted where media can play a positive role in conflicts: an 'honest and forthright' attitude of the journalists; 'skills-oriented training' and choosing the 'right kind of media' (Section 4.4.1.). If journalists are not trained professionally; if they do not know how to engage the conflicting parties in a dialogue without losing the control of the conversation; and if they do not know how to connect with people, 'they will only enhance the conflict without even knowing it', (Wajih, 4.4.1.)

Lederach's (2003) concept of conflict transformation evidently come into play when Verbitsky says that journalists can analyse the conflicts in terms of human relationships, and thereby play a role in transforming these relationship to a more healthy state. Vayrynen, (1991) has also referred to the journalists' ability to bring together the conflicting sides to the table and make them talk, 'thereby transforming the power dynamics and redefining the conflict' (cited in Ross, 2007, p. 62). However, a line needs to be drawn between conflict resolution practitioners and journalists (Verbitsky, Section 4.4.2.).

This requires training on the journalists' part to use their communication and interviewing skills 'effectively and creatively'. Such learning must be 'woven through' through the journalism education so that students start 'linking' journalism with conflict resolution (Verbitsky, Section 4.4.2).

Hence there should be a strategy to combine peace journalism practice with critical perspectives on media and communication at the postgraduate level. 'Its aim would be to take in people who are *already working in the media* in some form somewhere and it would send them back after the *degree with an enhanced set of skills* to bring their perspectives to bear in *various media*' (Section 4.5.3., emphasis added).

iii. Creativity

The third aspect in the authors' proposed generic model for peace journalism education is **Creativity**. It is important to teach the journalists how to be *creative* in their accounts of conflicts. Martin Luther King said that violence is 'the antithesis of creativity' (cited in Jacobson, 2010, p. 115). Jacobson says that 'creativity, in the sense of finding and suggesting new ways of looking at the situation at hand, is crucial for effective non-violent interventions' (p.

115). Her argument echoes Lynch and McGoldrick's interpretation of Galtung's formula for peace that 'there can be no positive peace without adding a certain amount of creativity' (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005a, p. 17). The formula, given by Jacobson (p. 115) based on her interpretation of Galtung, is:

Peace = non-violence + creativity (= peace journalism)

Creativity in journalism can manifest in terms of the flexibility and choice of the medium (radio, TV, print or social media) depending upon the message and the target audience. More so now, since the lines between the mainstream journalism and online journalism are blurred. Lynch's example of the Lebanese journalist has already been discussed in the previous chapter (Section 4.5.1.). Afghan based BBC journalist, Sarwary, chose to create his own space on the internet to tell his side of the stories on Afghanistan through pictures (Section 4.3.3.). Peace journalism then can be 'a more natural fit' for the 21st century' because of the 'flexibility' it offers to the journalists to 'try and get to a space where people can make their own judgments as to where the truth lies; and to open up the possibilities for a dialogue and the space for engagement in conflict resolution (Section 4.4.2.). This does not restrict them to one media, argues Verbitsky. A journalist can work on any media platform, she says, 'but what they are bringing into it is this recognition, consciousness, acknowledgement of weaving in peace journalism that permeates in whatever they do in those various platforms' (Section 4.4.2.).

Creativity can also be applied by finding creative new angles in war reporting and making use of other genres of media such as advertising, photojournalism, documentary making, film making or novel writing. Lynch calls it the ability to throw up the 'unusual' stories to give 'new perspective to see conflict. This flexibility can be a major strength for the peace

journalists. Dixit (2010), a former BBC correspondent, found the scope of mainstream media limited for telling his story of the war in his home country Nepal so he turned to photojournalism and curated a photographic project *A People War: Images of the Nepal conflict 1996-2006* exhibiting it in different countries to illustrate the cost of war on people and to carve out a new role for the journalists. 'For a senior professional journalist to call openly for such a change is unusual and is a reflection of the particular circumstances of Nepal's transition,' (Lynch, 2013, p. 171). One of Dixit's friends made a documentary and another wrote a novel to tell the story in their own way.

Behram, Pakistani photojournalist for *Al-Jazeera*, covered about 60 US drone attacks since 2007 in Baluchistan against the Taliban leadership. He captured the images of the civilian victims and wreckage of these drone attacks but neither the pictures nor the news about them was ever published in the Pakistani media. They were exhibited in a Beaconsfield Art Gallery in London as part of Becks South London Festival of Art in 2011, far away from where the attacks took place. The important element in these projects was the innovative means they chose to spread their message of what war and violence did to the human lives.

Peace journalists can also be creative in designing peace messages and finding solutions to end conflicts in society. The author wishes to narrate here a personal experience as an example. Before coming to New Zealand for research in 2010, the author taught at the International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan. In one of her courses, she gave an assignment to the male and female students of journalism class in to write a report on a recent suicide bomb attack that had taken place in the city's market place. The male students wrote about the factual details of the attack; what had happened; the damage it had caused and the extent of human and financial loss that had occurred after the destruction of the market place. The female students

tried a different approach: they went to the bomber's family and neighbours. They found out that the suicide bomber was a 20 year old young man who was the only bread earner of a large family and was unemployed. On his death, his family had found a letter and a sizable amount of money in his room which said that he was doing this to earn money for his family as all his efforts to find a job had failed. The focus of their story was this: if the government could provide employment opportunities for the young unemployed males in the country, they would have little reason to fall prey into the hands of those who hired the young employed men for suicide bombings. A solution oriented peace story by a group of undergraduate female students.

iv. Ethics

The fourth important aspect of peace journalism education is the **ethics** involved in peace journalism. The entire debate on peace journalism rests on the need for an ethical and responsible journalism in response to conflicts. Ethics apply to journalists at an individual level but also vis-à-vis the people who are affected in conflicts. How do conflicts impact people? To what extent should their misery be exposed? How would media reports affect their privacy and self-respect? How to make their voices audible and their faces visible? And in what ways can people be involved in resolving them? Such are the questions that make conflict related journalism people-oriented. Lederach (1997) says:

I have not experienced any situation of conflict...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, p. 94)

One of the most telling comments in the findings (Section 4.5.3.) is the assertion there is no difference between peace journalism and conflict sensitive journalism as long as they do not show the 'biases' of 'journalistic conventions' towards war or social violence that 'conditions audiences to be receptive to proposals for social violence...[or] structural violence' (Lynch). 'So anything that counteracts those effects can be labeled peace journalism even if the people who do it do not call it that'. It was endorsed by Youngblood who found no 'substantive difference' between the two forms of journalism.

The ethics of such kind of journalism lies in the journalists' job to present facts; but 'that remit has to be conducted with self-awareness.' Peace journalism by being 'value explicit' brings in the 'values of transparency and responsibility (Section 4.5.3.). For McGoldrick, it means 'to be conscious of what is going inside of me, conscious of my biases and how they play out.' Youngblood admits that he and his students 'constantly struggle' with the ethical issues involved in conflict reporting. He also stresses the need for the knowledge of 'international relations, NGO study, international cultures and economics, corruption' for students.

Ethics, then, are part of the 'conceptual reforms' that are necessary to modernise the study of journalism, as taught to journalism students; 'a contribution to problematising elements of journalistic practice which pass unexamined in many current courses' (Lynch, 2007, p. 162) Tehranian's (2002) view of peace journalism indeed encompasses the principles of journalism and media ethics that attempt 'to transform conflicts from their violent channels into constructive forms by conceptualizing news,

empowering the voiceless, and seeking common grounds that unify rather than divide human societies' (Tehrani, 2002).

v. Attitude

And lastly, peace journalism is as much about the **attitude** and mindset of the journalists towards conflict as it is about skills and understanding. Journalists need to be aware that they are also a part of society and thus vulnerable to their own biases and prejudices. So they need an exposure to the on-ground realities of peace journalism –through guest lectures, on-line research and practical exercises – so that they are aware of the issues involved. Wajih hinted at the possibility of replacing journalism internships with apprentices with serious and like-minded seasoned journalists who can 'train and educate' the young journalists to develop the 'conflict sensitive' attitude.

The prevalent attitude of the media structures and systems towards conflicts –that conflict makes news and the news on conflict sells – also applies to the editors, organisations and media owners (Hackett, 2007, 2011; Mogeckwu, 2011). The invisible interests of editors and owners borne out of 'political pressure, affiliations and stakes' can block and kill journalists' stories. Such attitude needs to be changed to give journalists *access, trust and respect*. To put it in Goraya's words: 'Give the journalist access to the story; trust the journalist enough not to kill him; and give the journalist respect enough not to kill his story' (Section 4.3.1.).

Similarly, extending resources and commitment to give organisational, logistical and financial support to the journalists in terms of insurance of life, health and equipment would also require attitude change on part of the news organisations (Section 4.3.1.). Such a change towards conflict reporting

and journalists means investing more in their ‘capacity building’ and ‘empowerment’ through training and organisational support. This could be done in partnership with the press clubs, press unions and NGOs.

Mogekwu says that ‘history and experience teaches us that sometimes what looks crazy or improbable at one point becomes the norm at a later point’ (Mogekwu, 2011, p. 258). Just as peace journalism is a new concept now, democracy, human rights, voting rights for women and zero tolerance for domestic violence were once new concepts. ‘No proposal should be seen as too outrageous or outlandish’; rather we ‘must create spaces to accommodate new ideas’ (ibid). With sensitisation, education and awareness raising efforts, they have become the values and attributes of civilized societies. Peace journalism needs similar efforts to educate and sensitise the journalists. What better place to start than in the classrooms.

To sum up then, a generic course on peace journalism would have five basic modules:

- a. **Creativity** – in designing messages and exploring the right medium
- b. **Attitude** – of the journalists and editors, their biases and prejudices
- c. **Understanding** – pertaining to the theoretical knowledge of conflict resolution, peace journalism and the issues involved
- d. **Skills** – pertaining to the journalistic professional practices
- e. **Ethics** – as they apply to people affected by the conflict

If the acronyms of the above points are put together: the attributes of peace journalism education become C.A.U.S.E. To play on words, it is journalism for a CAUSE and the CAUSE is peace. Peace journalism then is *the* CAUSE.

These generic modules can then be further developed in the regional context of any country and help to design a course that is suitable to their respective students while at the same time retaining a generically standardised format

to teach peace journalism. A case in point is Robie's notion of the 'Talanoa paradigm' for the Pacific region in which he draws on a Pacific philosophy of *talanoa* (which means 'talking without concealment') 'as a tool for more effective reporting the region with context and nuance' (Robie, 2013; 2014).

Represented by the image of traditional *tanoa*, a five legged wooden bowl is used for kava ceremony in the local tribal ceremonies. Robie explains how the philosophy 'empowers people to engage in social conversation which may lead to critical discussions or knowledge creation which allows rich contextual and inter-related information to surface as co-constructed stories. It is common for Pacific journalists and researchers to use *talanoa* for interviews' (Robie, 2013, p. 51). Robie's model is based on his call for:

[a] more nuanced and contextualised reportage of South Pacific affairs that seeks to reflect the region from a 'Pacific' view, with greater depth than a one-dimensional preconceived Western expectation. The *talanoa* approach...opens the door to a far more constructive, yet also more robust, discourse about the nature of Fiji and Pacific politics, media and journalism.' (Robie, 2013, p. 52)

Similar approaches and models could be created with specific reference to a region's own context to help create a more transparent and meaningful dialogue between people and their governments. Youngblood calls the founding principles of peace journalism 'a good starting point' but predicts that they will continue to be 'expanded upon' by other researchers and practitioners and that 'different realities in different countries will, by necessity, change the way that these are interpreted and applied' (Section 4.5.4.). A generic course on peace journalism can similarly be expanded upon according to the various realities and contexts.

5.5. 'It heals when it reveals'

One of the attributes of the peace journalism model is that it is truth oriented; that it ought to peel away the layers of lies and corruption of the people who are part of the conflict or who have stakes in it (Lynch & Galtung, 2010). Hence when it peels away the lies, it reveals the truth and that ultimately heals the society. It heals when it reveals.

The idea is drawn from the work of Tivona (2011, p. 341) who draws upon the new 'empathic' research that claims that women are more empathic towards their surroundings and adds a gender perspective to the debate on peace journalism. She challenges the prevalent neglect of women's role in mitigating conflicts and bringing peace. And while the history, she argues, gives an account of 'the full gamut' of *mankind*, 'right from the clusters of hunter-gatherers, religious holy warriors and modern imperial regimes concentrating wealth and resources for their own benefit ..., it still lacks cogent analysis of *womankind's* activities during all this time' (p. 341).

In her study of the nine women selected out of the 1000 peace women collectively nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize 2005, Tivona argues that the time has come to reveal the healing acts of women who have been 'attending to allies and former enemies, reaching out in local communities and across borders; and indeed, restoring mother earth herself' (2011, p. 341). Revealing such stories would ultimately heal the wounds inflicted on society and the environment during conflicts.

While Tivona is more concerned about the healing and nurturing role of women in conflicts, it nevertheless left me with a question albeit in another aspect: *how* to reveal? What are the methods that can expose the lies and deception in conflicts and reveal the truth? This aspect relates to the second question I deal with in this chapter: what are the tools that can be used to teach peace

journalism? In other words, how to convert the intangibles of peace journalism into tangibles? And what is the process?

5.5.1. Linking Peace journalism with Investigative journalism

To find the answer, the author turned to investigative journalism – generally known as the ‘best practice in journalism’ (Protess et al, cited in Bacon, 2011). Can it help teach the ‘how’ aspect of peace journalism?

Investigative journalism is a broad term with numerous and varied definitions from different sides. Bacon says that it is widely understood to be characterised by its often painstaking research techniques and emphasis on producing new knowledge of public significance (Bacon, 2011). Weinberg (1996) defines investigative journalism as: ‘Reporting, through one’s own initiative and work product, matters of importance to readers, viewers or listeners’. The British media theorist, Burgh, (2000) states that an investigative journalist ‘is a man or woman whose profession it is to discover the truth and to identify lapses from it in whatever media may be available’.

The Investigative Reporters and Editors (IRE) emphasises that investigative journalism is journalism of importance to audiences that is produced through a reporter’s own initiative and work that others would like to keep secret (Protess et al, 1999, p. 5, cited in Bacon, 2011, p. 48). The IRE has collected thousands of tip sheets outlining the methods used in investigations.

According to Bacon (2011) the much newer European Fund for Investigative Journalism draws on the Dutch Association for Investigative Journalism’s list of characteristics of investigative journalism as being ‘critical’ and ‘thorough’. She argues that the word ‘critical’ is used by the association to mean the production

of new information which would not be available without journalistic intervention. She adds:

This can be done by creating new facts, but also through re-interpretation or correlation of facts already at hand. 'Thorough' means that one makes substantial effort, either in quantitative terms – e.g. much time spent in research, many sources consulted etc. – or in qualitative terms – e.g. sharp questions asked, new approaches used etc. – or a combination of both thorough and critical. (Bacon, 2011, p. 48)

She adds that while some North American scholars and journalists place more emphasis on normative and narrative dimensions of investigative journalism, they still adhere to core qualities of rigor, depth and inquiry (Ettema & Glasser, 1998). From the point of view of quality, it is often seen as a form of journalism that most closely aspires to best practice in journalism (Protest et al, 1991).

To summarise the above, one can deduce four core qualities that essentially characterise investigative journalism:

1. it is 'critical' and 'thorough'
2. it seeks to find the 'truth'
3. it is of 'public significance'
4. It is 'action' oriented

It is on these qualities that the author has based her arguments on how closely the process of peace journalism is linked with that of investigative journalism in the light of Lynch and Galtung's Table 2.1 of peace journalism orientations or principles:

Table 5.1. Parallels between peace journalism and Investigative journalism

<i>Peace Journalism</i>	<i>Investigative journalism</i>
Peace /process oriented	Critical and thorough
Truth oriented	Seeks the truth
People oriented	Public significance
Solutions oriented	Action is expected / suggested

(Source: Aslam, 2014)

There are striking similarities between the two. Both seek to unveil the truth behind lies and deception and both aim to give information which is in the interest of the people. All investigative stories require or suggest an action after revealing corruption, fraud or lies either in the form of a legal process, sacking of an official or in another form of accountability. Both are people oriented in two ways: they disseminate information that is of 'public significance' and relevant to people and that information is in the public interest and benefits society at large. Similarly, peace journalism stories suggest possible solutions to an existing conflict which can help diffuse the existing tensions. Hence both are action oriented. There is another overlapping area between the two: that is, the risk factor or the ethical dilemma faced by the journalist. Investigating the truth can bring risk to life, property or job of the journalist, more so in conflict situations. Or it can be a dilemma faced by the journalists in terms of the people mentioned in the story or how will they be affected by it. Or they may ask an ethical question to themselves. For example, Dixit (2011, p. 16) who calls investigative journalism as 'the only real journalism' in 'a virtual world that treats war as a reality show', says that journalists must question their own motives.

This means aside from asking 'how' to investigate we also ask ourselves 'why' and 'what' to investigate. Why am I doing this particular story, what impact will it have, will it make things better, is it just for my fame and glory? And the most important question: Why am I a journalist? What is it I want to achieve by being in this profession? (Dixit, 2011, p. 16)

While it can be justifiably argued that unlike peace journalism, the ultimate objective of investigative journalism is not peace; it can be counter-argued that investigative journalism aims to eradicate the ill and corrupt practices in society and thereby fosters greater social harmony, wellbeing and accord. Hence it is considered by many as a 'civic tool of democracy'. Lynch and Galtung (2010, p. 56) argue that in ideal terms, 'investigative reporting is a necessary condition for a modern democracy, making state, capital and also civil society...and their relations – transparent.' Investigative journalism has also been led by 'public service agendas and inquiries into possible crimes' (Zollman, 2010, p. 152)

Rhodes (2008) calls investigative journalism 'a deeper investigation into truth'. That means it is more assertive in the pursuit of story; more skeptical of the mighty; and more sympathetic towards the weak. According to American Senator Johnson (1917) truth is the first casualty in war. If so, then keeping truth alive becomes the primary task of peace journalists. American journalist Rosen, as cited by Howard (2003) said: 'We make an error if we assume that the price of an interest in conflict resolution is giving up commitment to truth and professional objectivity. It is in fact quite the opposite: conflict sensitivity is a journalist's pass into a deeper understanding of what it means to seek the truth in journalism.'

Lynch puts it in another way:

There is no dispute over a journalist's duty to truthfulness. Reporters should report, as accurately and fully as they can, the facts they

encounter. Where peace journalism goes further is to call on them to consider how and why these particular facts... come to meet them; and how they, the reporters, come to meet these particular facts. (Lynch, 2007, p. 3)

5.5.2. Peace journalism as 'critical' and 'thorough'

It cannot be denied that all stories are investigative to some extent which means that a similarity can exist in their 'process', if not in the 'objectives'. According to Bacon (2011), the information imparted in investigative journalism is 'critical' by virtue of being bringing forth 'new facts' but it can also be done 'through re-interpretation or correlation of facts already at hand'. Similarly, the information gathering techniques are 'thorough' both quantitatively and qualitatively. Hence there is a process involved. Shinar's list (2007, p. 200) of peace journalism attributes suggests that information produced by peace journalism is not only *critical*, it is also *thorough* in its research and news gathering techniques. Moreover, it is *transparent*. According to his list, peace journalism can be recognised as:

- 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 audiences;
- Giving voice to the views of all rival parties;
- Offering creative ideas for conflict resolution, development, peacemaking and peacekeeping;
- Exposing lies cover-ups attempts and culprits on all sides, and revealing excesses committed by, and suffering inflicted on peoples of all parties;
- Paying attention to peace stories and post war developments. (2007, p. 200)

The proposition that peace journalism could be as ‘critical’ and ‘thorough’ (also ‘transparent’) as investigative journalism is an important one especially since many accusations have been made against it: that peace journalism is passive and pacifist; it promotes advocacy and deviates from good journalism; (Lofflin, 2012; Youngblood, 2012; discussed in Sections 2.5.1. & 2.5.2.). Suffice to reproduce here what Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) said about peace journalism about dotting the lines between the people, events and issues and coming up with non-violent solutions. Any process entailing this must be dynamic and rigorous both in terms of practicing high standards of journalism and giving context.

If there is one real skill in peace journalism it lies in tracing connections between the stories of people...and the big issues and eye catching events of the day – showing how the actions and concerns of individuals bear indirectly on the personal fortunes of every reader, listener or viewer. To do that journalists need to be able to draw upon a deep understanding of how conflicts develop and how people can respond to them in ways likely to reduce the risk of violence.’ (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005a)

Seen in this light, peace journalism can produce and present new information which would not be available without journalistic investigation. To echo Bacon, it can create new facts, re-interpret them and correlate facts already at hand. It also has the scope to transcend conventional restraints to invest time and resources as well as the ability to explore new approaches and genres to communicate their message more effectively. In short, peace journalism can be ‘critical’.

A good example of this is the Jackson’s article The death of Osama bin Laden - an alternative perspective (May 4, 2011, available on line at www.pmc.aut.ac.nz) written in the aftermath of Osama Bin Laden’s death in Pakistan at the hands of

the American forces when the international media was inundated with the images of jubilation of the American people and messages of 'Thank you, Mr. President'. Jackson asked the questions which the journalists should have been asking at that time, but did not.

Jackson enlists all the factors that point out the contradictions in the United States Government's handling of the conflict: such as starting a 'massive war on terrorism' as a response to a single man's terrorist campaign; the fact that the US did not respond to the Taliban's offer to hand over bin Laden to trial in Pakistan in 2001; and the fact that the US did not take the opportunity to strengthen international law and the ICC, so that bin Laden could be captured, tried and imprisoned at the Hague. He then says:

Solely focusing on one man meant that the history and context of real political grievances which lead to bin Laden's rise was silenced and erased; terrorism was about one evil guy, not decades of US foreign policy, entrenched grievances, structures of oppression and daily physical, structural and cultural violence. Now he's gone, I wonder who will take his place as the next personification of evil...

...And it's a pity that killing him in this way now makes him even more of a martyr to his followers, and a potent symbol of resistance. It would have been better to de-mythologise him and exorcise his power by putting him on trial and showing him in prison – an ordinary man growing old, rather than some kind of super-terrorist who eluded the world's greatest superpower for years. (2011)

Though not a peace journalist himself, Jackson's article demonstrates the attributes of peace journalism to interpret and correlate the already existing facts, to put the matter in context and ask critical questions: such as why the US government did not choose to reject the non-violent response and opted for a wide-spread conflict.

The second part of Bacon's definition of investigative journalism as being 'thorough' entails making 'substantial effort, either in quantitative terms – e.g. much time spent in research, many sources consulted etc. – or in qualitative terms – e.g. sharp questions asked, new approaches used etc. – or a combination of both'. The author has already argued that in terms of practice, peace journalism can be also looked upon as a set of skills, an approach and an application. As a set of skills, it can work on the principles of 5Ws + H but adding the 'O' for options practised by the Network of Conflict Resolution in Canada (www.nicr.ca). As an approach and application, peace journalism can also be creative. That means that it breaks the confines of conventional hard news but be equally effective in other forms of media such as documentary, photojournalism or entertainment as exemplified in the works of Dixit and Behram.

5.5.3. Reviving investigative journalism

It is frequently argued that investigative journalism itself is in 'crisis' and faces severe funding problems (Hager, 2010; Bacon 2011). But linking investigative journalism with peace journalism can actually help this quagmire. Lynch in his interview admitted that he found pegging his investigative journalism projects to peace 'useful' to get funding. Moreover, as there is an 'emerging consensus' that journalism will be funded more by extra commercial means, usually some kind of donation, so one would need to give them a good account as to why it is worth funding. 'And for peace journalism, this is its worth: why it should be funded,' he said.

You can go to a donor and say if you are interested in peace then we could show that first of all it is possible to report as peace journalism, secondly that when you do it makes a difference, and thirdly that if you enable people to do it, they can do it. If you can prove all these three

things they are good ingredients to make a case one can make for potential donors to get them to fund peace journalism.... So the peace journalism research agenda, as I see it, is in building up the case for donor funding in peace journalism to extend both the training opportunities for the people to do it and for the actual slots for them to practice it (Section 4.5.3.).

What Lynch argues here is not only utilising the scope of peace journalism in attracting independent donor funding for investigative peace journalism but the possibility of actually creating job slots for the peace journalists to practice it full time in news organisations.

In the past few years, there have been efforts on part of the investigative journalists-turned-academics to revive investigative journalism in two ways: one way has been to get investigative journalism methods recognised as 'academic research methodology' in the universities (Bacon, 2011). The case was made for the practice-based 'journalism methodological approaches and practice-led research accompanied by scholarly reflections' (Bacon, 2012, p. 158). While journalism as a research methodology has some features in common with the qualitative research methodologies used in other disciplines in the humanities, it 'also includes interrogative and opportunistic practices that make it unique, but not necessarily unethical or lacking in rigor' (Lamble 2004, cited in Davies, 2011, p. 161).

Spaces were also created to publish such investigative work. For instance the Pacific Media Centre's at Auckland University of Technology, New Zealand, decided to create a special section, *Frontline*, in its journal *Pacific Journalism Review* to link 'robust and informed journalism' with 'scholarly journalism research'. Edith Cowan University's online journal *Research Journalism* is also an attempt to 'build experience and support for reflexive practice-based journalism research' (Bacon, 2011).

The second effort in reviving investigative journalism has been to establish collaborations ‘across time and region’ between journalism schools and non-profit centres. ‘At a time when international networking is being encouraged in universities, one advantage is the capacity for collaborative investigative research by two or more institutions both within national borders and between regions’ (Bacon, 2011, p. 52). Former *Age* investigative journalist and now academic at Monash University, Australia, Birnbauer (2011, p. 40), favours these collaborations in the light of the history of non-profit journalism in the United States. He proposes Unimuckraker, ‘a collaboration across universities’ in the Australasian region, along the lines of US-based organisations International Consortium of Investigative Journalists and News21 funded by non-profit organisations. Unimuckraker envisages a collaborative and collective approach of participating universities on the principles that it is ‘owned’ by none and that the stories should be ‘offered to a variety of media outlets’ and not tied to one media organisation (2011, p. 40).

The project has not materialized as yet but several individual institutions have developed collaborative projects in Australasia. Such as the project *Dangerous Ground* at the Monash University that systematically investigates the management of toxic waste by the government’s environmental agency; *Pacific Media Watch* is collaboration between the Pacific Media Centre, AUT, and independent journalists and media such as West Papua Media; *Pacific Scoop* is a collaboration between the Scoop Media and Pacific Media Centre, AUT, to monitor issues related to the media in the Pacific region; *Polly Perks* project is a collaboration between Fairfax and UTS that investigates gifts to politicians; *Brumby and Billieu Dumps* is a collaboration between Crikey.com and Swinburne University; and *Reportage Online* was started by Crikey.com and Australian Centre for Independent Journalism (ACIJ) (For details see Bacon, 2012, p. 162).

Project Censored is perhaps the most well-known and biggest 'media education collaboration effort' based at Sonoma State University in California, USA, 'that has grown to include 30 institutions, 200 academics and more than 1000 students each year' (Bacon, 2011, p. 56). Based across Canada and the United States, the project 'identifies, verifies and updates significant under-covered stories'. According to the project director Philip (2009; also cited in Bacon, 2011), the project demonstrates the role of public universities and colleges in 'building media democracy and the full transparency of what the powerful are doing in society'. His open invitation to other universities says:

As the corporate media continues on the path of entertainment, declining support for investigative reporting and instead engaging in watered down news reporting, an opportunity for colleges and universities is emerging to take role in validating independent news and doing investigative research for publication in independent media news sources worldwide. (Philip, 2009)

Such university produced investigative journalism 'that is supervised by academic staff, has no need to attract advertisers' and is free of the constraints of 'deadlines, the objectivity goal and a blurring of editors/publisher roles' (Birnbauer, 2011, p. 42). Its defining characteristics are 'independence, research depth and quality reporting and multimedia production.'

5.5.4. Investigative journalism within peace journalism framework

The author, in the light of the above discussion, argues that similar initiatives can be taken and collaborations established using the links between peace journalism and investigative journalism. A good case in point is the first story published in the Section *Frontline* ('Blood Money': A NZ investigative journalism case study by Karen Abplanab, 2012) that investigated NZ's Superannuation

Fund's (NZSF) investment in the controversial US-owned Freeport copper and gold mine in West Papua. Abplanab (2012) uses investigative journalism methods but incorporates 'the peace journalism framework'. Following the principles and ideals of peace journalism as she found in research (Dixit, 2011; Hackett, 2011; Galtung, 1998; Robie, 2011; Aslam, 2011), she tried to achieve them through investigative methods including observation, interviews, translation, cross-checking and understanding of documents.

In her article, Abplanab notes that placing her research into the peace journalism framework 'increased public understanding of an issue and region previously ignored by the mainstream NZ media' (p. 134). She admits that choosing 'to focus her attention more heavily on talking to the peacemakers rather than the traditional journalistic approach of focusing on conflict makers is also noted as a fairly unique way of working with a story.' Giving the NZSF, the mine, the miners, peace workers, human rights groups 'a fair amount of space to have their views heard and scrutinised, led to a depth of understanding that may have been missed if story had been approached in a more adversarial manner' (p. 134). The story got 'lots of feedback' according to the *Metro* magazine where it was published and started questioning by the public. Letters of support were also received from Amnesty International, the Indonesian Human Rights Committee and the NZ Green Party. The story led to several groups divesting their money from the Fund. She was later awarded prize for investigative journalism.

Abplanab's story demonstrates that it is possible to link peace journalism with investigative journalism to produce meaningful stories relevant to society and people; it proves that it is possible to translate the principles and ideals of peace journalism into 'tangibles' by using investigative journalism methods within peace journalism framework; and that combining the two can reveal the hidden agendas, corruption and lies in society; and in process elicit a response from the people that helps to heal the moral wounds made by such wrongdoings.

5.5.5. Advantages and challenges

To conclude the discussion, the author has made the case that several similarities exist between the attributes of investigative journalism and peace journalism. Both are truth oriented, people oriented, action/solution oriented and have processes that are critical, thorough and transparent. Hence the tools of investigative journalism can be used to teach peace journalism. These include the information gathering techniques, observation and description skills, effective interviewing skills, finding as many credible sources as possible, quality time spent in research, sharp and insightful of questions asked, techniques to analyse conflicts and finding contradictions in what the different parties in the conflict say and do. And because all journalistic stories are to some extent investigative, it might be possible to turn the intangibles of peace journalism into tangibles through investigative journalism. The author argues here that this might not be the *only way* to do so; but it is an *efficient way*.

There can be some advantages in linking the two. By using the tools, techniques and methods of investigative journalism it can become easier for the peace journalism students to grasp the ‘how-to-do’ aspects of peace journalism education – especially when investigative journalism is already being taught in the many universities across the world and is part of journalism training and education. Linking the two can also bring greater acceptability for the new audiences of peace journalism as investigative journalism is already regarded as one of the best practices in journalism. For investigative journalism, it can open more avenues of donor funding – not only for the peace related investigative stories but also through sponsoring job slots for investigative peace journalists.

The challenge is to keep investigative journalism free from the ‘elitist bias’ (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 56) which marks the contemporary investigative journalism and places the ‘roots of evil’ in the elites thereby dividing them from the rest of the population. It happens when there is ‘a population wallowing in prejudices

and bigotry, rejecting any information to the contrary, more than happy to get off scot free, [and] when investigative journalism pins all the bigotry on one elite person' (p. 56).

Truth knows no boundaries or class borders. True investigative journalism uncovers cover-ups 'on all sides' and aims 'at all levels, not only elites' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 56). Linking peace journalism with investigative journalism, can do much good to the humanity by unveiling the shrouds of secrecy in war and conflict, revealing the lies, deceit and propaganda of the involved parties and helping the society to heal at large by showing through their stories that non-violence and peace is ultimately a worthwhile value to strive for that leads to human progress and prosperity.

It heals when it reveals.

5.6. Paradigm shift for peace journalism

Having dealt with the issues of what should be the content of peace journalism education and how it could be taught; the last question the author deals with in this chapter is: what could be the most effective platform for peace journalism.

5.6.1. Social Media

The social or alternate media is fast becoming an alternate platform for news and information (Hackett, 2011; Matheson & Allan 2010; Keeble, 2010). For example all major media organisations, newspapers and televisions channels put their daily coverage of news on-line. Smaller independent media organisations use it as a major source to publish news, and journalists have their blogs, twitters and Facebook accounts to express their opinion and views. Alia calls blogging 'the new journalism, able to cross geographic, cultural and political borders and help build community, transcending the limits imposed by attitudes, policies, and governments of the regions and countries where they reside' (Alia, 2010, p. 136).

Social media is a major source for the whistleblowers too, e.g. the Wikileaks which attracted the media's attention world over. The growth of 'citizen journalism' (Allan, 2007) itself is the direct result of the massive growth of the social media and its impact in society. Moreover, privately uploaded videos on media outlets such as YouTube have attracted mainstream media's attention, like the video uploads of state police torturing Tongan prisoners and school teachers hitting children with sticks in a Tongan school that attracted attention in *New Zealand Herald* as well as in *TVNZ's* main news bulletin. According to Matheson and Allan (2010), the citizen dispatches relayed in these spaces 'reveal their potential to narrow the distance that otherwise allows distant publics to ignore their plight' (p. 188). According to Alia (2010) even the indigenous media

in countries like Canada, Japan, USA, Australia and Greenland has found audiences across the globe. This signifies the *cross-over roles* of the mainstream and social media especially in cases where the stories have been overlooked or avoided by the mainstream media.

5.6.2. Social media, conflict reporting and peace journalism

Social media networks are also ‘rapidly rewriting the principles and protocols of war and conflict reporting’, according to Matheson and Allan (2010, p. 187). In their study of four conflicts in 2008, (Mumbai terrorist attacks in India; street protests in Greece; the final government’s push against the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka and the Israeli assault on Gaza), they conclude that ‘collaborative approaches to news gathering offer compelling forms of engagement and immediacy’. Although they acknowledge that such information is ‘also prone to inaccuracy, with key ‘facts’ lacking verification or corroboration’ (p. 187) – in the cases of Mumbai and Greece, tweeting had echoes of ‘rumour and prejudice’. But in situations like Sri Lanka and Gaza, ‘social networks fill silences created by censorship and suppression’. In their opinion, the fact that social networks are being used to ‘make connections across diasporas, to mobilise support and to build complex global spaces outside those established by news organisations and states[,] open up new distinctive forms of communication which journalism cannot afford to ignore’ (Matheson & Allan, p. 187).

Lynch (Section 4.5.1.) points out that ‘the lines are blurred’ not only between the mainstream media and social media but also between the journalism careers. ‘Journalistic careers are in many cases a lot less linear.’ The Lebanese journalist Basil, in his opinion, ‘is a very good example of how she has made use of social media and creating opportunities for herself through it’. Basil attended Lynch’s workshop on peace journalism in Lebanon and went to practice it in all kinds of media. She is ‘active in social media, intended outcome, donor media,

commercial media, Arab media, western media, and international media. She is doing “gigs” in all kinds of media and she has built her own identity through using social media.’

As the lines between the mainstream traditional media and social media are getting blurred, other scholars and journalists are also welcoming the ‘freedom’ and ‘flexibility’ that it can offer to peace journalists (Mogekwu, 2011; Hawkins, 2011). Hackett (2011) elucidates that ‘alternate journalism is complementary to peace journalism in several ways’. Peace journalists can make use of this ‘cross-over role’ and join forces with social media and communication rights ‘if their efforts are calibrated with due sensitivity to context’ (Hackett, 2011, p. 47). But in order to do so, they must develop, between them strategic approaches capable of motivating exponents in both fields.

Suchenwirth and Keeble (2011), also the proponents of using social media for peace journalism, enlist the peace building initiatives across the world where social media has played a positive role in gathering and disseminating the information. They assert that the community media is ‘the most promising milieu for peace journalism’ as it actively promotes human rights and social change. (2011, p. 12). Alia voices similar thoughts in her study *Crossing borders: The global influence of indigenous media*, where she says that during the 1990 confrontation between the townspeople at Oka, Quebec, and the people of the Kanehsatake Mohawk First Nation, ‘radio played a crucial role in providing public information, conflict prevention and conflict resolution’ (p. 128).

5.6.3. Broadening the journalism model

Keeble (2010, p. 64) further widens the scope of social media in relation to peace journalism when he argues that there is ‘the need to acknowledge the right of all (and not just the members of the professionalized, privileged and largely white,

male elite) to communicate in the main or alternative public spheres'. He strongly advocates that peace journalism be taken away from the mainstream media and made a 'political practice' across the internet-based media. His reasons are based on Falk's argument that 'if peace journalism is to become more than an argument at the outer margins of political debate; it has to become a *political* project on the agenda of global reform' (Falk, cited in Keeble, 2010, p. 64).

The 'broadening of the journalism model' is an attempt to free journalism from the demands of 'the orthodox model of objectivity' and which can be 'very rigid and modest in the way it approaches war' (Section 4.4.2.). Peace journalism, on the other hand, can provide 'a more natural fit' for the 21st century' by giving journalists the 'flexibility' to 'try and get to a space where people can make their own judgments as to where the truth lies; and to open up the possibilities for a dialogue and the space for engagement in conflict resolution' (Section 4.4.2.).

Such an approach would entail a more 'avowedly proactive' role for peace journalism and must aim for greater public interest (Lynch et al 2011, p. 12). A relevant question at this point would be: since the peace journalism's philosophy is rooted in the social responsibility theory (Lynch & McGoldrick 2005 p. 4; Kempf 2007, p. 3) what are the implications of this approach on the journalists' obligations to the society in a global age, where conflicts transcend geographical boundaries and encompass a global audience. In his Epilogue to *The Invention of Journalism Ethics*, Ward (2005) argues that it broadens the 'claim of humanity' on journalism:

If contemporary journalism is to seek to represent the truth, there must be a re-conception of the journalism's social contract and its public.... The new social contract requires that we add what I would call the 'claim of humanity' to the principles of journalism. The claim states that journalists' primary journalists' allegiance is to truthful, independent

informing of a global public humanity. When considering one's journalistic duty, a reader's place of birth, residence, race or cultural group is morally irrelevant. (Ward, 2005, p. 328)

Ward's claim of humanity hints at the paradigm shift in the way journalists' role in society is looked at. The modern journalism in 21st century, in Bacon's words, needs to be 'both local and global'. In fact the 'failure of the mainstream media to achieve this is one aspect of the crisis in journalism' today (Bacon, 2011, p. 53). She calls on the universities to embrace this aspect again by accepting the investigative journalism as research methodology in academics and collaborating with other universities to give space to the students' investigative journalism.

5.6.4. New challenger paradigms for peace journalism

Hackett (2011, p. 61) discusses the new paradigm for peace journalism in relation to, what he calls, two other 'challenger paradigms' – alternate media and communication rights – 'that challenge aspects of media structures and practices'. His argument is based on the civic society advocacy movements such as the media justice, media reform and international civic society movement for communication rights (CRIS) working together on the common principles of 'freedom', 'equality', 'diversity and pluralism', 'participation', 'responsibility', 'human rights', 'communication rights' and 'knowledge as common good' to form 'a coherent paradigm of democratic communication' (p. 58).

'The overarching paradigm, arguably, is the institutional organisation so as to enable all segments of society to participate in constructing public cultural truth,' argues Hackett (p. 59). This paradigm brings about the 'democratisation' of media 'through the media' and pegs on the ethics of 'listening to and taking into

account, the needs of the other, as a nucleus for both democratic communication and social justice' (p. 59).

According to Hackett, then, 'peace journalism and media reform/communication rights could similarly envisage strategic alignment and common principles' to develop 'new strategies' through the alternate media. He argues:

Structural reforms applicable to all three challenger paradigms include public and community media that offset the biases of corporate media towards commercial and political propaganda; subsidies for media production and access in the global south; genuinely internationalist media; affordable and equitable access to networked digital media; and governance regimes that reinforce popular communication rights. In the final analysis, all three challenger paradigms point beyond the objectivity regime, towards an ethos of dialogue and an epistemology of self-reflexivity, and to fundamental change in media and social structures. (Hackett, 2011, p. 63)

While Hackett's paradigm allows the social or alternate media to become the platform for practicing peace journalism, Lynch and Galtung's paradigm of news values allows peace story or event to become the 'news' when a war becomes 'a routine, terrible but repetitive, monotonous, plainly boring.... In that case the peace event ... is a farewell to boredom'. (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 18) 'Both violence and peace are texts. Whether they are (newsworthy) events depends on the context.' Lynch further overarches this paradigm to apply to the overall framing of news when he talks about the value of peace journalism being in its ability to 'throw up' the stories that are 'unusual to the norm' and that make the 'good bits of journalism' (Section 4.5.1).

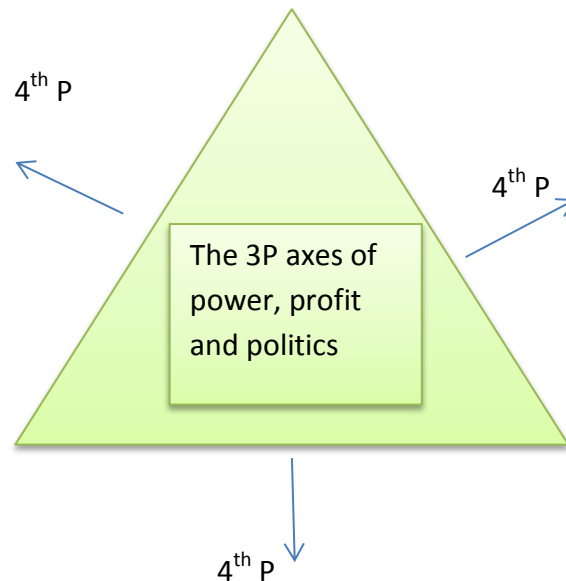
5.6.5. The 4P Model for peace journalism

The new paradigms for peace journalism as outlined by Hackett, Lynch and Galtung would, arguably, also affect the political economy of peace journalism. According to Rai (2010; also Knightley, 2000) the political economy of the mainstream media thrives on the interplay of 3Ps - power, politics and profit. He argues that the political economy of peace journalism must go beyond these to include 'the kind of committed political base that was once enjoyed by *Peace News* in its early years' (2010, p. 209). [*Peace News* was North London's small-time publication established in the 1930s on the principles of 'non-violence' and 'just peace']. He asserts that for peace journalists working outside the mainstream media, such support is 'crucial for economic survival and political effectiveness' (p. 209).

Peace donors could be another source to lend that kind of support to peace journalism. Lynch has argued (Section 4.5.1.) that more and more journalism would need to be funded through extra-commercial means. Moreover, he admitted to have found peace journalism to be 'useful' in finding the funds for his projects when they were pegged on peace. He also said that a similar argument could be made to convince the donors to sponsor 'actual slots' (paid jobs) in the media.

The visual representation of the argument is shown in Figure 5.2. as below:

Figure 5.2. The 4P Model for peace journalism



The three axes of power, politics and profit triangle. The fourth-P denoting the peace donors can apply on any of the existing axis and stretch the triangle into a quadrilateral. The angles of the new line could be drawn according to the aims, objectives and vision of that particular media. (Source: Aslam, 2014)

If the organisations working on peace can be convinced to fund peace journalism projects or sponsor job slots – in alternate media as well as in the mainstream media – then it could be argued that peace donors can become the fourth ‘P’ in the existing 3P model stretching the existing triangle into a quadrilateral. Not a square, a parallelogram, a diamond or a rhombus but a quadrilateral, the angles of which could be drawn according to the aims, objectives and vision of that particular media that would allow it the flexibility in compromising the existing 3P-axes (power-politics; power-profit or profit-politics). In the author’s opinion, this flexibility is crucial for any media platform – mainstream or alternate –

where peace journalism is being practised; especially since peace journalism is still evolving and much needs to be determined regarding its effectiveness. Although the scope of this study does not allow a complete discussion on this model, the author nevertheless notes the need for revisiting the old model.

5.6.6. Effective media platform for peace journalism

To conclude the above discussion, the new paradigms for peace journalism call for change in many aspects: change in the definition of who practices peace journalism (Keeble); change in journalism practices that are more cognizant with the principles of conflict resolution (Verbitsky); change in the journalists' ethics towards a wider global audience (Ward); change in finding common allies and developing synergized strategies in a more diverse media (Hackett); change in the news value system that determines what makes the news (Lynch & Galtung); and change in revenue sources to sustain peace journalism and journalists (Lynch).

All these aspects are so diverse and complex that there can be no single paradigm for peace journalism for all times. Rather they require frequent reflection and debate. As the human society changes with time and technology, it will bring forth new contexts, new framing, new values for the news and thus room for more shifts in the existing paradigms. It is therefore even more important, in the author's argument, that peace journalism retains its 'creativity' factor which will allow it to be flexible enough to survive and thrive in the future.

Moreover, while the social or alternate media can provide an effective platform for peace journalism, it is argued that a *synergised media strategy* must be established between the journalists, academics, peace workers and researchers to utilise the mainstream media space by employing the journalistic creativity

that peace journalism offers. As has been pointed out in the study, the lines between the various media and journalism are getting more and more blurred, and all media platforms should be explored including the news media, the entertainment media and advertising. This needs the joining of hands by the journalists, non-news media professionals, academics, peace workers and researchers to work within their own domains and come up with creative ways to give voice to the voiceless and to effectively disseminate the messages supporting peace and non-violence – even if it requires creating special spaces.

5.7. Issues and concerns arising out during the cycles of action, reflection and reaction

This research is based on participatory action methods and involves the participation of selected international journalists, researchers, academics and peace workers, who have given their input on how they think the elements of conflict resolution should be integrated in journalism education. As recipients of such education, students then too become an essential part of the cycle of planning, action, reflection and reaction. Hence it would be remiss of the author if she did not try to answer the questions and concerns that were raised in the various presentations of this study by the students from various departments including journalism, communication studies and peace and conflict studies. Also present at such gatherings were their teachers, some local journalists and some working in NGOs. These questions were listed in the findings (Section 4.6.).

Although the discussion above in the chapter answers many of these questions, the author has tried to answer them separately below as part of concluding her analysis because they reflect the questions and confusion in the minds of the students, journalists and teachers with regards to peace journalism, its objectives and workings.

5.7.1. Is peace journalism a ‘niche’, a specialisation or is it part of the mainstream journalism?

The issue is important as it tries to find a place for peace journalism in day-to-day journalism practice. It suggests that peace journalism can either be seen in a broader perspective as part of the mainstream media or as a marginalised specialisation that requires special reports or stories.

The literature review on peace journalism (chapter 2) shows that its advocates see it more as a part of mainstream media, mainly because of how conflicts are

perceived by the media. Conflict is considered as one of main attributes of what makes the news (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Harcup & O'Neil, 2001; Moge kwu, 2011). Conflict also exists in societies in many forms and at various levels. Armed conflicts or wars between countries might be 'special occurrences' which demand greater experience and knowledge of the journalists to be reported but the events that lead to such escalation into violence are usually day to day happenings that should be reported. Lynch and McGoldrick argue this as follows:

If there is one real skill in peace journalism it lies in tracing connections between the stories of people...and the big issues and eye catching events of the day – showing how the actions and concerns of individuals bear indirectly on the personal fortunes of every reader, listener or viewer. To do that journalists need to be able to draw upon a deep understanding of how conflicts develop and how people can respond to them in ways likely to reduce the risk of violence. (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005a)

So it follows that just as a journalist or an editor makes a choice in *what* to report, they also make a choice of *how* to report a conflict. And connecting the dots between people, issues and events is pretty much an everyday journalism.

Youngblood's response to this question is 'unequivocally no'. The principles of PJ can inform and guide reporting across media and topic areas, he says.

'I talk in class about PJ and crime reporting, for example. On my blog right now is an article that talks about applying PJ principles to the coverage of the typhoon (<http://stevenyoungblood.blogspot.com>). PJ principles also have strong ties to professional electoral reporting. PJ is not a niche; it provides a foundation upon which we can build (or re-build) responsible, professional reporting' (Section 4.5.3.)

5.7.2. Does a journalist have the moral authority to pass an opinion on what he is reporting?

This is an ethical issue which implies that because the audiences trust what journalists tell them, the journalists ought to be neutral in their reporting and refrain from giving opinions. So do they have the moral authority to give their opinion on what is happening in a conflict? A simple answer could be that by virtue of the fact that the journalist is present at the scene at that given moment, is observing what the audience cannot see, and has access to the information that they do not have, gives the journalist the right to include his opinion – as long as he or she makes it clear that it is an opinion and not a fact.

Lynch describes it another way. He says:

‘There is no dispute over a journalist’s duty to truthfulness. Reporters should report, as accurately and fully as they can, the facts they encounter. Where peace journalism goes further is to call on them to consider how and why these particular facts... come to meet them; and how they, the reporters, come to meet these particular facts. (Lynch, 2007, p. 3)

Discussion on ethics is also done in Section 5.4.

5.7.3. Is it important to choose between war journalism and peace journalism? Why can’t I practise both?

Galtung and Lynch (2010) have argued that war journalism and peace journalism are two styles of reporting conflicts and a journalist must make that choice consciously. They give this example: if there was a situation in which a bomb went off in a neighbourhood against another group and there was an equal chance that the other group could retaliate in an equal measure, the incident

could be reported in both styles, they argue. The journalist can report it both as an outsider treating it as a fight between the two sides and who caused greater damage etc. Or he could empathise with the victims or innocent people suffering between the two wrongs and think of possible ways to diffuse the tension. 'Which style to choose is an ethical question, to be decided in terms of consequences and how they are evaluated,' Lynch and Galtung argue. 'If the effect wanted is revenge, incapacitation and punishment, then choose war journalism, and call it patriotism. If the effect wanted is to stop cycles of retaliation and start searching for solutions to the conflict, then choose peace journalism.' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 58)

The point is, war journalism and peace journalism are two different ways of reporting the same set of events. They are two angles, two discourses, with underlying cognitive and normative assumptions. Both are based on reporting facts. It is simply not the case that one is realistic and descriptive and the other is moralistic, idealistic and normative. They are both descriptive of reality. The difference is that peace journalism tries to take in more of reality. They both report. War journalism does not dispense military advice, and peace journalism should also refrain from giving advice. Their task is to clarify, unveil, and reveal reality to enable others to draw normative conclusions.' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 52)

5.7.4. How do you challenge the media's dictum 'If it bleeds, it leads' that is taught in the classrooms?

Section 5.5., 'It heals when it reveals' deals with this issue.

5.7.5. What aspects of conflict resolution can be included in journalism?

Out of the four main principles of conflict resolution model, negotiation and mediation are probably the most relevant for journalists. In fulfilling their 'social responsibility' role towards society, they become what Galtung (1996) calls the 'voice of the voiceless'. They can and have been mediating and negotiating with governments on behalf of people on issues that can safeguard public welfare and interests.

Negotiation and mediation are part of everyday life both at personal, social, public and legal levels. People negotiate and mediate with themselves, families, employers, organisations, communities and governments. Macduff (1995) argues that in some cases we let others do it for us because there are things that we cannot achieve by ourselves. Negotiation can help people realize that there are 'other and better options' available to them and mediation can help to 'heal the differences' between the various segments of society. Journalism provides a bridge between these differences.

Mogekwu (2011, p. 246) has also talked about this aspect, which has been discussed in Chapter 1 (Section 1.5.4.) of this study. He has argued how the latent/manifest division of conflict is helpful in understanding how journalism can play a meaningful role in the pursuit of peace. He says that most of the time conflict coverage in media is of the manifest kind as it is 'less intellectually demanding' – it focuses on events and counting dead bodies, it reports facts as presented by spokespersons; and it is speculative rather than being assertive. But because it sells and attracts audience attention, such reporting also carries the 'positive incentives' such as career recognition and prestige. In short, it has all the attributes of war journalism.

In contrast, Mogekwu maintains, reporting on latent conflicts is less attractive but 'it is at this level that protagonists are probably more likely to listen to one another and communicate more effectively.' (p. 246). It is at this point where

mediation and *negotiation*, two of the main components of conflict resolution, 'can have a greater chance of working' because the egos, prides and face-losing threats are still not dominant. According to him, that is also the level where peace journalism can be applied 'more effectively to help prevent the conflagration that manifest conflicts usually exemplify'.

5.7.6. Is social media the main platform for peace journalism then?

Section 5.6., deals with this aspect.

5.7.7. How do you differentiate between investigative journalism and peace journalism? And isn't investigative in decline itself?

In ideal terms, 'investigative reporting is a necessary condition for a modern democracy, making state, capital and also civil society - and their relations – transparent' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 56). It is 'understood to be good detective work, uncovering casual chains of human action.' But Lynch & Galtung also argue that most of the investigative stories in developed societies are rooted within the same culture and includes people that are 'on our side' and not 'them'. The villains are usually the 'elite' whose actions cause disaster for 'ordinary people' but they both belong to the same side, hence showing an 'elitist bias'. Peace journalism is different as it aims for the corrupt 'at all levels, not only elites'. It is global and not nation-centred. In short, they say: 'truth knows no boundaries or class boundaries. Nor should investigation' (p. 56).

Moreover, the 'end objective' of peace journalism is to diffuse the conflict or end the violence. It seeks a long term solution towards peace. As Moge kwu (2011, p. 250) stresses that peace journalism 'should not be overly concerned with the showmanship and excitement of traditional journalism'.

It should not hide its goal, which is the prevention of violence. The promotion of peace should be its mission statement. (Mogekwu, 2011, p. 250)

Having said that, it cannot be denied that all stories are investigative to some extent, which means that a similarity can exist in their 'processes', if not in the 'objectives'. Table 5.1. in Section 5.5. shows the similarity between the two.

It is also true that the quintessential model of investigative journalism is in decline and facing funding issues. But Lynch's argument that linking investigative journalism with peace journalism has been 'helpful for him in getting funding from the donors' is worth pursuing (Section 4.5.3.).

5.7.8. If you include non-news media in PJ, does it not step away from journalism?

According to Manoff (1998), it does not. The reason is that the elements of journalism to educate, inform and entertain are as much a part of the non-news media as the news media. The non-news media, in the form of intended outcome programming, educates people on social behaviour and facilitates social change. It just changes the medium of presenting the message and that is the way of evolution of media according to the needs of the society. Story telling or news telling was once an oral tradition, Manoff argues. He says that the society must 'understand and fully develop the potential' of all forms of media to prevent conflict; this means that 'much more than journalism must be (put) on the table', including popular music, journalism, soap operas, advertising, public relations, TV and radio dramas and comedies, interactive video dialogues, talk shows, social marketing, posters, matchbooks and the social media (1998).

5.7.9. What is the relationship between good journalism, peace journalism and determined journalism?

It was BBC journalist David Loyn (2007) who first said that what was needed in better and more comprehensive conflict reporting was 'good journalism' and not 'peace journalism'. In other words, there is not much for peace journalism to achieve that 'good journalism' cannot. Lynch and Galtung (2010) counter-argue the statement as being 'simplistic' because 'it neglects the sheers conventionality of news, the action of the filters' in the newsroom that shape the news every day. 'Journalism left, as it were, to its own devices will produce war journalism, with all its observable biases,' they says (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 51) Whereas, peace journalism frames stories in a way that encourages a journalist to analyse conflict, be creative and offer non-violent possible solutions. The goal of peace journalism 'is to clarify, unveil, and reveal reality to enable others to draw normative conclusions' (Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 52).

In his book *A Global Standard for Reporting Conflict* (2013), Lynch undertakes the research to establish that peace journalism is 'good' journalism because the reports produced by it evoke emotions and responses in people (such as empathy, sympathy and hope as opposed to the feelings of anger, fear and sadness caused by war journalism). As these responses are considered 'good' and 'positive' attributes of a peaceful, harmonious society, it also in turn means that peace journalism is 'good' journalism.

Mogekhu goes a step further. He argues that since traditional journalism or 'good journalism' has not helped much to prevent conflicts, so peace journalism needs a new approach. 'Peace journalism cannot be just *good* journalism. It is *determined* journalism. It is a serious endeavor and must be seen as such. It is patient and long-suffering and does not easily give up. Peace journalists must understand this and be comfortable with it' (Mogekhu, 2011, p. 251).

Hence the relationship between the three is the level of expectations as to what journalism should be doing in society in terms of providing an understanding of conflicts. While war and peace journalism can be considered the two sides of a coin, because Galtung Lynch maintain that they are the 'two styles of reporting'; 'good journalism' and 'determined journalism' are two markers on a same yardstick.

5.7.10. Can there be a universal standard for practicing peace journalism?

So far what peace journalism offers us in terms of training are the guidelines, the dos and don'ts of peace journalism. A universal standard of peace journalism could be achieved if it is limited to the skills required such as attaining accuracy, good writing, clarity and some ethics. But peace journalism is more than developing effective communication, negotiation and mediation skills: it also requires an understanding of the cultural, structural and contextual aspects of conflicts; the dynamics of conflict resolution; the international law and human rights. If each conflict has its own context and history, how can it be standardized?

Perhaps the middle way is for each country to find its own kind of journalism specific to the region, one that is acceptable in local communities and their cultures. Section 5.4 talks about Robie's notion of 'Talanoa Paradigm' for the Pacific in which he draws on a Pacific philosophy of *talanoa* (which means 'talking without concealment') 'as a tool for more effective reporting the region with context and nuance' (Robie, 2013, p. 51). Represented by the image of traditional *tanoa*, a five legged wooden bowl is used for kava ceremony in the local tribal ceremonies. Robie explains how the philosophy 'empowers people to engage in social conversation which may lead to critical discussions or knowledge creation which allows rich contextual and inter-related information

to surface as co-constructed stories. It is common for Pacific journalists and researchers to use *talanoa* for interviews' (Robie, 2013, p. 51).

Similar approaches and models could be created in other countries with specific reference to region's own context to help create a more transparent and meaningful dialogue between people and their governments.

5.7.11. Do the peace journalists have to tag themselves as such?

It is argued in the first question that peace journalism is as much part of the mainstream media as war journalism is. Anyone can do peace journalism, just as anyone can do war journalism (Galtung & Lynch, 2010, p. 67). In fact, it is an alternate to war journalism which is considered part of mainstream media. They do not declare themselves as 'war journalists' so why should the peace journalists need to declare themselves as one. They are journalists, full stop. More important is how it is reflected in their stories. Let their work say what they are. However, nothing ethically or morally bars them to do so should they want to differentiate themselves from other journalists. As Moge kwu (2011) says the 'mission statement of peace journalism' is to prevent the violence and peace journalists should not hide this goal.

Youngblood in his interview counter argued the point in the following manner:

Would a non-peace journalist say, "I'm going to sensationalize what you say, and whip up an angry mob that might burn down your headquarters?" Would any journalist say, "I'm going to be objective, treat you fairly, double check the facts you give me, balance the story, and go beyond official sources in my research?" There is no agenda here, other than responsible, non-inflammatory reporting, so there's no need to announce anything. (Section 4.5.4.)

Lynch's arguments in this respect are also noteworthy (Section 4.5.2 & 4.5.3.). The main purpose of peace journalism is 'to give peace a chance', he argues Lynch. Journalists report the facts, he says, and that needs to be done with self-awareness.

There are certain identifiable biases that are developed over time just through the sheer application of journalistic conventions and those biases add up to a bias towards war or social violence that conditions audiences to be receptive to proposals for social violence; it conditions them to become near to structural violence. So anything that counteracts those effects can be labeled peace journalism even if the people who do it do not call it that (Section 4.5.2.).

Chapter 6: Conclusion & Recommendations

6.1. Summary of the study

Certain aspects need to be highlighted in the light of the context of this study and its findings. First, this study does not aim to turn journalists into conflict resolution practitioners; it is conducted to find ways to integrate peace journalism in the journalism curriculum. Peace journalism has been argued as an alternate paradigm in the field of journalism which encompasses the ideals and principles of non-violence, conflict resolution and conflict transformation (discussed in Chapter 2). The objective of the study is to improve journalism curriculum vis-à-vis the role media plays and can play in conflicts. Hence it is journalism oriented and sees conflict resolution and transformation not as an end in itself but as offering some relevant and practical means to help journalists in reporting conflicts, diffusing tensions in society and suggesting peaceful solutions to the conflict.

Secondly, the study does not suggest that enhancing knowledge of conflict resolution is the answer to all ills in the contemporary standards of conflict reporting. A range of factors presented in the findings (Chapter 4) point to the existing issues and concerns in conflict reporting. Not all of them are directly related to training in conflict resolution. Some of them are applicable at personal, social or organisational levels such as personal biases, lack of access, language or cultural barriers or lack of organisational support. But they do act as contributing factors in making conflict reporting a complex phenomenon for the journalists: for instance something as simple as the local and foreign journalists looking at a conflict situation from different perspectives can result in two different reports. Moreover, it is argued that while journalists might not require

formal classroom education regarding such factors, they do need to be made aware of them: only then can they find ways to overcome them.

Furthermore, as highlighted in the introduction, this is a doctoral study with constraints of time, space and funding. It deals with a topic that is complex, material diverse and the data wide ranging. The fact that there are few universities offering courses on peace journalism, and those too in varied formats and approaches, makes it difficult to reach definite conclusions that can be generalised. However, within these limitations, it has been possible to draw links and parallels between trends, practices and outcome of the content analysis and the material garnered from the interviews.

Hence, the study identifies the different perspectives of the local and foreign journalists, academics and peace workers as to what works on ground and what does not, when it comes to media's role in conflicts. In the light of these findings, arguments have been made to include the relevant elements of conflict resolution and conflict transformation that complement journalism education and can help the journalists to analyse conflict situations in their historical context and find non-violent responses to help diffuse violence in society. It is also in this perspective that arguments have been made to establish links between peace journalism and investigative journalism that would help the media practitioners to translate the intangibles of peace journalism into the tangibles; and to explore effective media platforms to practice it.

6.2. Conclusion

Three research questions were formulated in the research. They were:

- i. Can peace journalism be a means to integrate conflict resolution into the journalism curriculum?

- ii. Can the principles and ideals of peace journalism be translated into the tangible dos and don'ts of the journalistic practice?
- iii. Can some of the principles of conflict resolution be integrated into the journalism curriculum using the journalistic tools and practices?

As has been argued in the analysis of the findings, there is no simple solution with regards to how conflict resolution should be integrated into the journalism curriculum. Each conflict has its own history, context and dynamics. Also, each journalist has his or her own experiences, exposure and attitude through which they view the conflict. However, as shown in this study, some evidence is available to the journalists, scholars and peace workers to enable them to argue that peace journalism can be one of the ways to inculcate the kind of values and training among the journalists which can help them in conflict analysis, conflict prevention and peace building.

Hence, the first conclusion this study makes is that peace journalism demonstrates several aspects of positive journalism practices and some aspects of conflict resolution principles as well as of conflict transformation. Employing these aspects the journalists can connect with people in conflict, initiate or facilitate dialogue between the parties, construct positive messages using effective communication skills, relay them by choosing the right medium, and thereby transform the nature of the conflict from negative to positive.

It is also possible for journalists to apply peace journalism on various levels: as an ideology, as set of skills and as an approach to conflict. It can help journalists to contextually understand and analyse conflicts, diffuse tensions in society and suggest peaceful solutions thereby helping to transforming negative hostile relations between the conflicting sides into positive ones. It can offer them both freedom and creativity, and still be effective in sending out meaningful messages. Therefore peace journalism can be considered as one of the means to

integrate some elements of conflict resolution and transformation into the journalistic curriculum.

Related to this is the conclusion that all critical approaches to peace journalism, as discussed in the Chapter 5, are important in the conceptualisation of peace journalism. But they need to be brought together in a model that can consolidate them and make it applicable for the teaching and learning purposes. Hence the model of 'the inverted trident of peace journalism' is proposed. According to the model, peace journalism can be defined as the form of journalism taking its impetus from the three strands of media, conflict resolution and peace research. Equipped with the values they offer and share, such as understanding, trust, creativity, communication, dialogue, human rights, empathy and compassions, these strands converge together with the primary objective to stop the violence in conflicts and later develop into peacebuilding and prevention of further conflicts using the tools of skills, strategy and analysis.

Regarding the second research question, it is concluded that close links can be drawn between peace journalism and investigative journalism which overlaps their 'processes' by being *critical* and *thorough* along with being truth-oriented, people-oriented and action/solution-oriented. This approach can determine the 'why' and 'how' aspects of writing peace journalism stories thereby helping to convert the intangibles of peace journalism into tangibles. The IJ-PJ link can also be helpful for teaching and learning purposes. Moreover, linking investigative and peace journalism can help find avenues for funding peace journalism projects as well investigative journalism projects and sponsoring job slots for journalists who want to practise investigative peace journalism.

The study also argues that the increased connectivity between the people and the media calls for finding new paradigms for peace journalism which, in turn, affect its political economy. This would mean a shift in the existing 3P paradigm of power, profit and politics. The study suggests that adding 'peace donors' as

the fourth 'P' could form the new 4P model but notes that there is a need to further examine this aspect of peace journalism as it is beyond the scope of the present research.

Vis-à-vis the third research question regarding which elements of conflict resolution can be integrated in the journalism curriculum, the study concludes that some elements of conflict resolution skills – conflict analysis, negotiating, mediation, communication and interviewing skills – are directly relevant to journalistic training and hence could be integrated in peace journalism education. However it has also been argued in Chapter 5 that these elements are not approached as applied by conflict resolution practitioners but as skills that can help the journalists to act as the facilitating agents in bringing the parties together, starting the process of a dialogue, communicating the context and the issues that need to be addressed in a conflict and thereby help to transform the conflict.

The study also argues that instead of teaching a standardised unit or paper to implement peace journalism education, it will be more beneficial to have the generic set of guidelines that can be used to design a course to fit specific regional contexts. The recommended set of guidelines in this study is the generic model of C.A.U.S.E.: *Creativity, Attitude, Understanding, Skills* and *Ethics*. Because these attributes are not space and time limited, the model can be moulded according to the needs of different societies in their regional contexts. Moreover, these attributes can be updated, improved and re-applied as the times change.

Lastly, the study concludes that while the social or alternate media can offer an effective platform to publish peace journalism stories, a *synergised media strategy* between the journalists, academics, peace workers and researchers is needed to also utilise the mainstream media space by employing the journalistic creativity that peace journalism offers. As has been pointed out in the study, the

lines between the various media and journalism are getting more and more blurred, and all media platforms should be explored including the news media, the entertainment media and advertising.

This needs the joining of hands by the journalists, non-news media professionals, academics, peace workers and researchers to work within their own domains and come up with creative ways to give voice to the voiceless and to effectively disseminate the messages supporting peace and non-violence – even if it requires creating special spaces in form of on-line projects and publications.

Galtung said there is no way to peace journalism, peace journalism is the way. But the way is visible only to those who believe in the value of peace and are willing to act on it themselves first. The author recalls what Mottaghi (2008) said in the symposium on conflict training in Bonn, Germany in 2008:

“I do not believe that we change anything in the globe until we first change ourselves. I certainly feel that the most important challenge of the day for us as journalists is how to bring about a revolution in our hearts and minds, a revolution which has to start with each one of us. Could this be done by training? Perhaps. But it has to come from our hearts and minds.”

6.2. Recommendations

Several recommendations are made in the lights of the above discussion. These recommendations are not region or country specific; each one of them can be applied to specific needs, concerns and resources. Indeed the study argues in favour of having generic models for not only understanding peace journalism approaches but also implementing them within the journalism curriculum without imposing national or regional boundaries (p. 53; p. 189-190; p. 231). That would also allow more flexibility and independence to the journalism schools in implementing them.

However, most of the following recommendations are relevant to the journalism schools/departments and hence the impetus falls on them to take the initiative and join hands with the like-minded journalists and peace work, build collaborations, create spaces and promote an encouraging environment for peace journalism education, not only for the students but also for the journalists working in the field.

The recommendations are:

6.2.1. Introducing peace Journalism education at under and post graduate levels. Peace journalism education can be introduced at the graduate, honors and post graduate levels in the universities. It is suggested that any peace journalism education in form of a course should be formatted in workshop style so as to encourage student to participate actively and work in groups and teams rather becoming the passive recipients of information. The practical component should be equal to the learning and understanding component so that they have enough opportunity to practise what they learn in terms of skills, attitude development, ethics and journalistic creativity. It can also have guest lectures and talks from other investigative journalists, peace journalists

and peace activists so as to give them insights into the various aspects of investigative peace journalism.

6.2.2. Engaging working journalists in short course/workshops. It is also recommended that the universities make efforts to engage the already working journalists in academic debates and forums on peace journalism. It can be in form of short courses, workshops or seminars. Such steps will not only enhance their conceptual and practical understanding of peace and conflict but will also provide a good platform for the working journalists to come together with other professionals, share experiences and brainstorm over the practical issues in implementing peace journalism. Such interactivity can also be useful in bridging the academic/professional divide between them.

6.2.3. Additional course on peace and conflict. The peace journalism education should be complemented with a course on peace and conflict that includes a module on the principles of conflict analysis, conflict resolution and conflict transformation. This can help build up the students' knowledge of the subject along with an understanding of the dynamics of peace and conflict.

6.2.4. Sensitisation in high schools. Most of the students decide their education path in High School so the sensitisation of students should begin at this level in the form of guest lectures or half-day workshops. This would help familiarise them with the concept and ideology of peace journalism as it applies to them as audiences, or as journalists or media officers in NGOs.

6.2.5. Collaborative efforts to combine investigative journalism with peace journalism. It has already been pointed out that several collaborative projects exist between the universities, and between the universities and non-profit centres to support and promote investigative journalism. Expanding the scope of such collaborations to include peace stories that are investigative in nature can be beneficial both in terms of producing meaningful journalism and getting funds from the peace donors. Collaborative efforts could be also made by the universities to collaborate with other universities and promote investigative peace journalism in their journalism programmes.

6.2.6. Creating space for student investigative peace stories. The journalism and communication/media studies schools should create space in their publications, websites and campus radio stations for investigative peace stories so that the work of the students is recognised and acknowledged. It will also serve as the motivation and inspiration for the students as it builds their professional portfolio. One example of such an initiative is the platform provided by the Pacific Media Centre at Auckland University of Technology (AUT), New Zealand. More recently, PMC's *Pacific Journalism Review* has created special space titled *Frontline* to publish the investigative research reports and projects of students.

6.2.7. Mentoring programme. Almost all journalism schools offer internship programmes for students in the news organisations. Efforts should be made to start 'Mentoring programme' in understanding and collaboration with the like-minded serious journalists who can train and groom the students as investigative peace journalists or as information providers in an NGO, UN office or peace organisation.

6.2.8. Increase student exposure through exchange programmes. Many universities have partnerships and links with the universities in other countries and regions and run student exchange programmes. The journalism schools can make use of these programmes to provide greater exposure to their students by sending them on short-term or long-term visits to other countries in the region for study and projects. By becoming part of the journalism classes, assignments and projects in a foreign environment can help them to learn how to work like a journalist in a new country, how to find sources and resources as well as become aware of their own perceptions about that country, its people and their issues.

6.2.9. Recognition of student volunteer peace work. Journalism schools should aim to inculcate an encouraging environment to acknowledge the students who do volunteer peace related work. This could be in the form of giving bonus points or merit certificate for writing investigative peace stories in the media; helping in community projects; volunteering to work in peace related organisations and their projects; or participate in peace campaigns in any way designing messages, making posters etc. Gradually it can be built into formal or semi-formal partnerships with the NGOs so that they invite the media students' contributions on regular basis or open jobs for them.

6.2.10. Encouraging further research on peace journalism. It is also recommended that the journalism schools encourage their students to undertake further research on peace journalism. This would help to obtain a clearer picture of the trends and patterns of peace journalism practice.

6.3. Summation of the study

Tehrani (2007) in the Preface to *Peace Journalism: The state of the art*, said:

[J]ournalists are often in touch with all sides of the conflict. They can, if they wish, carry messages across the hostility boundaries. They can, if they wish, know the most urgent demands. They can, if they wish, identify the common ground. They can, if they wish, bring the sides to the negotiating table. But they cannot dictate the peace. They can, if they wish, pave the way. (Tehrani, 2007, Preface, p. 7)

Making choices is an important part of the journalists playing a positive role in conflict reporting. That alone, however, might not be enough to 'pave the way' towards peace. It would also need to be supplemented with relevant education, professional training and skill enhancement in the fields of journalism and conflict resolution. This research suggests ways and means to provide this kind of education that is embedded within journalism curriculum. The study explores various factors that affect the way conflicts are reported and interpreted in the media. Through the participation of journalists, media educators, peace workers, scholars and students, the research concludes that it is possible to integrate some elements of conflict resolution, such as conflict analysis, communication and effective interviewing skills, initiating negotiation, mediation and facilitation, into journalism curriculum; and that peace journalism can incorporate these elements within its values and ideals.

Better journalism education can improve the international journalistic standards in reporting conflicts and increase public understanding of the dynamics of conflicts. But more importantly, training and education is crucial in sensitising the journalists to the possibilities of improving things around them; in making them aware of the dangers of following the conventional trends blindfold; and in

educating them on the need to be engaged in constant scrutiny – of themselves and others around them. That is a pre-requisite.

In the final analysis, there is no arguing that conflicts are an integral part of human life. There is also no arguing that conflicts bring with them immense human loss and suffering. If the structure, agency and norms of the media industry inhabit and bind the journalists within conventional trends and professional practices; better education and training, informed individual choices and creativity can offer them the opportunity to break away from them. For this, every journalist needs to find his or her own path *after* making the choice whether or not to believe in the value of peace.

References

- Abplanab, K. (2012). Blood Money: a NZ investigative journalism case study. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 18(1), 128 -135.
- Ackerman, S. (December 12, 2011). Rare photographs show ground zero of the drone war. Wired.com, Danger Room. Available at <http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2011/12/photos-pakistan-drone-war/> accessed on 5 February 2014.
- Adam, G. and Holguin, L. (2003). *The media's role in peace building: Asset or liability?* Paper presented to the Media 3 Conference, Barranquilla, Colombia.
- Adorno, T. (1974). *Minima Moralia*. London: Verso Editions.
- Alia, V. (2010). Crossing borders: the global influence of indigenous media. In R. L. Keeble, J. Tulloch & F. Zollman (Eds.), *Peace Journalism, war and conflict resolution*, (pp. 121-138). UK: Peter Lang.
- Allan, S. (2007). Citizen journalism and the rise of "mass-self communication": Reporting the London bombings, *Global Media Journal*, Australian edition, 1(1). Available online at http://stc.uws.edu.au/gmjau/iss1_2007/pdf/hc_final_Stuart%20Allan.pdf accessed on 17 June 2011.
- Anstey, M. (1991). *Negotiating conflict: insights and skills for negotiators and peace makers*. Kenwyn, South Africa: Juta & Co. Ltd.
- Arno, A. (1984). The news media as third parties in national and international conflict: Duobus litigantibus tertius gaudet. In A. Arno & W. Dissanayake (Eds.), *The news media in national and international conflict*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Aslam, R. (2010). Perspectives on conflict resolution and journalistic training. In R. L. Keeble, J. Tulloch & F. Zollman (Eds.), *Peace Journalism, war and conflict resolution*, (pp. 335-352). UK: Peter Lang.

- Aslam, R. (2011). From hope to challenge. *Media Development*, WACC, LVVIII(2), 2-8.
- Aslam, R. (2011). Peace journalism: a paradigm shift in traditional media paradigm. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 17(1), 113-134.
- Bacon, W. (2011). Investigative journalism in the academy – possibilities for story telling across time and space. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 17(1), 45-66.
- Bacon, W. (2012). An innovative direction in academic journalism. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 17(1), 153-166.
- Bacon, W. (2006). Journalism as research? *Australian Journalism Review*, 28(2), 147-157.
- Balihar, S. (2007), Qualitative research methods: documentary research, http://www.webcitation.org/query?url=http://uk.geocities.com/balihar_sanghera/qrmdocumentaryresearch.html&date=2009-10-25+04:12:07 accessed on 12 January 2011.
- Barash, D.P. (2000). Preventing war: building negative peace. In P. Barash (Ed.), *Approaches to peace: a reader in peace studies*, (pp. 61-64). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barnes, Lyn. (2013). A trauma shake-up: are NZ graduates being prepared for the real world? *Pacific Journalism Review*, 19(1), 282-289.
- Becker, C., Chasin, L. & Chasin, R. (1995). From stuck debate to new conversation on controversial issues: a report from the Public Conservations Project. *Journal of Feminist Therapy*, 7(1), 143-163.
- Behram, Noor. (2011). Rare photographs show ground zero of the drone war. Wired.com, Danger Room. Available at <http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2011/12/photos-pakistan-drone-war/> accessed on 5 February 2014.
- Bell, M. (1998). The journalism of attachment. In K. Matthew (Ed.) *Media ethics*, (pp. 15–22). London: Routledge.

- Bergold, J. & Thomas, S. (2012). Participatory Research Methods: a methodological approach in motion. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research (FQS)*, 13(1), Art. 30. Available at <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1801/3334> accessed on March 11, 2014.
- Birnbauer, B. (2011). Student muckrakers: applying lessons from non-profit investigative reporting in the US. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 17(1), 26-44.
- Blommart, J. (2005). *Discourse*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bonta, B. (1996). Conflict resolution among peace societies: the culture of peacefulness. *Journal of Peace Research*, 33(4), 403-420.
- Botes, J. (2000). *Regional media in conflict*. Paper presented at the Institute for War and Peace Reporting, London.
- Botes, J. (2003). Public Affairs television and third party roles: the Nightline debates in South Africa (1985) and Israel (1988). *Peace and Conflict Studies*, 10(2), 1-19.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *On Television*. New York: New Press.
- Brahm, E. (2003). Conflict Stages. In G. Burgess & H. Burgess (Eds). *Beyond intractability*. Available online at <http://www.beyondintractability.org/bi-essay/conflictstages> accessed on April 19, 2013.
- Bratic, V. & Schirch, L. (2008). The role of media in peace building: Theory and practice. Paper presented at *journalistic training in conflict relation situations symposium*, DW-AKADEMIE, Bonn, 3 June 2008. Available online at http://www.kubatana.net/docs/media/dw_journalistsic_training_symposium_2008.pdf accessed on 2 February 2014.
- Brosius, H. & Weimann, G. (1996). Who sets the agenda? Agenda-setting as a two-step flow. *Communication Research*, 23(5), 561-580.
- Burgh, H. (2000). (Ed). *Investigative journalism: context and practice*. London & New York: Routledge.

- Burton, J. W. (1990). Human Needs Theory. In *Conflict: resolution and prevention*, (pp. 36-48). London: Macmillan.
- Burton, J. W. (1998). Conflict resolution: the human dimension, *International journal of peace studies*, 3(1). Available online at http://www.gmu.edu/academic/iips/vol3_1/burton.htm accessed on 28 January 2014.
- Carey, J. (1989). *Communication as culture: essays on media and society*. Boston: Unwin Hayman.
- Castells, M. (2007). Communication power and counter-power in the network society. *International Journal of Communication*, 1, 238-266.
- Chami, J.P. (2010). Peace journalism in the Arab world: sharing experiences and steps for the future, paper presented to International Peace Research Association conference, Sydney, July 6-10, 2010.
- Chandran, S. (2006) *Waziristan: Taliban, state and media*, Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, 23 June 2006. Available online at <http://www.ipcs.org/articledetails.php?articleNo=2048> accessed on 23 July 2009
- Chattarji, S. (2006). *Negative reportage in Indo-Pak media*. Available online at <http://www.thehoot.org/web/home/story.php?storyid=1985&pg=1&mod=1§ionId=38§ionname=INDO%20PAK%20MONITORING&valid=true> , accessed on 27 March 2011
- Collins English Dictionary (2003). Haper-Collins Publishers.
- Coser, L. (1956). *The Functions of social conflict*. New York: Free press.
- Curran, J. (2011). *Media and democracy*. London: Routledge.
- Davies, K. (2011). Journalism and HRECs: From square pegs to squeaky wheels. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 17(1), 157-174.
- Dentith, A. M., Measor, L. & O'Malley, M. P. (2012). The research imagination amid dilemmas of engaging young people in critical participatory work. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*,

- 13(1), Art. 17. Available at <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fgs1201176> accessed on March 9, 2014.
- Deutsch, K. (1957). Mass Communication and the loss of freedom in national decision-making: a possible research approach to interstate conflicts. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 1(2), 200-211.
- Dietz, B. (2006). The last story: Hayatullah Khan. Committee to Protest Journalists, 11-27. Available online at <http://cpj.org/reports/2006/09/khan.php> accessed on 20 Jan 2014.
- Dixit, K. (2010). *Dateline earth: journalism as if the planet mattered*. Bangkok: IPS Asia-Pacific Centre.
- Dixit, K. (2011). Real investigative journalism in a virtual world. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 17(1), 12-19.
- Dobell, G. (2006). The Pacific 'arc of instability'. ABC. Available at www.abc.net.au/correspondents/content/2006/s1719019.htm on March 5, 2014.
- Donald, M. & Allan, S. (2010). Social networks and the reporting of conflict. In R.L. Keeble, J. Tulloch & F. Zollman (Eds.), *Peace Journalism, war and conflict resolution*, (pp. 173-192). UK: Peter Lang.
- Elliott, C. (2012). How should we define 'in the public interest', *The Guardian*, Sunday, 20 May 2012. Available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/may/20/open-door-definition-public-interest> accessed on 23 April 2013.
- Entman, R.M. (1993). Framing: towards clarification of a fractured paradigm, *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.
- Ettema, J.S. & Glasser, T.L. (1998). *Custodians of conscience*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Falk, R. (2008). Foreword. In J. Lynch, *Debates in peace journalism*, (pp. v-xix). Sydney: Sydney University Press.

- Falkerts, J., Hamilton, J.M. & Lemann, N. (2013). Educating journalists: A new plea for the university tradition, Columbia Journalism School. Available at <http://www.journalism.columbia.edu/news/878> accessed on October 21, 2014.
- Fawcett, L. (2002). Why peace journalism isn't news. *Journalism Studies*, 3(2), 213-223.
- Foucault, M. (1984). Truth/power. In P. Rainbow (Ed). *The Foucault Reader*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon & Miller (Eds.). *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. London: Harvester
- Futamura, M. (2010). On establishing peace journalism. Peacewaves. Available online at www.peacewaves.net/peacejournalism.html accessed on 4 February 2014.
- Galtung, J. & Ruge, M.H. (1965). The structure of foreign news. *Essays in Peace Research*, Copenhagen: Ejlaers, 4, 118-151.
- Galtung, J. (1969). Violence, Peace, and Peace Research. *Journal of Peace Research*, 6(3), 167-191.
- Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by peaceful means: Peace and conflict, development and civilization*. London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Galtung, J. (1998). High Road, Low Road – Charting the Road for Peace Journalism, *Track Two*, 7(4). Centre for Conflict Resolution, South Africa. Available online at http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za/archive/two/7_4/p07_highroad_lowroad.html accessed on 6 February 2014.
- Galtung, J. (2004). *Transcend and Transform: an introduction to conflict work*. London: Pluto Press.
- Galtung, J. (2010). Peace studies and conflict resolution: The need for transdisciplinarity. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 47(1), 20-32.

- Graf, W., Kramer, G. & Nicolescou, A. (2006). Conflict transformation through dialogue: From Lederach's rediscovery of the Freire method to Galtung's 'transcend' approach. *Journal fur Entwicklungspolitik*, 22(3), 55-83.
- Groff, L. & Smoker, P. (2002). Creating global-local cultures of peace. *Global Options*. Available at <http://www.gmu.edu/academic/pcs/smoker.htm> accessed on 30 Jan 2014.
- Gutmann, A. & Thompson, D. (2002). *Why deliberative democracy?* US: Princeton University Press.
- Hackett, R.A. & Zhao, Y. (1998). *Sustaining democracy – journalism and the politics of objectivity*. Toronto: Garamond press.
- Hackett, R.A. (2006a). Is Peace journalism possible? Three frameworks for assessing structure and agency in news media. *Conflict & communication online*, 5(2), at <http://www.cco.regener.online.de>
- Hackett, R.A. (2007). Is Peace journalism possible? Three frameworks for assessing structure and agency in news media. In D. Shinar & W. Kempf (Eds.), *Peace Journalism: The State of the Art*, (pp. 75-94). Berlin: Regener.
- Hackett, R.A. (2011). New Vistas for peace journalism: alternative media and communication rights. In I.S. Shaw, J. Lynch, & R.A. Hackett, (Eds.), *Expanding Peace Journalism: comparative and critical approaches*, (pp. 35-69). Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- Hager, N. (2010). More investigation when there is less journalism. Keynote speech at the Media, Investigative Journalism and Technology (MIJT10) conference at AUT University, Auckland, 4-5 December 2010. Available at <http://pacific.scoop.co.nz/2010/12/mijt-conference-nicky-hager-proposes-reconceptualisation-of-investigative-journalism/> accessed on 8 February 2014.

- Hamelink, C. (1997). Media, ethnic conflict and culpability. In Jan Servaes & Rico Lee (Eds). *Media and politics in transition: cultural identity in the age of globalization* (pp. 29—38). Leuven: Acco.
- Hamelink, C. (2011). *Media and conflict: escalating evil (media and power)*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.
- Hanitzsch, T. (2007). Situating peace journalism in journalism studies: a critical appraisal. *Conflict & Communication Online*, 6(2). Available at www.cco.regener-online.de accessed on 4 January 2014.
- Hanitzsch, T. (2008). Situating peace journalism in journalism studies: a critical appraisal. In W. Kempf (Ed). *The Peace Journalism Controversy*, (pp. 69-80). Berlin: Regener.
- Harcup, T. & O'Neil, D. (2001). What is news? Galtung and Ruge revisited. *Journalism Studies*, 2(2), 261-280.
- Hawkins, V. (2011). Peace process or just peace deal? The media's failure to cover peace. In I. S. Shaw, I. S., J. Lynch & R. A. Hackett (Eds.), *Expanding Peace Journalism: Comparative and critical approaches*, (pp. 261-84). Australia: Sydney University Press.
- Hedges, C. (2002). *War is a force that gives us meaning*, New York: Public Affairs
- Hedges, C. (2008). *Ault keynote speaker*, International conference on media, war and conflict, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio, US. September 18, 2008.
- Heidenheimer, A.J.; Helco, H. & Adam, C. T. (1983). *Comparative Public Policy*. NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Herman, E. and Chomsky, N. (2002). *Manufacturing Consent: the political economy of mass media*. New York: Pantheon.
- Hofman, J.E. (1972). Readiness for social relations between Arabs and Jews in Israel. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 6(2), 241-251.
- Hollings, J. (2013). Shameful expose' of Afghan war but not enough media grunt. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 19(1), 303-305.

- Howard, R. (2003). Handbook on conflict sensitive journalism. Published by International Media Support and Institute for Media, policy and Civil Society. Available online at <http://ict4peace.org/handbook-on-conflict-sensitive-journalism-ross-howard-2003/> accessed on July 2013.
- Howard, R. (2003). *The media's role in war and peace building*. Paper presented at the Democratic Control of Armed Forces Conference, Budapest, February 6-9, available at <http://www.impacs.org>.
http://henrywigger.blogspot.co.nz/2012_01_01_archive.html
- Hume, M. (1997). *Whose war is it anyway? The dangers of the journalism of attachment*. London: LM Inform Inc.
- Ibrahim, S. (1972). Arab images of the United States and the Soviet Union before and after the June War of 1967. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 6(2), 227-240.
- IIUI newsletter, (October 2009). IIUI organises Quran Khawani. Available online at http://www.iiu.edu.pk/news/october_09.html accessed on March 3, 2014.
- Intermedia Pakistan. (2012). *Press in Stress: Media under threat in Baluchistan*. Intermedia Pakistan & Pakistan Journalists Safety Fund (PJSF). Karachi: Dzine Artisan.
- Internews, Pakistan. (2006). *Half yearly report on attacks on media*. Available online at www.internews.org.pk/HalfYearly%20reportabout%20attackson%20media.doc accessed on 2 February 2014.
- Israel, B., Schultz, A., Parker, E. & Becker, A. (1998). Review of Community-Based Research: Assessing Partnership Approaches to Improve Public Health. *Annual Review of Public Health*, 19, 173-202.
- Jackson, R. (May 4, 2011). The death of Osama bin Laden - an alternative perspective. Pacific Media Centre. Available online at <http://www.pmc.aut.ac.nz/articles/death-osama-bin-laden-alternative-perspective> accessed on 5 February 2014.

- Jacobson, A. S. (2010). When peace journalism and feminist theory join forces: a Swedish case study. In R. L. Keeble, J. Tulloch & F. Zollman (Eds.), *Peace Journalism, war and conflict resolution*, (pp. 105-120). UK: Peter Lang.
- Jones, C. (1985). *Patterns of Social Policy*. Taylor & Francis. ISBN 9780422772600, retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comparative_research on January 9, 2011.
- Jowett, G.S. & O'Donnell, V. (1999). *Power and persuasion*. London: Sage.
- Keeble, R. L. (2010). Peace Journalism as political practice: A new, radical look at the theory. In R. L. Keeble, J. Tulloch & F. Zollman (Eds.), *Peace journalism, war and conflict resolution*, (pp. 49-68). UK: Peter Lang.
- Keeble, R.L., Tulloch, J. & Zollman, F. (2010). Introduction: why peace journalism matters. In R.L. Keeble, J. Tulloch & F. Zollman (Eds.), *Peace Journalism, war and conflict resolution*, (pp. 335-352). UK: Peter Lang.
- Kemmis, S. & McTaggart, R. (2005). Participatory Action Research: communicative action and the public sphere. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 559-603). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Kempf, W. (2002). Conflict coverage and conflict escalation. In W. Kempf & H. Loustarinen (Eds). *Journalism and the new world order: studying war and the media*. Vol.2, (pp. 59-72). Goteborg: Nordicom.
- Kempf, W. (2003b). Constructive conflict coverage – a social-psychological research and development program. *Conflict & Communication online*, 2(2). Available at <http://www.cco.regener-online.de> accessed on 13 January 2014.
- Kempf, W. (2007). Peace journalism: a tightrope walk between advocacy journalism and constructive conflict coverage. *Conflict & Communication Online*, 6(2). Available at <http://www.cco.regener-online.de> accessed on 13 January 2014.

- Kempf, W. (2008). Peace journalism: a tightrope walk between advocacy journalism and constructive conflict coverage. In W. Kempf (Ed). *The Peace Journalism Controversy*, (pp. 145–156). Berlin: Regener.
- Kempf, W. (2008). *The Peace Journalism Controversy*. Berlin: Regener.
- Khan, A. (2009). A tragedy beyond description. *The News*, Wednesday, October 21, 2009. Available online at <http://www.thenews.com.pk/TodaysPrintDetail.aspx?ID=204339&Cat=6&dt=10/21/2009> accessed on March 15, 2014.
- Knightley, P. (2000). *The first casualty: the war correspondent as hero and myth-maker from the Crimea to Kosovo*. London: prion Books.
- Kriesberg, L. (1973). *The sociology of social conflicts*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Kvale, S. (1983). The qualitative research interview: A phenomenological and a hermeneutical mode of understanding. *Journal of Phenomenological Psychology*, 14, 171-196.
- Lake, D.A. & Rothchild, D. (1996). Containing Fear: the origins and management of ethnic conflict. *International Security*, 21(2), 41-75.
- Lamble, S. (2004). Documenting the methodology of journalism. *Australian Journalism Review*, 26(1), 85-106.
- Lanche, J. (2009). *Baitullah Mehsud's alleged death: for better or for worse*, published on IPCS website on 13 August 2009. Available at <http://www.ipcs.org/article/pakistan/baitullah-mehsuds-alleged-death-for-better-or-for-worse-2942.html> accessed on 2 March 2011.
- Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building peace—sustainable reconciliation in divided societies*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Lederach, J.P., & Jennifer, J. M. (2003). *Into the eye of the storm: A handbook of international peacebuilding*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Lederach, J.P. (1995). *Preparing for Peace Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

- Lederach, J.P. (2003). Defining Conflict Transformation. Restorative Justice Online. Available at <http://www.restorativejustice.org/10fulltext/lederach> accessed on 15 April 2013.
- Lindlof, T. & Taylor, B. (2002). *Qualitative Communication Research Methods*, (Second Edition), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lofflin, J. (January 5, 2012). Terrorist or freedom fighter? Let's take this peace journalism idea up a level; a world of death and destruction is just plain stupid, Henry Wiggen blog post. Available at
- Loyn, D. (2007). Good journalism or peace journalism? *Conflict & Communication Online*, 6(2). Available at www.cco.regener-online.de/2007_2/pdf/loyn.pdf accessed on 2 February 2014.
- Lynch, J. & Galtung, J. (2010). *Reporting Conflict: new directions in peace journalism*. Australia: University of Queensland Press.
- Lynch, J. & McGoldrick, A. (2005a). *Peace journalism*, Stroud: Hawthorn Press.
- Lynch, J. (2001a). *Reporting the world*, London: Conflict and Peace Forum, Taplow.
- Lynch, J. (2003b). Journalists need to think: a reply to David Loyn. In open Democracy Journalism & War Debate, Available online at http://www.opendemocracy.net/media-journalismwar/article_1037.jsp accessed on 12 February 2014.
- Lynch, J. (2007). A course in peace journalism. In D. Shinar & W. Kempf (Eds.), *Peace journalism: the state of the art*, (pp. 161-186). Germany: Regener.
- Lynch, J. (2008b). *Debates in peace journalism*. Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- Lynch, J. (2010). Propaganda, war, peace and the media. In R.L. Keeble, J. Tulloch & F. Zollman (Eds.), *Peace journalism, war and conflict resolution*, (pp. 69-83). UK: Peter Lang.
- Lynch, J. (2013). *A Global Standard for Reporting Conflict*. NY: Routledge.

- Lynch, J., Hackett R. A. & Shaw, I.S. (2011). Introduction. In I. S. Shaw, J. Lynch, & R.A. Hackett, (Eds.), *Expanding peace journalism: comparative and critical approaches* (pp. 7-31). Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- Macduff, I. (1995). The role of negotiation: negotiation justice?, 25 *Victoria University Law Review*, 144-148.
- Mandelzis, Lea. (2007). Representations of peace in news discourse: Viewpoint and opportunity for peace journalism. In D. Shinar & W. Kempf (Eds.), *Peace journalism: the state of the art*, (pp. 97-110). Germany: Regener.
- Manoff, R.K. (1997). The media's role in preventing and moderating conflict. Paper present at Virtual Diplomacy conference, United States Institute of Peace, Washington D.C., April 1–2, 1997.
- Manoff, R.K. (1998). Potential media role in conflict prevention and management. *Role Plays, Track Two*, 7(4), 11-15. Available online at http://www.forumzfd-akademie.de/files/va_media/nid2147.media_filename.pdf accessed on 5 February 2014.
- Manoff, R. K. (2005). *The media's role in preventing and moderating conflict*. Washington DC: US Institute of Peace.
- Maslow, A. (1943). A theory of human motivation, *Psychological Review*, 50, 370–396.
- Matheson, D. & Allan, S. (2010). Social networks and the reporting of conflict. In R.L. Keeble, J. Tulloch & F. Zollman (Eds.), *Peace journalism, war and conflict resolution*, (pp. 173-192). UK: Peter Lang.
- McCombs, M.E. & Shaw, D.L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36, 176-187.
- McCombs, M.E. & Shaw, D.L. (1993). The evolution of agenda setting research: twenty-five years in the marketplace for ideas. *Journal of Communication*, 43, 58-67.

- McGoldrick, A. (2007). War journalism and 'objectivity'. In D. Shinar & W. Kempf (Eds.), *Peace journalism: the state of the art*, (pp. 17-25). Germany: Regener.
- McGoldrick, A. (2011). Empathy and ethics: journalistic representation and its consequences. In I. S. Shaw, J. Lynch, & R.A. Hackett (Eds.), *Expanding peace journalism: comparative and critical approaches*, (pp. 122-144). Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- McIntyre, A. (2008). *Participatory Action Research*. UK: Sage Ltd.
- Messman, T. (2001). Justice journalism: journalist as social agent of social change. Media File, 20(4), available at <http://www.media-alliance.org/mediafile/20-4/justice.html> accessed on 2 February 2014.
- Miall, H. (2004). Conflict Transformation: A multi-dimensional task. In A. Austin, M. Fischer & N. Ropers (Eds.). *Transforming Ethnopolitical Conflict - The Berghof Handbook*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften
- Miall, H., Ramsbotham, O., & Woodhouse, T. (1999). *Contemporary conflict resolution*. UK: Polity Press Cambridge.
- Mitchell, C. (1981). *The structure of international conflict*. London: McMillan.
- Moala, K. (2011). Media – a destructive or constructive force on Pacific peace and development. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 17(1), 20-25.
- Mogekwu, M. (2011). Conflict reporting and peace journalism: in search of a new model: lessons from the Nigerian Niger Delta crisis. In I. S. Shaw, J. Lynch, & R.A. Hackett (Eds.), *Expanding peace journalism: comparative and critical approaches*, (pp. 239-260). Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- Mottaghi, J. (2008). *Media diversity: Training for a digital world*. Paper presented at symposium on journalistic training in conflict situations, DW-AKADEMIE, Bonn, 3 June 2008. Available online at http://www.kubatana.net/docs/media/dw_journalistsic_training_symposium_2008.pdf accessed on 2 February 2014.

- Ninan, S. (2007). Those barbarians in Pakistan. Available on line at <http://www.thehoot.org/web/home/searchdetail.php?sid=2510&bg=1> accessed on 10 March 2011.
- Noll, D. (2000). Conflict Resolution: a five phase model. Available online at www.mediate.com/articles/noll2.cfm/ accessed on 19 April 2013.
- Opendakker, R. (2008). Advantages and disadvantages of four Interview techniques in qualitative research. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social*, 7(4), Art. 11. Available at <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/175> accessed on March 13, 2014.
- Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary. (2013). [Online]. Available at <http://oald8.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/dictionary/>
- Pakistan Press Foundation. (2007). Pakistan press freedom report. Available online at <http://www.pakistanpressfoundation.org/userRAndDDetails.asp?uid=248> accessed on 23 July 2009.
- Papoutsaki, E., McManus, M. & Matbob, P. (Eds.), (2011). *Communication Culture & Society in Papua New Guinea*. Madang: DWU Press and Auckland: Pacific Media Centre.
- Peleg, S. (2007). Peace journalism through the lens of conflict theory: analysis and practice. In Shinar, D. & Kempf, W. (Eds.), *Peace journalism: the state of the art*, (pp. 26-52). Germany: Regener.
- Philips, P. (2009). An invitation to colleges and universities to conduct investigative research for independent media and human betterment. Project Censored: California. Available at <http://www.mediafreedominternational.org/an-invitation-to-colleges-and-universities/> accessed on 5 February 2014.
- Pilger, J. (2010). Foreword. In R. L. Keeble, J. Tulloch & F. Zollman (Eds.), *Peace journalism, war and conflict resolution*, (pp. ix-xi). UK: Peter Lang.

- Protest, D.L., Lomas-Cook, F., Doppelt, J.C., Ettema, J.S., Goron, M.T., Leff, D.R. & Miller, T. (1991). *The journalism of outrage*. New York & London: The Guildford Press.
- Rai, M. (2010). Peace journalism in practice – *Peace News*: for non-violent revolution. In R. L. Keeble, J. Tulloch & F. Zollman (Eds.), *Peace journalism, war and conflict resolution*, (pp. 207-238). UK: Peter Lang.
- Rees, Stuart. (2003). *Passion for peace: using power creatively*. Sydney: University of New South Wales.
- Reese, S. D. (1999). The progressive potential of journalism education: Recasting the academic versus professional debate. *The International Journal of Politics/Press*, 70(4). DOI: 10.1177/1081180X9900400405. Available at <http://ijp.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/4/4/70> accessed on October 21, 2014.
- Rhodes, R. (2008). *Florence and Jesse Currier keynote address*, International conference on media, war and conflict, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio, 18 September.
- Richmond, O.P. (November, 2006). The problem of peace: understanding the liberal peace. *Conflict, Security and Development*, 6(3), 291-314. DOI: 10.1080/14678800600933480. Available online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14678800600933480#.Uxak5ldWFeu>
- Robie, D. (2004). *Mekim Nius: South Pacific media, politics and education*. Fiji: University of the South Pacific.
- Robie, D. (2010). Conflict reporting in the South Pacific: why peace journalism has a chance. *Journal of Pacific Studies*, 32(20), 221-240.
- Robie, D. (2013). 'Four Worlds' news values revisited: a deliberative journalism paradigm for Pacific media. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 19(1), 84-110.
- Robie, D. (2013). The 'talanoa' and the tribal paradigm: reflections on cross-cultural reporting in the Pacific. *Australian Journalism Review*, 35(1), 43-58.

- Robie, D. (2014). *Don't Spoil My Beautiful Face: Media, Mayhem and Human Rights in the Pacific*. Auckland: Little Island Press.
- Roland, A. (1994). *Cruelty and Civilization: the Roman games*. London: Routledge.
- Ross, D.S. (2007). (De-)constructing conflict: a focussed review of war and peace journalism. In D. Shinar, & W. Kempf (Eds.), *Peace journalism: the state of the art*, (pp. 53-74). Germany: Regener.
- Rubin, H.J. & Rubin, I.S. (2012). *Qualitative Interviewing: The art of hearing data* (3rd ed.). LA: Sage Publications.
- Saleem, S. (2011). Mourning the silence. Dawn.com, June 3, 2011. [Online] Available at <http://www.dawn.com/news/633583/mourning-the-silence> accessed on 29 January 2014.
- Schattschneider, E. E. (1983). *The semisovereign people*. New York: Holt, Rineheart.
- Schramm, W. (1993). *Mass Communication Readings: the nature of news*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- Schubart, R. (2009). *War Isn't Hell, Its Entertainment: essays on visual media and the representation of conflict*. In F. Virchow, D. White-Stanley & J, Thomas (Eds.). North Carolina: McFarland & Company.
- Scott, J. (2006). *Documentary Research*, London: Sage.
- Sethi, N. (1999). *Media at the millennium; India*. A talk at the India Media Forum. Available online at <http://www.freedomforum.org/publications/international/MediaForum/1999/asia/indiaforum.pdf> accessed on 29 March 2011.
- Shaw, I.S. (2011). Human rights journalism: a critical conceptual framework of a complementary strand of peace journalism. In I.S. Shaw, J. Lynch, & R.A. Hackett, (Eds.), *Expanding peace journalism: comparative and critical approaches*, (pp. 96-121). Sydney: Sydney University Press.

- Shinar, D. (2003b). Media peace discourse: Constraints, concepts and building blocks, *Conflict & Communication Online*, 3(1&2), Available at www.cco.regener-online.de accessed on 27 January 2011.
- Shinar, D. (2007). Peace journalism: the state of the art. In D. Shinar & W. Kempf (Eds.), *Peace journalism: the state of the art*, (pp. 199-210). Berlin: Regener.
- Shinko, R.E. (2008). Agonistic peace: a postmodern reading. *Journal of International Studies*, 38(3), 473-491. DOI: 10.1177/03058298080360030501. Available at <http://mil.sagepub.com/content/36/3/473.abstract>
- Shoemaker, P. & Reese, S. (1996). *Mediating the message: Theories of influences on mass media content*. New York: Longman.
- Siebert, F., Peterson, T. & Schramm, W. (1963). *Four theories of the press*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Singer, J. & Small, M. (1972). *The wages of war, 1816-1965: a statistical handbook*. New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Singh, S. (2007). *The Indian media's Pakistan obsession*. Available online at <http://www.thehoot.org/web/home/story.php?storyid=2517&pg=1&mod=1§ionId=38&valid=true> , accessed on 10 August 2011.
- Singh, S. (2013). Responsible Conflict Reporting: rethinking the role of journalism in Fiji and other troubled Pacific societies. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 19(1), 111-131.
- Spencer, G. (2004). The impact of television news on the Northern Ireland peace negotiations. *Media, Culture and Society*, 26(5), 603-623.
- Spiller, P. (2002). *Dispute Resolution in New Zealand*. Australia: Oxford University Press.
- Stephenson, J. (2010). 'How the war was spun: the media, the NZ Defence Force and Afghanistan'. Paper presented at the Media, Investigative Journalism and Technology Conference, AUT University, Auckland, December 4-5, 2010.
- Suchenwirth, L. & Keeble, R.L. (2011). Oligarchy reloaded and pirate media: the state of peace journalism in Guatemala. In I.S. Shaw, J. Lynch & R.A. Hackett,

- (Eds.), *Expanding peace journalism: comparative and critical approaches*, (pp. 168-190). Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- Tehrani, M. (2002). Peace Journalism: negotiating global media ethics. *Harvard International Journals of Press/Politics*, 7(2), pp. 58-83.
- Tehrani, M. (2007). Preface. In D. Shinar & W. Kempf (Eds.), *Peace journalism: the state of the art*, (pp. 7-8). Berlin: Regener.
- Thibeault, S. (2000). Kashmir: Aborted cease-fire provides fodder for Indo-Pak media war. Available online at http://www.fas.org/news/india/2000/war-000818-kashmir_comment.htm accessed on 29 March 2011.
- Tivona, E. J. (2011). Globalisation of compassion: women's narratives as models for peace journalism. In I.S. Shaw, J. Lynch & R.A. Hackett (Eds.), *Expanding peace journalism: comparative and critical approaches*, (pp. 317-344). Sydney: Sydney University Press.
- Tomalin, N. (1969). 'Stop the press I want to get on', *London Sunday Times Magazine*, 26 October 26, 1969.
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: a study in the construction of reality*. New York: The Free Press.
- Väyrynen, R. (Ed.). (1991). *New directions in conflict theory: conflict resolution and conflict transformation*. London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Wadsworth, Y. (1998). What is Participatory Action Research?, *Action Research International*, Paper 2. Available at <http://www.aral.com.au/ari/p-ywadsworth98.html> accessed on March 3, 2014.
- Wallensteen, P. & Sollenberg, M. (2005). Armed Conflict and its international dimensions, 1946-2004. *Journal of Peace Research*, 42(5), 623-35.
- Wallensteen, P. (2012). *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, peace and the global system* (3rd ed). NY: Sage.
- Watson, A.H.A. (2011). Putting development into communication: A curriculum Approach. In Papoutsaki, E., McManus, M. & Matbob, P. (Eds.),

- Communication Culture & Society in Papua New Guinea*, (pp. 171-180). Madang: DWU Press and Auckland: Pacific Media Centre.
- Waqa, M. (2010). 'How peace journalism surfaced in the Pacific', 15 December 2010. Letter to the *Café Pacific* blog: available at <http://cafepacific.blogspot.com/2010/12/how-peace-journalism-surfaced-in.html> accessed on 20 December 2010.
- Ward, S. J.A. (2005). *The invention of journalism ethics: The path to objectivity and beyond*. Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press.
- Weaver, D., Beam, R., Brownlee, B., Voakes, P.S. & Wilhoit, G.C. (2002). The face and mind of the American journalist. Available online at http://poynter.org/content/content_view.asp?id=28235 accessed on 3 February 2014.
- Weinberg, S. (1996). *The reporter's handbook: an investigator's guide to documents and techniques*. UK: St. Martin's Press.
- Wilson, C. & Devere, H. (2013). Peace and war journalism in the New Zealand media? Reporting on the 'arc of instability' in the Pacific. *Pacific Journalism Review*, 19(1), 132-147.
- Wolfsfeld, G., Alimi, E. & Kailani, W. (2008). News media and peacebuilding in asymmetrical conflicts: the flow of news between Jordan and Israel. *Political Studies*, 56(2), 374-398.
- Wolfsfeld, G. (1997). *Media and political conflict: News from the Middle-East*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolfsfeld, G. (1997b). *Media and political conflict*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Youngblood, S.L. (January 6, 2012). Peace Journalism or Pacifist Journalism? Peace and Collaborative Network, available at http://www.internationalpeaceandconflict.org/profiles/blog/show?id=780588:BlogPost:684575&xgs=1&xg_source=msg_share_post

Zogby, J.J. (September, 2003). Ten years later, the world is upside down, *Arab News*, September 17, 2003, available at <http://www.arabnews.com/node/237446> accessed on March 3, 2014.

Zollmann, F. (2010). Iraq and Dahr Jamail: war reporting from a peace perspective. In R.L. Keeble, J. Tulloch & F. Zollman (Eds.), *Peace journalism, war and conflict resolution*, (pp. 139-156). UK: Peter Lang.

Web Resources

Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development. Available online at <http://www.aibd.org.my> accessed on 2 February 2014

BBC Editorial Guidelines, Section 7: Privacy, The public Interest, available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/editorialguidelines/page/guidelines-privacy-introduction/> accessed on 18 April 2013.

Crimes of War Project. Available online at www.crimesofwar.org accessed on 2 February 2014.

Dart Centre Europe. Available online at <http://www.dartcenter.org/europe> accessed on 2 February 2014.

DW: *Report on symposium on journalistic training in conflict situations*, DW-AKADEMIE, Bonn, 3 June 2008. Available online at http://www.kubatana.net/docs/media/dw_journalistsic_training_symposium_2008.pdf accessed on 21 July 2009

Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research (HIIK). (2005). Conflict barometer 2005: crisis, wars, coups detat, negotiations, mediations, peace settlements. HIIK: Heidelberg. [Online]. Available at

www.hiik.de/en/konfliktbarometer/pdf/ConflictBarometer_2005.pdf/

accessed on 19 April 2013.

International Institute for Journalism. Available online at <http://www.inwent.org/iiij/index.php.en>, accessed on 23 July 2009

Internews: Pakistan. Available online at <http://www.internews.org.pk> accessed on 23 July 2013

InWENT – Capacity Building International, Germany. Available online at http://www.inwent.org/portal/internationale_zusammenarbeit/frieden/friedensentwicklung/index.php.en , accessed on 23 July 2013

Medios Para La Paz (Media for Peace). Available at <http://www.mediosparalapaz.org/index.php?idcategoria=2240> accessed on 18 July 2013

Network of Conflict Resolution in Canada (www.nicr.ca) accessed on 3 February 2014

Pacific Media Centre. <http://www.pmc.aut.ac.na>

Preamble to UNESCO Constitution: Available online at <http://typo38.unesco.org/pt/unesco-home/organization/about-unesco-srtct/constitution.html> accessed on 23 July 2013

UNESCO, (1978). Declaration on fundamental principles concerning the contribution of the mass media to strengthening peace and international understanding, to the promotion of human rights and to countering racialism, apartheid and incitement of war. [Online]. Available at http://www.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13176&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html accessed on 6 September 2011.

University Resources for syllabus and outlines

Auckland University of Technology (AUT), NZ.

https://autonline.aut.ac.nz/bbcswebdav/pid-2401316-dt-content-rid-4449960_4/institution/Papers/149118/Publish/149118AsiaPacJournHandbook2013S1%281%29.pdf accessed on 3 February 2014.

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS), University of Sydney.

http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict/postgrad_coursework/units_of_study.shtml?u=PACS_6914_2013_8 accessed on 3 February 2014.

Department of Media, Culture and Communication, New York University.

http://steinhardt.nyu.edu/scmsAdmin/media/users/eg9/bulletin/nyu_steinhardt_graduate_bulletin_2013-2015_media.pdf accessed on 3 February 2014.

Park University, USA. <http://www.park.edu/academics/academic-programs/undergraduate-programs/peace-journalism/minor.html>

accessed on 3 February 2014.

Park University, USA <https://app.park.edu/syllabus/syllabus.aspx?ID=910973>

accessed on 3 February 2014.

UNESCO, (2007). Model curricula for journalism education. Available online at

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001512/151209E.pdf> accessed on 23 January 2014.

University of Lincoln, United Kingdom. (2013).

http://www.lincoln.ac.uk/about/courses/JOUPEAMA_2013-14.pdf accessed on 20 August 2013.

University of Peshawar

<http://www.upesh.edu.pk/academics/faculties/departments/?q=25&sid=32#>

accessed on 23 January 2014.

Resources for Peace Journalism

Center for Global Peace Journalism, Park University, USA.

www.park.edu/peacecenter

Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPACS), University of Sydney.

http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict

Peace and Development Collaborative Network (PDCN).

<http://www.internationalpeaceandconflict.org/>

PeaceWrites [CPAC's Online newsletter].

[http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict/docs/PeaceWrites_October_2013.](http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict/docs/PeaceWrites_October_2013.pdf)

[pdf](http://sydney.edu.au/arts/peace_conflict/docs/PeaceWrites_October_2013.pdf)

The Peace Journalist [Online publication of CPJ]. [http://www.park.edu/center-](http://www.park.edu/center-for-peace-journalism/documents/2013-10-The-Peace-Journalist.pdf)

[for-peace-journalism/ documents/2013-10-The-Peace-Journalist.pdf](http://www.park.edu/center-for-peace-journalism/documents/2013-10-The-Peace-Journalist.pdf)