PEACE JOURNALISM

WHAT IS IT?

HOW TO DO IT?

By Annabel McGoldrick and Jake Lynch

About the authors

Annabel McGoldrick &Jake Lynch are leading figures in the growing global dialogue about Peace Journalism and co-Directors of Reporting the World. The Observer newspaper called it, "the nearest thing we have to a journalism think tank."

Publications: *The Peace Journalism Option; What Are Journalists For?; Reporting the World - a practical checklist for the ethical reporting of conflicts in the 21st century* and the TRANSCEND manual, *Peace Journalism – What is it? How to do it?* They are currently co-authoring a book on Peace Journalism.

University courses: an annual MA module in the Ethics of Reporting Conflict at Cardiff University School of Journalism; an online Peace Journalism course with the Transcend Peace University runs twice a year and Peace-building Media, Theory and Practice at the University of Sydney, now in its fourth year.

Training dialogues have been held with journalists in Indonesia, the Caucasus, Cyprus, Turkey, Nepal Norway and the Middle East.

Jake is an experienced international reporter in newspapers and television, currently for BBC News, based in London. He was the Independent Sydney correspondent in 1998-9 and covered the Nato briefings for Sky News throughout the Kosovo crisis. He is an adviser to the Toda institute for peace and rapporteur for its Globalisation, Regionalisation and Democracy action research team on media.
Annabel is an experienced reporter and producer in radio and television. She has covered conflicts in Indonesia, Thailand and Burma, and Yugoslavia. She is also training to be a psychotherapist and runs workshops in journalism and trauma.

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REVEALS how we are all connected

EXPLAINS world events in ways that make sense and leave room for hope

Reminds us that there are alternatives to violence

FOCUSES on the vision and hunger for change that inspire countless peace initiatives, large and small

TRANSCENDS the tired clichés of 'objectivity'. Instead it reaches out to forge a new bond of trust with global audiences by providing workable ways for journalists to take responsibility for the impact and consequences of their interventions.

NOW a growing campaign uniting reformers in dozens of countries, rich and poor, from North and South.

WHAT IS PEACE JOURNALISM?

Basic Definition

Peace Journalism (PJ) uses conflict analysis and transformation to update the concept of balance, fairness and accuracy in reporting.

The PJ approach provides a new road map tracing the connections between journalists, their sources, the stories they cover and the consequences of their reporting – the ethics of journalistic intervention.

It opens up a literacy of non-violence and creativity as applied to the practical job of everyday reporting.

"Peace Journalism makes audible and visible subjugated aspects of reality," Professor Johan Galtung

The map shows regions labelled: EVIL, GOOD, DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF EVIL (FORMERLY GOOD), EVIL, GOOD, GOOD, EVIL, GOOD (FORMERLY EVIL), POLITICAL, TOM LUBBOCK 23-02-02

UNDERSTANDING CONFLICT

Why study conflict?

Few journalists have formal – or informal – training in conflict theory and analysis, a field developed in universities and by practitioners on the ground for over thirty years.

Conflict resolution skills are not a 'given'. We are not born with them readymade but, as with any science or art form, they have to be learned and practised.

The growing field of 'media and conflict' is based on the proposition that equipping a reporter with conflict resolution skills will enable him or her to become a more effective professional and human being.

News is about change – today's edition tells us what is new since yesterday. Conflict is built into every process of change, so journalists deal with conflict all the time in everyday life.

What is conflict?

> Conflict is a process through which two or more actors ('PARTIES') try to pursue incompatible aims or GOALS while trying to stop the other(s) from pursuing their goals.

'Conflict' is not the same as 'Violence'

> In a lot of reporting the word 'conflict' is used to mean 'violence'. Understanding the difference is crucial to the PJ approach.

> Conflicts can be positive and constructive by opening avenues of change if managed effectively. (This is what political parties are set up to do!)

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Conflict situations

Conflicts are likely to arise in circumstances where:
   Resources are scarce (poverty, employment, housing, water availability)
   Poor or no communication exists between parties
   Parties have incorrect or biased perceptions of each other
   There is a lack of trust
   Unresolved grievances exist from the past
   Parties do not value the relationship between them
   Power is unevenly distributed [1]

Conflict outcomes

A classic Conflict Resolution exercise

Imagine this: An orange growing on a tree with its root in one garden but sprouting from a branch overhanging the garden of the neighbouring household. Each believes they should have the orange. There are four basic types of outcomes.

a) **One party prevails**
   The Rule of Man – the pair fight for the orange. Might is right
   The Rule of Law – adjudicate, on some principle (eg need, taste)
   The Rule of Chance – some random method, eg roll a die to settle who wins the orange
   Compensation – Broadening, deepening (neighbour A gets the orange, neighbour B something else)

b) **Withdrawal**
   Walk away from the situation
   Destroy or give away the orange
   Just watch the orange
   Put it in the freezer

c) **Compromise**
   Cut the orange
   Squeeze the orange
   Peel the orange and divide the slices
   Any other division

d) **Transcendence**
   Get one more orange
   Get more people to share the orange
   Bake an orange cake, raffle it and divide the proceeds
   Sow the seeds, make a plantation, take over the market

Basic thesis: THE MORE ALTERNATIVES, THE LESS LIKELY THE VIOLENCE.[2]

Unequal Power

There is one obvious problem in applying this classic exercise to real conflicts – it assumes the neighbours are equal in the first place.

One neighbour may be powerful enough to circumvent any discussion by the mere hint of force.

There may need to be a process of EMPOWERMENT for the other neighbour before any of the other outcomes can become a realistic option.

Negotiated outcome

The kind of conflicts journalists cover often lead to a negotiated outcome.

This may be a SETTLEMENT, containing elements of victory (and defeat - one party gives up on some issues)

WITHDRAWAL (some issues shelved) and/or COMPROMISE – each party ends up with a bit less of things it already knew it wanted before negotiations began. May keep the violence in check.

Resolved Conflict

Sometimes there will be a RESOLUTION, emphasising transcendence – using creativity to devise a way forward no-one had previously thought of which addresses the underlying issues fuelling the conflict.

These issues may be TRANSFORMED and now able to be viewed and approached in a new light.

Approaches to Conflict

Competitive approaches are characterised by:
Zero-sum gains (only 2 parties)
Competition between parties
Parties working against each other
Parties trying to defeat the other(s)
Parties trying to increase the costs to the other side(s) of continuing to pursue certain goals
Settlements (at best) not resolution
Low levels of trust
Deterioration of relations between parties

Co-operative or collaborative approaches are characterised by:
Positive-sum gains
Parties working together to address problems jointly
High levels of communication between them
Increased levels of trust
Improved relationships
Mutually satisfactory outcomes – resolution and transformation [3]

What makes a competitive approach more likely?
Tug of War
Two parties
If people think of a conflict as having only two parties, they can feel they are faced with only two alternatives – VICTORY or DEFEAT.

Defeat being unthinkable, each party steps up its efforts for victory. Relations between them deteriorate, and there is an escalation of violence. This may reinforce the bipolar conflict model, causing people to take sides. They may ask themselves "who will protect me?" and find the only answer is "my own kind".

Goals become formulated as DEMANDS to distinguish & divide each party from the other. Demands harden into a 'platform' or POSITION which can only be achieved through VICTORY.

What makes a co-operative approach more likely?
Recognising an expanded number of stakeholders and their goals expands the possible number of creative combinations of interests, which can lead towards solutions and transformed relations. This is a key to a co-operative or collaborative approach to the conflict.

A conflict presented as two parties disputing the same goal (like territory, control, victory) is so naked there is very little to play on. When the conflict is more complex, constructive deals can be made, like X yielding to Y on one goal, Y to Z on a second, Z to X on a third.
Cat's Cradle e.g Northern Ireland Peace Process.

UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE

Direct Violence – individuals or groups intending to hurt/kill people:
> Hitting, beating
> Stabbing
> Shooting
> Bombing
> Raping

Cultural Violence – images and stories which justify or glorify violence
> Hate Speech
> Xenophobia
> Persecution Complex
> Myths and legends of war heroes
> Religious justifications for war
> 'Chosenness'
> Gender violence
> Civilisational arrogance

Structural Violence
> Cannot be (wholly) explained by the deliberate violence of individuals.
> Built in to custom, practice & organisation ("everyone does it"; "we always did it that way").
> Poverty
> Systems based on exploitation (extreme = slavery)
> Excessive material inequality
> Apartheid

Institutionalised racism
Institutionalised sexism
Colonialism
Corruption, collusion and nepotism (KKN)
Gender
Vertical structural violence includes economic exploitation, political repression and cultural alienation
Horizontal structural violence may keep people together who want to live apart; or keep people apart who want to live together

The EFFECTS OF VIOLENCE cannot be measured by assessing physical damage, death and destruction alone.
Mahatma Gandhi understood this when he said: "I object to violence because when it appears to do good, the good is only temporary. The evil it does is permanent."

Visible and Invisible Effects
In war, people are killed, wounded, raped or displaced. For each one of these VISIBLE effects there are INVISIBLE effects which maybe even more important in the long run. These include:
The hatred that comes from bereavement or mistreatment (for every person killed an average of 10 are bereaved)
Addiction to revenge and victory
Myths of trauma and glory to add to violent culture
Damage to social structure e.g British Colonialism in Zimbabwe which broke up the clan system)
Society loses capacity and will to approach conflicts co-operatively [4]

THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE[5]

The cycle of violence explored here is conceptualized by Dr Scilla Elworthy, director of the British NGO, the Oxford Research Group.

The classic cycle of violence, which ensures that conflict follows conflict, has roughly seven stages. They are all too familiar to anyone who's paid serious attention to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, for example, or violence in central Africa. The agonising death of Yugoslavia has been another showcase for this highly recognisable pattern, and it's now flowing in many of Indonesia's provinces.

This is how the cycle of violence works in the human psyche.

Perhaps you were there, or someone you know witnessed, say, the riots in Kalimantan, or house-burnings in Poso; did you lose a member of your family, a friend perhaps?

The first human reaction to such horror is to feel shocked and frightened, disbelief that such an atrocity has taken place. As people begin to come to terms with what has happened they then feel pain, sometimes agonising pain that dear loved ones have gone. Then the grieving process begins. Sometimes this takes many years – Professor Mari Fitzduff, Professor of Conflict Studies, University of Ulster Northern Ireland, recently explained at a conference in London how the constant trickle of tragedies in the province prevented people from grieving until the let-up in the violence of recent years. "Victims often hold their anger and pain until the war is ended," she said.

As people come to terms with their grief and loss they then feel angry – why did this have to happen, why did they have to die? Over time anger hardens to bitterness. It is most important to understand the difference between them. I might be angry if a car cuts in front of me at a road junction, for example, but only for a short time. I can say, 'I was angry for a couple of minutes'. It makes no sense to say 'I was bitter for a couple of minutes'. Anger hardens into bitterness over time. Bitterness is anger plus memory.

Crucially, bitterness stays in the system, as an emotion constantly demanding that 'something must be done' – something equal to, or worse than, what was done to me. So it fuels the call for revenge: 'they burnt my house down, so let's burn theirs, and a few more besides'. It is so clear, isn't it, that only outcome of this cycle is more violence?

Breaking the cycle

According to Dr Elworthy: "Intervention is needed at the point before anger hardens into bitterness, revenge and retaliation. To be effective it must address the physical, the political and the psychological security of people trapped in violence; all are equally important, and one without the others is insufficiently strong to break the cycle. In every case, the people involved in situations of violence must be supported in the development of their own resources for transformation."

In Indonesia there have been a number of interventions for physical, political and psychological security which are primarily concerned with conflict resolution or mitigation initiatives. This is different from, and complimentary to, the profoundly important role of relief, development and human-rights agencies.
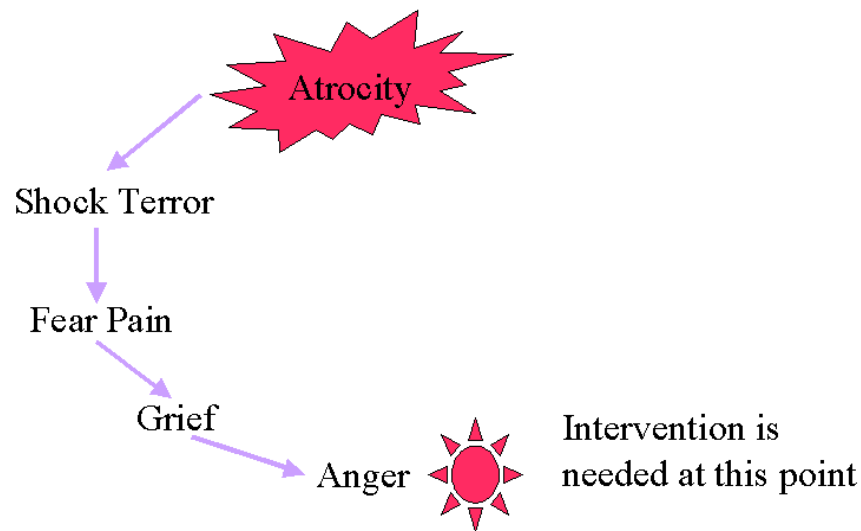
Intervention for physical security

Peacekeeping: Where people have murdered, brutalised or tortured each other, the first necessity is to keep them physically separated. This is often a role of the UN, where it is distinguished from Peacebuilding and Peacemaking, ie working to overcome trauma, restore confidence and encourage reconciliation.

In Indonesia, the Brimob and TNI are often dispatched to a conflict zone, in the aftermath of violence, to put up road blocks and forestall any further attacks. But the record of these organisations is mixed. Their own lack of resources, training and awareness, particularly when it comes to respect for human rights, has often limited their effectiveness. The

International Crisis Group, a Brussels-based think-tank, recently added its voice to those criticising the TNI in particular as counter-productive, its officers accused of ordering their men to provoke or maintain conflicts in order to profit from them.

Protection: When civilians are threatened, driven from their homes, or under attack they can be protected in a number of ways. One form of protection is currently being provided in Aceh by Peace Brigades International (PBI). Trained volunteers accompany local NGO staff in Aceh to go about their daily tasks, providing a witness to any threats of violence and intimidation.

Another example is in Tentena, the mainly Christian town on the shores of Lake Poso which has been caught up in the intercommunal clashes of recent years. The Sintuwo Maroso Youth Convoy (Amsimar) is a group of mainly university graduates providing protection to the 30 or so Muslims who've stayed in their homes rather than fleeing to become refugees. They've stood guard over the local Mosque as well as the market place to protect them from destructive mobs.

Weapons collection: When a province is awash with weapons after violent clashes, effective schemes are needed to collect and destroy the weapons. This job has been undertaken in recent years by the police and TNI, but there has been some criticism of these schemes being ineffective, even counter-productive.

The Malino Agreements for both Ambon and Poso contained weapon collections schemes but residents feared that only a token number of weapons were handed over. Amsimar helped here, too, by campaigning in Tentena for residents to turn in their arms.

However in July 2002 in Tobelo, North Maluku an army weapon-sweeping operation proved a trigger for another round of violence as it was considered unequal by the Moslem community. The message – an intervention aimed at enhancing physical security is unlikely to work unless it takes place in a context where interventions to provide political and psychological security are being carried out at the same time.

One of the most creative schemes put into practice elsewhere in the world, which did address some of these other aspects, was in El Salvador in 1995. This was launched by a group of businessmen whose trucks were being hijacked by heavily armed gangs.

The gangs were formed with guns left over from twelve years of civil war, in response to a major source of insecurity – not having enough to eat. So for every gun surrendered, the businessmen offered food vouchers worth $100. By the end of the second weekend vouchers worth $103,000 had been issued, despite the organisation having only $19,500 available funds. In view of the success of the programme the President of El Salvador intervened to help, and in three years over 10,000 weapons were handed in.

Atrocity

Shock Terror

Fear Pain

Grief

Anger

Peace keepers

Civilian Protection

Weapons Collection

Free Elections

Control of Militias

Responsible Media

Economic Security

Witness

Mediation

Bridge Building

Truth & Reconciliation

Intervention for political security

Law enforcement is a pre-requisite of stabilisation, whether before, during or after major conflict. Above all it must be seen to be fair and impartial. The Poso conflict was triggered when a man who'd been wounded in a fight ran to the Mosque, to rouse fellow Muslims to strike back, instead of the police. Why?

Indonesia urgently needs the police and TNI to win people's trust, and for that, they must reform – a process now being encouraged by international experts and consultants, among them some financed by the British Embassy in Jakarta. They are working with soldiers and police officers to help them emerge as modern, accountable services suitable for a democracy.

These issues are not unique to Indonesia. Unless the legal and coercive instruments which a citizen encounters are perceived as legitimate and independent, then the capacity of the state to implement policies intended to support reconciliation and prosecute human rights violations will be severely undermined. For example, during South Africa's transition to fully democratic post-apartheid politics, a lack of faith in the criminal justice system was a significant obstacle to progressing towards the new political system.

…it was widely perceived that apartheid crimes could not be handed over to the old criminal justice system. The whole edifice of a culture of human rights and equal citizenship rests upon the existence of a 'state of right', which involves an end to the arbitrariness and irrationality of a repressive juridical apparatus and the establishment of due process and fairness.

The words come from a book called The Politics of Memory, published in Britain and dealing with 'transitional justice in democratizing societies' – the relevancy for today's Indonesia is clear.

Free elections: The overthrow of a dictator and installation of democratic process is a monumental task. Indonesia made a promising start in this process. The removal of President Soeharto from power was marked by widespread rioting and victimisation of the Chinese population, in Jakarta, but, by historic standards, accompanied by relatively little loss of life.

It is in new democracies, where people have previously been denied the right to political expression, where we can best gauge the value of free elections. For example, in 1999 the UN Assistance Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) carried out voter education and registration for the referendum in which the East Timorese would decide on independence for what has now become the world's newest country. Despite the increase in violence by militias against the civilian population prior to the election, an astonishing 98% of the electorate voted.

The sharp increase in the level of violence after the election result came out was a backhanded testimony to its true significance. Such an incontrovertible public assertion of the public will could not be ignored, even by those so bitterly opposed to the process.

Control of militias: Armed militias or paramilitaries have to be brought to the negotiating table. This is not necessarily best done by armed forces; in many instances NGOs or respected civilians have succeeded elsewhere in the world.

So, the retired US Senator George Mitchell played a crucial role in brokering the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland, with paramilitary groups on all sides of the conflict included among the parties to the talks. Here in Indonesia it is the Henri Dunant Centre which has succeeded in bringing the GAM to the negotiating table in Geneva for peace talks with the Government.

Responsible media and good communications: An independent media is essential to the prevention of war. But in Indonesia's case, with no broadcasting bill and a weak press law, there are many instances where journalists' newfound freedoms have been exercised without any accompanying sense of responsibility. In some cases, intense media competition has led journalists to respond with provocative reporting to create sensational headlines; in others, a lack of training has led to articles being published, or information being passed on in a form which has had an inflammatory effect in some of Indonesia's conflict stricken provinces.

Rumour can tear through a community and speed up the cycle of violence by increasing people's fear. Take the recent house-burnings on the island of Morotai, in North Maluku. Information has filtered out through rumour; for 350 islands in the province, there is only one daily paper, along with ten weekly tabloids and ten radio stations, almost all of them located and circulated in Ternate.

Even telephone connections are not available in many areas, so people from Malifut or Sahu have to travel for hours to reach the nearest wartel in Jailolo. It all means that, when rumours about the situation reach, for example, the thousands of refugees from North Maluku who still live in camps in Manado, they have no way to assess accurately the conditions in their old homeland and, therefore, to reach an informed decision about the advisability of returning there. Fear and suspicion prevail – people assume that, for everything they do get to hear about, many other things will happen that they don't hear about. They tend to exaggerate the dangers in their minds.

What is being done? To improve the reliability, professionalism and sense of responsibility of the conflict reporting reaching Indonesian readers and audiences, the British Council has backed three Peace Journalism training programmes here, working with some of the leading media organisations such as Antara, Kompas, Jawa Pos, RCTI and SCTV.

Internews, the international media NGO which supports a network of over 40 radio stations across the country, not only supplies its own balanced news service but also sponsors its own Reporting for Peace.

Then there is Communicating for Humanity training, supported by USAID and based on the premise that we are all communicating, all the time, and we all have a share of the responsibility to communicate messages based on peace and mutual understanding.

Musa Kiye, a religious leader from Obi island, made a wall magazine after the training where he put his poems and talks attached in front of the local Mosque. Parada, a community leader from Parigi, central Sulawesi, held a Modero, a traditional dance, which involved 5,000 people, lasted a whole night until seven o'clock in the morning and contained various peace messages within the dancing itself.

Economic security: Another form of political security is economic security. As with the food vouchers linked with the weapons collection scheme in El Salvador, if people are assured that they will be able to meet their basic needs of food and shelter, they are less likely to make trouble.

One useful initiative is community banking, helping local traders to organise their finances and put their lives on a more sustainable footing. Foshal, an NGO in Ternate, set up a cooperative in a traditional market, with more than 1,000 customers, mainly street vendors and vegetable stall-holders.

Intervention for psychological security

Witness: The traumas experienced by victims of atrocity need attention and, if possible, healing. One way in which this is done simply and effectively is by a technique called 'active listening', whereby an independent witness or witnesses gives the traumatised person their full attention for as long as necessary to discharge their fear, grief and anger. This simple technique takes time and care, but done well it prevents anger hardening into bitterness and retaliation.

There are many examples of this across Indonesia. In Manado, in North Sulawesi, refugee children were helped to process their trauma by singing songs, writing poems and drawing pictures of their experiences during the bitter fighting in North Maluku. Although the project run by Peka, a local NGO, has now come to an end, organisers say there was a profound change in children's drawings and paintings over the life of the project, from knives and weapons at the start to normal childhood scenes of houses, gardens and families.

Another group, in Ambon, comprises mothers from either side of what became Indonesia's most notorious Muslim/Christian divide. Called Gerakan Perempuan Peduli, they provide counselling to traumatised victims of the conflict and guidance to other mothers as to how to dissuade their children from joining in the conflict in search of revenge. In practical terms, they also provide the one thing every refugee parent wants above all – help with their children's education.

Mediation: During periods of violence, GPP met in a neutral space in Ambon and kept in touch by telephone. Sometimes, in order for this kind of contact to begin, it requires mediation – a respected, non-judgemental third party to talk to members of conflicting groups and facilitate a meeting. In Ambon, the peace centre of Gadjah Madah University, in Yogyakarta, has been extremely active in providing mediation services.

Bridge-building: There are countless groups and individuals, in conflict-affected areas across Indonesia, doing good work on bridge-building.

The tireless work of religious leaders in Manado is central to why the city, made up of 60% Christians and 40% Moslems has resisted the bloodshed. The capital of North Sulawesi is sandwiched between North Maluku on one side and Poso on the other. BKSUA (Badan Kerjasama Antar Umat Beragama- the Interreligious group association), led by luminaries like Drs Jotje Wala, a Christian priest, studied certain verses both in the Bible and the Qur'an in order to get good understanding of both holy books and to be able to give information to their followers about the peaceful messages in both great religions.

Another example of bridge-building is Bantaya, a local NGO in Palu, central Sulawesi, who gathered together local farmers to set aside land to lend to refugees from Poso, and houses for them to live in. It meant they could build a life for themselves and have a measure of independence, cultivating and selling their own crops of corn, chilli and pepper.

So it was a form of economic – therefore political – security, but it also proved to them that someone cared about them enough to look after them. Add to this the efforts of local Christian priests to marshal their followers to help clean and rebuild a local Mosque, and you have a community actively engaged in bridge-building – an important investment in preventing the Poso conflict from being imported into Palu in the minds of those affected by it.

Truth and reconciliation: From South Africa to Chile, in South America, over 20 Truth and Reconciliation commissions around the world have played a vital role in allowing people to address their fears and resentments, in public, in a safe and controlled environment.

The obvious case for truth and reconciliation, in the eyes of many observers of conflict in Indonesia, is the slaughter of 1965-66 in which as many as a million people may have died, in the name of opposition to communism. Evidence which has come to light recently in the US strengthens the suspicion of CIA involvement in providing lists of names of suspected PKI members, and recently the sons and daughters of communists have been speaking out, urging Indonesia to come to terms with this brutal episode in its past.

It suggests something important about conflict. Many people wrongly suppose that, in order to get peace, victims need to be prepared to forget about what happened to them. This is to set too high a barrier – what is needed is something to be done about it, whether justice, or compensation, or simply someone being prepared to listen and take seriously what they have to say.

Without this, a society cannot move on; the violence and trauma of the past is never fully expunged, and it carries the dread possibility that people could, some day, resort to the same thing again; it has not been decisively removed from the agenda.

Transforming the cycle of violence

Octagons arranged in a circle around the central text "Interwoven process at all levels of society": Civilian violence containment and monitoring; Protection of vulnerable by foreign witness volunteers; Gun collection schemes; Active listening for experiences of the traumatised; Projects to help people make a living; Peace Journalism training; Truth and reconciliation commission; Restorative justice programs; Inter-community peace-building; Trained peacekeepers to enforce ceasefire.

UNDERSTANDING PEACE

Peace is a difficult word. At peace. Peaceful. Peace and love. At best it suggests calm, an absence of conflict. At worst it is an ironic reference to an age of dreamy irresponsibility.

A society genuinely at peace is not one where there is never any conflict. Just as inner conflict leads us to examine and bring out the best of ourselves so social conflict is useful for putting existing policies to the test and allowing constant evolution. A society capable of living peacefully is one which is good at handling these conflicts non-violently.[6] So there is no direct or collective violence and there is the possibility for all to fulfil their potential. It is a condition as well as a process. [7]

Peace = non-violence + creativity

Non-violence stands for something most people engage in every day. Self-assertion, trying to reach goals without violence, without intending to harm or hurt anybody.
Non-violence entails MORE than just not being violent. That could include being passive, doing nothing, resigning to one's fate.
To handle conflicts without violence needs POSITIVE NON-VIOLENCE in thought, speech and action and **Creativity** meaning to develop new ideas.[6]

Examples:
   (**i) The Lives of the Prophets:**
   Mohammed laid down his cloak in the Ka'ba at Mecca to forestall violence in a quarrel over who had the right to carry a sacred black stone. It meant everyone could lift a corner of the cloak with the stone placed in the middle.

   Christ intervened to prevent the stoning of an adulteress by saying: "let him who is without sin cast the first stone."

   The **Buddha** intervened to prevent a war breaking out over water. He reminded the parties that the water was worth very little, whereas the lives of their warriors were 'beyond price'.

   (ii) Rat in a maze:
A rat is in a maze and cannot find the way out. From outside his brother and sister rats keep shouting advice:

Go west!   No, go east!   Go south!   No, go north!

Then suddenly he looks up and realises that the maze has no roof.
Quick as a flash he climbs the nearest wall where he can see the way out for himself.
He scampers across the top of the bricks to freedom.

ANALYSIS:
This was a situation that was blocked. All along everybody thought the answer lay in having the rat perform the right combination of movements in those four directions – across the floor. The horizontal plane across which the rat was to make those movements was assumed to be a 'given' which could not change. It was changing this parameter – an act of creativity – which unblocked the situation.

Where does CHANGE come from?
   The rat's story suggests that the way to change things may not be most likely to occur to the most prominent or experienced advocates of familiar directions. In a conflict, it follows that leaders may not be the most likely source of ideas capable of changing the situation.

   News after all is largely concerned with telling us what has changed – something new. So journalists cannot afford to concentrate exclusively on the ideas of

established leaders while covering conflicts. Leadership may consist of picking up useful ideas from other people and putting them into practice.

Social negotiation

Mediators have observed over many years that when a 'peace deal' is signed between parties it has much more chance of working in practice if preceded by several years of 'social negotiation'

Social negotiation means preparing populations on the ground for the changes they will have to make if they are to live in peace with their enemies.

This is where journalists constantly exploring and assessing peace ideas can help to create the conditions for peace while also bringing their readers and audiences important and interesting stories.

Who is peace for?

A commonly made point is "Peace for whom?"

Peace *to be* peace, must give something to everyone.

If it is for one party/person and against another, it cannot be peace.

This is not to say that a peace agreement will give all the parties everything they demanded.

Part of the peace process may be to help them reassess their demands in light of what they need and what they could live with.

Each may end up with something different from what it/they thought it/they wanted in the first place.

MEDIA AND CONFLICT

Peace Journalism is based on the proposition that the choices journalists make while covering conflicts tend inescapably either to expand or contract the space available for society at large to imagine and work towards peaceful outcomes to conflicts.

A media-savvy world

There is a well-established belief, especially in English-speaking countries in the West, that journalists can adopt a third position: "we just report the facts". The problem with this has become steadily more obvious in a media-savvy world.

Many people know how to create facts for journalists to report. Most governments think of their actions and statements as part of a 'media strategy' which cannot be separated from the business of running their country's affairs.

Even members of the public have been 'immersed' in the news, as readers, listeners and viewers, for long enough to know instinctively how it works.

Parties in a conflict plan their next move based on what the media will cover

It means "the facts" do not crop up 'innocently', waiting for journalists to come and report them. The reporting, and a calculation or instinct about its effects – on public opinion, for instance – is always already built in to the facts even as they occur.
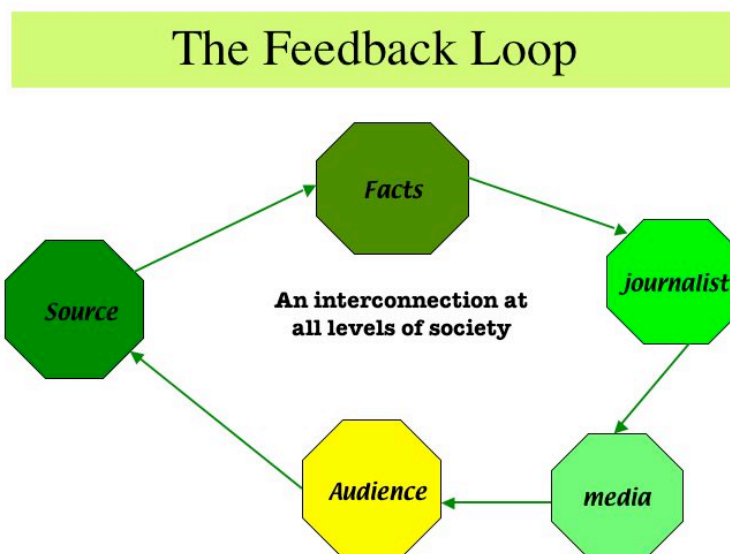
How can people know what facts to create, or how to present them, in order to be reported in a way they believe will further their interests? Only from their experience of reading, watching and listening to countless stories in the past. It means every time a journalist reports something, it adds another layer to the collective understanding of how journalists are likely to respond in similar situations.

The Feedback Loop

In this way journalists influence the kind of facts likely to be provided for them to report in the future – the future behaviour of, say, parties to a conflict. Prove that they are prepared to "report the facts" as parties thought they would, and they provide an incentive to these and other parties to provide similar facts on another occasion.

Journalists, their sources and their audiences are counterparts in a FEEDBACK LOOP of cause and effect.

So the claim "we just report the facts" gives an incomplete account of the journalist's role. To add in the consequences both before and after the facts occurred, as we do here, is to give a fuller picture of the journalist's responsibilities.[9]

The Feedback Loop

Facts

Source

journalist

An interconnection at
all levels of society

Audience

media

All journalism is an intervention
The choice is about the ethics of that intervention. The questions are:
      "what effect is my intervention likely to have on the prospects for peace?"
      "What am I going to do about it?"

A literacy of peace
After the deadliest and most violent century in human history, the world is all too well schooled in the language of war and hatred. Over time Peace Journalism can help society at large think and speak about non-violence and creativity when dealing with conflicts.

Objectivity
The "Big O" can be an important ideal to aim for even if it is impossible fully to attain. If it means 'reporting as we see it' rather than deliberately distorting what we see in the service of another agenda, then it is fully compatible with Peace Journalism.

If it means "just reporting the facts" and not taking responsibility for the likely consequences of particular reporting decisions, then it can be deeply damaging.

Objectivity can amount to a proposition that the journalist is a neutral, uninvolved, unfeeling mirror in which reality is reflected, "the way it is". There are two main problems with this:

To demand something impossible. Journalists, whether they acknowledge them or not, will always have feelings and opinions in response to the story they are covering. Trying to ignore or section off those feelings and opinions can lead them to distort, without fully acknowledging it even to themselves, decisions they make about what to cover and how to cover it.

If not acknowledged, this bias becomes hidden behind time-honoured conventions of news language, which camouflage opinions as facts. ('Said to be'; 'thought to be'; 'it's being seen as'. Who says; who thinks; who sees?) The reader, listener or viewer cannot identify, inspect or assess the bias; it seeps in to the way the conflict is constructed.

Objectivity can also produce a superficial, surface narrative – 'that's the way it is'. By obscuring the way it came to be, it can prevent us from seeing how it could come to be different, making change seem impossible and cutting down the options for creative solutions.

The new world of 'global media'

The rise of 24-hour rolling news stations and the internet has made the Feedback Loop of cause and effect, connecting journalists with their sources and audiences, bigger, faster and more powerful than ever before. An event or statement anywhere in the world can trigger almost immediate consequences anywhere else.

Consequences of competition

At the same time, there are ever-more media voices. It can mean they have to shout louder to be heard and that can act to over-simplify, distort or exaggerate what can be said.

What Are Journalists For?

The growing competition means journalists often need a sexy clip, quote or eye-catching picture to sell the story – all requirements of the market.
But is that enough in itself?
Surely it is up to journalists to use their freedom in the broader public interest.
What about when lives are at stake?
Is journalism purely as entertainment or an interesting career?
Don't we all need an ethical basis for journalism; to use the skills of getting the sexy clip, quote or eye-catching picture for the greater good?

What are the obstacles facing journalists?

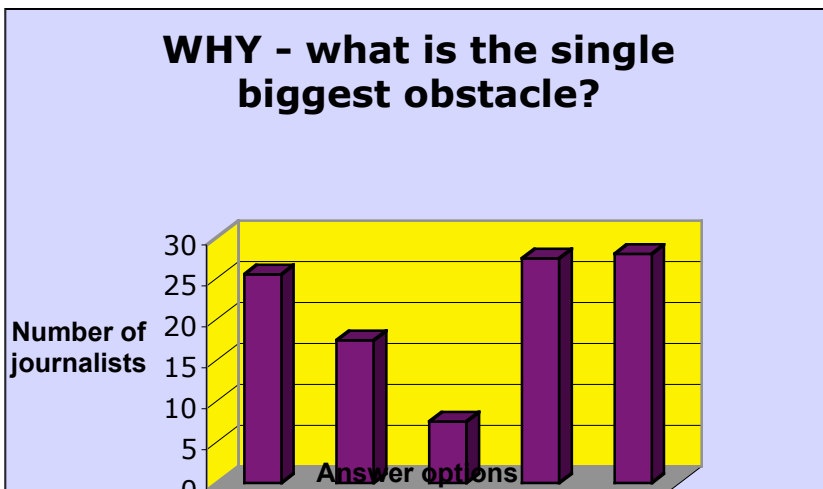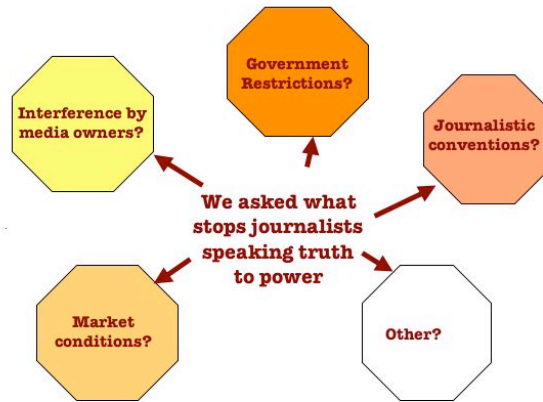A Reporting the World survey asked journalist what prevents them from doing their job. To read the full results visit www.reportingtheworld.org

Nearly 60% of journalists who responded believe that the industry today is not performing its function and most blame either journalistic conventions or market conditions.

Overall, American journalists have the lowest opinion of their own industry.

More than 100 journalists at all levels of the industry took part, including 11 in editorial positions, from 64 different news organisations in 25 countries. The aim of the survey

questions was to get them to assess how far the media in their own country contribute to the vitality of democratic processes; and, if they fail to do so, what is the biggest impediment. Was it any of the following?

Government Restrictions?

Interference by media owners?

Journalistic conventions?

We asked what stops journalists speaking truth to power

Market conditions?

Other?

Are journalists speaking truth to power?

Number of journalists

60
40
20
0

a   b   c   d

Answer options

WHY - what is the single biggest obstacle?

Number of journalists

30
25
20
15
10
5
0

Answer options

Journalists were also asked for any comments about particular difficulties in doing their own work as they believe it should be done. A full discussion of their responses is in the document on the website.

Some of the main impediments, to journalism fulfilling its function as an essential civic tool in a democracy, were:
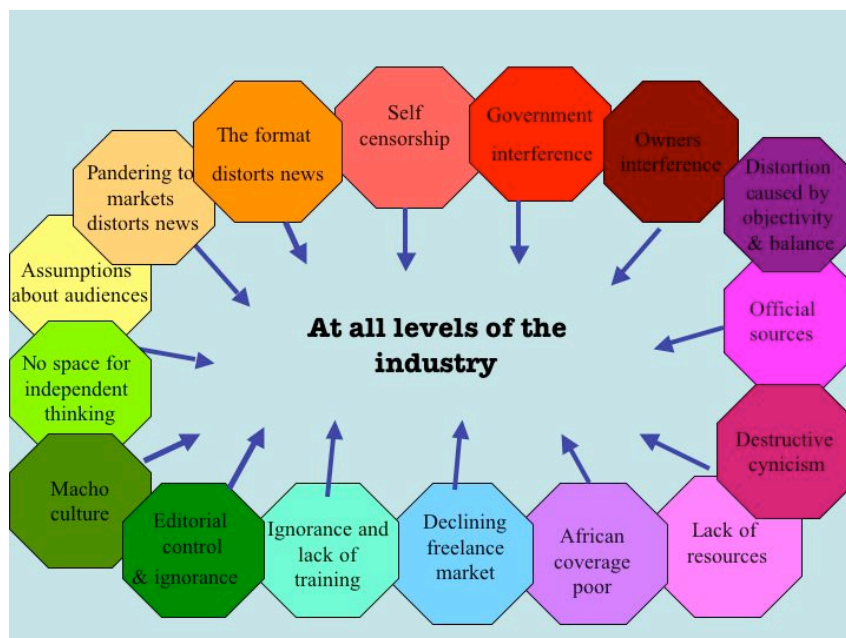
EDITORIAL CONTROL & IGNORANCE
With a system that promotes conformists to editorial rank.

A MACHO CULTURE
In which new ideas and new sources are unlikely to take root.

NO SPACE FOR INDEPENDENT THINKING
No premium on questioning basic assumptions about what news is and where it comes from.

ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT WHAT AUDIENCES/PEOPLE WANT
Often based on marketing methods like focus groups and polls which may form a more superficial connection with readers and audiences than news about important issues can do.

PANDERING TO MARKETS DISTORTS THE NEWS
News calibrated to these assumptions abdicates the journalist's own share of responsibility for shaping the tastes and attitudes of readers and audiences.

THE FORMAT DISTORTS NEWS
Whether half-hour or 24-hour, news is being shaped to fit the format – with a consequent distortion in content and context.

SELF-CENSORSHIP
Many journalists internalise the constraints under which they work and do not even make full use of the scope that does exist for independent journalistic endeavour.

GOVERNMENT INTERFERENCE AND CENSORSHIP
Still prevalent in many parts of the world – overt in developing countries; covert and therefore, in some respects, more insidious in developed countries.

OWNERS' INTERFERENCE
All 175 of Rupert Murdoch's newspaper editors around the world started running bellicose editorials, in favour of the US-led war on Iraq, at the same time. Coincidence?

DISTORTION CAUSED BY 'BALANCE' AND OBJECTIVITY
Journalistic conventions can themselves exert a distorting effect by shoehorning opinion into preconceived frames.

OFFICIAL SOURCES
The most pervasive and most limiting convention is that the news agenda moves in lockstep with that of official sources in one's own country.

DESTRUCTIVE CYNICISM
Setting out with a stock assumption that 'they're all knaves anyway' distorts political coverage by constricting the space for higher expectations to be either dashed or met.

LACK OF RESOURCES
Globalisation has shrunk workforces and eroded job security in the media as in so many industries; the sheer technical demands placed on journalists now 'steal' the time otherwise available for critical and creative thinking and working.

AFRICAN COVERAGE POOR
The biggest gap in global coverage offered by media in the developed world is still of African affairs – and it may be getting worse.

DECLINING FREELANCE MARKET
The market for freelances coming up with hard-hitting original material is in steep decline.

IGNORANCE AND LACK OF TRAINING
For many in the developing world, training is badly needed to help them make use of newfound freedoms and to do so responsibly.

A brief history of Peace Journalism
Johan Galtung, Peace Professor and Director of the TRANSCEND Peace and Development Network, first began using the term 'Peace Journalism' in the 1970s. Galtung noticed that a great deal of War Journalism was based on the same assumptions as Sports Journalism. There was a focus on 'winning as the only thing' in a zero-sum game of two parties.
He suggested that Peace Journalism would be more like Health Journalism. A good Health Correspondent would describe a patient's battle against cancerous cells eating away at the body.

But he or she would also tell us about the causes of cancer – lifestyle, environment, genetic make-up etc - as well as the full range of possible cures and preventative measures.

Working with Galtung himself, Conflict and Peace Forums (CPF), with Director Indra Adnan, based near London, England, took up his original model and developed it through creative dialogues with journalists and other professionals, mainly in a series of annual conferences at Taplow Court.

Reporting the World continues to organise more general discussions on the ethics of reporting conflict both in the UK and around the world.

Publications
The Peace Journalism Option (1998)
What Are Journalists For? (1999)
Using Conflict Analysis in Reporting (2000).
Reporting the World concept document (February 2001)
Reporting the World - the Ethics of Reporting Conflict (January 2002) (ISBN 0-9542064-0-01).

Training
The authors have let PJ training dialogues with journalists in the Middle East, the Caucasus, Central Asia, Nepal, Norway and Indonesia.

In Indonesia September 2002, Jake and Annabel worked with the British Council to run seven two-day training courses and a five-day field trip reaching over 200 journalists. Figures show that 52.23% rated the training as excellent; 42.68% said it was good. While the trainers were rated excellent by 58.60% of the participants and 38.22% said they were good.

Education
They have devised and teach an annual MA courses - Peace-Building Media, Theory & Practice - through the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney, from October, 2000.
MA module in the Ethics of Reporting Conflict at Cardiff Journalism School, Cardiff University UK and bi-annual Peace Journalism courses with the TRANSCEND online Peace University (TPU).

This comment came from one of our Sydney 2003 MA students: "I'd like to thank you guys for giving me such a wonderful framework from which to continue building the way I see journalism. I began the course not really knowing what to expect, but feeling extremely disillusioned with the journalism profession. Now I feel inspired and motivated to change it from within."

Who else is doing this work?
Here are some examples of those around the world who have taken up the Peace Journalism baton and would benefit from this specially created video material:

Peace Journalism prize in Indonesia after a media activist downloaded the Peace Journalism Option and used it to set up a prize for Indonesian newspapers.

Peace Journalism taught by media NGO LSPP, backed by AJI, the Independent Journalists' Association in Indonesia

Peace Journalism undergraduate course at Earlham College, Richmond, USA

Peace Journalism exhibit at Peace Museum, Caen, France

Media Peace prize in Australia run by UNA Australia

Reporting for Peace, training workshops run in various global locations by a South African couple, Fiona Lloyd and Hugh Lewin

Medios para la Paz, Colombia developed Peace Journalism concepts, glossary for covering conflicts responsibly, run training courses for journalists

Media Peace Centre South Africa

What does a Peace Journalist do? This is the Original table by Prof Johan Galtung [10]

PEACE/CONFLICT JOURNALISM	WAR/VIOLENCE JOURNALISM
I. PEACE/CONFLICT-ORIENTATED explore conflict formation, x parties, y goals, z issues general "win, win" orientation open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture making conflicts transparent giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding see conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity humanisation of all sides; more so the worse the weapons proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurs focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)	**I. WAR/VIOLENCE ORIENTATED** Focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation Closed space, closed time; causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone making wars opaque/secret "us-them" journalism, propaganda, voice, for "us" see "them" as the problem, focus on who prevails in war dehumanisation of "them"; more so the worse the weapon reactive: waiting for violence before reporting focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)
II. TRUTH-ORIENTATED Expose untruths on all sides / uncover all cover-ups	**II. PROPAGANDA-ORIENTATED** Expose "their" untruths / help "our" cover-ups/lies
III. PEOPLE-ORIENTATED Focus on suffering all over; on women, aged children, giving voice to voiceless Give name to all evil-doers Focus on people peace-makers	**III. ELITE ORIENTATED** Focus on "our" suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece give name to their evil-doers focus on elite peace-makers
IV. SOLUTION ORIENTATED Peace = non-violence + creativity Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war Focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society Aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation	**IV. VICTORY ORIENTATED** Peace = victory + ceasefire Conceal peace-initiative, before victory is at hand Focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society Leaving for another war, return if the old flares up again

What does this mean in practice?

1. AVOID portraying a conflict as consisting of only two parties, contesting the same goal(s). The logical outcome is for one to win and the other to lose.

INSTEAD, try to **DISAGGREGATE the two parties into many smaller groups, pursuing many goals,** opening up more creative potential for a range of outcomes. **And ask yourself –** who else is involved?

2. AVOID accepting stark distinctions between 'self' and 'other'. These can be used to build the sense that another party is a 'threat' or 'beyond the pale' of civilised behaviour. Both key justifications for violence.

INSTEAD **seek the 'other' in the 'self' and vice versa.** If a party is presenting itself as 'the goodies', ask questions about how different its behaviour really is to that it ascribes to 'the baddies' – isn't it ashamed of itself?

3. AVOID treating a conflict as if it is only going on in the place and at the time that violence is occurring.

INSTEAD try to **trace the links and consequences for people in other places now and in the future.** Ask:
    Who are all the people with a stake in the outcome?
    What are they doing to influence the conflict?
    Ask yourself what will happen if…?
    What lessons will people draw from watching these events unfold as part of a global audience? How will they enter the calculations of parties to future conflicts near and far?

4. AVOID assessing the merits of a violent action or policy of violence in terms of its visible effects only.

INSTEAD **try to find ways of reporting on the invisible effects,** eg the long-term consequences of psychological damage and trauma, perhaps increasing the likelihood that those affected will be violent in future, either against other people or, as a group, against other groups or other countries.

5. AVOID letting parties define themselves by simply quoting their leaders' restatements of familiar demands or positions.

INSTEAD **enquire deeper into goals:**
    How are people on the ground affected by the conflict in everyday life?
    What do they want changed?
    Is the position stated by their leaders the only way or the best way to achieve the changes they want?
    This may help to empower parties to clarify and articulate their goals and make creative outcomes more likely.

6. AVOID concentrating always on what divides the parties, the differences between what they say they want.

INSTEAD try **asking questions which may reveal areas of common ground** and leading your report with answers which suggest that some goals may be shared or at least compatible, after all.

7. AVOID only reporting the violent acts and describing 'the horror'.

If you exclude everything else you suggest that the only explanation for violence is previous violence (revenge); the only remedy, more violence (coercion/punishment).

INSTEAD **show how people have been blocked and frustrated** or deprived in everyday life as a way of explaining how the conditions for violence are being produced.

8. AVOID blaming someone for 'starting it'**.**

INSTEAD **try looking at how shared problems and issues are leading to consequences which all the parties say they never intended**.

9. AVOID focusing exclusively on the suffering, fears and grievances of only one party.

This divides the parties into "villains" and "victims" and suggests that coercing or punishing the villains represents a solution.

INSTEAD **treat as equally newsworthy the suffering, fears and grievances of all sides.**

10. AVOID 'victimising' language like "devastated"; "defenceless"; "pathetic"; "tragedy" which only tells us what has been done *to* and could be done *for* a group of people (by others). This disempowers them and limits the options for change.

INSTEAD **report on what has been done and could be done *by* the people.**
Don't just ask them how they feel, also ask them how they are coping and what do they think?
Can they suggest any solutions?

11. AVOID the imprecise use of emotive words to describe what has happened to people.
   "Genocide" literally means the wiping-out of an entire people – in UN terminology today, the killing of more than half a million people.
    "Tragedy" is a form of drama, originally Greek, in which someone's fault or weakness ultimately proves his or her undoing.
   "Assassination" is the murder of a head of state.
   "Massacre" – the deliberate killing of people known to be unarmed and defenceless. Are we sure? Or do we not know? Might these people have died in battle?
   "Systematic" eg raping, or forcing people from their homes. Has it really been organised in a deliberate pattern or have there been a number of unrelated, albeit extremely nasty incidents?

INSTEAD **always be precise about what we know**. Do not minimise suffering but reserve the strongest language for the gravest situations or you will beggar the language and help to justify disproportionate responses which escalate the violence.

12**.** AVOID demonising adjectives like "vicious", "cruel", "brutal", "barbaric".

These always describe one party's view of what another party has done. To use them puts the journalist on that side and helps to justify an escalation of violence.

INSTEAD, **report what you know about the wrongdoing** and give as much information as you can about the reliability of other people's reports or descriptions of it. If it is still being investigated, say so, as a caution that the truth may not yet be known.

13. AVOID demonising labels like "terrorist"; "extremist"; "fanatic" or "fundamentalist".

These are always given by "us" to "them". No-one ever uses them to describe himself or herself and so for a journalist to use them is always to take sides. They mean the person is unreasonable so it seems to make less sense to reason (negotiate) with them.

INSTEAD **try calling people by the names they give themselves**. Or be more precise in your descriptions, eg "bombers" or, for the attacks of September 11, 2001, "suicide hijackers", are both less partisan and give more information than "terrorists".

14. AVOID focusing exclusively on the human rights abuses, misdemeanours and wrongdoings of <u>only</u> one side.

INSTEAD try to name ALL wrongdoers and treat equally seriously allegations made by all sides in a conflict. Treating seriously does not mean taking at face value, but instead making equal efforts to establish whether any evidence exists to back them up, treating the victims with equal respect and the chances of finding and punishing the wrongdoers as being of equal importance.

15. AVOID making an opinion or claim seem like an established fact.

(Osama bin Laden, *said to be* responsible for the attack on NewYork….")

See also "thought to be"; "it's being seen as" etc.

INSTEAD tell your readers or your audience who said what. ("Osama bin Laden, accused by America of ordering the attack on New York….")

That way you avoid implicitly signing yourself and your news service up to the allegations made by one party in the conflict against another.

16. AVOID greeting the signing of documents by leaders, which bring about military victory or ceasefire, as necessarily creating peace.

INSTEAD try to report on the issues which remain and which may still lead people to commit further acts of violence in the future.

Ask - what is being done to strengthen the means on the ground to handle and resolve conflict non-violently, to address development or structural needs in the society and to create a culture of peace?

17. AVOID waiting for leaders on 'our' side to suggest or offer solutions.

INSTEAD **pick up and explore peace initiatives wherever they come from**. Ask questions to politicians, for example, about ideas put forward by grassroots organisations. Assess peace perspectives against what you know about the issues the parties are really trying to address, do not simply ignore them because they do not coincide with established positions. Include images of a solution, however partial – they may help to stimulate dialogue.

PARTISAN PERCEPTIONS

A common factor in any conflict scenario is the perceptions people have about the goals of others – what do they want and what does it mean for me? In the scenarios outlined below one aim of a PJ approach is to help the parties to re-examine these perceptions in the light of new information. To see where new information would be most helpful, one useful technique is to draw up a 'Partisan Perceptions Table'. [11]

An imaginary example
A – a province with an independence movement - and B – a country - are antagonistic parties in a conflict. The population of province A includes a number of settlers from elsewhere in country B. Many have a different culture and religion.

Each has its own important 'facts' and its own ways of seeing the important 'facts' of the other side. These form the basis of their partisan perceptions of each other.

Important 'facts' that A sees as crucial	How B sees the important 'facts' of A
This is our land	They chose to become part of country B
It belonged to our ancestors	A primitive belief, now offered as an excuse
All A's resources belong to us	A selfish attitude which goes against our laws
Our culture and religion are under threat	A's culture & religion cannot be allowed to stand in the way of development
Only independence is right for us	Self-government within country B is more than adequate
Important 'facts' that B sees as crucial	**How A sees the important 'facts' of B**
We are all one nation	They brought us into country B against our will
All country B's resources belong to all citizens	They are stealing our resources
We need to keep province A to ensure our national and regional security.	That is not our problem
We need to settle people from overcrowded areas to where there is more space	They are trying to crowd us out
All citizens of B have the right to live in a modern country where diverse cultures & religions flourish	They want to stop us living in our own way

SCENARIOS

1. Before Direct Violence

There is TENSION and DISAGREEMENT between A and B but no one is killing each other.

Option 1 - Do not cover it

Problem – the independence movement become frustrated if they feel no-one is listening to them. They may escalate their actions until someone does listen.

By waiting for an outbreak of violence before we report, we risk sending the message that to get attention for their grievances people should be violent. Not just to the activists of province A but anyone else who happens to be watching.

Option 2 - Talk it up

Problem - presenting the conflict between A and B as a bloodbath in the making risks inflaming the fear or mistrust each party has about the other and strengthening their partisan perceptions.

Option 3 – Peace Journalism approach

   a) How seriously do indigenous people and settlers living in province A view the prospect of an outbreak of violence?
   b) How are they expressing their fears, resentments and grievances?
   c) Is it making people shun each other, stop trading with each other, discriminate in giving people jobs/contracts etc (structural violence) or insult and slander each other (cultural violence)?
   d) Are there individuals working at the grass roots to promote understanding, break down stereotypes and foster a dialogue about ways of living together?
   e) Could they appear in your coverage as "heroes in the community"?

1. Beginning Of Violence

POLARISATION - As tensions rise still further and the conflict develops, goals harden into demands and positions.

Violent incidents occur and moderates on all sides become POLARISED. People tend to ask themselves "who will protect me?" and find the only answer is "my own kind".

Option 1 – Use the most extreme statements from both sides to make the most dramatic story.

Problem - risks demonising each side in the eyes of the other and entrenching stereotypes.

Option 2 – Compare demands and ask politicians if they see room for compromise.

Problem – leaves the two-party, zero-sum structure intact. Parties can change the situation only if prepared to accept less of things they already believe they want.

Option 3 – A Peace Journalism approach.
First, try drawing up a 'Partisan Perceptions' table as above, enabling you to:

a. Enquire beyond the parties' stated POSITIONS and DEMANDS to identify what they really want.

Can connect us with people's experience of the issues in everyday life. Such as:
 Why do people province A want to control "their own" resources?
 Do they all aspire to become miners or oil workers or do they want the proceeds spent on roads, hospitals, schools etc?
 Why do settlers from country B feel so afraid of the indigenous people of province A "imposing" their religion and culture on life in the province?
 Maybe most would be happy to do their own thing and to allow for some rights of patrimony to continue to be decided by settler communities for themselves? You could ask!

b. Overcome your own BIAS. So you are not just relying on your impressions of the rights and wrongs of the conflict, but going through a systematic process of mapping the conflict.

c. Help to DISAGGREGATE the conflict, identifying many parties with many goals, opening up greater potential for creative solutions.

From the table, some important 'facts' seen as crucial by one side may bear upon the interests and behaviour of other parties. If B believes national and regional security is at risk if A gains independence, then other countries in the region can appear as part of the problem and – perhaps – part of the solution.

3. Parties not communicating

Journalists, contacting each side in turn for comments or stories, may be among the only messengers between different groups. A rare occasion when the role of the journalist is analogous to that of a mediator.

If you have drawn up a 'Partisan Perceptions' table as above, you can then go to A and 'unpack' its demands and position, instead asking questions about what it really wants.

Then when you go to B you may be able to tell them something they did not already know from their understanding of A's position. This can add information which helps to change one side's partisan perceptions of another.

4. What if you can only report on one party?

Suppose you are assigned to report on all the statements being made by one party to a conflict, eg the Army HQ of country B.

Parties to a conflict always justify violence, to themselves and the outside world, in pursuit of a greater good, by means of violent culture. What do you do?

Option 1 – Take the justification and the greater good at face value.
Questions focusing on the need to step up violence to achieve stated aims, can include suggesting escalations (egging them on).

Example: In an interview with a guerrilla commander, a reporter asked: "What will you do if your present tactics do not achieve your aim? Have you considered political assassinations in the capital?"

During NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia, in 1999, many reporters would ask: "You'll never do this with air power alone – when are you going to send in ground troops?"

Problem – further entrenches partisan perceptions, provides an incentive to violence with the promise of being reported as right and justified; even suggests new ways of being violent.

Option 2 – Greet the party's justification and aspiration to bring about a greater good with ridicule, scorn and contempt.

Example: a UK newspaper headed one critical piece on the same conflict: "NATO - with a moral purpose? Don't make me laugh!"

Problem – makes no contribution to any incentive for change because the party concludes it is not worth trying to provide you with a 'good news story'. Just swaps round who are the 'good guys' and who are the 'bad guys'. With only two parties on the map the conflict remains in stalemate.

Option 3 – the PJ approach.

a) Focus on likely outcomes of violence:
by taking the greater good on its merits and asking whether the existing (violent) policies of country B's Army represent the best way to achieve it?
Are they storing up trouble for the future, including a likely recurrence of the same problem?

b) Is there shame?
The Army may be presenting itself as the "goodies," the other side as the "baddies".

Your approach is not to say "No, you are really the baddies" but to suggest "Come on, you're supposed to be the goodies, how can you justify (say) shooting civilians?"

Remember, if someone is all bad, they can't be ashamed of themselves.

c) Creativity
You can introduce new ideas by asking questions which raise them with the party concerned.

Examples could begin with "Have you thought of…." or "This reminds me of…"

d) Preventative
The 'road to Basra' question. In 1991, a column of Iraqi tanks, lorries and various other vehicles was attacked by the US air force while retreating from Kuwait City to Basra in southern Iraq. One officer described it as a 'turkey shoot' and hundreds were killed. As they were withdrawing in defeat and disarray when attacked it could be described as a massacre.

Then in 1999 NATO said it would only stop bombing Yugoslavia when a "verifiable withdrawal" of army units from Kosovo was already underway.

The preventative peace journalism question at NATO headquarters was: "At what point in moving along a road does, say, a column of Yugoslav army tanks cease to be a legitimate target for bombing and become the start of a verifiable withdrawal? You'll have to sort it out because after all, we don't want another 'Road to Basra' do we?"

Eventually NATO did stop bombing before the start of the withdrawal, perhaps mindful that 'turkey shoots' would be greeted, at least by some journalists, as unacceptable from a party presenting itself as 'the goodies'.

5. Reporting On Massacres
Reports begin filtering through to the press corps at Army HQ of a massacre by separatists from province A in territory so remote it would take at least a day for you to get there. What do you do?

Option 1: Splash it as an atrocity, demanding urgent action, likely to change the course of war.

Problem: Massacres have a long and nasty history of turning out to be either made up or, if based on the truth, looking very different when the full picture is finally revealed.

Without all the details, such an incident can appear the fault of one party, whereas, aspects which later emerge can make them appear as an unintended consequence of conflict.

Option 2: Ignore it.

Problem: Not practical since other reporters will be filing on it and your editor will want to know why you are not following suit!

You risk the party which originated the reports stepping up its efforts to get your attention, perhaps with more extreme or more violent means.

Option 3: The PJ Approach
Report the reports, ensuring that your audience knows as much as you can tell them about:
    Who originated the reports, who they told, how and in what circumstances?
    Draw attention to any areas of continuing uncertainty.
    Is there any police, forensic or other independent investigation underway?

Is there any particular aspect the investigation is looking at?
Was anyone else there at the time besides the people who originated the reports you've seen? What do they say about it? If we don't know, say in your story, "we are still waiting to hear from them."

Examples:

1. IRAQ/KUWAIT
In 1991 the US Congress heard from a young Kuwaiti woman who said she'd been working as a nurse in the main hospital in Kuwait City where Iraqi occupying soldiers were switching off incubators, leaving premature babies to die.

Then President Bush (the first) referred to this in several speeches urging an attack on Iraq. The 'nurse' turned out to be the teenaged daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador to Washington. She had not been to Kuwait in years. Nurses who were there said after the war that the reports were false.

2. YUGSOLAVIA
The Racak 'massacre' was a pivotal moment in justifying NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia to world opinion. Several dozen Albanians were found by William Walker, a senior official of the US State Department and chief of the OSCE mission to Kosovo, lying dead by the side of the main street of Racak, a village in the province. Walker was filmed on the street, inspecting the bodies, one morning in January 1999.

According to some reports, however, the day before, there was a battle in nearby woods between Serbian armed police and fighters from the Kosovo Liberation Army. The evidence, in the form of the bodies, was not secured – journalists, among others, were able to contaminate it before a proper investigation could be carried out. A study by a Finnish forensic team produced highly equivocal results. Were the dead men defenceless civilians – or slain in battle? We still don't know.

3. SOUTH AFRICA
In 1994, a 'massacre' took place in Mahehle, KwaZulu/Natal, South Africa, part of ongoing violence between the African National Congress and the rival Inkatha Freedom Party, in the run-up to South Africa's first democratic election.

A group of teenagers camping out in a disused hut on the outskirts of a village were shot dead late one night. It turned out that their campfire had caused some locals to panic, thinking an attack on the village was being planned and alerting vigilantes from the IFP.

A police investigation concluded that the guns had been fired from a considerable distance, not something one would expect if the killers knew those inside the hut were unarmed.

In this case the information switched the focus away from blame – seeing the violent acts of one party as 'the problem' – to the conflict as the problem, leading to errors of judgement with consequences no-one intended, including the killing of children.

Finally you could always use your own report to remind readers, listeners or viewers of past 'massacres'– like the ones discussed here - which turned out to be either contrived or misdescribed on the basis of a genuine misunderstanding.

6. Reporting on Refugees
You are sent to a border crossing just inside an independent Republic – C, abutting province A - where several thousand indigenous people have appeared as refugees, they say, from the brutality of country B's armed forces.

Option 1 – A time honoured method. March round the refugee camp calling out "anyone here been raped and speaks English?" Get people to tell you the most heartrending stories and to give the most graphic descriptions of the violence they endured.

Problem – People do not leave their homes except for serious reasons. But history tells us that refugees almost invariably give exaggerated accounts of the situation which forced them to flee.

By reproducing these accounts you risk spreading alarm among other people in the same territory who may then leave their homes; and providing 'justification' for a disproportionate analysis of the urgency of the situation and a violent response against the supposed perpetrators.

Option 2 – Play it down. Approach the assignment determined to disbelieve refugee stories unless they can provide forensic proof.

Problem – Proof to back up true stories to a standard required in a court of law only ever comes to hand much later. Your editor is unlikely to want to wait that long!

Option 3 – the PJ approach.

a) Seek out indigenous people who can tell you what happened to them - personally.
b) Look for interviewees who can say what they saw with their own eyes.
c) BEWARE - Reports of things people have only heard about 'ain't worth shit'.
d) BE CAREFUL not to report as 'FACT' estimates, extrapolations and suppositions by aid agencies.
e) Ask yourself - who is offering you access to the refugees?
f) What is their interest?
g) Might an appreciation of their interest by refugees – who may share their interest - be conditioning the stories you are being told?
h) BE CAREFUL some people from province A have an interest in talking things up.
i) BEWARE NGOs may want money to provide for the refugees and therefore talk up the figures/atrocities.
j) Try to suggest some of the factors which may be leading country B to behave badly towards civilians of province A.
k) Be frank about ALL wrongdoing and do not seek to excuse it.
l) ALWAYS seek the underlying explanation for wrongdoing.[12]

Example

YUGOSLAVIA
In 1999, hundreds of thousands of Kosovo Albanians streamed across the borders with Macedonia and Albania. They were portrayed as fleeing persecution by the Yugoslav military, Serbian Police and gangs of paramilitaries – an urgent justification, according to NATO countries, for the Alliance bombing campaign.

Correspondents, helped by spokespersons for aid agencies and international organisations, extrapolated their most gruesome stories into confident assertions that tens or even hundreds of thousands of civilians were being massacred.

The truth was more complex. Many refugees, both among those appearing on the southern borders and among the comparatively unnoticed exodus to the north, were telling anyone who would listen that they were fleeing the bombing itself or at the instigation of the Kosovo Liberation Army.

On closer inspection, some stories of brutality turned out to be hearsay. No human remains were found in or near the furnace of a metal works where the Yugoslavs were reportedly burning the bodies of their victims.

A UN team looked into claims that Serbian paramilitaries had set up 'rape camps' where large numbers of Albanian women were herded in. Their finding that these reports were false got far less coverage than the original claims. The eventual death toll – from battles as well as massacres of civilians – was under ten thousand.

7. Stalemate

The Independence Movement wants the State of country B out of province A. B says it must keep control of A to protect the territory's citizens who settled there from elsewhere in B, and the interests of B as a whole.

Two parties with a single GOAL locked in a grim struggle which each believes will end in total victory for itself.

Option 1 – Decide which of these two parties is 'in the right' and concentrate on documenting the wrongdoing of the other side. Seek out politicians from country B who want to see harsher tactics applied and separatists who want paramilitary activities stepped up.

Problem –
    Legitimises and incentivises continuing the violence
    Further entrenches the stalemate

Leaves a bigger burden of trauma to shift when violence does eventually end

Option 2 – Report the violence, including in your reports appeals for the men of violence to see sense.

Problem – Does not illuminate the causes of violence, locates the solution in (by implication, wicked) individuals deciding to behave themselves better.

Option 3 – The PJ Approach

a) Draw up a Partisan Perceptions Table:
   ASK how does being run by the state of country B affect the indigenous people of province A in everyday life?
   How is this process reproducing violence?
   What is country B really afraid of?
   Do other parties beyond province A (like separatist movements in other parts of B, other countries in the region, international corporations) have some responsibility for B's fears?

b) Look for where CHANGE is likely to come from:
   Who is talking about peace?
   Who is acting to bring people together and promote understanding?
   These could include community projects, religious groups, fringe politicians etc.

These questions may help to identify aspects of the situation which everyone has taken for granted as being FIXED but which, if changed, could serve to break the stalemate and move towards a solution. Remember the rat in the maze.

Example
BRITAIN/NORTHERN IRELAND
Ireland, Northern Irish Republicans and Nationalists all wanted the British State out of Northern Ireland.

Britain, Unionists and Loyalists all wanted Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom.

The Good Friday Agreement provided for the British State to remain in Northern Ireland but in a CHANGED form which addressed many of the grievances of Republicans and Nationalists.

It turned a TUG OF WAR between two parties into a CAT'S CRADLE of several parties:

   Britain gave Republicans a share in government
   Republicans agreed to put weapons 'beyond use' in a process jointly overseen by the British and Irish Governments
   Britain and Ireland gave each other co-operation across their shared border on security and trade

Ireland gave the Unionists an undertaking to remove their territorial claim on Northern Ireland from their country's Constitution.
The Unionists gave their consent to power-sharing in government, policing and a range of other issues

8. Peace proposals

The leaders of A and B are negotiating. You are still based with the Army of B, who give out details of a peace plan which they say they have tabled in the talks. What do you do?

Option 1 – Report this as an important offer, which now leaves only A's intransigence preventing a peace agreement.

Problem – there may be nothing in the text you have been given which *you* think A should object to but how do you know you have been shown the full text, or the same text as them?

Are you part of a media strategy to prepare us to blame A for the imminent breakdown of negotiations?

Option 2 – Some tentative signs emerge that A may be ready to sign up to the deal. You report the text you have received as a solution to the conflict. ('It's Peace in our Time!')

Problem – leaders may have many reasons for signing an agreement but their respective peoples may find it does not address the real issues affecting them. So in time the violence recurs and the cycle continues.

Option 3 – the PJ Approach

Suggested questions a reporter could ask of any peace plan:

1. What was the method behind the plan? Dialogue with parties and in that case with all the parties? Some trial negotiation? Analogy with other conflicts? Intuition?
2. To what extent is the plan acceptable to all parties? If not, what can be done about it?
3. To what extent is the plan, if realised, self-sustainable? If not, what can be done about it?
4. Is the plan based on autonomous action by the conflict parties, or does it depend on outsiders?
5. To what extent is there a process in the plan, about who shall do what, how, when and where, or is it only outcome?
6. To what extent is the plan based on what only elites can do, what only people can do or on what both can do?
7. Does the plan foresee an ongoing conflict resolution or is the idea a single-shot agreement?
8. Is peace/conflict transformation education for people, for elites or for both, built in to the plan?
9. If there has been violence, to what extent does the plan contain elements of reconciliation?

10. If there has been violence, to what extent does the plan contain elements of rehabilitation/reconstruction?
11. If the plan doesn't work, is the plan reversible?
12. Even if the plan does work for this conflict, does it create new conflicts or problems? Is it a good deal? [13]

Example: MIDDLE EAST

The Oslo 'Peace' Accords between Israel and the Palestinians. Greeted as a peace agreement with too little attention to the problems. It provided for a series of interim steps to be negotiated between an Israeli state and a Palestinian Authority – a lopsided relationship which meant the process was always likely to run into trouble.

It was not based on a clear requirement on Israel to withdraw from illegally occupied territory, but, instead, provided for a complex network of settlements to remain, dividing Palestinian territory, institutionalising inequalities on the ground and the presence of Israeli troops.

It did not involve all Arab states committing to recognise Israel's right to exist and to normal relations.

DIALOGUE WITH DEVIL'S ADVOCATE

Devil's Advocate: "Peace Journalism? Isn't that a bit of a dodgy label, sounds a bit hippie-ish?"

Peace Journalism Manual: "There are plenty of alternative names:
New Journalism
Post-realist Journalism
Solutions Journalism
Empowerment Journalism
Conflict Analysis Journalism
Change Journalism
Holistic Journalism
Big Picture Journalism
Real Journalism
Open Society Journalism
Development Journalism
Analytical Journalism
Reflective Journalism
Constructive Journalism
Ethical Journalism

Or choose not to name 'it' at all. You could just say 'oh, I used conflict analysis techniques to put this report together.'

For Examples: **5Ws for Conflict Reporting By Rosemarie Schmidt[14]**

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, 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 long have the circumstances existed that gave rise to this dispute?

Where
What geographical or political jurisdictions are affected by this dispute?
How has this kind of thing been handled in other places?

Why
Why do the parties hold the positions they do; what needs, interests, fears and concerns are the positions intended to address?

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?

Common Ground

What common ground is there between the parties; what have they agreed to so far?

You could also think of the methods in this manual as giving a new set of terms for the everyday work of a journalist: [15]

From old	To new
Role	
Watchdog	Enabler
Commentator	Communicator
Independent of issues covered	Independent yet interdependent
Spectator/observer	"in the boat"
Style/Stories	
Debate	Dialogue
Difference	Common ground and difference
Polemic	Discussion
Approach to journalism	
Seeks simplicity	Explores complexity
Reactive to violent events	Strategy to understand/uncover the conflict
Event-based reporting	Process-based reporting
"I am objective"	"I am fair"
Balance = cover both sides equally (quantity)	Balance = represent both sides stories and perceptions (quality)
Approach to audiences	
Bodily damage/gore increases circulation	Public participation in problem solving builds audiences/readership
Newsroom sets agenda	Public has role in setting a agenda
Leaders/experts know best	Ordinary people need to be consulted
Right to know	Right to participate in democratic processes
"This is the way journalism is done"	Exploratory and flexible; rooted in values

Devil's Advocate: "Sounds like you are telling us not to report violence?"

Peace Journalism Manual: "No, there is no point in concealing violence. Show it, but show also images and statements which provide an explanation for it other than the violence itself, probably by focusing on how the conflict is affecting people in everyday life."

> **Devil's Advocate:** "Doesn't it mean just reporting 'good news'?"

Peace Journalism Manual: "No, like all journalism, PJ seeks to report on something new. It just recognises that 'something new' may be brought about by, for instance, people working to promote understanding at the grassroots as much as by leaders negotiating. It is about seeking out change agents for peace, unburdened by the assumption that official sources always know best."

> **Devil's Advocate:** "You talk about Peace Journalism, but isn't Peace a loaded word? Peace for whom, anyway?"

Peace Journalism Manual: "If peace is *for* someone in the sense of being *against* someone else, it is not peace. Yes, sometimes a party to conflict will put forward an idea and call it a 'peace plan' when in fact it is just another version of that party's demands.

The whole essence of PJ is based on understanding what is needed to create a *lasting* peace, with something for everyone. This manual is intended to equip you with the tools to assess those plans for yourself."

> **Devil's Advocate:** "At least what you call War Journalism holds leaders to account. It sounds like you are just currying favour with the authorities."

Peace Journalism Manual: "There is a difference between PJ and what is called 'Critical Journalism'. PJ says: 'I do not necessarily accept your claims but for the purposes of this exercise let us take them on their merits.'

It then examines the demands and position of the speaking authorities to see, equipped with a sophisticated understanding of what is required to make peace, if they appear as the best way of achieving the stated aims. It can also say 'you're supposed to be the good guys, aren't you ashamed of yourselves?'"

> **Devil's Advocate:** "Your talk about 'equality of esteem for suffering' sounds like emotional journalism!"

Peace Journalism Manual: "Firstly people's suffering should and does trigger an emotional response in journalists, no less than anyone else. Suppressing that with respect to one party, (even if you don't like them and think they're to blame) leads to bad and biased journalism.

There are countless examples. Acknowledging the suffering of all sides is not a substitute for analysing the conflict - it is essential to establishing the real formation or map of the conflict."

Devil's Advocate: "That must mean every story being half an hour or several thousand words in length!"

Peace Journalism Manual: "Of course not every piece can give a full explanation of a conflict. What is at stake is the shape of the explanation either given or IMPLIED.
After reading a short news report, what do I expect as the next logical step?
What do I seek naturally to hear more about?
An understanding of how common ground can be built upon through sustainable development – or the next escalation of violence?"

Devils Advocate: "All this talk of the 'grass roots' suggests to me that you are in danger of missing the action, which is where the leaders are."

Peace Journalism Manual: "It is not 'either/or' but 'both, and'. We have to treat as important the experiences, hopes, fears and grievances of the reading, listening and viewing public.
If we do not, who will?
And after all, signed agreements cannot by themselves make people live together in peace.
As part of society we are as responsible for 'social negotiation' as anyone else, even if it takes a long time."

Devil's Advocate: "Excuse me, but Peace is not in my job description, I just report the facts."

Peace Journalism Manual: "Every time you report something you add another layer to the cumulative understanding among newsmakers of how you are likely to respond in future to facts presented, packaged or even created for you to report.
All those future facts will therefore contain a residue of decisions you have already made.
This Feedback Loop means there is no 'just the facts' – PJ is about taking responsibility for the consequences of our reporting."

Devil's Advocate: "What you are calling for is just Good Journalism, really."

Peace Journalism Manual: "There is plenty of good War Journalism and good critical journalism. We need both. But they offer a distorted picture by routinely missing out certain factors which an understanding of peace studies, conflict analysis and transformation sees as essential.

It is this pattern of omission which is dangerous unless counterbalanced with Peace Journalism. In particular, making peace initiatives visible, a focus on prevention and the need for therapy to overcome trauma and making the conflict transparent, something we can understand by comparing our own lives with those of people affected by it."

Devil's Advocate: "I think journalists do a pretty good job already in very difficult circumstances. Why give them something else to worry about?"

Peace Journalism Manual: "PJ is a set of tools, not a list of extra tasks. Think of just a couple of the benefits even by the criteria journalists already use to measure their work – for example

independence and being proof against manipulation.

The history of conflict coverage is replete with examples of journalists being manipulated because they believed they were 'just reporting the facts'. PJ, by setting down this burden, leads us to apply an equal scrutiny to all sides: 'who wants me to believe this and why?'

In a time of rapidly proliferating media PJ's ability to deliver unusual, different angles is therefore all the more valuable."

Reading and resources

Essential texts can be found on the TRANSCEND website www.transcend.org
The Peace Journalism Option
What Are Journalists For? (the Peace Journalism Option 2), by Jake Lynch
And the Reporting the World website www.reportingtheworld.org
Reporting the World – a practical checklist for the ethical reporting of conflict in the 21st century by Jake Lynch can be ordered from editor@reportingtheworld.org for £5.

Supplementary reading:
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(Classic passage on the emergence of objectivity is given in full at:
http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Media/DemoMedia_Bagdikian.html)
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[1] Basic Radio Journalism Course for Radio Indonesia by Peter du Toit & Fiona Lloyd, organised and sponsored by Internews.

[2] Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means: The TRANSCEND Method by Professor Johan Galtung. UN publication 1999.

[3] Peter du Toit & Fiona Lloyd op cit.

[4] Understanding Violence, Visible and Invisible Effects Adapted from Galtung, op cit.

[5] Cycle of Violence in Indonesia by Annabel McGoldrick & Aya Muchtar published in the Jakarta Post November 11, 2002

[6] The Peace Journalism Option – afterword by Indra Adnan, Conflict & Peace Forums publication 1998.

[7] Judith Large , CREATE

[6] Galtung op cit

[8] Andrzej Kranze, New Statesman 8 April, 2002

[7] Adapted from Using Conflict Analysis in Reporting by Jake Lynch, Conflict & Peace Forums publication 2000.

[8] The Peace Journalism Option, Conflict & Peace Forums publication 1998.

[9] Adapted from Conflict Management Group, Harvard University, reproduced in Melissa Baumann, Track Two Media and Conflict, Centre for Conflict Resolution, Cape Town South Africa vol 7 no 4 December 1998.

[10] Conflict Transformation by Peaceful Means: The TRANSCEND Method by Professor Johan Galtung. UN publication 1999.

[13] Galtung, op cit.

[14] Rosemarie Schmidt, Co-Executive Director of the Conflict Resolution Network Canada

[11] Table by Dr Lesley Fordred, Department of Anthropology, University of Cape Town, South Africa.