

Jake Lynch

A course in Peace Journalism

Kurzfassung: Der vorliegende Aufsatz präsentiert das Konzept eines kurzen Seminars über Friedensjournalismus, das für die Ausbildung von Studierenden der Fächer Journalismus, Kommunikation, Medien und Frieden & Konfliktforschung geeignet ist. Es basiert auf Kursen, die der Autor über viele Jahre hinweg geleitet hat. Ziel des Aufsatzes ist es, Lehrenden zu helfen, ihre eigenen Kurse zu gestalten.

Nach Auffassung des Autors kann man Studenten am besten dadurch anregen, über die Probleme der Konfliktberichterstattung nachzudenken, dass man ihnen verschiedene Wege zeigt, wie eine Story erzählt werden kann. Der vorliegende Artikel liefert Storyboards und Drehbücher für zwei verschiedene Fernseh-Nachrichtenberichte des selben Ereignisses, einen Bombenanschlag auf den Philippinen. Der erste stellt ein Beispiel für Kriegsjournalismus, der zweite für Friedensjournalismus dar.

Der Artikel liefert Anregungen dafür, wie man von diesem anschaulichen Startpunkt aus einen Kurs entwickeln kann, indem man fragt, warum die Unterscheidung zwischen diesen beiden Darstellungsweisen für wichtig erachtet werden sollte - sowohl was die Darstellungsweisen selbst betrifft als auch bezüglich ihres potentiellen Einflusses auf den Ablauf der Ereignisse in dem Konflikt. Verschiedene Ansätze zur Konzeptualisierung und Messung dieses möglichen Einflusses werden diskutiert und Vorschläge für eine weitergehende Exploration des Themas unterbreitet.

Der Artikel berichtet über die Erfahrungen des Autors bei der Einführung und Diskussion schwieriger und sensibler Themen in Gruppen, die auch Teilnehmer aus konfliktbetroffenen Ländern wie Palästina, Israel und den Philippinen enthalten.

Nicht alle Studenten werden künftige Journalisten sein. Der Artikel kommentiert daher nicht nur angewandten Friedensjournalismus, sondern zeigt auch, wie Lernergebnisse formuliert werden können, so dass die selben Themen auch im Kontext zivilgesellschaftlicher Kampagnen oder Konfliktinterventionen dargestellt werden können.

Darüber hinaus zeigt der Artikel auf, wie Studenten befähigt werden können, Elemente journalistischer Praxis in Frage zu stellen, die sie bisher als selbstverständlich angesehen haben und die in vielen Journalismuskursen unreflektiert bleiben. Dies wiederum zieht sowohl die Untersuchung der Entstehung und des Einflusses der Konventionen, die zusammengenommen als "objektiver" Journalismus bekannt sind, und ihre historische Konstruktion durch ökonomische, politische, soziale und kulturelle Prozesse nach sich.

Abstract: This article sets out a reasoned and annotated plan for a short course in Peace Journalism, suitable for teaching to students of Journalism, Communications, Media and Peace and Conflict Studies. It is based on courses the author has taught, over many years, and the aim of the article is to help teachers to devise their own courses.

The best way to help students to begin thinking about issues in the representation of conflicts, the article argues, is to give them a flavour of it, by showing them different ways in which the same story can be told. The article gives story-boards and scripts for two television news treatments of the same event, a bombing in the Philippines. The first is an example of War Journalism, it is argued; the second, Peace Journalism.

The article suggests ways to develop a course from this illustrative starting point, to ask why the distinctions between these two approaches should be considered important - both in their own terms, and in terms of their potential influence on the course of events in conflict. Different approaches to conceptualising and measuring this possible influence are discussed, with suggestions for further exploration.

The article recounts some of the author's experiences in introducing and discussing what is, inevitably sometimes, difficult and sensitive material, with groups including participants from conflict-affected countries - Palestine, Israel and the Philippines.

Not all students will be aspiring journalists. The article offers brief notes on practical Peace Journalism, as well as showing how learning outcomes can be formulated to allow the same issues to be tackled in the form of a civil society campaign, or as a peace-building intervention in conflict.

The article also explains how students can be equipped to question elements of journalistic practice which they may take for granted, and which pass unexamined in many current journalism courses. That, in turn, entails examining the emergence and ascendancy of conventions known, together, as 'objective journalism', and their historical construction - arguably as a hegemonic project - by economic, political, social and cultural process.

1. Introduction

This article sets out an annotated and reasoned account of a self-contained module, or short course, as it can be taught to final-year undergraduate or post-graduate groups in universities. The purpose of the article is to help teachers to shape their own courses.

It is based on MA courses the writer has already led¹, at Sydney University and the University of Queensland, Australia; Cardiff University, Wales; Oslo University College, Norway and Orebro University, Sweden, as well as the on-line TRANSCEND Peace University, to students of disciplines including:

- Conflict and Peace Studies
- Journalism
- Communications
- Media Practice
- International Relations

Some enter such courses wanting to experiment with doing Peace Journalism for themselves. Others see the coverage of conflicts as an issue of general public concern, and one they wish to address by other means – holding news organisations to account, particularly in broadcasting where codes of conduct may have some statutory or binding status. The article offers brief notes on practical Peace Journalism, as well as showing how learning outcomes can be formulated to allow the same issues to be tackled in the form of a civil society campaign, or as a peace-building intervention in conflict.

The bulk of this article, however, is concerned with

- theoretical issues of conflict, peace and violence
- and media criticism and analysis, based on how these issues are represented in news reports.

It suggests how these core concepts may be introduced to a whole group of students, so as to enable them to form their own critical understanding of Peace Journalism and to see how the issues it raises intersect with others they may meet elsewhere.

It concentrates on a case study from the Philippines, arguing that it, like many conflicts around the world, is now increasingly likely to be framed according to the so-called 'global war on terrorism'.

2. Core concepts

At its core, Peace Journalism proposes a set of distinctions in the reporting of conflicts, as well as a workable set of methods for editors and reporters to employ, based on an awareness of these distinctions, in mainstream news and current affairs.

Whereas War Journalism leads – or leaves – readers and audiences to over-value violence, as a response to conflicts and crises, Peace Journalism creates opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent, developmental responses.

Briefly, in practical terms, Peace Journalism tends to:

- Take an analytical approach to conflict, seeking opportunities to identify parties, goals, needs and interests
- Project a multiparty conflict model rather than a Manichean 'tug-of-war'
- Find room for perspectives from beyond the usual 'official sources'
- Seek out peace initiatives as well as 'pegs' (opportunities) to report on them

A course in Peace Journalism must set out for discussion the reasons why these distinctions can be seen as important. This article suggests how to lead such a discussion with reference to propositions about conflict and its dynamics chiefly attributable to the TRANSCEND method of Johan Galtung.

Such a course must also explore arguments around the production of meaning and media reception and response. The article shows how to help students to consider the likely differential impact, on the behaviour of parties to conflict, of War Journalism and Peace Journalism respectively, as patterns of media response to conflict.

The article also explains how Peace Journalism can help to bring about the 'conceptual reform' necessary to modernise the study of journalism, as taught to journalism students; a contribution to problematising elements of journalistic practice which pass unexamined in many current courses. That, in turn, entails examining the emergence and ascendancy of conventions known, together, as 'objective journalism', and their historical construction – arguably as a hegemonic project – by economic, political, social and cultural process.

1. With Annabel McGoldrick

2.1 Media analysis and criticism

Existing courses have generally begun by showing students, at the outset, examples of what War Journalism and Peace Journalism might look like (the opening sequence of Lynch and McGoldrick 2004 has often been used). This is an introduction to analysing representations of conflict in news reporting, and forming a critical understanding calibrated on the distinctions Peace Journalism proposes as being the important ones.

Experience suggests that many will arrive with the assumption, familiar from everyday conversation, that 'conflict' is synonymous with 'violence'. Most will likely assume that reporting conflict means reporting violent incidents – which, under the conventions of news they will have internalised as readers, listeners and viewers, it often does.

Hence the 'two versions' concept, offering two contrasting treatments of the same violent incident. It will be argued here that there are many aspects of a conflict, besides the violence, which merit reporting – by virtue of their importance in its overall dynamics – but nevertheless remain unreported, or at least under-reported, because of journalistic conventions.

But the assumptions many will bring to the class mean that if the War Journalism focuses on violence, and the Peace Journalism ignores it, the comparison will seem unfair, as between apples and oranges; and unrealistic, since it is difficult to imagine journalists, in practice, ignoring a bombing or riot on their doorstep, even if they wanted to. To be credible, Peace Journalism needs to be able to say something useful to the editor or reporter who is called on to respond in these circumstances.




The following two examples – published here in transcript form for the first time (to be published as Lynch and McGoldrick, 2007), concern the so-called Valentine's Day bombings in the Philippines, in 2005. They take the form of illustrated transcripts of two news-length treatments, broadly as one could imagine appearing on a television news service for a general audience.






As reports compiled by outsiders they are, inevitably, more easily imaginable in western-owned media like, say, BBC World or perhaps Australia's SBS News, than a local programme; but the differences are of degree rather than of kind. Conceptual frames originating in the West, such as the 'global war on terrorism' are, if anything, even more to the fore in mainstream Philippines media than in Britain or Australia.

Groups are invited to watch them bearing the following questions in mind:





1. How is the violence explained?
2. What is presented as the problem – ie, who or what is to blame for the violence?
3. What does the report lead us to believe the solution is likely to be?

2.2 Version 1 – War Journalism

<p>Pictures 1</p> 	<p>Voice 1</p> <p>Reporter voice-over: A day of love becomes an evening of hate in the Philippines. Commuters in the main financial district of Manila on the way to meet their Valentines when the bomb ripped through a crowded bus station. At least three people were killed, with dozens more injured.</p>
<p>Pictures 2</p> 	<p>Voice 2</p> <p>Actor's voice reads translation of eyewitness statement: 'It was a loud blast, I saw sparks and then there was smoke. A lot of stuff was flying around, and there was so much confusion I just ran away'.</p>
<p>Pictures 3</p> 	<p>Voice 3</p> <p>Reporter voice-over: It echoed two earlier blasts in the cities of Davao and General Santos, on the southern island of Mindanao – home to the Abu Sayyaf Group who've claimed responsibility for these attacks. The top US diplomat here says tough action is needed to prevent Mindanao from sliding further into anarchy.</p>
<p>Pictures 4</p> 	<p>Voice 4</p> <p>Joseph Mussomeli, US Ambassador to the Philippines: 'Certain portions of Mindanao are so lawless, so porous the borders, that you run the risk of it becoming like an Afghanistan situation. Mindanao is almost, forgive the poor religious pun, the new Mecca for terrorism'.</p>

<p>Pictures 5</p> 	<p>Voice 5</p> <p>Jake Lynch piece-to-camera:</p> <p>Abu Sayyaf say these attacks were a Valentine's Day message for President Gloria Arroyo – revenge for ordering a military crackdown against Islamic separatists in the southern Philippines – a key battleground in the global War on Terrorism. Security officials here say the money and expertise were provided by Jemaah Islamiya, a militant Muslim network seen as the regional offshoot of Al Qaeda.</p>
<p>Pictures 6</p> 	<p>Voice 6</p> <p>Reporter voice-over: Mrs Arroyo's office said her tough stance would not waver in the wake of these deadly attacks. In all, the death toll has risen to eleven; medical staff in all three cities left to pick up the pieces and care for the victims.</p>
<p>Pictures 7</p>  	<p>Voice 7</p> <p>Actor's voice reads eyewitness statement: 'I was in another bus, by the third door at the back when all of a sudden, the bus beside the bus I was riding exploded'.</p> <p>Second eyewitness:</p> <p>'What I remember was, there was a loud explosion and a lot of things flew from behind. That's all I remember – and then I lost consciousness'.</p>
<p>Pictures 8</p> 	<p>Voice 8</p> <p>Reporter voice-over: Whatever progress Philippines troops can make in mopping up pockets of resistance in Mindanao, will be carefully watched – not just here but in Washington too where the fight against Al Qaeda is being coordinated. Jake Lynch, in the Philippines.</p>

2.3 Version 2 – Peace Journalism

<p>Pictures 1</p> 	<p>Voice 1</p> <p>Reporter voice-over: Unhappy Valentine for the Philippines – the bombers hit commuters dashing home to their loved ones in the capital, Manila as well as two southern cities, Davao and General Santos. Medical teams patched up the wounded as the death toll rose to eleven.</p>
<p>Pictures 2</p> 	<p>Voice 2</p> <p>Actor's voice reads eyewitness statement: 'What I remember was, there was a loud explosion and a lot of things flew from behind. That's all I remember – and then I lost consciousness'.</p>
<p>Pictures 3</p> 	<p>Voice 3</p> <p>Reporter voice-over: The attacks were claimed by the Abu Sayyaf Group – in revenge, they said, for civilian deaths in a recent so-called 'military crackdown' in the southern Philippines. There's been a chorus of calls from human rights campaigners and opposition groups for troops to pull back and alleged abuses to be properly investigated.</p>
<p>Pictures 4</p> 	<p>Voice 4</p> <p>Reporter voice-over: Richard Bulane lies in hospital where doctors are struggling to save his right arm; three members of his family lie dead in what he says was a deliberate attack by troops on the southern island of Mindanao.</p>

<p>Pictures 5</p> 	<p>Voice 5</p> <p>Reporter summarises Bulane's comments after pause for his voice: 'We were shot without provocation', he told me. 'I could see some of their faces and I just kept thinking – I'll see these faces in a court of law'.</p>
<p>Pictures 6</p> 	<p>Voice 6</p> <p>Reporter voice-over: The soldiers who shot him wouldn't speak on camera but the army statement says the Bulanes were 'communist terrorists' – something they deny.</p>
<p>Pictures 7</p> 	<p>Voice 7</p> <p>Annabel McGoldrick piece-to-camera: Police are warning of more attacks on soft targets including bus stations and public parks. A spokesman for President Gloria Arroyo said she would not be deflected from the War on Terrorism. But the Philippines people, both here and in Mindanao, are in danger of being trapped in a cycle of violence where each new atrocity succeeds only in raising the level of bitterness on all sides.</p>
<p>Pictures 8</p> 	<p>Voice 8</p> <p>Reporter voice-over: Mrs Arroyo is about to begin negotiations with Islamic separatists on Mindanao. But some analysts here are warning that crackdowns and tough rhetoric don't make the best backdrop for peace. Annabel McGoldrick, in the Philippines.</p>

2.4 Commentary

How is the violence explained?

In Version 1, War Journalism, the bombings are presented as part of a 'terrorist conspiracy' – a form of analysis familiar to readers of Manila's main newspapers, for whom the 'alphabet soup' of JI, ASG, MILF etc is a staple diet.

Furthermore, this appears to be a *Muslim* conspiracy – we are left to infer that the 'Islamic separatists' referred to are somehow connected with those now bent, according to the remarkable interview given by the US Ambassador, on turning Mindanao into the 'new Mecca' for terrorism.

The violence appears to be its own cause – these bombings came in revenge for other violence, a 'military crackdown in the southern Philippines'. We are not shown anything of the context, the conditions in which it becomes possible to mobilise some people for violence. It's a narrative of 'tit-for-tat', begging the question of how the violence started in the first place.

This curtain is pulled back, at least to some extent, in Version 2, Peace Journalism. The Bulanes' story suggests how the 'global war on terrorism', as a frame applied to this conflict – as it is to many others around the world – may actually be stirring up trouble, as it is being used to justify army violence against civilians.

The behaviour of the Philippines military, passed off in Version 1 with the euphemism 'mopping up pockets of resistance', is here characterised in a frame of human rights abuses.

What is the problem? What is the solution?

In Version 1 the 'terrorists' are the problem. They are to blame. The solution, as presaged in the closing images of the report, is for an intensification of military action to remove, neutralise or punish them.

We are presented with no other form of explanation as to how they arise in the first place, why they attract sympathy and support; so there is, it appears, no other remedy, nothing else to be addressed in order to bring the violence to an end. In War Journalism terms, it 'mak[es] wars opaque' (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005a, p 6).

In Version 2, by contrast, there is at least an inkling of the conflict as an overarching, shared problem, penetrating relations between people and conditioning their responses. It may be weakly conceptualised at this stage – the 'cycle of violence' in which all sides now risk entrapping themselves – but it is there.

It is suggested that the violence is partly attributable to underlying structural problems such as impunity for the military in human rights abuses. Once that is 'on the map', the conflict becomes more transparent, and it makes sense to report on different ways in which conflict actors are trying to address these problems.

Here, we see people proposing both legal remedies – Mr Bulane himself – and political remedies – the demonstrators calling for a change of policy, and the negotiations with the MILF. Given just a little more context, the viewer can now appreciate how these could form part of the solution:

'The remedy for a problem, in conflict as in medicine, depends on diagnosis' (p 20).

The initial notes above, on these Philippines stories, are similar to the approach used in Lynch and McGoldrick (2005a), written as a set text for a self-contained course, and based, in turn, on the original War Journalism/Peace Journalism table drawn up by Johan Galtung (p 6).

Other important accounts include the escalation/de-escalation schema for constructive conflict coverage, developed in Kempf 2003, which concentrates on ways to frame conflict in a 'win-win', rather than 'win-lose' mode:

'In any conflict, each side has its own rights and intentions, and there is an opponent whose actions interfere with them and are consequently experienced as threatening. At the same time as the one side's actions interfere with the opponent's rights and intentions, the opponent imagines himself to be threatened as well. Still, there can be common ground, common rights and intentions and common benefits resulting from the relationship between the two parties that may provide reasons for mutual trust. In this sense, any conflict is capable of being conceptualised as either a competitive (win-lose) or as a cooperative (win-win) process' (p 34).

Then, more recently, Peace Journalism has been applied, or 'operationalised', as a 26-factor framing model – and important differences recorded – in nearly 4,000 examples of conflict coverage in a total of ten newspapers from Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan and the Philippines (Maslog and Ting Lee 2005).

Any or all of these texts can be used as a basis for setting students to identify distinctions between journalism with potential to contribute, in some way, to more violence, and journalism which may extend the perceived options for non-violent responses, or at least a conceptual and political context in which they can be considered and valued.

3. The rest of the course

The remainder of a course in Peace Journalism must, at least, cover three main areas arising out of this opening gambit. Two are theoretical – propositions about conflict, and about news, journalism and media respectively. The third is practical, building on the beginnings of media analysis and media criticism introduced in discussions based on the two versions.

Theoretical

1. *Propositions about conflict*: Identify and discuss the propositions about conflict inscribed in these alternative choices of material. Deciding to hear from the US Ambassador, on the one hand, floating the possibility that Mindanao may become the next Afghanistan; or, on the other, from Mr Bulane, to give shape to issues such as impunity and human rights, imply different understandings of what the conflict is *about*.
2. *Propositions about news, journalism and media*: Identify and discuss the propositions about news, journalism and media inscribed in the Peace Journalism/War Journalism analytical model. Don't journalists just 'report the facts' anyway? Are we 'led to believe' anything substantive about conflict by reading, hearing or viewing news reports, or do we simply apply our preconceptions? Doesn't War Journalism simply reflect the interests of those who own the media and advertise within them? And does the content of news representations 'matter', in any larger sense?

Practical

3. *More practical Peace Journalism*: Show and discuss other examples of Peace Journalism. These two treatments illustrate an incipient divergence only. An editorial strategy informed by Peace Journalism builds on the beginnings of a peace-shaped understanding of conflict, as raised by the coverage of a violent incident, to explore other aspects, unfamiliar from most mainstream news representations. War Journalism and Peace Journalism may be conceptualised as opposite ends of a 'sliding scale' (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005a, p 187).

3.1 Propositions about conflict

Some have criticised Peace Journalism as being unavoidably *normative* (Hanitzsch, 2004). It enables us to identify, and inspect from the outside, a set of journalistic conventions that tend to foreground acts of violence. But it also suggests there is something wrong with the picture that emerges. The operation of these conventions *distorts* conflicts – 'lead[ing] us, or leav[ing] us, to *over*-value reactive, violent responses and *under*-value developmental, non-violent ones (p 5)' (emphases added).

On what basis, then, are these normative claims made? It is proposed that journalists can anchor themselves in the body of knowledge, observation and interpretation offered by the interdisciplinary field of Peace and Conflict Studies.

This has its own controversies, of course, but it could be argued that its insights provide the foundation for a critique of journalism about conflict before and below the point where these 'kick in'. The following precepts, in particular, are widely shared:

- *Violence is never wholly its own cause* – Conflict is made up of structure, culture and process – the context, without which no explanation for a violent event is complete or, indeed, correct
- *Non-violent responses are always possible* – There is always more than one way of responding to conflict. Many people, in many places, are devising, advocating and applying non-violent responses
- *More than two sides* – There are always more than two parties to any conflict – some, whose involvement or interest is hidden, need putting on the map. Others, presented as a solid aggregate of view, may contain important internal divisions, and they need *dis*-aggregation
- *Every party has a stake* – Parties to conflict should be seen as stakeholders, pursuing their own goals, needs and interests – some openly acknowledged, but almost invariably some hidden as well

'Violence'

To invoke structure and culture as part of the explanation for violence is to introduce the signature concept of Johan Galtung, credited as the chief pioneer of Peace and Conflict Studies – namely, structural violence.

As with 'conflict', this is to propose, in turn, a definition of violence quite different from the one most students will know from everyday conversation. One helpful way to open a discussion is to invite them to separate out one aspect of violence – the effect it has – from another: the form it takes.

Galtung's classic definition of violence:

'Human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential' (Galtung, 1969).

This effect can be wrought in different ways: the familiar direct violence – hitting, shooting, bombing and shelling, all involving physical contact, whether person-to-person or by using weapons to convey force to a target – but also by systems, institutionalised customs and practices placing barriers in people's way that they cannot remove by any normal means.

Equipped with this insight, students can be invited to name instances of structural violence such as racism, sexism, Apartheid, corruption-collusion-nepotism – a syndrome known in Indonesia, for example, by its initials as KKN – and many others. What links these phenomena is not the form they take but the *effect* they bring about on individuals and society.

Introducing Galtung's closely related concept of cultural violence may lead the discussion on to consider examples as diverse as initiation rites in traditional societies, to the statues of war heroes, and even colonial administrators, all over central London.

Objections

Any honest presentation of these issues, in the context of a university course, will need to consider at least the well-known objections to structure and culture as aspects of the explanation for acts of direct violence:

'A structure-oriented perspective converts the relation from inter-personal, or inter-state/nation, to a relation between two positions in a deficient structure. If the parties can agree that the structure was/is deficient and that their behaviour was an enactment of structural positions rather than anything more personal, then turning together against the common problem, the structural violence, should be possible. A culture-oriented perspective also converts the relation from interpersonal, or inter-state/nation, to a relation spurred by a deficient culture' (Galtung, 1998).

It would be wise – and, experience suggests, stimulating to group discussion – to consider this 'exculpatory' model in light of its broader political context. It is, it so happens, at odds with the model inscribed in the prevailing orthodoxy of global political discourse in the early 21st Century, namely the 'global war on terrorism'. In the words of Richard Perle, a highly influential figure on the neo-conservative Right, the priority of this is to:

'decontextualise terror... any attempt to discuss the roots of terrorism is an attempt to justify it. It simply needs to be fought and destroyed' (in Hari, 2004).

This amounts to 'an essentialist explanation' of political violence (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005a, p 66), in the sense that 'essentialism involves defining a group of people by a small set of fixed properties, while ignoring the conditions under which such identities emerged. In the process, it discounts any possibility of change or variation within the group'¹.

'Evil' has become, in this debate, a political shorthand for fixed properties attached to enemies of Washington – hence 'the Axis of Evil', comprising Iraq under Saddam Hussein, Iran and North Korea.

To promote essentialist explanations for observable behaviour in this way can be seen as a symptom of fundamentalism. Just as creationism, another touchstone for the Christian Right of US politics, is a repudiation of science, in the form of evolutionary theory, so essentialism in global politics amounts to a repudiation of social science.

Ibn Khaldun, the fourteenth-century Arab scholar, is, after all, credited as the world's first social scientist, precisely because he acknowledged that people's apparently 'fixed properties' are actually altered by their interaction with the world around them:

'Conditions within nations and races change with the change of periods and the passage of time' (Khaldun, 1969, p 24).

British Prime Minister Tony Blair attributed the London bombings of July 7 to the workings of 'an evil ideology' (Hencke, 2005). Had he been a student on any self-respecting social science course, he would have been expected to explain the circumstances – historical, social, economic, political – in which such an ideology could attain its power of suasion over young British men at this particular time. However that would have meant acknowledging and tracing politically inconvenient connections with his own policies.

You do not need to be a fundamentalist or a prime minister at war to take issue with Galtung's model, however; there are also dissenting voices from within Peace and Conflict Studies itself. It would be wrong to send students away with the impression that all the evidence and interpretation point in the direction of structural causes for violent behaviour in conflicts.

Mary B Anderson, for instance, says that 'proximate causes are more important than root causes' (1999). Violence, she argues, is often perpetrated by those intent on 'manipulation, greed and personal power' (p 9) and takes on a life of its own, detached from 'justice issues' which form the key contradictions of the underlying conflict.

So the structure-culture argument needs careful handling. Both Galtung's and Anderson's formulations can be opened up for discussion. In the former, it could be said that a balance needs to be struck; if the aim is to bring people to accept the need to 'move on' from trauma and resentment, then the approach cannot be so exculpatory as to seem to excuse violence or, experience suggests, it may stick in the craw and prove counter-productive.

The binary opposition proposed by Anderson, on the other hand, appears ripe for deconstruction, indeed it exemplifies

1. From *The Free Dictionary*, <http://encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/Essentialist>

Derrida's aphorism that 'there is always already deconstruction, at work *in* works' (1986, p 123) since the less-favoured term, the root causes, can readily be shown, in consideration of real-life examples, to inhere in the more favoured.

It could be argued that individuals and groups can always enrich or aggrandise themselves by violence, but this only runs out of control where there is a lack of consensual law enforcement; and this may, in turn, arise out of root causes that compromise allegiance to the law-enforcing entity. One example is the strife-torn city of Ambon, in the Indonesian province of Maluku:

'A better explanation than that such conflicts are triggered by pure bigotry... is based on the idea that people often identify with a particular religious community for quite worldly reasons. In Ambon at least, joining the Protestant or the Muslim community means being part of a network that not only worships God in a certain way but does practical things for its members – provide access to friends in powerful places for example, or protection when things get tough. These networks extend up the social ladder to influential circles in Jakarta. And they extend downward to street level, where gangs of young men provide the protective muscle that an inefficient police force cannot provide' (van Klinken, 1999).

'Conflict'

Peace Journalism draws on specific concepts of conflict itself, as well as violence. The definition commonly used in Peace and Conflict Studies is:

'Conflict is a relationship between two or more parties (individuals or groups) who have, or think they have, incompatible goals, needs and interests' (Mitchell, 1981, p 2).

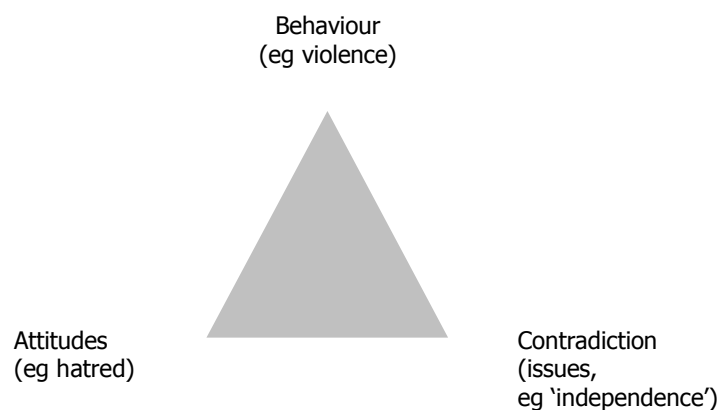
Those goals, needs and interests form the Contradictions, which give rise to the conflict – a notion concisely expressed in the famous anti-war placard and bumper sticker:

'How come our oil ended up underneath their sand?' (WNYC, 2003).

Violence is a form of Behaviour in response to conflict – there are many other possible responses. Lastly, both contradictions and behaviour may arise out of, and simultaneously reinforce, Attitudes held by parties to conflict about the others.

This is the famous conflict triangle, which all students of conflict and peace studies, at least, will likely have met by the time they arrive for their Peace Journalism course:

The ABC conflict triangle:



In considering these ideas in relation to news representations of conflict, it may help to bear in mind the following general observations:

'A key characteristic of War Journalism is its *linearity*. Visualise the twin triangles – the ABC of conflict and the three forms of violence. In War Journalism, the 'C', the contradictions, or issues dividing the parties, are often missed out in reports concentrating on attitude and behaviour.

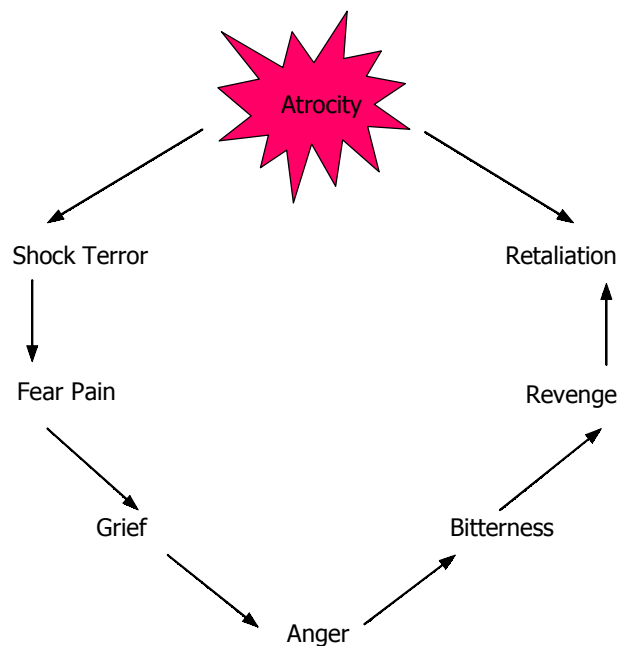
Structural violence is also generally absent, with a noticeable bias in favour of direct violence, and some weakly conceptualised cultural violence... Remove one point from each triangle and you are left with the two remaining points, joined by a line...

War Journalism offers a blow-by-blow account, a series of tit-for-tat exchanges. It tells us the way it is without any real clues as to how it comes to be that way. Its explanations for conflict and for violence are *linear* ones.

Peace Journalism restores the missing points of the triangles to offer us some insights into how things come to be the way they are – essential if we are to form any idea of how to change them. The point is that War Journalism is linear in its thinking and Peace Journalism is *extra-linear*, or multi-dimensional' (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005a, p 74).

Version 2 of the Philippines story mentions the cycle of violence – another term used casually in news reporting, where its meaning is often collapsed into one of tit-for-tat, another linear conceptualisation. Peace and Conflict Studies offers an extra-linear version, examining how violent behaviour brings about a change in attitudes; attitudes which, in turn, then play a part in constructing further violent acts.

The point is, people affected by conflict experience a number of different stages *between* violent incidents (Elworthy and Rogers, 2002):



It means intervention is possible, during this cycle, to divert it away from a path leading to more violence. At what point, students can usefully be asked? One way to illustrate this concept is by inviting them to imagine trying to get someone who has suffered an atrocity *not* to feel shocked, terrified, grief-stricken or angry.

Bitterness can be thought of as anger + memory, staying in the place of anger, collectively perhaps storing away trauma in a 'trauma bank' (Galtung, 2001) and, eventually, withdrawing it as 'glory' through further violence. Intervention comes at the point between anger and bitterness, and can take many forms.

'Peace'

So much for conflict – what of peace? It may be useful to invite students to contemplate two alternative definitions of peace (Galtung quoted in Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005a):

- 'Peace = victory + ceasefire'
- 'Peace = non-violence + creativity'

Active non-violence would be evident in the manifold interventions to interrupt or divert the cycle of violence; and anyone carrying them out, or indeed working to prevent or lessen violence, or transform attitudes and the perception of contradictions, can be seen as a *change agent*, helping to create peace.

Why should this be significant? 'News is supposed to be *about* change. We pick up today's paper to find out what's changed since yesterday. Perhaps the lesson is, to find the sources of change, we need to cast the net a little wider' (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2004).

The US peace researcher, John Paul Lederach:

'I have not experienced any situation of conflict, no matter how protracted or severe, from Central America to the Philippines to the Horn of Africa, where there have not been people who had a vision for peace, emerging often from their own experience of pain. Far too often,

however, these same people are overlooked and disempowered either because they do not represent "official" power, whether on the side of government or the various militias, or because they are written off as biased and too personally affected by the conflict' (Lederach, 1997, p 94).

The point is, the part such people play in the development of a conflict often slip through the net of journalistic conventions. War Journalism, the dominant form under these conventions, can be said to be inaccurate, therefore, and to present a distorted picture.

Peace Journalism, it can be suggested, consists precisely in a set of techniques and perspectives to extend the ambit of news to spell out, to readers and audiences, connections between the actions of *change agents*, wherever they may be, and the dynamics and likely development of the conflict concerned:

'If there is one real skill in Peace Journalism it lies in tracing connections between the stories of people like these, and the big issues and eye-catching events of the day – showing how the actions and concerns of individuals bear indirectly on the personal fortunes of every reader, listener or viewer. To do that, journalists need to be able to draw upon a deep understanding of how conflicts develop and how people can respond to them in ways likely to reduce the risk of violence' (British Council, 2002).

3.2 Propositions about news, journalism and media

The case for Peace Journalism, in the words of Robert Karl Manoff, Professor of Journalism at New York University and Director of its Center for War, Peace and the News Media:

'Mass media technologies, institutions, professionals, norms and practices constitute one of the fundamental forces now shaping the lives of peoples and nations ... The media constitute a major human resource, whose potential to help prevent and moderate social violence begs to be discussed, evaluated, and, where appropriate, mobilised' (Conflict and Peace Courses, 1998, p 15).

Questions for discussion with students:

- How does journalism shape the lives of peoples and nations?
- What are journalists responsible for?
- Is the meaning of a news story generated chiefly at the moment of production, or the moment of reception?
- Does the reporter load, as it were, a hypodermic syringe, which is then injected into the consciousness of anyone reading, watching or listening?
- Or do the messages communicated by newspapers and programmes depend on broader cultural conditioning, and its influence on the way they are interpreted?
- When and why would it be appropriate to mobilise the media to help prevent and moderate social violence?
- Should journalists be expected to 'make peace'?

It is beyond the scope of this article – and, indeed, of a single self-contained course – to explore this controversy in any depth. But it is well to alert students as to which side of the line one is standing on, in raising the subject at all. Peace Journalism cannot very well avoid proposing that public understanding of key issues depends, at least to some extent, on how they are reported.

Students who wish to follow up on these aspects could be directed to emerging research evidence, of potentially great importance, about measurable differences in audience response to both content and textual characteristics of conflict reporting which could be characterised according to the War Journalism/Peace Journalism schema.

Kempf (2005) found significant differences between cognitive responses, among the same subjects, to German newspaper articles containing elements of content categorised as 'escalation', and to three re-written versions: '(a) with increased escalation-oriented framing, (b) with moderate de-escalation oriented framing and (c) with more determined de-escalation oriented framing of the events'.

Peleg and Alimi (2005) investigated 'the structuring of comprehension and interpretations to political reality in the context of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, focusing on one particular facet: the possibility of an independent Palestinian state'. The research involved showing subjects the same articles, only with different sets of cross-headings inserted between blocs of text, and experimented with the effects of only minor changes of nomenclature; for the Palestinian leader, for example, as 'Abu Mazen' or 'Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas'.

Then, when it comes to conflict, it is arguable that most readers and audience members have less to go on, in any case, when attempting to decode news reports, than they would be with articles about, say, industrial disputes, crime in their neighbourhood or the price of goods and services.

Shadowy international menaces such as 'global terrorism', the 'Axis of Evil' and 'weapons of mass destruction' lie, by definition, outside most people's direct personal or social experience, so it is more difficult to produce 'negotiated' or 'oppositional' readings (Hall, 1980).

Discussions with students in recent years have tended to be dominated by recollections of their own shifting perceptions about the Iraq war. Lynch and McGoldrick (2005a) track the rapidly changing opinion poll findings in the UK, with a brief period, in the weeks leading up to the invasion, where the plan commanded majority support – soon followed by disillusionment as propaganda was exposed.

One participant on a course taught at the University of Sydney, in 2006 – a Masters student of Peace and Conflict Studies was equally struck by class discussions over Nato's war on Yugoslavia, in 1999:

'From the outset of the course my goal was to gain a greater understanding of the role the media played in conflict. I came into the course with a general understanding that the media, especially privately owned media was always influenced by editorial prejudice, this is evident to anyone who has read or watched a Rupert Murdoch owned media outlet. What I think surprised me however was the extent to which the consumers of media, myself included have been fooled by media into believing that the piece of journalism we have been presented with is unbiased, when in fact it was a text-book case of "War Journalism".

The case study about the Balkan war highlighted for me this gross misuse of media power. I have always considered myself to be quite media savvy, always able to determine what is real news and what is propaganda, that is until I encountered the case study of Kosovo...

This caused me to rethink the way in which I interpret, and accept any given media report. At the time of the Balkan War I was sharing a flat with a Serbian in Israel, and I especially remember the way in which we interacted with him as a result of way in which the media presented Serbia to us. Speaking for myself, I can admit to having very little knowledge of the Balkans, and when presented with the case for military intervention by the media I was only too willing to jump on the bandwagon. This I believe is indeed the greatest threat that "War Journalism" presents, its ability to sway an uninformed public on an issue that is multi-faceted, and cannot be comprehended through a simple zero sum analysis.

This course has been a wakeup call in that respect for me, as it has highlighted a clear deficiency in the way in which I digest media sources, and has underscored the need to be more analytical, and discerning with regard to what I accept as legitimate news. Through looking at the language used as well as the information being provided by a story, I now feel as though I am empowered with the knowledge, which is required for one to look beyond what is written and to understand the meaning behind it'.

Similar comments could now apply to the reporting of conflicts, including local conflicts in local media, around the world, not least because so many are now framed with reference to the obfuscatory 'global war on terrorism' – in contexts as diverse as Nepal, Colombia, Macedonia, Britain/Ireland, Israel/Palestine, Uganda, Sudan, Indonesia – and the Philippines example discussed here. The reporting of conflict has, arguably, become more resistant to decoding in the process, and the dominant ideology more readily capable of being encoded in news reports (Oberg, 2005). It means that forms of content analysis, such as Peace Journalism, are now if anything more important in considering the reporting of conflict.

The Feedback Loop

'I know I waste half the money I spend on advertising – the problem is, I don't know which half' – John Wanamaker, US department store pioneer (Rothenberg, 1999).

Parties to conflict may expend large amounts of money and attention on their dealings with journalists, without knowing whether the news stories that result are effective as an influence on public opinion, and even without knowing, for sure, whether and how changes in public opinion may bear upon their goals and interests in any case.

Lynch and McGoldrick (2005a) argue that it is not the influence of news on public opinion as such, but assumptions by parties to conflict about its likely or possible influence, that condition their behaviour, in a Feedback Loop of cause and effect – another distinctively extra-linear conceptualisation.

This chimes with earlier accounts that emphasise the preparedness of conflict actors to calibrate not only their message but also their actions, to be readily packaged, in the case of those – like governments – who enjoy 'habitual access' to journalists; or to 'promote events', for those – like 'terrorists' – who do not (Molotch and Lester, 1997).

Molotch and Lester's formulation of news management as 'purposive behaviour' may also be a good fit with the issues involved in considering the reporting of conflict, since parties arguably behave more 'purposively' during periods of intensification, when the conflict in question is more likely to be in the news. (As an example, the US embassy in Manila took its own transcript of Ambassador Joseph Mussomeli's remarks about Mindanao and publicised them on its own website, in advance of transmission).

These are just a few threads to grasp – but they point to the kind of considerations likely to crop up in discussions with groups about why Peace Journalism 'matters' in any larger sense.

The Feedback Loop has unmistakable implications for journalistic *ethics*, a topic many students on media and journalism courses will study separately. In reports of the facts, it means 'some facts are created, at least partly, in order to be reported... the facts of tomorrow bear a residue, or imprint, of the reporting of today'. It intersects with ethical concepts of *deon* (duty) and *telos* (goal, or outcome):

'A deontological journalistic ethic is, in this sense, merely a teleological one "in-waiting" – waiting for a convincing explanation of the relations of cause and effect' (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005a, pp 217–8).

Objectivity

It may be surprising to find how many students, from disciplines such as International Relations or even Conflict and Peace Studies, arrive for their Peace Journalism class still assuming that journalists simply 'report the facts' or that the media merely constitute a neutral 'space'. In this, they may simply be typical of the public at large, in many parts of the world:

'Television journalists: know your place. The overwhelming view of the public is that the job doesn't involve creative decisions, because 'news is news', according to ITC [Independent Television Commission] audience research. "What do you mean, what should they cover"? a young woman from London asked a researcher. "They have to cover the news. What has happened, what is going on, there is not a lot of deciding to do about it" (in Lynch, 2002, p 21).

They may usefully be pointed in the direction of accessible, authoritative accounts, such as Bagdikian (2000) and Hackett and Zhao (1998), of how the set of industry conventions known as journalistic objectivity emerged in the first place.

The standard scientific definition of objectivity is that findings should be observable and reproducible; and these accounts show how journalism came to concentrate on those portions of the facts most easily accepted, at any rate by the targeted affluent consumers, as both. A form of news that was unexceptionable, to readers and audiences of all political views and none, was constructed, therefore, by intelligible historical process.

What does this have to do with conflict? 'Objective' news has three conventions in particular that also predispose it towards War Journalism as the dominant form. They are:

- A bias in favour of event over process
- A bias in favour of official sources
- A bias in favour of dualism

How come? Event over process – easy. As with the Philippines bombings, concentrating on the explosion and its immediate physical effects is to confine oneself to things that have, incontestably, happened. Go to unravel it and you immediately confront the question – which thread do we pull? A decision which would draw attention to itself *as a decision*, and therefore one that risks putting off sections of the readership or audience.

Confine reports of conflict to violent events, however, and, as already suggested, it can lead or leave violence to appear, by default, as the only colourable 'solution'.

Official sources – well, clearly important to 'objective' reporting since the words and deeds of a Prime Minister – or even a US Ambassador – can be reported by virtue of holding their office, without that implying approval for what they say. But Lederach's grassroots peacemakers, while always present, and important to the dynamics of a conflict, are just one aspect likely to fall off the edge of the news as a result, leading to a distorted picture. Also missing – anything official sources do not care to discuss, as with the 'our oil/their sand' conundrum in advance of the invasion of Iraq in 2003.

What about dualism? This draws in observations from narrative analysis:

'One safe way to insulate oneself against allegations of bias is to "hear both sides"... It also chimes with the way many other parts of life are organised. Politics? Conveniently divided into Left and Right. Our personality, thoughts and dreams? Try "conscious" and "unconscious". In the end, we will all be sorted into sheep and goats, in the last battle of Good and Evil.

It means any narrative organised around two poles may appear to us as "common sense". A decision to tell a story in that way can slip past, unnoticed, without drawing attention to itself, because of its close resemblance, in shape and structure, to so much of the story-telling we already take for granted. Dualism is, for these reasons, a key part of Objectivity' (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005a, p 210).

However, dualism is also a key component of War Journalism:

- 'It's a simple question of geometry. Two points can only be joined in one way – with a line
- It means any movement – any change in the relations between them – can only take place along this single axis
- The conflict is like a tug of war...
- It's a 'zero-sum game', in which each party ultimately faces only two alternatives – victory or defeat

If the parties to a conflict conceive of it, or *frame* it, in this way, it prepares the ground for escalation. Why? Because it becomes impossible for either to propose any change in policy which does not, clearly and unequivocally, move that party further towards victory over the other. Anything else would risk being interpreted – and reported – as "backing down". Anything which is not "winning" must be "losing". Defeat being unthinkable, each has a readymade incentive to step up, or escalate, his efforts for victory' (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005a, p 8).

The Propaganda Model

Experience suggests that if students of other disciplines have already met any media theory, through general interest, it likely to be is the Propaganda Model (Chomsky, 1989).

Certainly the question is likely to be raised in some form – or to hang in the air, if not explored – as to whether all this discussion about War Journalism and Peace Journalism is not rather beside the point – shouldn't we expect 'corporate media' to be warlike, as the scorpion will sting, because that's their nature?

Chomsky's key proposition:

'Major media – particularly, the elite media that set the agenda that others generally follow – are corporations "selling" privileged audiences to other businesses. It would hardly come as a surprise if the picture of the world they present were to reflect the perspectives and interests of the sellers, the buyers, and the product (Chapter One, segment 3/6).

What suggestions can course directors make to open this up? Well, like the Anderson earlier, it may be ripe for deconstruction. War Journalism predominated in UK media, for example, in the period leading up to the invasion of Iraq, but, it could be argued, participation was, if anything, against the interests of British business in general, and the media-owning and patronising sections of it in particular.

It brought, or triggered:

- Depressed stock market performance
- Meagre pickings in reconstruction
- Ballooning public deficits, with associated fiscal and monetary effects
- A longer and deeper advertising recession

So 'reflecting the interests of sellers and buyers' cannot explain, at least in a unified, 'present' sense, the predominance of War Journalism, leading us (in the UK) to over-value violence as a response to this particular conflict.

The Blair government was committed to war, as later investigative journalism revealed, long before the decision was 'officially' taken, and, it could be said, prudent businesses of whatever stripe do not make life too difficult for the government of the day in carrying out their cherished policies. But that would be to *dissociate* the very notion of 'business interests' – they may be divided and, in some senses, contradictory.

If it is true that Rupert Murdoch, in the comment attributed to him, envisaged '\$20 a barrel for oil' as part of the spoils of war (Day, 2003); and if this somehow fed through into the decision by his 175 newspapers around the world to start running bellicose editorials all at about the same time (Greenslade, 2003); then it calls into question the ability of 'business' to identify its own interests, and think through, in advance, the causes and effects necessary to secure them.

Where does this leave us? There are connections, to be sure, between the business interests of those who own and patronise the media, and the prevalence of reporting conventions which predispose the news towards War Journalism; however those connections are not linear, as Chomsky implies, but historical and structural; they are, moreover, riven with contradictions, both actual and potential.

Students who wish to pursue this aspect of the course could usefully be directed to Tehranian (2002) on the one hand:

'Structural pluralism may be considered a *sine qua non* of content pluralism';

and Lynch and McGoldrick (2005b) on the other:

'Peace Journalism ... does restore a sense of agency and responsibility to discussions about democracy and the media, discussions that can otherwise seem excessively structural-functionalist in tone and content'

to ponder whether and how the statements they make can be reconciled¹.

3.3 More practical Peace Journalism

In practice, groups and individual students show a great diversity of responses to the opening gambit of showing two versions of a report of a particular violent incident. A group at Sydney University included a sizeable contingent from Mindanao. Some of them, initially at least, saw the reports recounted in this article as more remarkable for their similarities than their differences.

1. A suggestion by Professor Robert A Hackett, made during discussions at the 2005 conference of the Toda Institute for Peace and Policy Research, Madrid

In the same way, *News from the Holy Land* (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2004) – which opens with two reports about a suicide bombing in Jerusalem – elicited very different reactions when screened to an audience mainly comprised of the Israeli Left, in Tel Aviv, then to a mixed audience in Bethlehem. Here, local journalism students tended to be dismissive of the notion that the War Journalism treatment should be seen as materially different from the Peace Journalism. Internationals present, on the other hand – while supportive of the Palestinian cause – were simultaneously well aware that the latter would 'push the envelope' of acceptability in any western newsroom, describing it as 'radical'.

This is fertile ground for group discussions. One begins by asking whether Peace Journalism can be expected to look and feel the same everywhere. Another involves considering how far Peace Journalism can be removed, or needs to be removed, from framings of conflict by those who feel threatened.

Discussion can be followed by exercises in media analysis and criticism. What would it take to change the representation of conflicts? Once the basic War Journalism/Peace Journalism model has been introduced, students can be sent away in groups to find examples of reports of conflict, identify their War Journalism characteristics and suggest effective tactics to re-conceive, re-source, reconstruct and rewrite them as Peace Journalism. The Mindanao participants in Sydney began to appreciate the distinctions and their importance as they experimented with these tactics for themselves. One of them reflected:

'This course is so timely for me because I am at the crossroads: to pursue journalism or to move on to other endeavours. There have been more than a few times when I even told my boss I was planning to resign [my job] but my wife kept on telling me to stay on.

This course has provided a step-by-step guide for journalists on how to do coverage in conflict situations. I realize now that I need not stop reporting on violent events but that I should do so with a wider perspective which would entail a little bit more thinking, a little bit more work, and would require reaching out to alternative sources of information other than the usual "official" ones'.

The next step is to think of ways to follow up on a violent incident, perhaps involving different modes of story-telling, with the aim of interpolating elements of the conflict picture routinely omitted or occluded in news representations compiled under the conventions of 'objectivity'. *News from the Holy Land* includes five news-length features, which further the incipient divergence of the initial two versions.

Perhaps the most important is a report on two brothers – one a suicide bomber, the other a peace worker in Bethlehem – which was also versioned for BBC radio and television. The surviving brother says: 'Each stage of the struggle has its own different form of resistance. Once it meant retaliation for Israeli attacks on us. But violence just creates more violence. We want a different future, and that's why we're working, that's the reason why I exist, so as to help create a better future for the kids here'.

This is a useful talking point since it shows differential responses to the same set of circumstances – a structure-culture explanation for violence which still finds room for the exercise of individual responsibility.

Then there is the art of 'pegging' a follow-up to an initial report. In reality, in the Philippines, the comments by Ambassador Mussomeli came some time after the Valentine's Day bombings, and were reported in local Philippines newspapers. The story moved further up the news agenda the following day when the Foreign Ministry in Manila called him in for a dressing-down.

A creative strategy for developing this story would have to involve illuminating some of the underlying structural or rights issues, one of which, in the southern Philippines, concerns land use and even – in some cases – food security.

Lynch and McGoldrick (2005a) give an account of a story involving a group of landless peasants on Mindanao. They are trying to invoke the Philippines' Land Reform legislation to open up a tract of land for their own use as subsistence farmers, but the problem is implementation – powerful interests, in this case those of big food companies, are frustrating them.

'A possible intro:

"Even as the senior US diplomat in the Philippines was being called on to explain recent remarks, that 'poverty and lawlessness' mean Mindanao risks becoming 'the next Afghanistan', a group of poor farmers on the island were complaining that laws passed to help them are being ignored in favour of deals with multinational companies – many American-owned".

Another connection with the "mainstream" agenda could be offered by reminding readers of the words of one of the judges in the Supreme Court case [involving the same farmers who carried out a hunger strike, some years earlier]: "The resolution of such cases has far-reaching implications for the success of our land reform program. Indeed, their successful resolution can bring peace or rebellion in our countryside".

These developments came shortly after the resurgent Maoist New People's Army (NPA) were branded "the greatest internal security threat to the country" (Morella, 2005) by the Philippines Defense Secretary. It is to oppose the NPA that the majority of troops are deployed in rural areas, particularly Mindanao, where they are accused of persistent human rights abuses'.

Depending on course directors' chosen emphasis, students can be pointed in the direction of other sources and resources – including many online – to compile their own Peace Journalism follow-ups to reports of violent incidents, shuttling back and forth along a 'sliding scale' between the peg at one end and the preferred conflict analysis at the other.

4. Learning outcomes

It has already been noted that students may come to a course in or including Peace Journalism from many different backgrounds. Learning outcomes for journalism students, in general terms, consist of both acquiring and applying journalism skills, and knowing why they are doing it. On existing Peace Journalism courses, they have been asked to produce assignment work giving their own version of a news story about conflict, and also their reasoning.

The question set for students of the Conflict Resolving Media course at the University of Sydney includes the option of a practical exercise, asking them to choose a recent development in a conflict, analyse the reporting and write their own Peace Journalism version of it – in around 1,000 words suitable for publication in a major broadsheet newspaper. They are asked:

- Using examples, say how this development was reported at the time. Explain what characteristics of the reporting make it War Journalism
- What effect might this pattern of reporting have on the actions and motivations of (any) party or parties to the conflict? How might this effect be transmitted?
- How is your own report different from the way the story was reported at the time? What different decisions have you made?
- What effect might your report, and more like it, have on the actions and motivations of (any) party or parties to the conflict? How might this effect be transmitted?
- Why are conflicts reported so often in the War Journalism style?
- Was the reporting at the time objective?
- Is your report objective?

As this underlines, a course in Peace Journalism includes considering whether and how patterns of media response to developments in conflict may influence the actions and motivations of parties to conflict. In other words, the nature of media representations may be seen as a matter of general political and social concern. Students of disciplines other than journalism can therefore apply the same core concepts to identify missing elements from news reports of conflict, only then being asked to devise other ways to restore them.

On the Sydney course, those who do not wish to write their own news report can opt instead to write a proposal for a media intervention in conflict, or a plan for a campaign targeting journalists covering a conflict. In each case, they are asked to explain how their proposal, if carried out, could be expected to make a difference, both to the coverage and to the conflict itself. Successful recent examples include a proposal for a Peace Journalism training programme aimed at international correspondents covering the conflict in Colombia, and a campaign plan to raise awareness among Australian journalists of issues around asylum and refugees.

In this, a course in Peace Journalism is particularly well suited for insertion into Peace and Conflict Studies – with its unique sense of orientation and purpose – as well as journalism, communications and media. One department, the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Sydney, gives, as its mission statement, the following:

'CPACS promotes interdisciplinary research and teaching on the causes of conflict and the conditions that affect conflict resolution and peace. Research projects and other activities focus on the resolution of conflict *with a view to attaining just societies*.

The Centre aims to facilitate dialogue between individuals, groups or communities who are concerned with conditions of positive peace, whether in interpersonal relationships, community relations, within organisations and nations, or with reference to international relations' (emphasis added, CPACS 2006).

References

- Anderson, Mary B. (1999). *Do No Harm – How Aid can Support Peace or War*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, London.
- Bagdikian, Ben (2000). *The Media Monopoly*, 6th ed., Beacon Press, Boston, Mass.
- BRITISH COUNCIL (2002). *Kabar dari Manado*, Jakarta, British Council, from the Introduction by Jake Lynch.
- Chomsky, Noam (1989). *Necessary Illusions*, ZMag online edition, Chapter One, *Democracy and the Media*.

- CONFLICT AND PEACE COURSES (1998). *The Peace Journalism Option*, Taplow, UK.
- CPACS (2006). Website of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney, accessed at <http://www.arts.usyd.edu.au/centres/cpacs/>, May 2006.
- Day, Julia (2003). Murdoch praises Blair's 'courage', London, *Guardian*, February 12.
- Derrida, Jaques (1986). *Memoires – for Paul de Man*, trans Cecile Lindsay, Jonathan Culler and Eduardo Cadava, New York, Columbia University Press.
- Elworthy, Scilla and Rogers, Paul (2002). *The 'War on Terrorism': 12 – month audit and future strategy options*, Oxford, Oxford Research Group briefing paper
- Galtung, Johan (1969). 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research', in *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol 6/3, 1969.
- Galtung, Johan (1998). '3R's – Resolution, Reconstruction and Reconciliation' accessed from <http://www.transcend.org/TRRECBAS.HTM> pp 65–66, May 2006
- Galtung, Johan (2001). *Crafting Peace – On the Psychology of the TRANSCEND approach*, accessed from http://www.transcend.org/t_database/articles.php?ida=221, May, 2006
- Greenslade, Roy (2003). 'Their Master's Voice', London, *Guardian*, February 17
- Hackett, Robert and Zhao, Yuezhi (1998). *Sustaining Democracy? Journalism and the Politics of Objectivity*, Garamond Press, Toronto.
- Hall, Stuart (1980). 'Encoding/Decoding' in *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies*, London, Hutchinson, pp 128–138.
- Hanitzsch, Thomas (2004). 'Journalists as peacekeeping force? Peace journalism and mass communication theory', in *Journalism Studies*, Vol 5 No 4, pp 483–495
- Hari, Johann (2004). 'Beheaded hostages, slaughtered children, and the misguided "war on global terror"', *Independent*, London, September 22, 2004
- Hencke, David (2005). 'Tube bombs "linked to Iraq war"'. London, *Guardian*, July 18
- Khalidun, Ibn (1969). *The Muqaddimah*, trans. Franz Rosenthal, ed. and abridged by N. J. Dawood, New Jersey, Princeton.
- Kempf, Wilhelm (2003). *Constructive Conflict Coverage*, Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution (ed), regener, Berlin.
- Kempf, Wilhelm (2005). 'Experimenting with de-escalation oriented coverage of post-war conflicts', paper presented to 3rd International Conference on Communication and Mass Media, Athens Institute for Education and Research, Athens, May 23–25, 2005.
- Lederach, John Paul (1997). *Building Peace – Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington DC, United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Lynch, Jake (2002). *Reporting the World*, Taplow, Conflict and Peace Forums
- Lynch, Jake and McGoldrick, Annabel (2004). *News from the Holy Land – a Peace Journalism Video*, Hawthorn Press, Stroud and Films for the Humanities and Sciences, Princeton.
- Lynch, Jake and McGoldrick, Annabel (2005a). *Peace Journalism*, Hawthorn Press, Stroud.
- Lynch, Jake and McGoldrick, Annabel (2005b). 'Peace Journalism – a global dialog for democracy and democratic media', in *Democratizing Global Media – One World, Many Struggles*, Robert A Hackett and Yuezhi Zhao (eds), Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, pp 269–288.
- Lynch, Jake and McGoldrick, Annabel (2007). *The 'War on Terrorism' and the Philippines – a Peace Journalism video*. Oxford, Golden Vision Media.
- Maslog, Cris and Ting Lee, Seow (2005). 'War or Peace Journalism? Asian Newspaper Coverage of Conflicts', in *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 55, No. 2, pp 311–329.
- Mitchell, Chris (1981). *The Structure of International Conflict*, London, Macmillan
- Molotch, H. and Lester, M. (1997). 'News as purposive behaviour: on the strategic use of routine events, accidents and scandals', in Berkowitz, D, *Social Meanings of News: A Text-Reader*, Sage, London.
- Morella, Cecil (2005). *Philippines military reviews strategy to meet communist threat*, Agence France Presse, April 1
- Oberg, Jan, 2005. 'The Iraq Conflict and the Media: Embedded with War rather than with Peace and Democracy', in *Democratizing Global Media – One World, Many Struggles*, Robert A Hackett and Yuezhi Zhao (eds), Rowman and Littlefield, Lanham, pp 185–204.
- Peleg, Samuel and Alimi, Eitan (2005). 'Constructing political discourse in the Israeli print news media – an experimental design', *Conflict and Communication Online*, Vol. 4, No. 2.
- Rothenberg, Randall (1999). *The Advertising Century*, AdAge.com, accessed at <http://www.adage.com/century/rothenberg.html>, May, 2006

Tehrani, Majid (2002). 'Peace Journalism – Negotiating Global Media Ethics', in *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp 58–83.

Van Klinken, Gerry (1999). 'What caused the Ambon violence?' In *Inside Indonesia* No 60, Oct–Dec 1999

WNYC (2003). Accessed from <http://www.wnyc.org/news/articles/11770>, May, 2006

On the author: Jake Lynch, Director of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at Sydney University, is an experienced professional journalist in television, radio and print media. He has also worked for ten years to develop and campaign for Peace Journalism. Together with Annabel McGoldrick he wrote a book of the same name which was published by Hawthorn Press (2005). He is also the author of many refereed book chapters and papers and has taught post-graduate courses and modules at the universities of Sydney, Queensland, Cardiff, Oslo and Orebro.

Webpage www.peacejournalism.org

Address: 35 Junction Road, Oxford, OX4 2NT, UK.

eMail: editor@peacejournalism.org