

# the PEACE JOURNALIST

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- Reporting Syrian Refugees-Part II



Learning about the power of PJ in

# Kashmir



# the PEACE JOURNALIST

The Peace Journalist is a semi-annual publication of the Center for Global Peace Journalism at Park University in Parkville, Missouri.

The Peace Journalist is dedicated to disseminating news and information for teachers, students, and practitioners of peace and conflict sensitive journalism.

Submissions are welcome from all. We are seeking shorter submissions (300-500 words) detailing peace journalism projects, classes, proposals, etc. We also welcome longer submissions (800-1200 words) about peace or conflict sensitive journalism projects or programs, as well as academic works from the field.

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## What is Peace Journalism?

Peace Journalism is when editors and reporters make choices that improve the prospects for peace. These choices, including how to frame stories and carefully choosing which words are used, create an atmosphere conducive to peace and supportive of peace initiatives and peacemakers, without compromising the basic principles of good journalism. (Adapted from Lynch/McGoldrick, *Peace Journalism*). Peace Journalism gives peacemakers a voice while making peace initiatives and non-violent solutions more visible and viable.

A number of valuable peace journalism resources, including resource packets and online links, can be found at:  
<http://www.park.edu/center-for-peace-journalism/resources.html>.

# Peaceful perspectives needed in Kashmir region

By Shazana Andrabi and Ruheela Hassan

In Kashmir, a conflict zone often referred to as a 'nuclear flashpoint' between India and Pakistan, the last twenty-five plus years have been those of violence (of several degrees of intensity), turmoil and loss. Like any conflict situation, education has been one of the major casualties and has sometimes been relegated to the background as more 'pressing' issues of law and order were prioritized.

Journalism, however, was needed more than ever; and responsible journalism at that.

Academics from the Centre for International Relations and Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at the Islamic University of Science and Technology (IUST), Kashmir, and Park University, USA, came together to hold a series of workshops on Peace Journalism from the 28th to the 30th of July, 2015. The objective of

Shazana Andrabi (left) heads the Centre for International Relations at the Islamic University of Science and Technology (IUST). Having Masters degrees in History and International Peace Studies (from the University for Peace, Costa Rica), she is one of the founding members of the Centre.

Dr. Ruheela Hassan heads the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication at IUST. In addition to her teaching experience, she has worked in the fields of television, radio and print media, especially in the social sector. Her experience in the field has translated into a fusion of theory and practice in class.

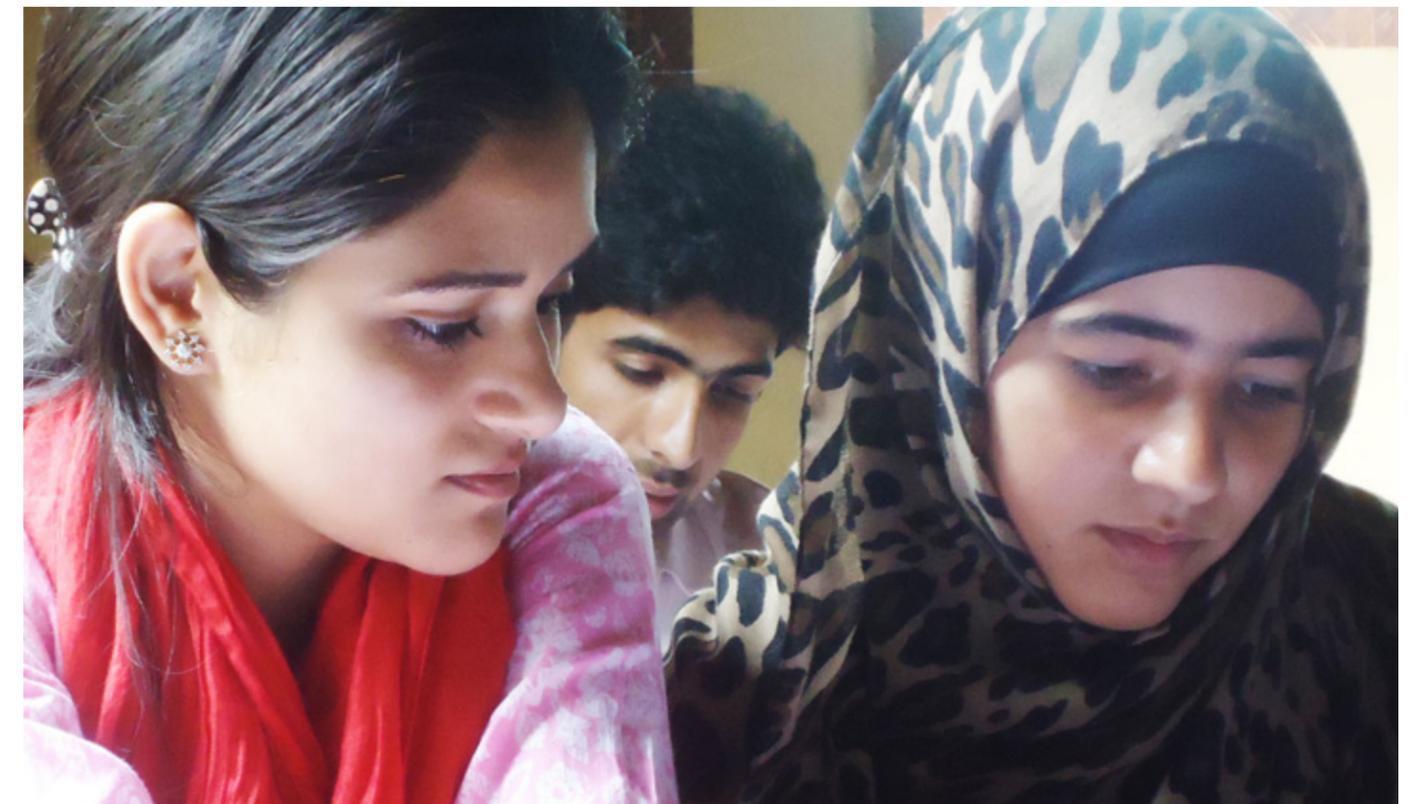


these workshops was to understand how media affects the prospects for conflict and peace building. The series was meant to sensitize academics, journalists and students to perceive situations through the perspectives of a peace journalist.

It was recognised that Peace Journalism was much-needed, especially in a conflict zone, and practical, peace-

oriented perspectives needed to be brought forth. It could involve different academic activities like offering joint courses, organising workshops and conferences, conducting research activities and joint publications. The first step towards this end would be to make people aware of the concept of Peace Journalism. This was done

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Islamic University students review peace journalism materials during a week long workshop in Awantipora, Kashmir.

Kashmir from Pg 3

through workshops designed for faculty, students and journalists.

“Peace Journalism is the answer to many problems created by the traditional way of practicing journalism and it is imperative to promote peace in the troubled hotspots in particular. It is a thousand mile journey and we have to go a long way to establish and restore peace. With this program, the first step in the right direction is being taken,” noted Nasir Mirza, participant and Senior Assistant Professor, Media Education and Research Centre, University of Kashmir.

There were the usual inhibitions, the ‘what-ifs’ and other limitations in carrying out such workshops in a conflict zone. Despite these, the enthusiasm, especially of students in learning about this new concept and trying to gauge its applicability, was very encouraging.

Many issues came up during the workshops, primarily that of the term ‘Peace Journalism’ itself (see sidebar story, next page). Initially skeptical of the term, faculty and students



At a three day workshop in Kashmir, participants discuss the fundamentals of PJ.

alike wanted to know the difference between ‘good journalism’ and ‘Peace Journalism’, and if they were the same, what was the need to introduce a new term into the discourse. The topic was thoroughly discussed and all participants gave their inputs. Some retained their skepticism and others found the term and concept worth discussing and implementing.

One of the highlights of the workshops was that participants were required to carry out field work and write a story based on their

interview(s) with people affected by conflict. Participants realised that it was difficult but not impossible to put aside their personal observations and biases and practice Peace Journalism. As it turned out, the journalists of Kashmir, as observed by Prof. Steven Youngblood, practice Peace Journalism to a very large extent. This was reiterated in an interaction between him and young, practicing journalists from the valley.

The vision behind the workshop was to initiate a dialogue on peace journalism, its merits and limitations. It is heartening to see that this process has been initiated and further projects carrying this vision forward are being worked upon.

“The workshop was an invigorating brainstorming session. It changed the way we perceive journalism as a means of creating discord, and acquainted us with a new interpretation of journalism as a means of easing the stirred-up society and bringing positive change,” said Ifrah Butt, Student, Centre for Intl. Relations.

“This workshop gave us an opportunity to think beyond conventional journalism and stimulated me to think that every story in mainstream journalism can be explored further,” said Akhter Neyaz Bhat, Lecturer, Degree College Baramulla.



Workshop participants compare notes about peace media in Kashmir.

Kashmiri journalists, guest debate PJ at *Rising Kashmir*

Whenever journalists get together, a spirited discussion usually follows. This was certainly the case as I met the news team in August at *Rising Kashmir* newspaper.

The meeting was organized to very briefly introduce the principles of peace journalism. As it turned out, it was much less presentation and much more me answering thought-provoking questions about peace journalism.

Editor Shujaat Bukhari opened the discussion with a question about the label peace journalism. While he encourages his reporters to take a facts-based, unbiased approach, he asked if the term peace journalism was itself inflammatory and unnecessary. Bukhari said PJ principles could be simply taught as good journalism, or, just journalism.

Bukhari’s point is well taken. As practitioners and teachers of PJ have observed and written, the word peace itself is ironically inflammatory, stirring strong emotions and conjuring distorted images of 1960’s style long haired, pot-smoking, tree hugging hippies. In the groundbreaking 2005 book *Peace Journalism*, Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick admit that the term peace journalism doesn’t appeal to everyone, and indeed will be misunderstood as open advocacy for peace and an abandonment of the cherished journalistic notion of objectivity. Lynch and McGoldrick wrote that the strength of the term peace journalism lies in its ability to “galvanize, shake up, and send a seismic energy through sedimented layers of (journalistic) tradition, assumption, and definition.”

Agreeing with the notion that the label peace journalism “shakes things up,” I asked Bukhari if I would have been invited to speak to his reporters if all I was peddling was plain vanilla “good journalism?”



Setting aside the label discussion, Bukhari and I seemed to agree on the principles of balance and objectivity offered by the peace journalism approach. The reporters asked pointed questions about subjective terms like massacre and martyr. I suggested that if reporters use these words, they may lose their objectivity.

One reporter asked, what if her cousin was murdered by the authorities—how should that be reported? I said that peace journalism, and indeed good journalism, asks that news reporters set aside their biases. Understandably, in this example, and indeed in everyday life in Kashmir, remaining unbiased is an especially tall order. Nonetheless, I suggested that she report her cousin’s death factually, without finger pointing, and in a way that gives balance to both accuser and accused. I acknowledged, however, that this is easy for me to say. I hope I would stick to my principles under such circumstances.

Overall, I admire the work done by *Rising Kashmir* in not sensationalizing or irresponsibly reporting the news here under extremely difficult circumstances. They can certainly teach their colleagues in New Delhi a thing or two about responsible journalism. --Steven Youngblood



Top--Is this article PJ? Islamic University students discuss. Center--An Islamic Univ. student presents her findings to class. Bottom--Conference organizer Shazana Andrabi (left) instructs students about a reporting assignment.

# Considering the role of visuals in PJ messaging

By Saumava Mitra

Peace journalism asks for the 'true face' of war to be exposed. Arguably there is no better way of showing the true cost of war and violence than through photographs because of the universal emotional appeal of visuals. Photographs, as such, are unmatched as messages of hope, empathy and peace.

Academicians interested in defining the purview of peace journalism have called for 'people-oriented content' in journalism as well as for providing contexts of the conflicts. But when these discussions deal with visual reportage, the call for certain kinds of visual content trumps critical engagement with the context of the photographs. The fact remains though that photographs can change their meaning depending on the way the viewer's response is cued by the context provided in the captions or headlines that appear with them. As Susan Sontag wrote in *Regarding the Pain of Others*, "The same antiwar photograph may be read as showing pathos, or heroism, admirable heroism, in an unavoidable struggle that can be concluded only by victory or by defeat. The photographer's intentions do not determine the meaning of the photograph, which will have its own career, blown by the whims and loyalties of the diverse communities that have use for it."

Yet, in the face of this understanding of visuals as messages which never mean just one thing, studies of visuals from a peace journalism perspective have sought to define, analyze and study the peace (or not) aspect of news photographs as if their contexts (and thus their meanings) remain static. To illustrate what I mean by the sense-shifting nature of visual reportage and how it makes evaluations of just its contents – as peaceful or violent – problematic, I use a photo feature published by Foreign Policy magazine called 'Liberated in the Hindukush: Don't tell these women nothing's changed in Afghanistan' published on 20th March, 2013.

The photo feature in question may qualify as peace



**Saumava Mitra is a PhD candidate at Western University in Canada. His thesis project is on the role of Afghan photo-journalists in the visual narration of the war in Afghanistan for which he was recently in Kabul conducting interviews with photographers.**

journalism judging by content solely, portraying as it does, 'strong' women from Afghanistan – women politicians and protesters as well as women in professional roles – and not only as victims of war. Of the 19 photos in the feature, six show women or female children participating in leisure activities outside of their homes. Another three show women politicians casting ballots or campaigning. One of the photographs show a procession of young Afghan women protesting violence against women. Another eight photographs show women in professional roles and one shows young female children studying in a school. The feature shifts focus from 'able-bodied elite males' to the women playing roles in the civil society of Afghanistan, thus providing 'people-oriented content'.

In conveying its message of active and participating women, the photo feature uses selective portrayals of some women as symbols to point to a larger assumption about Afghan society – i.e. in post-Taliban Afghanistan, women are now 'free' to engage in public activities. They can now take part in sports (e.g. photographs showing female boxers, gymnasts, Taekwondo athletes), take up jobs (e.g. photographs showing female student-midwife, a tailor, a fashion designer, a radio journalist and three of Afghan women soldiers and policewomen), study (e.g. photograph showing female children in a class in a camp) as well as participate in politics (e.g. photographs showing women politicians casting ballot and campaigning). This is the explicit message of the feature as iterated in its introduction: "Afghan women have gained the rights to vote, work, and pursue an education. They're running for president, they've claimed seats in parliament, and they've even competed in the Olympics." This context serves to bring the 19 disparate photos together to substantiate the original directive for the viewers – "don't tell these women nothing's changed in Afghanistan." But the photo feature does more than just tell a story about change in the position of women in Afghan society.

The feature simplifies 'Afghanistan' by compressing the 'spaces' and 'times' of the lives of these women. It creates tableaux vivant of Afghan women in various poses to create a narrative of their apparent liberation.

I will discuss two photos from the selection to show how the re-contextualization by the narrative of the photo feature changes the original meaning of the photographs and thus hides more than it shows. The first example is the photo captioned "Afghan girls attend class at a camp for the displaced in Kabul in October 2011." The lived

Continued on next page

## Afghan Visuals *from Pg 6*

experience of being 'displaced' or the situated-ness of the photographic space at a camp for the displaced, disappears when the viewer is told the space is a 'class' – a liberating 'public' space that provides education. That the public space represented may be itself situated within a marginalized space outside the broader public arena of Afghanistan, is masked.

Another example that illustrates my point is that of a photograph captioned "Activists with Afghan Young Women for Change protest violence against women in Kabul in April 2012." Since they are taking part in the public role of protesting on the streets, the actual violence against women that they are protesting disappears for the viewer. Being able to protest is evidence enough that Afghanistan is a better place for women after the foreign intervention, obliterating the original meaning in the photograph of depicting a protest-march belying that very 'fact'.

In giving (journalistic) space and time to the depiction of Afghan women in active roles, the photo feature also takes viewers away from the (actual) spaces and times from which the photos of these Afghan women come.

Further, the photo feature produces a message of empathy for these liberated Afghan women and their plight "after the Taliban come back". But this empathy not only undermines the lived experiences of being a woman in conflict-ridden Afghanistan where displacement and violence against women are already present but also serves as a justification of the foreign intervention and occupation in Afghanistan because the feature in its introduction to the photos predicates the freedom of women on the presence of international troops.

These examples are an illustration of the bigger picture behind every picture that peace journalism needs to bring within its discussion of visual reportage. It may not be enough to use the definitions of non-visual peace journalism to understand visual peace journalism. The nature of the visual medium demands more. However, perhaps in the sense-shifting nature of visuals itself, lies the way to deploy visuals for peace journalism. Using the example of photos from the Abu Ghraib prison originally taken by soldiers with triumphalist motives which subsequently became evidences of atrocities against prisoners, Judith Butler in her book *Frames of War*, shows us how photos, because of their very openness, can break out of their original meaning to create "horror and outrage that will support and impel calls for justice and an end to violence." All they need is the right context.

*The current contribution is a summary of an article published in October 2014. For a full exposition of the subject, see: Mitra, S. (2014). Re-thinking visuals: Understanding discursive reformulation of visuals to inform peace journalism. Conflict and Communication Online, 13 (2).*



## Study looks at visual media coverage in Afghan election

The bloodshed-free transition of presidential power in Afghanistan in September, 2014 marked a momentous event in the country which has seen and continues to see violence almost daily. A joint project between a Kabul-based civil society organization, Afghanistan Journalist Safety Committee (AJSC), a Kabul-based research organization, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit (AREU), and doctoral researcher Saumava Mitra from Western University, Canada hopes to shed light on the visual media coverage of the events and actors in the difficult period that preceded the ultimately peaceful transfer of power. The study follows the peace journalism categories of understanding news as peace-oriented or violence-oriented and has developed an innovative categorical analysis of visuals based on these principles to understand the specific case of the role played by media during a political crisis in Afghanistan which threatened to spiral into violence.

The project, currently in its last stages of data analysis, has sampled a body of visual data from Afghan newspapers and major international news outlets as well as from popular social media pages maintained and circulated by Afghans, to build a coherent and complete analysis of what visual cues were available to Afghan media users and make sense of the crisis following the July 2014 presidential election results. The researchers expect to be able to assess the functions played by media in Afghan society with the inclusion of Afghan media sources as well as social media pages.

The project also bridges a gap that all three collaborating parties hope will be an example for more future cross-overs in Afghanistan between interested organizations and individuals, for projects meaningful for academic, advocacy, and policy intervention purposes.

The research staff hope to finalize and publish the research findings soon both as a joint report for general circulation as well as in a peer-reviewed format in an academic journal of standing. **-Saumava Mitra**

# Kuwaiti journalists give voice to Bidoon

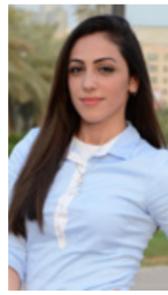
By Shahad Al-Matrouk

Estimates of the Bidoon population range between 100,000 to 120,000 according to activists of the Bidoon issue. Even though they live in one of the richest countries in the world, the Kuwaiti government does not have an accurate or documented size of Bidoon living in Kuwait. But first, who are the Bidoon?

The label Bidoon was first given to migrant workers in Kuwait at the time of independence in 1961, after the end of the British presence in Kuwait, who were not given nationality, or Kuwaiti citizenship. It is an arabic term “bidoon jensiya” which means “without nationality” in English. The UN categorizes the Bidoon as stateless persons.

How did this situation begin? The explanations and readings are many. Their situation is critical. Even though Bidoon are provided with basic accommodations, many of their homes are run-down, and located in an area that lacks almost everything except water and electricity.

Even though the Bidoon have been in Kuwait since before independence, they share a common social background and history with the Kuwaitis. In terms of media coverage of this issue (newspapers, TV, and social media), there seem to be one-sided



**Shahad Al-Matrouk** is a journalist at Al-Qabas newspaper and a researcher in Al-Salam center for studies

coverage and anti-Bidoon negative stereotyping.

The media coverage focuses on the negative acts of some people from the Bidoon. Articles frequently are written about Bidoon committing crime. This type of coverage certainly does not serve this group of people who were, and are still being, marginalized by denying them a basic right of getting Kuwaiti citizenship.

On the other hand, the government’s attitude towards this issue was criticized repeatedly by the UN’s Human Rights Watch.

Some government officials claim that Bidoon are in fact not stateless as the UN says. These officials claim that the Bidoon are citizens of other states like Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, or even Syria. This claim could be true for some, but the vast majority of Bidoon are not considered nationals (citizens) of any country. Many of those who renounced their original citizen-

ship joined the military corps in the 1970’s, and the government did not seem to be bothered by that.

The plight of the Bidoon was central to a recent Peace Journalism seminar/project in Kuwait. The seminar was given by Steven Youngblood, director of the Center for Global Peace Journalism at Park University. The event was organized and funded by the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait. It took place at Bait Al-Othman in May. The project included a three-day seminar that included theoretical and practical implementations.

During the first day, Prof. Youngblood introduced the definition of Peace Journalism to a group of journalists from different local newspapers through questions and answers. These discussions centered on the nature of peace journalism and state of media in Kuwait.

Prof. Youngblood displayed, in the first day, the differences between typical journalism, which is most common and used when writing articles, and peace journalism, which is not very prevalent in Kuwait. Prof. Youngblood discussed the most pressing issues that should be analyzed more in the media. The participants shared several ideas of pressing issues in Kuwait, but the majority agreed that Bidoon issue should be on the top of the list.

The second day was divided into theoretical and practical implementation of Peace Journalism. First, Prof. Youngblood assigned a task to the journalists where they had to decide if an article they were given should be classified under typical journalism or peace journalism. The article was about Russian-Ukrainian crisis, and the journalists decided it was certainly not a peace journalism kind

*Continued on next page*



Workshop participants visited a Bidoon settlement, where living conditions are far below the standard for Kuwaiti citizens.

# Kuwait *from Pg 8*



Workshop participants analyze a “principles of peace journalism” handout.

of article based on the principles of peace journalism.

The second half of day two was hands-on. After agreeing that the Bidoon issue is a major problem, the group along with Prof. Youngblood went to Sulaibiya, an area in Kuwait where most of stateless people live, to report about the Bidoon. Driven by a Bidoon activist as a guide, the group toured the Bidoon settlement area. The streets were barely fixed. Some spaces were exceeded by the houses there. In the middle of the tour, we met a teenager and asked him how about his future. He said, “I don’t have a future.”

The tour took the group to meet and interview a Bidoon family. The females from the group sat with the mother, and the men sat with the father. The family had four children, the eldest was around 26. He graduated from university but does not have a job because the both governmental and private sectors won’t hire him because he is Bidoon. The mother said being Bidoon was not a problem until after the invasion of Kuwait, and the main obstacle they are encounter-



Workshop participants plan their trip to report about the Bidoon community.

cannot afford the expenses.

After the tour, on the third day of the workshop, the participants wrote a small article using the basics of Peace Journalism, and discussed it with Prof. Youngblood.

This experience is expected to give the participants an idea on how to write an objective article of issues like the Bidoon’s that are not talked about often in the media. It is also expected to give journalists an insight on their future writing and reporting by revising their language, the tone used in the article, as well as the consequences after their reports are published.

The peace journalism project sponsored by the U.S. Embassy also included several other lectures and presentations by Prof. Youngblood in Kuwait City. These included a presentation on media/NGO relations at the Red Crescent Society, and a lecture on “The Role of Civil Society in Promoting Peace” at the Kuwait Society for Human Rights.

“I was well received wherever I went,” said Prof. Youngblood. “Kuwaiti journalists and those from NGO’s had a keen interest in the topic, and seemed genuinely interested in following through to implement PJ.”

# Study: PJ in Spain needs new regulatory framework

By Alex Irvan Arevalo Salinas

The continued presence of negative and violent information can influence the relationship between people and their environment, their world view, and their social relationships.

As an alternative to the traditional information model, peace journalism claims a balance between negative and positive news and a type of social information of quality, responsible, contextualized and clearly positioned in favour of human rights. But the development of this kind of journalism requires, according to a study by Alex Ivan Arevalo Salinas, doctoral researcher of the Department of Communication Sciences at the Universitat Jaume I of Castellón (Spain), a new regulatory framework and greater autonomy and capacity of action of the Audiovisual Boards.

The research paper “Periodismo y comunicación para la paz. Indicadores y marco regulatorio” (Journalism and Communication for Peace. Indicators and Regulatory Framework) considers that “it is possible to reformulate the discursive patterns that have led to the fact that, according to recent studies, only 1.6% of the information received from the media corresponds to positive stories about progress in conflict transformation.”

An informative treatment mainly based on tragic and adverse events or crimes can influence perceptions of the environment and relationships with others. Even some people may develop psychological states marked by fear and mistrust, thus limiting their freedoms, social relations and possibilities for action in the collective space, says Salinas.

The researcher highlights that, compared to traditional journalism, “peace journalism prioritizes social impact and quality of content over economic interests. Similarly, the

shallow and decontextualized analysis made by some conventional media, in line with the objectives of social control, is replaced by a concern to explain and show the factors causing events.”

Peace journalism also seeks a greater presence of positive news; information sources that go beyond those linked to power and elites; the creation of mechanisms for citizen participation in editorial decisions; and promoting monitoring of journalistic ethics.

The study by Salinas establishes a system of indicators to assess the proximity of a specific means of communication to this type of peace journalism based on four character-

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istics: active denunciation of injustice and its effect on the transformation of violence; the presence of positive news and commonalities; an inclusive and diverse approach to the selection of topics and news sources; and press contextualization.

### Positive experiences in the Net

While so-called violence journalism remains the dominant trend, says Salinas, “information technologies have allowed to defend and encourage a more responsible journalism independent from economic influence, such as the magazine *La Marea* or the portal *Periodismo Humano* with different funding models that do not

compromise their editorial line.”

However, for peace journalism not to become isolated, the researcher considers necessary “an independent and efficient regulatory framework that encourages the social responsibility of the media.”

When establishing a regulatory framework, he explains that the possibility of sanctioning content is controversial “since for a significant sector of editors and journalists it would be an attack on the right to information and freedom of expression. “

Nonetheless, groups that defend this need of sanction highlight the benefits of limiting the discursive abuse, warning that “sometimes the media use freedom of speech as a safeguard to avoid their responsibilities when certain speeches violate the freedom of the people.”

Beyond the regulatory framework, the author stresses the importance of ethical codes and style manuals, as well as the role of Audiovisual Boards, which must be independent and be given adequate funding.

Salinas also highlights the importance of initiatives such as the awards Premios Enfocados y Desenfocados al Periodismo in Spain, seeking citizenship to assess which means of communication, journalists and programs develop adequate or inadequate coverage in relation to human rights, the care of the environment, and the fight against inequality. “This proposal is interesting because it is the only one in Spain where the public has the central role in the evaluation of journalistic quality,” he stresses.

*The research study is part of the working lines of the research projects CSO2012-34066 “Evaluación e indicadores de sensibilidad moral en la comunicación actual del los movimientos sociales.” of the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MINECO) and P1 1A2012-05 “De víctimas a indignados” of the Plan for the Promotion of Research at the Universitat Jaume I.*

# Peace radio program thrives in the Philippines

By Karen Watermanns and Frederic Loew

Mindanao, the second largest island of the Philippines, was once viewed as a “promised land.” With its rich natural resources and fertile land, it offers perfect conditions for development and prosperity. Yet, a large part of the population is not only living below the poverty line but also suffering from the long lasting conflicts in the region.

Currently the biggest Muslim rebel group is the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, which has been holding peace talks with the Filipino government since 2009. The negotiations led to a final peace agreement between the two parties in 2014 which aims at the creation of a new political entity, the autonomous region Bangsamoro. But the conflict is far from being resolved. More radical splinter groups challenge the so called Bangsamoro peace process and criticize it for not going far enough.

### forumZFD and KuMuNet support the peace process

forumZFD (Forum Civil Peace Service), a German NGO, is represented in Mindanao with three offices all focusing in their work on nonviolent conflict transformation. In three projects, joint teams of local and international peace experts endeavor to enhance media competencies, educate for peace, and convey methods of nonviolent conflict management.

forumZFD functions as a non-partisan entity and supports state institutions and civil society organizations in their work for peace. One example is a radio project of forumZFD’s office in Cotabato. After a series of multimedia workshops, organized by the forumZFD in 2010, the Kutawato Multimedia Network (KuMuNet) was created by partners who recognized the need for a strategic peace advocacy to address gaps in the understanding of the Mindanao conflict.

Promoting and practicing the peace journalism approach is one main component of KuMuNet’s advocacy work that supports the Bangsamoro peace process. Since 2013 KuMuNet has produced a weekly one-hour peace radio program: Bangsamoro Ngayon - Tinig ng Kapayapaan (Bangsamoro Today – Voices for Peace).

### Multi-ethnic and inclusive radio program

The one-hour peace radio program is broadcast on AM Thursdays in conflict-affected parts of Mindanao. It is aired in Tagalog, the local language, to ensure that the listeners, whether they are Moro (Muslim), Indigenous or Christian community, fully understand the contents and the discussions during the program.

The format of the weekly peace radio program includes current news, interviews with stakeholders of the peace process such as politicians, religious leaders, security personal, and feature stories on the Bangsamoro peace process. The Peace Radio program is balanced along gender, ethnic, and religious lines—an approach which all KuMuNet members agreed upon.

During the editorial meetings and regular monthly planning meetings called Kapehan (Coffetable), the multi-ethnic team members are striving for peaceful cross-cultural unity through constructive work and effective project management that supports the Bangsamoro program’s existence.

### Trainings and workshops for capacity building

Each team member works voluntarily and during free times which demand a lot of commitment aside from their everyday duties in the CSOs/NGOs they are engaged with. In order to support that commitment, forumZFD conducts regular training workshops to maintain a professional production standard for the Peace Radio

**Karen Watermanns** is the project manager of forumZFD in Cotabato and built up the Peace Radio in cooperation with local partners. Before her engagement with forumZFD, she worked many years as editor, consultant, and project coordinator in India, Sri Lanka, Italy and Germany. **Frédéric Loew** works as Program-Assistant for forumZFD Philippines and writes articles for the United Nations Association of Germany.



Program. With the support of local resource persons from Notre Dame Broadcasting Cooperation, training has so far been carried out on radio production, news writing, anchoring, feature production, peace journalism and journalistic ethics. According to the project principles of KuMuNet, the composition of the participants has as well been selected in a gender and ethnic balanced approach, people from the Indigenous peoples community, Moro and Christian communities have been trained.

### Reflecting on Peace Practice and Theory of Change

The main goal of the radio project is to have as many as possible informed people involved in shaping and building the Bangsamoro peace process, the related peace talks and their outcome. This would also be congruent with the programmatic approach of Reflecting on Peace Practice and the used Theory of Change which focus on a broad inclusion and the strengthening of key people. Believing that peace can be only achieved when many people are involved, this approach

Continued on next page

# Compassionate rebel stories inspire students

By Bert Berlowe

It was a powerful moment in the conflict transformation class at the University of St. Thomas (St. Paul, MN).

The students were immersed in an intimate encounter with an exciting new form of peace journalism – the inspiring true stories of compassionate rebels who are changing the world.

One by one the students introduced the inspiring peacemakers greeting them in the stories they had posted on the classroom walls: A voice in the wilderness named Kathy Kelly

*Burt Berlowe is an author, peace journalist, educator and activist in Minneapolis. He has published seven books, including the two compassionate rebel anthologies and has had numerous articles and essays published in peace*



*and justice publications. His website is www.compassionate-rebel.com.*

and her courageous work for creative nonviolence (see sidebar story, next page): a rebel soldier Camilo Mejia, the first American conscientious objector in the Vietnam War; Jodie Evans, founder of the feminist-led peacemaking organization Code Pink; Belma Demerovich who lived through the tragic Milosevich era in Bosnia and used that experience to work for peace and human rights; and a host of other compassionate rebels who are building a culture of peace and justice in all corners of the globe. Soon those students would become teachers of generations to come.

I was honored to be in the classroom that day along with peace and justice professor Dr. Mike Klein as his students talked about the stories they had selected from my oral history anthology titled *The Compassionate Rebel Revolution: Ordinary People Changing the World*. That experience would result in the publication of an educator's guide e-book written by Dr. Klein and his students called *Teaching*



*the Compassionate Rebel Revolution*. The students wrote comments about the 15 stories they had selected and created their own engaging classroom activities and references to established models in conflict resolution theory with an introduction on the pedagogy of the material by Dr. Klein. The educator's guide encourages people to not just read the stories but also to use them as tools for promoting peace and justice.

Dr. Klein explained that the "compassionate rebellion is...recognition that positive social change has always come from empathetic and courageous individuals who inspire people to work together to change structures of injustice and violence into systems for justice and peace." Student and war veteran Brian Fulton chose the

*Continued on next page*

## Philippines radio from Pg 11

sets out to engage more people in peace activism, in talking to the other side, in gaining new understanding, and so on. Moreover, peace can be achieved with the direct involvement in dialogue and programs of certain key people deemed important to the peace process. These may be influential teachers, politicians or religious leaders. Believing that a central aspect of peacebuilding is changing the thinking of individuals, the project intends to use the radio to bring changes in attitudes, behavior, and values.

### Radio as most efficient media tool

Based on a baseline study of the United Nations Development Programme carried out through the Center for Community Journalism and Development in May, 2011, radio was considered the most efficient media tool in the Bangsamoro region to deliver fast and widespread relevant information on the peace process.

The role of the radio program is not only to spread information and knowledge on the Bangsamoro Peace Process but also to mobilize people and persuade them to adopt ideas and innovations consistent with the ideals in concepts of peace transformation. Moreover, the radio program airs the voices and opinions of the people regarding the outcomes of the negotiations as well as what are their perceptions of "Peace." Presently, a listenership survey is being conducted of the listeners of Peace Radio in the Bangsamoro region in order to get a feedback on the program. The survey also asks for suggestions on how to better meet the needs and requests of the listeners.

# Rebels from Pg 12

story of peace artist Jane Evershed. He said his "views of justice and peace were broadened and changed by the diversity of ideas we learned in the book...to prevent the future pain and suffering of war and conflict."

The compassionate rebel series featuring two anthologies with over 100 stories is my contribution to the expanding field of peace journalism – and to the concept of Solutions Journalism. Compassionate rebels everywhere everyday combine their capacity for compassion with the courage to step outside of their com-

fort zone to find creative, peaceful solutions to the multitude of problems that plague our society. In the process they can shape and define our culture and promote positive social change. Yet too often their stories don't get the attention and exposure they deserve.

Noted peace journalist Jake Lynch tells us that editors and reporters constantly make choices about what stories to report and how to report them. It's been said that "whomever tells the stories defines the culture."

Every day, our senses are blasted with the noisy stories of war and violence that dominate the daily news. Peace journalism is about selecting and reporting the often underreported, uplifting stories that value non-violent response to conflict and create the opportunities to build a true culture of peace and justice and delivering them to a public that otherwise would never know about them. Those stories can serve as tools of advocacy and change; to help us find the rebel that lives within all of us.

*Continued on next page*

## A Compassionate Rebel story: Voice in the Wilderness

By the twenty-seventh day, Kathy Kelly weighs only ninety-five pounds, ten below her normal weight. Any minute, it seems, she might just float away like a feather. Yet her bony fingers reach only for water. She has been refusing food now for almost a month, nourished by sheer willpower and the life-giving force of compassion; by memories of soup kitchen lines and starving children, for whom she has become a surrogate and symbol. It's as if she is saying, "Look at me and remember them."

Kathy has fasted many times: for ten-day stretches at the School of the Americas in Fort Benning, Georgia; fourteen days in Nicaragua; and thirty and forty days in New York City across from the United Nations building—490 days of fasts between 1999 and 2002. "After about three days you don't feel hungry," she says. "You are sustained by the energy of your commitment." She has also been part of peace teams placing themselves in harm's way of American bombs, visited the streets of Iraq's poorest neighborhoods in 100 degree heat, and been behind bars almost too many times to count.

Kathy Kelly is a different kind of war hero. She has spent much of the past twelve years embedded in the Iraq-U.S. conflict. Yet she has never carried artillery, driven a tank or worn a military uniform. Her weapons are a wealth of passion and raw courage, and an unflagging devotion to justice that has won her three Nobel Peace Prize nominations. She came gradually to this place, transformed by a series of jarring experiences that changed her world view.

"I was born in 1952 and grew up on the south side of Chicago, a blue-collar area which Saul Bellow described as 'rows and rows of bungalows and a scrawny little park,'" Kathy recalls. "I had a secure upbringing and barely knew about problems in the outside world. Yet my neighborhood was rampant with racism, militarism and sexism. My father worried that African Americans would move into cheap houses in our community and cause white flight." It was in high school during the turbulent 1960s that Kathy's current journey truly began. The Vietnam War was raging. Martin Luther King Jr. had stones thrown at him in a park near her neighborhood. "An energetic young teacher, a Christian brother at St. Paul-Kennedy High School, an experimental co-ed school, helped us understand King—that he was a saint and prophet of our time. We also learned that napalm, which was being used as a defoliant in trees in Vietnam, was also falling on the backs of children. The film 'Night and Fog' touched me deeply. It was a film of the Holocaust camps, a graphic description that made me ask, 'Didn't they smell the burning flesh?' Average people were looking the other way, changing the subject, much like we still do in society. I didn't want to be the person to sit on the sidelines in the face of unspeakable evil." --Bert Berlowe

*Editor's Note: On August 9, 2015, Kathy Kelly was awarded the U.S. Peace Memorial Foundation Peace Prize award "for inspiring nonviolence and risking her own life and freedom for the victims of war."*



Kathy Kelly

# Promoting citizen peace journalism in Turkey

By Ulas Basar Gezgin

The conflict between Turkish army and Kurdish insurgents had entered a period of armistice (wrongly named by many as 'a peace period') whereby the conflict which claimed nearly 50,000 lives since 1980s had been mostly calmed down with a few exceptions, although far from settled.

The unexpectedly high percentage of votes for HDP (People's Democratic Party, an umbrella organization of Kurdish opposition as well as a number of leftist anti-government movements) on June 2015 General Elections and lack of sufficient votes for AKP to form a one-party government as in the 'good old days' ignited another episode of conflict, as this was not a victory to be accepted and readily digested by the governing AKP (Justice and Development Party).

While a proxy war was ongoing between AKP government and Kurdish insurgents in Syria centered on Kobanê; the 20 July 2015 Suroç suicide bombing stood out as another turning point in the so-called 'peace process' which was not accompanied by hoped-for transformations and reforms of institutions of war. These include schooling, the legal system, media, municipal services, etc. Every day, narratives of 'martyred soldiers' and 'neutralized terrorists' abound on Turkish mainstream media as an excuse for a full-fledged war which was a formula that had failed in the past three decades of violent conflict.



**Dr. Ulas Basar Gezgin** is an Associate Professor, a journalist, a social science researcher and an academic with 15 years of teaching experience in various institutions in Turkey, Vietnam, Thailand and Malaysia, and research experience in New Zealand.

A burgeoning widespread social consciousness favoring peace over Turkish government's war cries that would justify a snap election which would sidestep HDP's victory in order to retrieve the pre-election days of AKP's one-party government is getting criminalized both on streets and on the mainstream media. Each day brings new casualties from both sides which urge many political as well as apolitical people to do something to stop the deaths.

Recognizing the complicity of the mainstream media in misrepresenting, instigating and escalating the conflict, it can be stated that peace journalism is urgently and desperately needed in post-election Turkey. As recommended by Gezgin (2010), one way to promote peace journalism is turning peace activists into journalists

*Continued on next page*

## Rebels from Pg 13

Soon after the 9/11 attacks on New York City, I collaborated with my peace educator colleague Rebecca Janke on the the publication of an anthology of previously untold stories by multiple authors titled "The Compassionate Rebel: Energized by Anger: Motivated by Love" followed several years later by the current sequel: "The Compassionate Rebel Revolution: Ordinary People Changing the World." Over the past decade, the stories of the everyday heroes in the two compassionate rebel books have been read and told in person in college and high school classrooms, bookstores, churches and other community settings, and in social media, inspiring current and future generations to become peace messengers.

And everyday in our society, compassionate rebels are channeling their anger at injustice into peaceful solutions and telling their stories, and forcing the media to become, at least temporarily, peace journalists.

A highly visible example is the current Black Lives Matter movement that has responded peacefully to acts of violence on the streets of American cities, bringing about increased discussion and reform in our communities. In a powerful example of compassionate rebel responses, the recent victims and relatives of victims of the tragic epidemic of gun violence that has been plaguing our American cities have courageously gone public and turned their anger into campaigns for positive solutions. As current and coming generations continue to learn, practice and share the mindset and skills of peacemaking and compassionate rebellion, they gradually become the hopeful news stories of the future.

The compassionate rebel story anthologies and the educator's guide, along with video interviews are available in both e-book and paperback formats at [www.compassionaterebel.com](http://www.compassionaterebel.com) and Amazon.com. Quoting from the foreword to our educator's guide, "Students as aspiring change agents about to venture into the larger world need to develop a sixth sense that will allow them to see beyond the status quo, hear the unheard voices, find the compassionate rebel persona that lives within them and others and feel the restless revolution it is producing."

## Citizen PJ from Pg 14

rather than the tedious, arduous and somewhat unrealistic (unrealistic as the government and corporate interests reign supreme on the mainstream media) method of offering peace journalism training for mainstream journalists.

This proposal is also supported by the prevalence of smart phones and rise of mobile citizen journalism as witnessed in the citizen coverage of Gezi Park protests and onwards. In fact, with the censorship and self-censorship conditions of the mainstream media, promoting citizen peace journalism coupled with strengthening alternative media such as Bianet, a leading online alternative journalism site, and Evrensel and Birgün, which are anti-government print dailies, would be practical vis-à-vis the urgency of the war and civil war casualties. A few points discussed in Gezgin (2010) which precedes the so-called 'peace process' and recent 'war and civil war process' would be relevant.

The strongly associated ethical journalism and human rights journalism need to be added to the discussions of peace journalism in Turkey. It should be realized that peace journalism per se is not a magic wand to secure peace without building the social and political institutions of peace.

For example, denial of educational rights in one's mother tongue would not lead to a sustainable peace, even in the case where peace journalism would be endorsed by mainstream media. In other words, peace journalism is a prerequisite condition but not a sufficient one for sustainable peace.

Another point to consider is the fact that non-violent means can be introduced, but aggressiveness can't be eliminated from a psychodynamic point of view. War can be avoided, but not aggressiveness; which means that ways to transform aggressiveness into non-violent forms such as sports need to be discussed and promoted.

Another proposal would be prioritizing the human sides of the stories from all sides to counter the anti-peace effects and recurring incidents of dehumanization by media.

In this context, an ongoing conversation among Turkish and Kurdish journalists on peace journalism is worth noting (Diken, 2015). İ. Aktan points out that the mainstream media target citizens to make them believe that war is inevitable, while those who reap political and economic gains from war would be against peace journalism. B.

Karakaş warns against the publication of official releases without verification and frequent use of the term 'terrorism' which stifles peace efforts.

N. Baysal focuses on 'otherization' process by the mainstream media whereby a group of people ('others' or out group) are demonized to build up a positive view of self ('us' or in-group). She urges citizens to reflect on what is not written in news narratives and get prepared against official propaganda language. E. Yalazan reminds us that pro-war journalism is not a recent phenomenon, as same news-making style was common in 1990s which was a period of intense and massive conflicts. On this historically cumulative background, she adds the fact that media are only one of the markets that media bosses invest in is usually forgotten. Intricate economic and political links between media bosses, government and the military are a major obstacle against peace journalism. Also, women's voices and language are needed for peace journalism according to Yalazan.

T. Tatari criticizes mainstream journalists, which act as the voice of their bosses for perception management purposes, and those who polarize the society and normalize violence with their news-making style. F. Ayyıldız provides an example of a pro-peace family which lost their son in the conflict whose story was distorted by mainstream media. Finally, A. Örer draws our attention to how linguistic framing would change the message of the news text and denounces discriminatory news making.

To conclude, peace journalism is urgently needed in post-election Turkey. The relevant discussion by a group of journalists summarized above is useful, but we

will see to what extent these pro-peace points of views would find their expressions on the mainstream media (including TV channels) which influence more than half of the population with its pro-war rhetoric. Considering the corporate and official interests of the media conglomerates, the future is bleak. However, supporting pro-peace social media journalism and alternative media appears to be a viable solution.

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# U.S., Canadian media biased in Middle East coverage

By Alim Maherali

The citizens of Canada and the USA elect officials to government to represent their views. If the public's views are biased towards peace or war it can influence the decision making process of their representatives. Thus, it is possible for the public's opinion to influence foreign affairs. Journalists consciously or subconsciously make choices in the way they report and this can lead to bias. Thus, the question that remains is: Do the media in Canada and the USA objectively portray the Israel-Palestine conflict?

This article summarizes the findings of an academic paper titled "The Extent of Peace Journalism in American and Canadian National Newspapers covering the Israel-Palestine Conflict" by Alim Maherali. It builds on the work of past researchers including Johan Galtung. Galtung's table defining war journalism versus peace journalism has widely been accepted and used in many academic sources. Moreover, Galtung's table has formed the basis of conducting both qualitative and quantitative research on various conflicts such as the Israel/Lebanon conflict and peace journalism in various parts of the world such as in Spain .

The method of this study was carefully considered for a number of factors including the conflict of study, the journalistic medium, and the indicators of war/peace journalism. The Israel-Palestinian conflict was purposefully chosen as it has been a long term and ongoing conflict. A new conflict would likely contain a natural bias towards war journalism. Similarly, the journalistic reporting of a conflict that is close to its conclusion would likely be skewed towards peace journalism. The Israel-Palestine conflict offers an opportunity to observe journalistic reporting of conflict that is not fresh or close to its conclusion.

Four events during the Israel-Palestine conflict were chosen for the study between 2012 and 2014. The events were not randomly selected. This was to avoid obscuring minor incidents that may not have been included in major coverage, but were picked as important events that occurred over the study time frame. The number of articles discussing the selected events was not assessed prior to their inclusion in the study in order to capture an unbiased sample in terms of the number of articles yielded and their content. Four conflict events were selected from a timeline of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and are as follows:

- Event 1: November 14th 2012 – The beginning of Operation "Pillar of Defence" in which the Israeli Air Force killed the second-in-command of the military wing of Hamas;



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- Event 2: August 12th 2013 – Israel approves the building of more settlements in the West Bank one day before peace negotiation between Israel and Palestine are to resume;
- Event 3: March 5th 2014 – Israel intercepts a ship carrying rockets headed for Palestinian militants in the Gaza strip;
- Event 4: June 30th 2014 - The beginning of airstrikes by Israel in the Gaza strip after discovering the bodies of three abducted Israeli teenagers.

To research these events, newspaper print media were selected as the journalistic medium for this study. Journalism captured in newspaper is permanent once printed, does not contain impromptu reporting and allows the researcher to deliberately craft the frame of the article to have a war, peace or natural frame if they choose to.

In selecting the sources for the study, national newspaper were selected for a variety of reasons. First, national newspapers avoid local geographic bias and carry a national voice in their reporting frames. Also, the national newspapers in both U.S and Canada are among the most widely read. The five newspapers selected for the study along with their average weekday circulation figures:

- The Wall Street Journal* – U.S.A. – Circulation: 2,378,827
- The New York Times* – U.S.A. – Circulation: 1,865,318
- USA Today* – U.S.A - 1,674,306
- The Globe and Mail* – Canada – Circulation: 346,485
- National Post* – Canada – Circulation: 163,063

In selecting articles related to the four events being researched, a three day window was used. The first date of article collection was the date the event took place and articles from the next two consecutive dates were included in the study. The three day collection period allowed buf-

Continued on next page

# Middle East coverage from Pg 16

fer room to minimize the differences in time zone, submission cut off times and print cycles.

In order to classify an article as peace journalism or war journalism, most of the coding categories from Lee and Maslog study were used. A summarized list of these indicators along with some results from the study follow later. Each article was analyzed for the presence of the indicators. Indicators within each set were deemed to have equal weight.

War journalism indicators were assigned a value of -1 each if they were clearly present in the article. Each peace journalism indicator was assigned a value of +1 if clearly present in an article. If an indicator was not clearly present in an article it was assigned a null value. The total war journalism score and peace journalism score were then tallied for each article. This gave insights into how skewed towards war or peace journalism a particular article or newspaper was.

A closer look at the frequency of indicators showed that every indicator was found at least once in the set of articles studied. It was also interesting to discover that the most frequent indicators of war journalism were not the lowest in frequency of peace journalism indicators and vice versa.

The list of indicators used in this study and their corresponding frequencies are shown in Table 1 and Table 2 (above). On the whole, each event studied was covered by more than one newspaper but the amount of coverage each newspaper published varied drastically. *The New York Times* published the most articles about the four events of the study while the *National Post* and *USA Today* published the least. While the reason for the differences in coverage of these events is outside the scope of this work,

the implication is that anyone reading just one major national newspaper may not be fully informed of the events in the Israel-Palestine conflict or receive coverage in a neutral manner.

Overall, the newspapers with the fewest articles had the most bias. This is likely because the sample size of articles is small. In reality however, readers of only the *National Post* or *USA Today* would be exposed to very little information about the four events of this study.

Moreover, what little information these readers do receive would have a significant war or peace journalism bias. Of the newspapers with greater than ten articles in the study, the bias was relatively smaller.

Overall, once every article in the study is taken into account, the result is that there is a 2% war journalism bias in the national newspapers of Canada and the U.S. The details in Table 4 (see next page) outline the results.

The average word count of articles in each newspaper also varied widely. Taking into account every article in the study the average article was 793 words in length. The results in Table 5 (next page) show that overall Canadian newspapers have a slight peace journalism frame when reporting on the events in the study, while American newspapers have a slight war journalism frame reporting the same events. Based on the scope of the study, its limitations and the data gathered, the results show an interesting mix of bias as demonstrated above with complete results found in full paper. Hopefully, this work inspires further investigations on the war/peace journalism frames on the Israel-Palestine conflict in other countries or similar investigations on other conflict around the world.

Continued on next page

Peace Journalism	Frequency	Percentage of Articles
Objective and moderate. Avoids emotive words. Does not exaggerate	28	51%
Reports causes and consequences of the conflict	28	51%
Multiparty orientation	27	49%
Avoid labeling of good guys and bad guys	25	45%
Nonpartisan	25	45%
Avoids demonizing language, uses precise descriptions, titles, or names	24	44%
Avoids victimizing language, reports what has been done & could be done	23	42%
Reports also on invisible effects of war	17	31%
People-oriented	15	27%
Reports the areas of agreement that might lead to a solution to the conflict	6	11%
Win-win orientation	6	11%

Table 2: Peace Journalism Indicator Frequency

War Journalism	Frequency	Percentage of Articles
Reports mainly on visible effects of war	32	58%
Focuses mainly on the here and now	30	55%
Partisan	26	47%
Elite-oriented	24	44%
Two-party orientation	23	42%
Uses demonizing language	20	36%
Uses victimizing language that tells only what has been done to people	20	36%
Uses emotive words, like genocide, assassination, massacre, etc.	17	31%
Dichotomizes between the good guys and bad guys, victims and villains	16	29%
Focuses mainly on the differences that led to the conflict	15	27%
Zero-sum orientation	13	24%

Table 1: War Journalism Indicator Frequency

# The role of journalism in Israel and Palestine

by *Giuliana Tiripelli*

As the diversity of stories hosted in this magazine indicates, Peace Journalism has worked well in promoting opportunities for nonviolent change in various contexts. It has successfully challenged beliefs and transformed stereotypes, and it has helped prevent violence where there was potential for political or ethnic conflict. The most successful applications of Peace Journalism have especially relied on existing platforms and networks, involving local practitioners and social

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*fields of social change, the role of old and new media in society, and the present and future of journalism.*

groups who implemented Peace Journalism in their own communities. Peace Journalism has frequently been addressed to internal audiences, and especially to those social groups directly affected by open or latent forms of violence, whose beliefs needed to shift towards more progressive and constructive options.

While this is hopeful for the future of this model in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, a wide and effective application in this context is yet to come, and the potential of Peace Journalism for comprehensively affecting dynamics in the region of Palestine remains largely untested.

As a researcher in sociology with a strong interest in media innovation for social change, I had a number of burning questions to answer about this area of the world: which platforms and content can form the basis for a transformative journalism in Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza? And is it

possible to rely on local communities to do Peace Journalism in and about the area? Finally, which audience groups should this journalism speak to, among the many which participate in the circulation and consumption of information about such a globally mediated conflict?

These questions raise issues of production, content, and consumption in relation to the model of Peace Journalism, which I have addressed in my book *Media and Peace in the Middle East: The Role of Journalism in Israel-Palestine* which will be published in 2016 by Palgrave Macmillan. The book discusses the practices and philosophies of journalism covering this conflict, and how these affected the opportunities for nonviolent responses since the First Intifada. In other words, the book reviews aspects of social change in Palestine from the perspective of those who advocate a

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## Middle East coverage *from Pg 17*

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Newspaper	Sum of War Journalism Indicators	Sum of Peace Journalism Indicators	Combined Frame Score	Bias as a percentage of maximum range
NYT	-112	94	-18	-6.5%
Globe and Mail	-57	54	-3	-2.1%
WSJ	-41	50	9	7.4%
National Post	-8	16	8	24.2%
USA Today	-18	10	- 8	-24.2%
Grand Total	-236	224	-12	-2.0%

Table 4: Bias by Newspaper

Country	Sum of War Journalism Indicators	Sum of Peace Journalism Indicators	Overall Frame Score	Bias as a percentage of maximum range
Canada	-65	70	5	2.8%
U.S.A	-171	154	-17	-4.0%
Grand Total	-236	224	-12	-2.0%

Table 5: Bias by Country

# Israel/Palestine *from Pg 18*

more responsible coverage, in order to stimulate a discussion about ways to achieve an effective application of innovative journalism.

These practices, philosophies and social dynamics emerge from a series of in-depth qualitative interviews with grassroots peace promoters as well as professional journalists from different media outlets, which I have conducted over a period of seven years.

The findings unveil a very complex context for this comprehensive application. Practical opportunities for change largely diminished over time, primarily because of the divergent expectations and perspectives grown during the Oslo peace process, and secondly because of the constrained environments and experiences of journalists, peace promoters and local communities in Palestine. Due to this, even some former peace promoters showed reticence in engaging with ideas of peace and dialogue. Many of those I spoke to clearly also did not trust the media and journalists to bring new opportunities and support their views.

These promoters, which, together with alternative practitioners constitute the core of the potential network supporting Peace Journalism from within, also seemed to operate through a variety of different channels. They tended to focus their energies on survival and testimony, fighting hard to maintain their own platforms of information, which however only reached an already convinced or very localised audience. Little if no residual energy transpired from their voices for applying or supporting new approaches.

These specific findings constitute one aspect of a wider problem for Peace Journalism in the area. This lies in the fact that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict attracts very high attention of

media, governments, and people from around the world. Such phenomenon is what guarantees some success to external forms of political and activist pressure, but at the same time it keeps the debate polarised and weakens the possibilities for applying Peace Journalism effectively in three main ways.

Firstly, the flow of information is shaped and managed by powerful sources, and is the outcome of an intense struggle over meaning, where local, national and global narratives continuously clash, making it thus more difficult for alternative stories to emerge and have an impact. Secondly, the presence of a multi-audience with different needs and backgrounds makes it more difficult to define a content which offers more opportunities for considering nonviolent transformation. Thirdly, in this conflict the practices and ideology of classic, non-reflexive journalism are particularly strong and established among practitioners working in the area. Journalists frequently rely on this ideology to justify and defend their work in front of the extremely intense and diverse attention that their coverage of this conflict constantly receives.

Finding a place for different and peace-aimed news in these tense dynamics is a big task, whose magnitude this book offers a measure of, and which requires a strategic approach. My book delves at length into describing the context of grassroots peace promotion and practices and principles of journalism in the field in order to highlight what a strategy of this kind could be like. This responds to my belief that academic work, similarly to journalism, should overcome the stage of representing and analysing problems, and also offer some insights into potential solutions on the basis of

its more empirical findings.

As a consequence, I take into careful account the context and findings of my research to venture in a discussion about the future of Peace Journalism in Palestine, which focuses on

**Finding a place for different and peace-aimed news in these tense dynamics is a big task...**

attitudes in grassroots peace promotion, the different kinds of practitioners in the field, as well as content and engagement in relation to different audience groups. In other words, I convert Peace Journalism from a model of coverage to a model of communication management.

This strategy, which is discussed in the conclusions of the book, revolves around two main forms of action. One concerns the work of the peace journalists, which becomes first of all an action for strengthening the links between disconnected actors already working to provide more opportunities for nonviolent transformation in the field. This first action could further help in stimulating synergies for the production and dissemination of Peace Journalism through already active channels and practitioners.

A second action for the advocates of Peace Journalism according to this strategy consists of promoting dialogue in the sector, bringing together both the experiences of alternative journalists who already offer such opportunities and the knowledge of mainstream practitioners into flexible projects of experimentation. My hope is that the analysis and discussion provided in the book could help in stimulating this debate and the emergence of a strategic approach in Peace Journalism, one which successfully unveils existing resources, and support the synergic work needed for transformative communication in Palestine.

At the IPCR conflict sensitive journalism training in Nigeria in 2015.



## Peace journalists face obstacles in Nigeria

By Olalekan Augustine Babatunde

Training journalists on conflict sensitivity may differ from country to country, but in Nigeria, its peculiarity is worthy of note. A wide range of intriguing issues around politics, marketing, professionalism, corruption, and the working conditions journalists complicate trainings on responsible media in Nigeria.

The recent general elections in Nigeria in March and April 2015 presented yet another opportunity for the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution (IPCR) to train journalists in Nigeria on conflict sensitive reporting with support from the UNDP Nigeria. It was conducted in the midst of widespread campaigns of calumny and hate speeches by politicians given through the media. Documentaries on image tarnishing and unfriendly statements were aired or printed by journalists in newspapers and on radio and television.

The drumbeats of war sounded so loudly in the run-up elections that it created tensions and palpable fear among potential voters. It took the effort of the international community initiated by U.S. President Barack Obama and British Prime Minister David Cameron to pacify the political gladiators to sheath their swords. They supported the National Peace Committee to make the politicians sign the Abuja Peace Accord, a deal of commitment to peace and

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to accept the outcome of the election peacefully. U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry witnessed the signing ceremony in Abuja in February.

The training workshops, particularly the recent ones, were a source of research findings for IPCR. The experience revealed that Nigerian journalists contend with hydra-headed issues which challenge their professionalism and lead to accusations of fuelling violence or fanning embers of conflicts. For example, as pointed out above, the media were used as instruments of propagating hatred and smear campaigns. During the campaign, the new President Muhammadu Buhari was projected as a tiger and a tyrant in one of the popular private television stations. His face was digitally transformed into a terrifying tiger. A series of sponsored documentaries on a private station and the main national television station projected him and his supporters as enemies of the state and therefore not worthy of peoples' vote. Interestingly, the owner of the private station is a self-declared member of the former ruling party, the Peoples Democratic Party (PDP).

The reason for this is not far-fetched. Politicians in Nigeria established media houses to pursue their personal agenda and protect their political interest. There are over 370 radio stations, over fifty television stations, and numerous newspapers in Nigeria. A former governor of Ogun State is alleged to be the publisher of two newspapers, *The Westerner* and *The Compass*. In March 2014, his former employees at *The Compass* filed a suit against him over unpaid salaries and gratuities. This makes it very hard if not impossible for the regulators such as the National Broadcasting Commission (NBC) and the Nigeria Press Council to monitor the activities of the media.

Journalism in Nigeria is still an all-comer profession and business; after all it's all about profit. IPCR discovered that there is no minimum qualification to get into journalism in

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Nigeria. The profession is so loose that anybody can call him or herself a journalist. The Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ) that is supposed to see to the standards and ethics is not checking this shortcoming.

How would journalists change from "bad news is good news" parlance to conflict sensitive reporting in a profession that is shrouded in sensationalism and deadline writing? Media ownership where state-owned media are tools of propaganda by the authorities and where managers of the media are not independent journalists, but civil servants who are appointed and changed at will by the authorities, narrow the limits of editorial independence. Self-censorship and phone calls from authorities happen regularly. But it was agreed that editors and reporters should report events in ways which create opportunities for societies to be enlightened and peaceful.

The experience shows that publishers have ulterior motives in establishing their business while journalists are forced to comply with the dictates of the employers. Journalists also work under intensive and excruciating conditions that often led them not to be conflict sensitive in their reporting. Journalists complained of low salary, impromptu firings, and other conditions that threaten their profession.

As in some other sectors in Nigeria, corruption is high in the media. Aside from low salaries, many journalists are owed months worth of back salaries and their bosses encourage the practice of accepting "brown envelopes" wherein journalists wait after an official event to collect money for showing up. One experience of a media proprietor was relayed in one of the workshops. The owner was attending to some employees advocating for salary payments. He took the team round the parking lot of the media house pointing to a line of exotic cars owned by the journalists. He asked sarcastically where they got money to buy them even though salaries were not paid. Such practices, of course, impact objectivity.

Commercialization is also a big issue in the Nigeria media. IPCR used to invite the media marketers to trainings. Generally, editors focus on deadlines and stampede reporters to write their news sensationally before a thorough investigation or vetting is done. Journalists complained about having to submit incomplete stories that fall short of proper conflict sensitivity.

In Nigeria, events are not covered except when journalists are invited. Because of the brown envelope syndrome, "they are asked to use their identity cards as meal tickets." The effect this has on the quality of reporting is bad since

such reports will lack objectivity. This also promotes the concept of "arm-chair journalists" who rely on or copy news from foreign sources.

Nigerian journalists' personal safety is often at risk. No official life insurance covers journalists. The inability of the government to apprehend and bring to justice the killers of journalists in the past such as Dele Giwa, Bayo Ohun, and many others, has affected the way journalists report. Some live in fear and intimidation of either being killed, kidnapped, or jailed. One time NUJ Chairman Abdulwahab Oba was kidnapped in 2010. These threats, understandably, could hinder criticism on national issues.

Media men (public relations professionals) are appointed as media officers, special assistants on media to political chief executives such as the president and governors. They follow their convoys in a bus marked "State House Media Crew." Other journalists look up to this "service to the nation" and thus would not be objective in reporting of national issues so as not to incur the wrath of the incumbent.

Despite the challenges, trainings in conflict sensitive journalism can still have positive outcomes. The last election was peaceful in most parts of the country. During the evaluation of the training, about 90% of the participants indicated an improvement in their knowledge and skills. Communiqués expressing the journalists' commitment to professionalism and help break the cycle of violence were issued at the end of the workshop.

IPCR acknowledges the important role the media play in democracy. In the process of enlightening the populace on how the development process is affecting them, conflict sensitivity must be the watch word of the Nigeria media top-down. Their freedom must be protected; training and retraining must be on-going. It is when this is done that the IPCR's mandate to promote peacebuilding and conflict prevention in Nigeria will be achieved.



Group shot: PCR conflict sensitive journalism training in Nigeria in 2015.

# Turkish journalists tackle refugee reporting

By Michael Dean and Taylor Miller

Historically speaking, Turkey and its bordering neighbor Syria have had generally positive relations with one another. However, in recent years throughout the duration of the Syrian Civil War, Turkey has received an influx of roughly 1.5 million Syrian Refugees who are attempting to escape the current violence and turmoil present in their homeland.

When the refugees originally began making their way across the Turkish borders, media coverage was generally positive, but over time the perspective of the media has begun to focus on the negative aspects of this circumstance as reporting now produces more and more output honing in on tensions and divisions between the Turkish people and the refugees.

Of the 1.5 million refugees residing in Turkey, only roughly 15% live in official government camps while the majority of the rest live in informal camps known as "tent cities". The quality of these living spaces vary. Some camps offer education and electricity, while others are poverty stricken and offer very little aide.

Although gaining access to these camps has proven to be difficult, there are millions of Syrian refugees who have stories waiting to be told, a reality that currently is not being prioritized in Turkish media. Because of this, an International Peace Journalism

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Summit was held at Istanbul University in May, bringing in journalists, academics, students, members from UNICEF who have worked directly with refugees, as well as a U.S diplomatic representative. The goal was to collaborate on ways in which media techniques on reporting this issue could be significantly improved.

The summit was sponsored by the University of Istanbul and the Center for Global Peace Journalism at Park University and funded by the U.S. Consulate in Istanbul. The summit was the second part of a three part project titled, "Reporting Syrian Refugees: Building Communities of Understanding." The summit was organized and led by Dr. Nilufer Pembecioglu (Univ. of Istanbul) and Steven Youngblood (Park Univ.).

Day one of the conference began with a discussion covering what exactly Peace Journalism is and what it is not. Those who attended the conference were put into groups and were asked to read, analyze and discuss articles and present to the group whether they regarded their assigned pieces

as Peace Journalism. Through this exercise, we were able to identify the importance of word choice, the impact and implications an image can create, and debate whether or not the tactics utilized in the pieces we reviewed were

ethical or not.

The consensus we collectively reached was relatively simple: Peace Journalism is journalism which does not exaggerate or distort an event, and instead tells a story in a way that encompasses all of its complex angles to the best of its ability.

"Peace journalism is very important for our country," says Cansu Aydemir, a graduate from the journalism department at Turkey's Istanbul University. "My country is in a strategic part of the world. We are at the center of war. Syria, for example, is very close, so Peace Journalism can help our press and media literacy."

The rest of the conference consisted of various presentations given by students, professors, journalists, photojournalists, and UNICEF representatives from Turkey. There were photojournalistic presentations featuring footage of a Syrian refugee camp as well as presentations from students describing the state of the camps along with photo slide shows, that brought a sharp sense of reality to the situation.

At the end of these presentations, constructive criticism took place which allowed us all to collectively see firsthand strengths and weaknesses of their work and as a result experience what the process of creating Peace Journalism looks like.

Ali Caylak, a Radio, Television and

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[www.park.edu/peacecenter](http://www.park.edu/peacecenter)



Dr. Nilufer Pembecioglu lectures at the PJ Summit at the University of Istanbul.



Gloria Laker, director of the Peace Journalism Foundation of East Africa, presents about a Ugandan PJ project during the recent summit in Istanbul.

## Refugee from Pg 22

Cinema major at the University of Istanbul said about the summit, "Before the conference, I believed Peace Journalism was strictly about delivering news in an objective manner. However after the conference, I realized it branches out much further than that. Current news coverage keeps the Syrian refugee conflict behind the scenes...I now recognize the need for Peace journalism in Turkey."

The presentations of the journalism students offered a realistic view of the challenges that journalists will inevitably face when reporting on this sensitive issue. However we also were able to identify the need for direct representation of the Syrian plight through the stories presented.

Dr. Metin Ersoy, a professor of Communication and Media Studies at Eastern Mediterranean University and presenter at the summit, said, "This conference is important not only for Turkish media, it is important for mainstream media members who are practicing journalism. The main

problem of the Turkish media is that they do not give voice to Syrian refugees. The issue is covered with very limited sources, basically consisting of elite sources. So this conference was a great organizational tool for learning more things about the refugee case in Turkey...As academics we have learned the problem more from first hand experience and have developed our solutions for helping this case."

After first defining Peace Journalism and searching for its existence or absence in outside media, participants then were able to see the presenters personalize this process as they used it on their own work. The final point the conference presented was the success of Peace Journalism in other places experiencing conflict.

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Ayberk Yurtsever, Unicef Communication Advisor (center), shares a light moment before his presentation.

Akin Bodur, photojournalist and author of "Sessiz Ciglik" (Silent Scream) listens to a student presentation at the PJ summit.



## Refugee from Pg 23

Gloria Laker, director of the Peace Journalism Foundation of East Africa (Kampala, Uganda), spoke in depth about her experience as the only female journalist in the recent Ugandan civil war. Her implementation of PJ techniques had a positive impact on the situation. "Well designed peace programs were introduced and we started broadcasting on a station called Mega FM. This caused some of the rebels to abandon their encampments because the messages being broadcast were peace journalism," Laker said. "Until we taught peace journalism techniques, we were not advantaged like all of you here." Laker also spoke about peace journalism's role in avoiding election violence. "If you report carelessly on elections, you can cause violence," she noted.

Speaking about a PJ project in Uganda, Laker said, "We were able to train journalists, a total of 547 including reporters, and brought on board editors and managers." In 2011, these

efforts helped prevent media-induced violence that sometimes comes with elections in Uganda.

Dr. Metin Ersoy closed by saying "Peace journalism is moderately new for the mainstream media. However, it is not a very new concept. We need

more organizations to educate journalists and nongovernmental organizations for creating more impact."

The third and final segment of the "Reporting Syrian Refugees" project will take place in Malatya, Turkey in November.



Participants in the Peace Journalism summit at Istanbul University.

## Commentary

# Aylan's picture: No easy, or good, choices

By Steven Youngblood

The first time I saw the picture, I looked away quickly, shocked. The second time I saw it, tears welled up in my eyes.

The now virally ubiquitous photo is of a small boy, a three year old Syrian refugee named Aylan, who drowned and washed ashore in Turkey. The body of his five-year-old brother, Galip, washed up on another part of the same beach. The photo went viral in September.

The only comparably awful photo I can think of is the now-iconic 1993 picture of a skeletal, starving Sudanese child menaced by a seemingly impatient vulture.

Peace journalism, which encourages a more thoughtful and less sensational approach to reporting, offers conflicting advice on whether Aylan's picture should have been used by media.

From one angle, peace journalism would encourage media to avoid sensationalizing the event, to consider the feelings of the remaining family and community, and to present the story in such a way so as to not make the situation even worse. This school of thought would say that the picture should not be used because it would have the appearance of cheap sensationalism, and of taking unfair advantage of those who are vulnerable and powerless—of using this tragedy to sell newspapers and boost ratings. PJ would also ask if the story can be told without the horrible image, and if the image itself is simply too graphic.

However, peace journalism could also be used to justify showing the picture. If accuracy is our fundamental principle, would it be possible to accurately tell the story without Aylan's picture? PJ asks that a voice be given to the voiceless in our societies, and certainly Aylan and the other 2500 migrants who have died this year trying to escape hell deserve to have their voices heard.



Not surprisingly, Aylan's photo sparked debate inside newsrooms about whether to publish or even share the images. Robert Mackey, writing in the *New York Times*, said, "A number of reporters argued forcefully that it was necessary to confront the public with the human toll of the war in Syria, and the impact of policies that make it difficult for refugees to find asylum in Europe. But many editors were concerned about shocking their readers and wanted to avoid the appearance of trafficking in sensational images for profit." (*New York Times*, Sept. 2, 2015).

As I ponder what I would do as an editor or producer, my thoughts drift back to the dozens of interview and interactions I've had with Syrian refugees in the last year. (See *The Peace Journalist*, April, 2015). I'd like to ask the kindergarten teacher at the refugee camp near Adana, Turkey her impressions of Aylan's picture, and whether using it would do more harm than good. I'd like to ask Osama, who teaches English at the same camp, if publishing the image would help make Europeans treat the refugees more like people and less like problems.

Peace journalism asks journalists to consider the consequences of their reporting. The teacher, Osama, and other Syrians I talked to said they were so open with me and other journalists because they understood the importance of having their story told, and of jarring worldwide opinion. Given this, I believe they (and I) would reluctantly support using Aylan's picture and telling his story in the hopes of helping people understand the gravity of the refugee crisis.

The UK's *Independent* newspaper said it best when writing about their decision to use two photos of Aylan. "They are extraordinary images and serve as a stark reminder that, as European leaders increasingly try to prevent refugees from settling in the continent, more and more refugees are dying in their desperation to flee persecution and reach safety. *The Independent* has taken the decision to publish these images because, among the often glib words about the 'ongoing migrant crisis', it is all too easy to forget the reality of the desperate situation facing many refugees." (*The Independent*, Sept. 3, 2015).

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## African journalists consider electoral roles

By De G.S. Fresnel Tsimba Bongol

The role of media in elections in Central Africa was the theme discussed in Kinshasa (DRC) June 22-23, 2015 by journalists from Central Africa. This workshop was organized in partnership with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung foundation and the press professional union in Central Africa (USYPAC).

During this workshop, the journalists discussed the following themes: "Status report on the electoral process in the Central African countries," "The elections in Central Africa: Instead of state, challenges and prospects," "Elections, community development vectors in Central Africa?," "Free and transparent elections: What role for independent media?," "How the media monitor the elections?," "CSAC's role (Superior Council of Audiovisual and Communication) for good media coverage of elections in the DRC."

The president of the USYPAC noted that all actors involved in the electoral process must recognize the essential role of the media before, during and

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after the elections since media are regarded as "gatekeepers."

Media observer Stanis Nkundiye said, "As developers of the media, especially audiovisual guys (are) wondering where to go to avoid being carried away by the digital migration, when many media put the key under the mat because of the financial crisis that spares no one. How do governments support the press, without alienating its independence, and how will it be of service to citizens through the dissemination of a verified, credible and objective information?" He said journalists should "not close our eyes. The question before us is whether the media of Central Africa, known for their notorious poverty, have means to be truly that guardian of the temple, the people who eye the electoral process."

Nkundiye also presented a series of questions at the workshop: "Have elections helped Africa in general and in particular economic community of Central Africa states (ECCAS) to head out of the water and to curb underdevelopment? Have they promoted the integration of peoples and the fair distribution of national income? Or, conversely, are elections not the cause of the creation of new rich and the disappearance of the middle class? Have they helped to stem evils such as cronyism, tribalism, corruption and impunity? Have they been effective in promoting human rights?"

Ultimately, elections do favor the emergence of democracy and development in a space where all countries, with few exceptions, have the inglorious title of HIPC, that is to say heavily indebted poor countries? It is



on these questions that the workshop attempted to shed light.

Stanis Nkundiye has also noted that Central Africa is boiling. He noted that in 2016, the following countries will hold presidential elections: Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon and probably the Republic of Central Africa.

Ultimately, he concluded, "Since the launch of the democratic process in 1990, only one country of the (Central African economic community) area has experienced democratic change and the change of majority--Sao Tome and Principe. This is an important indicator that context about challenges in the subregion. May this workshop help to promote a fresh start for Central Africa."

This training is timely when we know that 2016 is an election year in Central Africa. The year 2016 will be marked by elections indeed in most countries of Central Africa area, while the Central African Republic will emerge from its political transition with elections this fall. The media in the region are already preparing for these events.