

Peace and Reconciliation Journalism Workshop, Rongo, Kenya 2014

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A joint project of the Center for Global Peace Journalism and Rongo University College

Outline—Peace and Reconciliation Journalism Seminar

Lecture content:

Introduction to Peace Journalism-characteristics, applications;
 Peace and Electoral Journalism;
 Reporting Fundamentals: Accuracy, Objectivity, Balance;
 Reconciliation fundamentals; journalism vis-à-vis reconciliation
 Ethical Responsibilities and realities; Developing the framework for a cross-border peace journalism press club;
 Local media content analysis
 Case studies-from India/Pakistan, Kenya, Uganda, Indonesia, elsewhere about responsible/irresponsible reporting;
 Hate Radio in East Africa;
 Conflict analysis.
 Reporting about the vulnerable—refugees and asylum seekers
 Social Media and PJ

Seminar outputs:

- A. Reported piece: Story highlighting reconciliation themes, and/or refugee story
- B. PSA: 30 second PSA with reconciliation/anti-violence theme
- C. Live show: On-air forum discussing peace/reconciliation journalism (on local radio station after the seminar's conclusion)
- D. Formation of a Rongo Peace Journalism Press Club

Day by day seminar schedule—

1

Introduction to Peace Journalism—characteristics and applications; PJ pro and con—two perspectives
 Reporting fundamentals—objectivity, balance, accuracy; Sound bites that promote peace and recovery;
 Reconciliation issues, transitional justice, and the use of PJ as a reconciliation tool
 Local media analysis; News guidelines/ethics;
 Exercise: Develop Peace Journalism news guidelines and policies

2

Hate Radio—India/Pakistan, East Africa; Positive examples—Combating hate radio;
 Elections and violence—Background;
 Electoral reporting and PJ—threats, opportunities;
 Exercise: Develop election guidelines that reflect PJ principles;
 Project: Produce peace and reconciliation-themed radio report

3

Peace and Electoral Journalism case studies—bias, flag waving; Basic conflict analysis

Radio on-air talk and panel discussions and peace/recovery;

PSA's and electoral/development/peace journalism;

Exercise: Develop station guidelines for PSA's that reflect PJ principles

Project: Produce PSA's on no-violence theme.;

Becoming a better peace journalist

Forming the Rongo Peace Journalism Club—How to; frameworks; preliminary work.

WHAT IS PEACE JOURNALISM?

From Peace Journalism-Lynch/McGoldrick (slightly revised)

| PEACE/CONFLICT JOURNALISM | WAR/VIOLENCE JOURNALISM |
|---|--|
| <p><i>I. PEACE/CONFLICT-ORIENTED</i></p> <p>Explore conflict <u>formation</u>, x parties, y goals, z issues General 'win, win' orientation</p> <p>Open space, open time, causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture</p> <p>Making conflicts transparent</p> <p>Giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding</p> <p>See conflict war as problem, focus on conflict creativity</p> <p>Humanization of all sides</p> <p><u>Proactive</u>: prevention before any violence/war occurs</p> <p>Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)</p> | <p><i>II. WAR/VIOLENCE-ORIENTED</i></p> <p>Focus on conflict <u>arena</u>, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation</p> <p>Closed space, closed time, causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone</p> <p>Making wars opaque/secret</p> <p>'us-them' journalism, propaganda</p> <p>See 'them' as the problem, focus on who prevails in war</p> <p>Dehumanization of 'them'</p> <p><u>Reactive</u>: waiting for visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material/monetary damage)</p> |
| <p><i>II. FACT-ORIENTED</i></p> <p>Expose untruths on all sides/ uncover all cover-ups</p> | <p><i>II. PROPAGANDA-ORIENTED</i></p> <p>Expose 'their' untruths; help 'our' cover-ups/lies</p> |
| <p><i>III. PEOPLE-ORIENTED</i></p> <p>Focus on suffering all over; on women, aged, children</p> <p>Giving voice to the voiceless (marginalized, women/children, minorities, etc.)</p> <p>Give name to all who act destructively</p> <p>Focus on everyday people who are peace-makers</p> | <p><i>III. ELITE-ORIENTED</i></p> <p>Focus on 'our' suffering, on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece</p> <p>Give name only of the 'other side's' negative actors</p> <p>Focus on elite peace-makers only</p> |

| IV. SOLUTION-ORIENTED | IV. VICTORY-ORIENTED |
|---|--|
| Peace = non-violence + creativity | Peace = victory + ceasefire |
| Highlight peace, reconciliation initiatives | Conceal peace initiatives before 'victory' is declared |
| Focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society | Focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society |
| Aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation | Leaving door open for another war |

17 Tips: What A Peace Journalist Would Try To Do

The following notes are from Peace Journalism — How To Do It, by Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick (annabelmcg@aol.com), written Sydney, 2000. See the [two contrasting articles](#) by Jake Lynch which illustrate some of these points.

1. AVOID portraying a conflict as consisting of only two parties contesting one goal. The logical outcome is for one to win and the other to lose. INSTEAD, a Peace Journalist would DISAGGREGATE the two parties into many smaller groups, pursuing many goals, opening up more creative potential for a range of outcomes.
2. AVOID accepting stark distinctions between "self" and "other." These can be used to build the sense that another party is a "threat" or "beyond the pale" of civilized behavior — both key justifications for violence. INSTEAD, seek the "other" in the "self" and vice versa. If a party is presenting itself as "the goodies," ask questions about how different its behavior really is to that it ascribes to "the baddies" — isn't it ashamed of itself?
3. AVOID treating a conflict as if it is only going on in the place and at the time that violence is occurring. INSTEAD, try to trace the links and consequences for people in other places now and in the future. Ask:
 - * Who are all the people with a stake in the outcome?
 - * Ask yourself what will happen if ...?
 - * What lessons will people draw from watching these events unfold as part of a global audience? How will they enter the calculations of parties to future conflicts near and far?
4. AVOID assessing the merits of a violent action or policy of violence in terms of its visible effects only. INSTEAD, try to find ways of reporting on the invisible effects, e.g., the long-term consequences of psychological damage and trauma, perhaps increasing the likelihood that those affected will be violent in future, either against other people or, as a group, against other groups or other countries.
5. AVOID letting parties define themselves by simply quoting their leaders' restatement of familiar demands or positions. INSTEAD, inquire more deeply into goals:
 - * How are people on the ground affected by the conflict in everyday life?
 - * What do they want changed?
 - * Is the position stated by their leaders the only way or the best way to achieve the changes they want?
6. AVOID concentrating always on what divides the parties, the differences between what they say they want. INSTEAD, try asking questions that may reveal areas of common ground and leading your report with answers which suggest some goals maybe shared or at least compatible, after all.

7. AVOID only reporting the violent acts and describing "the horror." If you exclude everything else, you suggest that the only explanation for violence is previous violence (revenge); the only remedy, more violence (coercion/punishment). INSTEAD, show how people have been blocked and frustrated or deprived in everyday life as a way of explaining the violence.

8. AVOID blaming someone for starting it. INSTEAD, try looking at how shared problems and issues are leading to consequences that all the parties say they never intended.

9. AVOID focusing exclusively on the suffering, fears and grievances of only one party. This divides the parties into "villains" and "victims" and suggests that coercing or punishing the villains represents a solution. INSTEAD, treat as equally newsworthy the suffering, fears and grievance of all sides.

10. AVOID "victimizing" language such as "destitute," "devastated," "defenseless," "pathetic" and "tragedy," which only tells us what has been done to and could be done for a group of people. This disempowers them and limits the options for change. INSTEAD, report on what has been done and could be done by the people. Don't just ask them how they feel, also ask them how they are coping and what do they think? Can they suggest any solutions? Remember refugees have surnames as well. You wouldn't call President Clinton "Bill" in a news report.

11. AVOID imprecise use of emotive words to describe what has happened to people.

* "Genocide" means the wiping out of an entire people.

* "Decimated" (said of a population) means reducing it to a tenth of its former size.

* "Tragedy" is a form of drama, originally Greek, in which someone's fault or weakness proves his or her undoing.

* "Assassination" is the murder of a head of state.

* "Massacre" is the deliberate killing of people known to be unarmed and defenseless. Are we sure? Or might these people have died in battle?

* "Systematic" e.g., raping or forcing people from their homes. Has it really been organized in a deliberate pattern or have there been a number of unrelated, albeit extremely nasty incidents? INSTEAD, always be precise about what we know. Do not minimize suffering but reserve the strongest language for the gravest situations or you will beggar the language and help to justify disproportionate responses that escalate the violence.

12. AVOID demonizing adjectives like "vicious," "cruel," "brutal" and "barbaric." These always describe one party's view of what another party has done. To use them puts the journalist on that side and helps to justify an escalation of violence. INSTEAD, report what you know about the wrongdoing and give as much information as you can about the reliability of other people's reports or descriptions of it.

13. AVOID demonizing labels like "terrorist," "extremist," "fanatic" and "fundamentalist." These are always given by "us" to "them." No one ever uses them to describe himself or herself, and so, for a journalist to use them is always to take sides. They mean the person is unreasonable, so it seems to make less sense to reason (negotiate) with them. INSTEAD, try calling people by the names they give themselves. Or be more precise in your descriptions.

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

15. AVOID making an opinion or claim seem like an established fact. ("Eurico Guterres, said to be responsible for a massacre in East Timor ...") INSTEAD, tell your readers or your audience who said what. ("Eurico Guterres, accused by a top U.N. official of ordering a massacre in East Timor ...") That way you avoid signing yourself and your news service up to the allegations made by one party in the conflict against another.

16. AVOID greeting the signing of documents by leaders, which bring about military victory or cease fire, as necessarily creating peace. INSTEAD, try to report on the issues which remain and which may still lead people to commit further acts of violence in the future. Ask what is being done to strengthen means on the ground to handle and resolve conflict nonviolently, to address development or structural needs in the society and to create a culture of peace?

17. AVOID waiting for leaders on "our" side to suggest or offer solutions. INSTEAD, pick up and explore peace initiatives wherever they come from.

PEACE JOURNALISM VS. TRADITIONAL REPORTING EXAMPLES

Traditional reporting

Skopje, UPI — *Peace talks aimed at ending the conflict in Macedonia lay in ruins last night after the massacre of eight policemen by Albanian rebels who mutilated the bodies. The atrocity took place at the mountain village of Vecje, where a police patrol was attacked with machine guns and rocket-propelled grenades, said a spokesman. Six other men were wounded and three vehicles destroyed. The bodies were cut with knives after they died, he said, and one man's head had been smashed in. The attack was believed to be the work of the National Liberal Army terrorists from the hills near Tetevo. Ali Ahmeti, a political leader of the NLA, said that his men may have fired "in self-defence."*...

Peace Journalism reporting

Skopje, UPI — *There was condemnation across the political spectrum in Macedonia after a police patrol suffered the loss of eight men. Both the main parties representing the country's minority Albanians distanced themselves from the killings, believed to be the work of the self-styled National Liberation Army. Ali Ahmeti, a political leader of the NLA, denied that his men had attacked the patrol, saying they may have fired "in self-defence". But the Macedonian government said it had done nothing to provoke the machine-gun fire and rocket-propelled grenades which destroyed three trucks. A spokesman added that the bodies appeared to have been cut with knives and one man's skull caved in ...*

Traditional reporting

Yoho City, YNS — *The Prime Minister of Yoho has condemned a bomb blast in Yoho City by Atu terrorists which killed ten tourists yesterday. The prime minister said he has created a special army squad to track down the perpetrators of the massacre.*

Police say the explosion occurred when terrorists from an Atu assassination squad brought a huge bomb into the Tourist Office in the city square. The bomb was probably located in a suitcase, said police captain Joe Blow. The terrorist-guerilla Atu Front early this morning issued a statement denying it planted the

bomb. But government sources say eyewitnesses saw Atu Front leader Sam Green at the city square yesterday. It is believed he coordinated the attack ...

Peace journalism reporting

Yoho City, YNS — A mysterious explosion which killed 10 tourists was the work of an Atu separatist movement, the Prime Minister of Yoho claimed yesterday.

Police investigators are still examining the shattered city square where the blast occurred while tourists were getting off a tour bus at the Tourist Office yesterday.

The prime minister blamed the explosion on the self-styled Atu Front, which is fighting government forces in rural areas and demanding a republican government. In a telephone interview Atu Front leader Sam Green denied any connection with the explosion and called it a tragedy. The tour bus recently arrived from the nearby country of Butu, where a civil war is waging ...

Peace Journalism Content Analysis Rubric

Written/spoken reports

| | 1=Never | 2=Sometimes | 3=Often | 0=N/A |
|---|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------|
| Language | | | | |
| Inflammatory/emotional language used | | | | |
| Victimizing language used | | | | |
| Demonizing/name calling language used | | | | |
| Writing/reporting | | | | |
| Opinions treated as facts | | | | |
| Historical wrongs mentioned | | | | |
| Writer's opinion/position is clear (one sided) | | | | |
| Only "one side" interviewed/quoted | | | | |
| Story spreads official propaganda | | | | |
| Info/quotes taken out of context | | | | |
| Event | | | | |
| Suffering/"criminal acts" by only one side shown | | | | |
| Underlying issues/causes of the conflict ignored | | | | |
| Blood/gore/suffering highlighted/featured in lead | | | | |
| Parties | | | | |
| Blame assigned to one party | | | | |
| Solutions | | | | |
| Peace proposals ignored or dismissed | | | | |
| Story dwells on differences; shuns similarities | | | | |

Reader left with impression that the
only
viable solutions involve violence

SCALE:

Peace Journalism=21 points or less

Some characteristics of both peace and war journalism=22-31

Traditional Journalism=32 or more

Visuals--video and photo

Intended for use to critique multiple images taken from one source (or one side)

| | 1=Never | 2=Sometimes | 3=Often |
|--|---------|-------------|---------|
| General topic is suffering | | | |
| General topic is destruction | | | |
| Subjects—Military officials; Government officials | | | |
| Images are patriotic | | | |
| Images are culturally insensitive/mock | | | |
| Subjects are shown in negative light | | | |
| Editing: Video is raw/unedited; or still is edited | | | |
| to change meaning of the original photo | | | |

SCALE

Peace Journalism=8-10 points

Some characteristics of both peace and war journalism=11-15

Traditional Journalism=16 or more

Pravda 08-22-08

Putin: Georgia's actions are criminal, whereas Russia's actions are absolutely legitimate

Russian news reports say that Russia's Prime Minister Vladimir Putin has arrived in a region that neighbors South Ossetia, where the armed conflict is taking place.

They say Putin is visiting the city of Vladikavkaz, the provincial capital of the region of North Ossetia that neighbors South Ossetia.

Putin said at a work meeting in Vladikavkaz that he could not imagine how it could be possible to make South Ossetia become a part of Georgia afterwards.

"Georgia's actions are criminal, whereas Russia's actions are absolutely legitimate," the Russian

Prime Minister said.

Putin urged the Georgian administration to immediately end aggression in South Ossetia.

"The actions of the Georgian authorities in South Ossetia are obviously a crime. It is a crime against its own people, first and foremost," Putin stated.

"A deadly blow has been struck on the territorial integrity of Georgia itself, which implies huge damage to its state structure," Putin emphasized.

"The aggression has resulted in numerous victims including those among civilians and has virtually led to a humanitarian catastrophe," he said.

The Russian PM stressed out that Russia would always treat the Georgian nation with great respect, as a brotherly nation, despite the current tragic events.

"Time will pass and the people of Georgia will give their objective estimations to the actions of the incumbent administration," Putin said.

Putin believes that Georgia's aspiration to become a member of NATO is not based on Georgia's wish to become a part of the global international security system and contribute to the strengthening of international peace.

"It is based on an attempt of the Georgian administration to get other countries involved in its bloody affairs," he said.

Russia's actions in South Ossetia are absolutely grounded and legitimate, Putin said.

"In accordance with international agreements, including the agreement of 1999, Russia does not only execute peacemaking functions, but is obliged, in case one party breaks the cease-fire agreement, to defend the other party, which is exactly what we are doing in case with South Ossetia," Putin stated.

Russia has been playing a positive and stabilizing role in the Caucasus for ages, Putin said.

"We perfectly realize what world we live in today. We will strive for fair and peaceful solutions of all conflicting situations, which we inherited from the past," the head of the Russian government said.

Russia's president Dmitry Medvedev has told U.S. President George W. Bush that Georgia must withdraw its forces from South Ossetia in order to end hostilities there.

The Kremlin says that President Dmitry Medvedev told Bush in a telephone conversation Saturday that Georgia must also sign a legally binding agreement not to use force.

Medvedev voiced hope that the United States could help push Georgia in that direction, and said Russia had to act to protect its citizens and enforce peace.

Georgia launched a massive attack Friday to regain control over South Ossetia. Russia responded by sending in tanks and troops and bombing Georgian territory.

Bush has urged an immediate halt to the violence and a stand-down by all troops.

Military forces in the unrecognized republic of Abkhazia launched air and artillery strikes Saturday to drive Georgian troops from their bridgehead in the region, officials said.

Sergei Shamba, foreign minister in the government of Abkhazia, said Abkhazian forces intended to push Georgian forces out of the Kodori Gorge. The northern part of the gorge is the only area of Abkhazia that has remained under Georgian government control.

RECONCILIATION ISSUES

What is reconciliation?

A very general definition would suggest that reconciliation is about building or rebuilding relationships damaged by violence and coercion, not only among people and groups in society, but also between people/citizens and the state. It is also important to give specific consideration to societal stakeholders that have a great interest in reconciliation and peacebuilding, without having a strong or organized voice, e.g., victims, youth, ex-combatants, displaced people, diasporas, women, etc.

An open brainstorming session at the beginning of the workshop revealed a large number of interpretations of and elements in the term “reconciliation”, including:

- trauma healing at all levels of society (personal, community-based and national);
- truth-telling and thus assuming responsibility for crimes;
- providing reparations to victims;
- forgiveness;
- transitional justice (restorative, retributive, distributive, economic and/or social);
- trust building and dialogue generation;
- eliminating the use of violence as a political tool by the country’s elite;
- addressing ethnic, social, and identity-based cleavages and polarisation;
- defining a shared vision for the country (nation building);
- addressing imbalances such as political exclusion; and
- power-sharing as a way to start building trust at the highest levels.

Thematic areas of reconciliation:

Healing

Trauma and healing should be approached holistically. Trauma should not merely be understood as the psychological result of an event, but rather as a process that may change before, during and after the conflict. Therefore healing should be viewed as a process occurring sequentially within the wider social and political context of the conflict cycle. Truth, justice and reparation are all vital parts of the process of healing. However, reconciliation is not necessarily about repairing trauma, but rather about people learning to live positive lives in the context of trauma and sustained pain, which is as much a social and political question as a mental health issue.

Truth, justice and reconciliation

Reconciliation is both a goal and a process. There are four key elements to a successful reconciliation: (i) an inclusive national dialogue; (ii) political will; (iii) security and freedom to speak and move; and (iv) a national vision of the nation’s end state as defined by its citizens. Transitional justice is necessary, but not sufficient in itself to achieve reconciliation. For instance, truth commissions that are not based on an inclusive national dialogue rarely serve their purpose beyond revealing facts and providing some criminal accountability. What needs to be discussed and focused on is a transformative transitional justice agenda. However, truth is important, particularly to prevent historical facts from being presented one-

sidedly or linked to religious or ethnic adversaries. Truth and fact-finding are important to help people deal with mythologies of the conflict.

Neither traditional/customary nor Western/normative global systems of justice are flawless mechanisms to address transitional justice. Synergies between the two systems need to be created in countries where they exist side by side in order to create a balanced arrangement that is tailored to the context and produces a more just society as the basis for reconciliation. Women should be viewed as an important asset to achieve reconciliation and not only as victims of the conflict. The dehumanization of men during conflict should be addressed to prevent the recurrence of conflict. A challenge in addressing the gender dimension of reconciliation is the wide gap between international standards and the actual political commitment and resources needed to implement them.

Reparation

Establishing the truth about previous violations and responding to the consequences of the violence affecting victims' lives are both crucial for reconciliation. Reparation belongs to the latter and is usually either individual/judicial or massive/restorative. A key element in individual/judicial reparations is to restore victims to their previous situation, while for massive crimes there are no established standards for what is appropriate and fair.

Reparations are both symbolic and material. They should be sufficient to guarantee a life for victims that is similar to that of those who did not suffer from the conflict and can be provided through, for instance, secure income, health care or education. Reparations are at the same time an important message of inclusion and dignity, and affirm that victims are valued members of the community. Reparations should be offered in an inclusive manner to all categories of beneficiaries, and the victims themselves should be involved in defining reparation priorities. Furthermore, if reparations are linked to longer-term development processes, they become more efficient and simultaneously fight marginalization.

Dilemmas:

- How do we get the balance right between promoting nationally led reconciliation while at the same time maintaining external support?
- How do we balance theoretical international norms and standards with the realities on the ground that often mean a lack of capacity and slow progress?
- How do we connect peacebuilding to a discussion of conflict prevention? Some international actors (including some UN Member States and donors) are reluctant to have this discussion and also to provide funding for prevention efforts.
- Peacebuilding is a long-term process that requires deep knowledge of the specific context. But staff turnover is comparatively quick, and can prevent building connections on the ground and deep knowledge of the situation.
- How do we balance short funding cycles and an emphasis on demonstrated results with a longer-term process like peacebuilding?
- How do we respond to cross-border conflicts? There might be a particularly relevant role for the international community in transnational conflicts, especially in reconciliation, but we have not yet fully developed this idea.

Example: Burundi

The situation in Burundi after the war is one in which there are no winners or losers, and both parties are now fighting for power. There seems to be political will to advance the reconciliation process, but the opposition is currently in exile and some groups might even be preparing for violence. Currently confidence that government leaders will promote reconciliation is low, because they were part of the conflict. Each opposing group has its own version of the history of the conflict, and there is a need to establish the truth, to break the cycle of violence and to have the justice system working. The Arusha Peace Agreement included the establishment of a special tribunal and a truth and reconciliation commission. However, to date a tribunal is not intended to follow the establishment the commission.

Challenges

- The role of the international community seems to be quite limited.
- The truth and reconciliation commission will work for only two years, which in light of all the activities involved might be too short, especially when the period to be covered is so extensive, starting in 1962.
- The opposition is still outside of the country and might be preparing to fight.
- The main actors conducting the process are those who were implicated in the various waves of violence in Burundi.

Opportunities

- The agreement to create the commission.
- The political will expressed by the government to go ahead with the commission.
- The fact that the conflict has been transformed and now involves political forces and not ethnic groups, and that there is clarity about the need to avoid the “ethnicisation” of the political debate.
- The presence of the UN and its willingness to support the peace process.
- The fact that civil society is quite well organised and very active.

Example: Cote d’Ivoire

Challenge: The media, especially community radios, are being used for political purposes and are initiating various rumours that create tension.

Example: Guinea

Challenge: Public and private media are very sensational and their editorial line is very politicized.

From: Building Just Societies:

Reconciliation in Transitional Settings; UN Workshop Report, Accra, Ghana, 2012

Media’s Role in Reconciliation

Media plays a vital role in conflict and post-conflict situations. In Liberia, the media had, at times, acted as a propaganda tool. At other times, the media reported objective and important information, and courageous individuals put their lives on the line in defense of freedom of expression and for the people of Liberia. Many journalists were killed, harassed or forced to flee their country during the civil conflict. –UNESCO.org

RECONCILIATION STRATEGIES...

Promoting understanding through media

- a. Documentaries and films promoting mutual understanding
- b. Peace radio and television
- c. Professionalization of media, both print and electronic
- d. Institutional infrastructure for independent media (OECD.org)

Promoting Understanding Through Media

The third strategy establishes and strengthens responsible, professional media—both print and electronic. The premise is that such a strategy can promote social reconciliation in several ways. It helps dissipate the rumors and propaganda disseminated by extremists, which feed social and political tensions. It also creates a space for articulating diverse viewpoints, approaches, and opinions. Above all, it contributes to both transparency and accountability in public affairs, exerting pressure on political and social leaders to behave in a responsible way.

The international community has supported a wide range of media interventions during conflict and post conflict situations. These range from preparing documentaries for mass consumption, broadcasting peace education programs, establishing radio stations and newspapers committed to peace and democracy, and assisting independent media. Peace radios were established in Burundi, Rwanda, and Somalia during the conflict. In Rwanda, for example, Swiss-supported Radio Agatashya, established in August 1994, was instrumental in correcting the Hutu extremists' propaganda.

In early 1994, World Vision supported a radio program produced by local church groups in Burundi. The program covered issues such as alternatives to the ongoing ethnic violence, interethnic harmony, and conflict resolution. An international nongovernmental organization (NGO) called Search for Common Ground has promoted a studio that produces radio programs to encourage reconciliation. Low cost is one attraction of radio in these countries. With little investment, peace messages can be disseminated to millions of people, even those in remote areas.

As part of its activities promoting democracy, USAID has taken the lead in strengthening the independent media in many post conflict societies. Such programs are generally implemented in partnership with local broadcasters, with the funding and at the behest of NGOs and independent institutions. (OECD.org)

JOURNALISM'S ROLE...

Given that public confidence in a peace process is often shaped by media reportage of events, journalists have a unique and important responsibility to report the process accurately, impartially and responsibly and frame stories with the art of the long view – in other words, looking towards the future. This is the foundation of conflict sensitive journalism, within which one locates the space for media to promote reconciliation.

There are many ways media can help processes of reconciliation. The *creation of safe spaces* in the form of newspaper supplements, tri-lingual documentaries of community relations, web discussions, public forums like town hall meetings that are reported in provincial media, the *promotion of ethnic diversity* in the newsroom and in all output and programming (not just news media), *reporting human interest stories*, *support reconciliation between language media* by journalist exchanges and team reporting exercises, sharing and translating content, *creating new content that is geared towards reconciliation* (esp. programmes for children and youth), using new digital media to capture and strengthen voices that may have been hitherto marginalised (i.e. using techniques such as in-field media production) are some methods media can adopt to augment initiatives in support of wider debates on reconciliation. In doing so, the multiplicity of dialogues, it is hoped, creates public interest on reconciliation on many levels, leading to an interest and awareness of the issue and the ways in which such a process can be engineered to address communal concerns in order to move forward.

Finally, media has a moral responsibility to promote reconciliation. All media has donned both the role of victim and aggressor over the lifetime of a prolonged conflict. If media is truly interested in conflict sensitive journalism and the promotion of values that underpin a new democratic, plural and just society, the same values that underpin media reform must be recognized as those which nourish reconciliation – the humility to listen, to share, to acknowledge and to jointly work towards a better society. This is the foundation of post-conflict

media reform. This is the foundation of reconciliation. The two seamlessly dovetail into one another.—Sanjana Hattotuwa, TED fellow

Kenya

The role of media in reconciliation

Posted by My Story on August 13, 2009

BY LILLIAN ODERA

“The job of reporting on any conflict can influence the situation in many ways. Media coverage can strongly influence how the parties, both inside and outside, relate to a conflict and the ‘players’ within it by choice of stories that are covered or omitted, the sources used, and the stand that is taken toward ethical reporting.”

These words by Luc Reyhler and Thania Paffenholz in the book *Peace-Building* well position the stake for Kenya as she tries to heal wounds inflicted in just one month of chaos after the disputed 2007 general election.

Simply put, the media or the Fourth Estate as they are referred to, have the most critical decisions when it comes to influencing public perception and opinions. That is why I remain an ardent advocate of giving the Kenyan politician a partial or total black-out from the headlines.

Why do I say this? It is an open secret that the root cause of ethnic divide in Kenya is political immaturity. The political folk have capitalised on tribal numbers to deeply polarize the country into near communal cocoons. I know others will argue against this on the basis of colonial machinations.

Without fear of intimidation, 2007 changed the face of news coverage and current affairs debate forever. The days journalists censored the use of ‘tribal names’ when covering news on conflict are long gone. Editors and decision makers in newsrooms were faced with a hyena and goat scenario where conscience was haunted by whether to remain patriotic or maintain ethical values.

The minute by minute relay of election results by various media stations was a welcome effort, until events took an unexpected turn. Thirty days of violence that threatened to tear the country into pieces – rather, it did, albeit, temporarily. What followed was a government imposed ban on live broadcasts.

There have been arguments in certain quarters that ethnicity played itself squarely in the coverage of the elections and that could have partially contributed to the crisis since the relay of conflicting results slowly but gradually heightened the anxiety of millions of media consumers across the nation.

While that remains a matter of hypothetical debate, it is also important to note that despite all, the Kenyan media combined forces to embark on a nationwide healing campaign. And in time, voices of reason began to prevail through the numerous peace messages relayed through radio, television, newspapers and the internet.

It is time that society recognised the role of the media as an independent forum for Kenyans to heal. In the same breath, the media needs to understand that lessons learnt in the past have totally shifted society's expectation of the media as an avenue for responsible quest for democratisation and development.

The media, being an important tool for dialogue and reconciliation, needs to tailor make programmes geared towards healing the society. Unless the Kenyan media is bold enough to tell it as it is, the efforts by the just constituted Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission will be like applying grease on a metal rod that has been eaten by rust for one hundred years.

The media in Kenya has had its fair share of criticism when it comes to angling of stories related to conflict. It will be cowardice for all stakeholders in development to criticise journalists without taking a critical look at our individual roles in fanning ethnic hatred.

In times of upheaval, disorder and uncertainty, people's need for reliable information is especially great – their ability to access provisions, and sometimes their personal safety and very survival, may depend on it. However, they tend to regard much of the information available to them through the media as propaganda...

Respecting the media's independence and recognizing the fundamental right of press freedom, enshrined in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are essential for transparency and the rule of law.

The approach in developing these media interventions is multi-pronged. It involves :

- targeting the issues and themes where there is the most need for objective, balanced and credible information (peace process, negotiations, cease-fire, transitional issues, justice, governance, role of armed groups, etc..)
- highlighting positive examples of tolerance, collaboration, conflict resolution and reconciliation, by seeking out real life stories of people and local groups who are working for positive change and transforming conflicts.
- promoting the participation of a wide diversity of viewpoints and perspectives, from politicians to rebel leaders to women's groups, children and ordinary citizens, with the aim of seeking common ground on all possible levels ;
- tackling these objectives with a multi-ethnic team of media professionals, whose unity and teamwork symbolizes the sense of tolerance and understanding.

As the Unesco Director General Koïchiro Matsuura said on an occasion to mark the World Press Freedom day, 'A free press is not a luxury that can wait until better times; rather, it is part of the very process through which those better times are achieved'.

(The writer is a media consultant with Lisha Communication Services – lodera2000@yahoo.co.uk)

HATE RADIO

South Sudan: how hate radio was used to incite Bentiu massacres – By Keith Somerville

The spectre of ethnically-motivated killings, and the use of ethnic rivalry or hatred to mobilize and incite one community against another, hangs over the conflict in South Sudan. Coming just weeks after the 20th anniversary of the Rwandan genocide, which will forever be associated with the use of radio to incite hatred and help direct genocidal killings, the UNMISS report that a rebel commander in Bentiu used the local FM radio station to incite hatred against Dinkas, Darfuris and other non-Nuer, sent a shiver down my spine.

In a country with an estimated 80 per cent illiteracy rate, South Sudanese are particularly reliant on radio as a means of getting news and of communicating information. It reaches those who cannot read or cannot access or afford to buy newspapers. It can be listened to throughout the day alone, or in groups and can have a mass effect if used to generate fear, mobilize support or, worst of all, incite hatred of others.

The Radio Bentiu FM station is a key source of news for the population. UNMISS said that the rebels had taken over the station and at times “broadcast hate messages declaring that certain ethnic groups should not stay in Bentiu and even calling on men from one community to commit vengeful sexual violence against women from another community”. The UN mission roundly condemned the use of the radio to incite hatred and encourage killings or rape, though it did note that some rebel SPLA commanders had broadcast messages calling for unity and an end to ‘tribalism’. While UN radio stations and the Netherlands-funded Radio Tamazuj can be heard in Unity state, the local FM station is the key local outlet and so has a wide listenership in Bentiu.

Several hundred civilians were killed after the rebel occupation of the key oil town and most of the dead are believed to be Dinkas, Darfuris and a number of other Sudanese, deliberately targeted by sections of the rebel force as ‘enemies’. At times the rebels have claimed that members of the Darfur Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and other groups from Sudan have been fighting alongside the South Sudanese army. UNMISS in its statement on the killings specifically referred to the targeting of Darfuris and to the killing of at least 200 and the wounding of 400 non-Nuer civilians in a mosque. There were even reports, the UN said, of Nuer being killed for failing to show their support for the rebels. Among the targets for attacks were the mosque, the hospital and a World Food Programme compound. The UNMISS personnel in Bentiu managed to rescue hundreds of civilians and it says it is now protecting 12,000 civilians at its base – part of an estimated total of 60,000 being guarded throughout South Sudan.

The use of radio to call on rebels and Nuer, in particular, to attack Dinkas and other groups does bring chilling echoes of Rwanda and of the use of local radio stations – especially vernacular ones in Kenya and the DRC – to incite fear, hatred or violence against particular groups. These include the Banyamulenge in eastern DRC or Kalenjin against Kikuyu and vice versa during the post-election violence in Kenya in 2007-8 (a Kenyan radio editor and presenter, Joshua arap Sang, is currently in trial at the ICC for using radio as part of the incitement of hatred and violence). The spokesperson for UNMISS, Joseph Contreras, said in an interview on UN Radio in South Sudan that the use of radio to fan the flames of hatred was to be deplored and made a direct reference to the role of hate radio in Rwanda.

But South Sudan is not Rwanda and the ethnic/linguistic picture is more diverse and blurred. Political and ethnic allegiances shift according to time and expediency. There is also a very different media environment with various church, UN or foreign-sponsored radio stations broadcasting – in addition to the national radio based in Juba and smaller government FM stations in the main towns of each state. The local FM stations are the ones most likely to be seized by government or rebel forces as they capture towns – UNMISS says it is already aware that some stations have been broadcasting hate speech. Mr. Contreras called on all sides “to prevent the airing of such messages”. He added, though, that it was impossible to say what effect the messages in Bentiu had had on the course of the violence there after the rebel take over.

The media in South Sudan is more varied than in Rwanda in 1994 – when the only stations broadcasting in Kinyarwanda were the Hutu government-controlled Radio Rwanda, the Hutu Power-owned Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines (RTLM) and the Rwandan Patriotic Front’s Radio Muhabura. These were supplemented by international broadcasters like the BBC, Radio France International and Voice of America, but none of these transmitted in the local language. In South Sudan, in addition to the national radio service in Juba and state stations in nine provincial capitals, there are over 30 FM or AM stations broadcasting locally, including the UN’s Radio Miraya, Radio Tamazuj, the Catholic Bakhita FM, and the USAID-funded Sudan Radio Service. Most broadcast in English and basic Arabic, though the local stations also broadcast in a number of vernaculars, such as Zande, Madi, Muru, Bari and Kuhu.

Reporters without Borders (RWB) ranks South Sudan as 111th out of 179 countries in terms of press freedom, compared with 170 for Sudan. But the role of independent journalists, newspapers and radio stations in reporting corruption has not been popular with President Salva Kiir’s government and journalists have suffered periodic harassment. One leading commentator and thorn in the side of the government, Diing Chan Awuol, was shot and killed outside his home in Juba in December 2012. Awuol wrote columns for the Sudan Tribune and Gurtong websites and the newspaper ‘Destiny’ under the pen-name of Isaias Abraham. There have also been arrests of leading journalists, such as Ngor Aguot Garang, the editor of Destiny, and his deputy editor in November 2011 for a critical piece on Salva Kiir’s daughter.

This harassment has not yet made South Sudan’s media into a clone of the state-controlled and intimidated media of the north, but Reporters without Borders said that a South Sudanese media expert had told them that “The authorities in Juba were brought up in the Khartoum school and now they are getting ready to put what they learned about repression into practice...Listen to the information minister. He tells us: ‘Watch what you write. Be patriotic...Unlike what happens in the North, the repression is not concerted, but high-handed actions, harassment, impunity and brutality are nonetheless the rule.’”

Harassment has increased since the start of the conflict between forces loyal to the Salva Kiir government and those backing Riek Machar. In recent weeks, the South Sudanese Information Minister, Michael Makuei, has warned reporters in Juba not to interview opposition leaders or spokespeople or face arrest or expulsion from the country. Makuei said broadcast interviews with rebels are considered “hostile propaganda” and “in conflict with the law.” The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) said the minister’s outburst followed a recent interview conducted by the Juba-based and independent Eye Radio with a rebel leader at the deadlocked peace negotiations taking place in Addis Ababa. Makuei said this sort of reporting was “disseminating poison”. The minister ordered journalists in South Sudan to convey “a neutral position that does not agitate against the government.”

There have been a number of cases of journalists being interrogated or arrested since the start of the conflict. On occasions the security services have seized newspapers such as the Juba Monitor and put pressure on Eye Radio to force the resignation of the editor, Beatrice Murail, who left Juba and returned to France as a result. There have also been reports from the CPJ and the Inter Press Service that Nuer journalists are being viewed as potential enemies and supporters of Machar in government-controlled areas and similarly, as the conflict has ratcheted up ethnic tensions, journalists of Dinka origin are under threat in areas controlled by the rebels.

The well-known South Sudanese journalist Bonifacio Taban, who has himself been put under pressure by the government, told the CPJ in March that this situation is making it hard for journalists to report and dangerous, in particular, for those of Nuer origin to cover the story from the government side. He said the tough stance of the government is making it more and more difficult for the local press to stay impartial. "The news in South Sudan is not balanced, it has become one-sided, the government side," Taban told the CPJ.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that when the rebels seize a town like Bentiu they quickly make sure they control the output of the local media, especially radio. But as the conflict continues and killings escalate, along with the proliferation of both accurate or exaggerated/invented stories of atrocities, the chances of impartiality slipping into propaganda and then down the slope into hate broadcasting is very real.

Kenya: Radio Stations Warned Over Hate Speech Content

By Jillo Kadida

Radio stations found propagating hate speech will be shut down, the Communication Authority of Kenya has said. Director of Consumer and Public Affairs Mutua Muthusi said some stations are taking advantage of the heated political situation to air content that contains hate speech.

"The authority hereby wishes to remind broadcasters that the constitutionally guaranteed Freedom of Expression does not extend to spread of hate speech, propaganda for war, incitement to violence and advocacy of hatred," Muthusi said in a statement.

The agency urged broadcasters to provide responsible programming that caters for the needs of different sections of society. "The authority wishes to call on broadcast media to carry out their mandate within the parameters of the law.

Failure to this, we shall be forced to take the necessary regulatory action, including withdrawal of frequencies," Muthusi said. The limitations to freedom of expression also apply to conduct on the Internet and offences are actionable in law, he said. (allafrica.com, July 2014)

Vernacular radio stations warned over hate speech

March 2013, Standard Digital By Rawlings Otieno

Nairobi, Kenya: The National Steering Committee on Media Monitoring has claimed that Radio stations are propagating hate speech on their online platforms. The committee has now warned that those Radio stations will be prosecuted and their licences revoked.

Director of Public Communications Mary Ombara said that messages written in vernacular languages are abusive and derogatory to other communities. "We have noted that there is a tendency to post items on radio websites which border on hate speech that have been written in vernacular languages and are abusive to the other communities," said Ombara.

Already the excerpts of the downloaded hate speech material are before the Communications Commissions of Kenya (CCK) and awaits translation before the radio stations face the law. Speaking during a weekly press briefing in Nairobi on Wednesday, the National committee on media monitoring said that the radio stations are trying to fuel hate speech through the back door. At the same time they disclosed that at least eight new bloggers have been identified and are under investigations before they face criminal charges according to the National Cohesion and Integration Act of 2008.

This comes in the wake of an arrest of six bloggers on Tuesday over media content that borders on hate speech and derogatory languages used against different ethnic communities in Kenya. National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) Vice Chair Millie Lwanga while maintaining that Kenyans have the right to engage in social media, said care must be taken to ensure the rights of others are not prejudiced during the enjoyment of the freedoms enshrined in the constitution. She said that all those engaged in social media should verify any messages of political nature that they receive through short text messages (SMS) before making any postings.

"We wish to caution all Kenyans engaging in social media to verify any messages of a political nature that they receive before making any postings. Kenyans should be left to engage in the social media but should not prejudice the rights of others," said Lwanga.

KENYA: Spreading the word of hate

NAIROBI, 22 January 2008 (IRIN) - Inflammatory statements and songs broadcast on vernacular radio stations and at party rallies, text messages, emails, posters and leaflets have all contributed to post-electoral violence in Kenya, according to analysts. Hundreds of homes have been burnt, more than 600 people killed and 250,000 displaced.

While the mainstream media, both English and Swahili, have been praised for their even-handedness, vernacular radio broadcasts have been of particular concern, given the role of Kigali's Radio-Télévision Libre des Mille Collines in inciting people to slaughter their neighbours in the Rwandan genocide of 1994.

"There's been a lot of hate speech, sometimes thinly veiled. The vernacular radio stations have perfected the art," Caesar Handa, chief executive of Strategic Research, told IRIN. His company was contracted by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) to monitor the media coverage given to the main political parties in Kenya in the run-up to the 27 December presidential and parliamentary elections.

Among the FM stations that Handa singled out for criticism were the Kalenjin-language station Kass, the Kikuyu stations Inooro and Kameme and the Luo station, Lake Victoria.

"The call-in shows are the most notorious," said Handa. "The announcers don't really have the

ability to check what the callers are going to say."

Handa heard Kalenjin callers on Kass FM making negative comments about other ethnic groups, who they call "settlers", in their traditional homeland, Rift Valley Province.

"You hear cases of 'Let's reclaim our land. Let's reclaim our birthright'. Let's claim our land means you want to evict people [other ethnic communities] from the place," said Handa.

One difficulty in monitoring such stations is that the language used is often quite subtle and obscure.

On Kass FM, there were references to the need for "people of the milk" to "cut grass" and complaints that the mongoose has come and "stolen our chicken", according to Kamanda Mucheke, senior human rights officer with the state-funded Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), which monitored hate speech in the countdown to the elections.

The Kalenjin call themselves people of the milk because they are pastoralists by tradition and the mongoose is a reference to Kikuyus who have bought land in Rift Valley, Mucheke said. On another occasion, a caller emphasised the need to "get rid of weeds", which could be interpreted as a reference to non-Kalenjin ethnic groups.

RWANDAN GENOCIDE—THE ROLE OF RADIO

BBC News Online, Monday 21 June 1999

At the end of last year, a radio station calling itself Voice of the Patriot was heard broadcasting in the Bukavu region, in the east of the Democratic Republic of Congo, near the borders with Rwanda and Burundi.

The radio, thought to be using a mobile transmitter in the mountains above Bukavu town, issued warnings that Tutsi soldiers from Rwanda and Burundi were coming to massacre local residents.

Though it called itself a "political radio", Voice of the Patriot was a new manifestation of a phenomenon which has accompanied, some say fuelled, the region's violence in recent years: Hate Radio.

The message it broadcast was simple, and insistent: "These Tutsi killers who invaded our country continue to prepare themselves to plant their flags on both sides of the border ... you know the cunning of those people ... They come with guns, they come to kill us."

The Tutsi-dominated armies in Rwanda and Burundi blame continuing clashes and deaths on extremists among the Hutu population, which in both countries makes up about 80 per cent of the population as a whole.

Relations between the Hutu majority and the Tutsi-led governments in each country are increasingly polarised, and the resulting instability threatens to spill over to the rest of the region.

Militant Hutu groups have organised themselves across the borders in Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of Congo, formerly Zaire.

Broadcasting in local languages, French and the local version of Swahili, Voice of the Patriot was reportedly run by an opposition group in eastern Congo's South Kivu region comprising Hutu rebels from Rwanda and Burundi, and Congolese opposition factions.

Rwanda's "final war"

At the time of the Rwandan genocide, a radio calling itself Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines became infamous as a result of its broadcasts inciting Hutus to kill Tutsis.

Established in 1993, the privately-owned radio initially criticised peace talks between the government of President Juvenal Habyarimana and the Tutsi-led rebels of the Rwandan Patriotic Army. Hardline Hutus saw the peace process as a threat to their power base.

After Habyarimana was killed when his plane was shot down in April 1994, the radio called for a "final war" to "exterminate the cockroaches." It played a role in organising militias, broadcast lists of people to be killed and, above all, incited hatred:

"In truth, all Tutsis will perish. They will vanish from this country ... They are disappearing little by little thanks to the weapons hitting them, but also because they are being killed like rats."

As the forces of the Rwandan Patriotic Front moved down through the country during 1994, the broadcasters of Radio Mille Collines fled across the border into what was then Zaire.

"The radio that tells the truth"

Around the same time, Burundi too got its own hate radio. Using the same formula as Radio Mille Collines, a station calling itself Radio Rutomorangingo ("The radio that tells the truth") began broadcasting catchy music interspersed with messages to rise up against "the Tutsi oppressor".

Initially based in the forests of southwestern Rwanda and northwestern Burundi, the radio was run by the National Council for the Defence of Democracy, or CNDD, a Hutu rebel group.

After some months, the radio changed its name to Radio Democracy and toned down its broadcasts. Article 19, the anti-censorship human rights organization, argues that the radio did not directly incite genocide.

ELECTORAL JOURNALISM

Heated elections test peace journalists

Steven Youngblood, from The Peace Journalist

Elections are inherently divisive, controversial, and provocative. In much of the world, violence during and after elections is almost expected. For example, post-election violence has recently scarred Nigeria, the Philippines, Kenya, Myanmar, and the Ivory Coast, among other places.

Even in places like Western Europe and the United States where violence may not be tied to elections, one could suspect that increasingly bitter and shrill campaigns and elections polarize societies politically, squeezing politicians into increasingly tight corners on the far left and far right, thus making these countries more difficult to govern.

As peace journalists, we should be analyzing our role in covering these elections, and asking ourselves if the language we use and the way we frame our stories is contributing to, or instead, mitigating, the bitterness and divisiveness.

The connection between inflammatory media and post-election violence has been established in numerous places around the world. One notable example is Kenya after the 2007 elections when violence took 800-1300 lives and displaced 200,000-600,000 people. (Numbers vary, depending on the source). This violence was partially media-fueled. Indeed, one journalist/manager from a Western Kenyan radio station is on trial at the Hague for allegedly inflaming the deadly violence.

The link between media and politically polarized Western governments is discussed in a study published last month by Washington State University in the U.S. In the study (4 September, 2012), researcher Douglas Hindman “suggests intense media coverage of highly polarized and contentious political issues tends to reinforce partisan views, creating ‘belief gaps’ between Democrats and Republicans, which grow increasingly pronounced over time.” Admittedly, the researcher in this instance is focusing on the intensity (volume) of coverage, and not specific characteristics of how partisan issues are framed. Nonetheless, it’s not an enormous leap to theorize that the tone of the coverage, and not just the intensity, also reinforces partisan, compromise-resistant views.

Given this, is the negative tone of the coverage of the U.S. presidential election contributing to increased political rigidity? A Pew Center study (23 August 2012) finds that “72% of this coverage has been negative for Barack Obama and 71% has been negative for Mitt Romney.”

It seems intuitive that this incessant negativity would have a polarizing effect. However, a colleague of mine correctly points out that it’s quite a distance between cause and effect here. Does negative, narrow coverage cause political polarization, and cause electoral losers to not accept the outcome of elections? That’s yet to be proven.

Still, a demonstrated link between irresponsible media and electoral violence combined with this suspected link between media and political polarization certainly provide reason enough for peace journalists to report prudently around election time. Keeping in mind media’s power to inflame passions

and potentially to exacerbate political divisions, we have devised a list of electoral journalism do's and don'ts for peace journalists.

CONNECTING PEACE AND ELECTORAL JOURNALISM

What a peace journalist would try to do in an electoral situation, using the 17 PJ tips (McGoldrick-Lynch) as a foundation.

1. AVOID portraying races as only between two candidates with two ideologies. INSTEAD, give voices to multiple candidates (when those candidates are viable), to multiple ideologies (not just the extremes), and to multiple players involved in the process, especially the public.
2. AVOID treating the election like a horse race. Polls and surveys are fine, but they are only a part of the story. INSTEAD, concentrate on issues of importance as identified by the public and articulated by candidates and parties, including platforms/manifestos.
3. AVOID letting the candidates define themselves through what they say. INSTEAD, seek expert analysis of the candidate's background as well as the veracity and logic of the candidates' comments.
4. AVOID airing inflammatory, divisive, or violent statements by candidates. INSTEAD, there are two options: A. Edit these comments to eliminate these inflammatory statements; B. Publish or broadcast these comments, and then offer pointed analysis and criticism of what is being said.
5. AVOID airing comments and reports that encourage sectarianism and divisions within society—race-baiting, for example. If these comments must be aired, then follow up with commentary pointing out the candidate's attempt to divide and distract voters. INSTEAD, insist on the candidates addressing issues that highlight common values and bring communities together.
6. AVOID letting candidates “get away” with using imprecise, emotive language. This includes name calling. INSTEAD, hold candidates accountable for what they say, and use precise language as you discuss issues.
7. AVOID framing the election as a personality conflict between candidates. INSTEAD, focus on the candidates' positions on issues of importance—schools, health care, roads.
8. AVOID unbalanced stories. INSTEAD, seek to balance each story with comments from the major parties or their supporters. Balance includes getting input from informed citizens.
9. AVOID letting candidates use you to spread their propaganda. Identify and expose talking points. INSTEAD, as you broadcast their statements, include a critical analysis of what is being said.
10. AVOID reporting that gives opinions/sound bites only from political leaders and/or pundits. INSTEAD, center stories around everyday people, their concerns and perceptions about the candidates and process.

Whenever I have presented this list at peace journalism seminars, the participants have been receptive to the idea that they have a larger responsibility to their societies. This responsibility includes both

helping to inform citizens so that they may intelligently fulfill their electoral duties and framing stories so as to short-circuit violence and not exacerbate political polarization.

Journalists understand that implementing these ideas in our highly competitive media environment, one that values tension, conflict, and sensationalism, will be at best very difficult. Despite this, the journalists I've worked with all believe that practicing responsible electoral journalism is worth the effort.

CONFLICT ANALYSIS

thrived. It left the system of competitive nation-states intact. The late 1940s saw a very different response:

- The United Nations was created as a multilateral body to mediate global conflicts.
- The Marshall Plan brought huge aid payments from the US to rebuild the shattered European economy.
- The European Coal and Steel Community, forerunner of the European Union, was formed – a long-term political project to bind France and Germany together as allies, not enemies.
- The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN General Assembly as an international norm, meant that protecting minorities from abuses, such as those meted out under the Nazis, would henceforth be an international responsibility.
- The Bretton Woods financial institutions would avert see-sawing exchange rates such as those which bankrupted the German Weimar Republic.

DISCUSSION: What influences the way people are likely to respond to conflict? In what circumstances do conflicts arise and what factors make parties more – or less – likely to respond violently? Or non-violently?

Conflict situations

Contradictions likely to cause conflict arise typically in circumstances where:

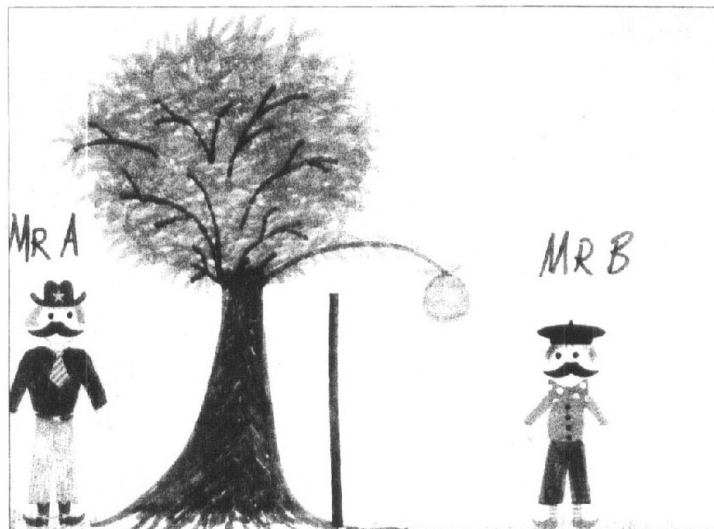
- resources are scarce (employment, income, housing, water)
- power is unevenly distributed
- unresolved grievances exist from the past

Conflict may be exacerbated by the parties' Attitudes to each other, especially if:

- poor or no communication exists between them
- parties have incorrect or biased perceptions of each other
- there is a lack of trust
- parties do not value the relationship between them¹³

A combination of these factors will create conditions in which people can be mobilised for violent behaviour – which may, in turn, harden attitudes and deepen contradictions.

The conflict orange¹⁴



This classic and apparently simple exercise, often presented to students of conflict and conflict resolution, can illuminate some quite complex processes and dynamics that are applicable to real conflicts.

Consider this situation: an orange is growing on a tree with its roots in one garden, but on a branch overhanging the neighbouring garden. Neighbour A has the garden where the tree is rooted; Neighbour B lives next door. This is the Contradiction – both A and B believe the orange is rightfully theirs.

It's worth noting at this stage that the biggest influence on people's responses to a conflict may be the perceived range of options. If there are clear laws and grievance procedures, viewed by everyone as legitimate, then it becomes a 'no-brainer' – they are likely to prove the first resort.

It's when laws and procedures are unclear, or lack legitimacy – at least in the eyes of some – that a greater range of responses is evident. If laws and procedures are inadequate to resolve this dispute over the orange, why might they lack clarity? How and why might they have lost legitimacy? You may want to bear those issues in mind as you tackle the following questions:

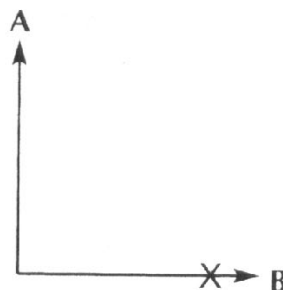
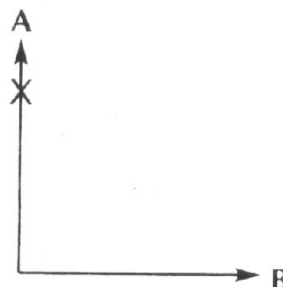
Exercise One The Conflict Orange

- What happens next? How do the parties behave? How might their Attitudes to each other influence their Behaviour? List as many different outcomes to this conflict as you can.
- Can you give a 'score' for each of these outcomes?
(Example: where the two neighbours fight, and A overpowers B and picks the orange for himself, A wins 1-0.)
- Of particular interest is the fact that many who do this exercise suggest cutting the orange in two, as a compromise solution. What score does this give? 1-1? Are you sure? What does it tell us about the problems of compromising?
- What might be better than compromise? What does it take to create something better than compromise?

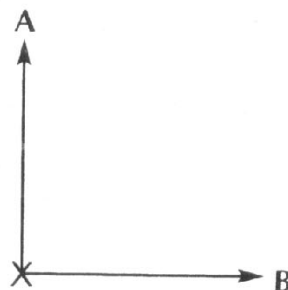
Kinds of outcome

It is possible to classify the outcomes in main categories:

1. *One party prevails (score: 1-0 or 0-1)*
The Rule of Man – the pair fight orange. Might is right.
The Rule of Law – adjudicate on principle (eg tradition, need, taste)
The Rule of Chance – some random method (eg roll a die to settle who gets the orange).
Compensation – broadening, deep (neighbour A gets the orange, neighbour B gets something else).

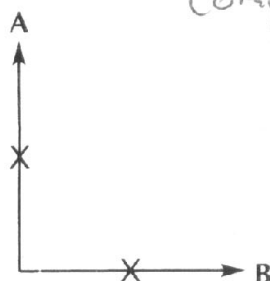


2. *Withdrawal (score: 0-0)*
Walk away from the situation
Destroy or give away the orange
Just watch the orange
Put it in the freezer



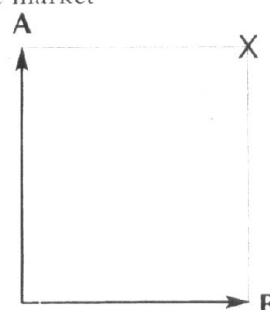
3. *Compromise* (score: 1/2-1/2)

Cut the orange
Squeeze the orange
Peel the orange and divide the slices
Any other division



4. *Transcendence* (scores: 1-1, 2-2, 3-3, etc)

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



Basic thesis: the more alternatives, the less likely the violence.¹⁵

What is the problem?

Some participants in this exercise, during workshops, suggest cutting down the tree or cutting off the branch. When asked why, they often say, 'Because the tree/branch is the problem'. Is it? Look again at the picture. What else is there that might be the problem? How might it be removed?

The real problem here may be the fence, not the tree or the branch – in other words, a division between people, made by people. 'Good fences make good neighbours,' it is sometimes said – but the orange problem may indicate a bad fence. Some of the interplay of characters may hold a clue as to one way to overcome this problem.

If the children of Mr A and Mr B marry, then in one sense the fence between the two families has been removed – part of the reason why so many societies around the world have a tradition of arranged marriage. The same effect might be brought about indirectly if the parties can be persuaded somehow to see themselves as members of one community, all of whose members have a stake in the outcome.

It may be possible, in other words, to work on the relations between people in order to address the underlying contradiction.

The other lesson, for a journalist covering conflict, is that the issues the parties themselves present as the bones of contention may not be the real, or underlying, issues. As with the 'oil agenda' for the invasion of Iraq, discussed in

Exercise Two

Reporting the Orange Conflict

Now imagine you are a journalist, sent to cover this dispute:

- How could you help the neighbours, and their village, region or even their country, to think about the conflict in such a way as to make a non-violent outcome more likely?
- Who would you interview, what would you ask them, and why?
- You can invent as many complications as you like to make it more interesting. For example – what if A is a member of ethnic group C, and B is a member of ethnic group D?
- What if group C is in the majority locally, but the next-door province or republic has a majority of group D?

Public Service Announcements—PSA’S

Public Service Announcements (PSAs) are short, "non-commercial" announcements prepared to provide information to the public. A non-commercial announcement contains information that benefits its intended *audience*, rather than the *company* that created it. For example, a PSA that provides health *information* differs from an ad that promotes the *sale* of a health product. Consequently, most PSAs are produced by nonprofit associations, but commercial, for-profit organizations may also use them to promote their nonprofit activities and events.

Message

- Use the active voice.
 - Active voice: The company offers several products.
 - Passive voice: Several products are offered by the company.
- Use short, upbeat sentences written in everyday language.
- Tell how this information can help the viewer/listener.
- Ask for action.
- Tell viewers/listeners where they can go, what they can do or who they can call.
- Edit tightly; look for ways to shorten phrases and sentences. (National Women’s Center)

AARP

It’s right in your own backyard.

While it may be hard to believe, roughly five million Americans don’t even know where their next meal will come from.

In communities just like yours, there are many who need help.

Join people across the country who are coming together with AARP Create the Good, to end hunger.

Start today. It can be as easy as giving food or money to your local area food bank, or getting tips to start your own food drive.

Whatever level of involvement is right for you, we’ve made it simple to find and help people in your area.

So get involved. Go to www.createthegood.org/hunger.

Anti drunk driving

Drinking is a funny thing. It can make you feel strong. It can make you feel you're really sharp, really in control. But you're not. When you've been drinking, your reactions are slower and your vision is poor. That's why it's so dangerous to drink and drive. That's why traffic crashes are the number one killer of teens. That's not so funny. Play it smart. Don't drink and drive. This message is presented by SADD, Students Against Destructive Decisions at (name of school.)

CHANGES NEEDED TO SUCCESSFULLY TRANSITION TO PEACE AND RECONCILIATION JOURNALISM

1. EFFECTIVE MEDIA OUTLET (STATION, NEWSPAPER, ETC.) GUIDELINES AND POLICIES

2. STAFF TRAINING—FOR NEW HIRES, BUT ONGOING PROFESSIONAL TRAINING FOR ALL STATION PERSONNEL.

3. DESIGNATE A COORDINATOR FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION.

4. COMMUNITY PARTNERS—SEEK COMMUNITY PARTNERS...NGO'S...WOMEN'S GROUPS...PEACE ADVOCATES... OTHERS SEEKING TO BRING PEOPLE TOGETHER.

5. DEVELOP FRAMEWORKS OF COOPERATION AND COLLABORATION WITH JOURNALISTS FROM "THE OTHER SIDE"—A DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUP, OR A COUNTRY OR REGION IN CONFLICT WITH YOUR REGION OR COUNTRY.

THIS COULD INCLUDE COOPERATION BETWEEN NEWS OUTLETS AND CROSS COMMUNITY INVESTIGATIONS AND REPORTING TEAMS,

6. CHANGE WHAT YOU COVER, AND HOW YOU COVER IT:

A. COVER RECONCILIATION ISSUES; GIVE A PLATFORM TO THE MARGINALIZED AND VOICELESS

B. CHANGE THE STORIES YOU COVER. HIGHLIGHT PEACE AND PEACEMAKERS.

C. CHANGE THE WORDS YOU USE. AVOIDING INFLAMMATORY LANGUAGE.

D. REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS ON ALL SIDES, AND ON SUFFERING ON ALL SIDES AS WELL.

E. REPORT WITH DEVELOPMENT AND RECONCILIATION IN MIND.

--IT'S ABOUT SPOTLIGHTING PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS, AND EMPOWERING PEOPLE TO CHANGE THEIR ENVIRONMENT FOR THE BETTER...

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