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**THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CONFLICT
RESOLUTION, CULTURE OF CONCILIATION
AND PEACEBUILDING**

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's thesis titled as "THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION, CULTURE OF CONCILIATION AND PEACEBUILDING" has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

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ABSTRACT
Master's Thesis
The Role Of Media In Conflict Resolution, Culture Of Conciliation and
Peacebuilding
Ayçe BÜKÜLMEYEN

Dokuz Eylul University
Graduate School of Social Sciences
Department of Business Administration
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Media and communication tools influence society's attitudes, values and ways of thinking towards individuals, events and socio-cultural relationships. Communication tools have a great importance on the shaping the public agenda and to create a social influence thanks to intense interest shown to the visual media. Therefore, from this point of view, it is unlikely to think of media and its components separately from social conflicts. On the contrary, the media plays a major role in the transfer of information and formation of public opinion, continuity of democracy, shaping of conflicts and construction of peace.

To explore such phenomena, the concept of Peace Journalism which was first introduced in 1960 by the Norwegian scholar Prof. Johan Galtung will be used in this thesis. Peace Journalism was mainly developed in the 1990s but as an approach, it has in fact, a much longer history. The best example of this is the 1936 International Convention on Radio Broadcasts in Geneva, which, after the end of World War I, used the radios as a model of mass communication as an example of peacebuilding practice, and the media's responsibility for broadcasting for peace. Even if the basics go so far, it is argued that the media, which is described as the fourth force today, fully fulfils its mandate in Peace Journalism.

With this context in mind, this study examines the effects of the media on the society by first considering all related concepts individually while questioning their role in shaping social conflicts. While referring to the concepts of Conflict, Peace, and Conflict

Resolution, it also highlights the importance of the Story Telling in Conflict Resolution. As journalists talk about real stories, and the importance of transferring them to the society objectively, this study questions the narrator's values, approaches, and teachings as ways of conveying the event and making an impact on the public opinion formation. How much awareness is there on such matters from media workers, journalists and communicators? What do they think about Peace Journalism? Do they realise that they can be parties to conflicts and peace processes with the news they report, so they have a responsibility in the way they take shape one way or another? Is Peace Journalism widely applied today and is it possible to teach the conceptualisations of Peace Journalism in the improvement of current practice of journalism?

In this study, which was prepared to understand the role of the media in conflict resolution and peace settlement, and to find answers to the above questions, an extensive literature review was undertaken and two conflict contexts that Turkey involved were used as case studies - Kardak and Cyprus. An archival research was undertaken for data gathering in which the tendency of the media in the case studies concerned were questioned Moreover, interviews with a significant number of journalists were carried out through a questionnaire survey in order to enrich discussions on journalistic values and approaches to Peace Journalism. Finally, the thesis presents a number of recommendations to different stakeholders for the use of Peace Journalism in the contemporary Turkish media.

Keywords: Peace Journalism, Conflict, Conflict Resolution, Storytelling, Mass Media

ÖZET
Yüksek Lisans Tezi
Anlaşmazlık Çözümü, Uzlaşma Kültürü ve Barış İnşasında Medyanın
Rolü
Ayçe BÜKÜLMEYEN

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Medya ve iletişim araçları toplumun benimsenmiş davranış şekilleri, değer ve düşünce kalıplarının bireylere benimsetilmesi ve içselleştirilmesinde büyük etkiye sahiptir. Başta görsel basın olmak üzere medyaya gösterilen yoğun ilginin de etkisiyle iletişim araçları toplumsal algının yönlendirilmesinde çok büyük önem taşır. Bu açıdan bakıldığında Medya ve bileşenlerini toplumsal anlaşmazlıklardan ayrı düşünmek pek olası değildir. Tam tersi, medya, bilgi aktarımı ve bu yolla kamuoyu oluşması, demokrasinin sürekliliği, anlaşmazlıkların şekillenmesi ve barışın inşasında büyük rol oynar.

Barış Gazeteciliği kavramı ilk olarak 1960'larda bu alan üzerinde çalışmaya başlayan Norveçli akademisyen Prof. Johan Galtung tarafından ortaya atılmıştır. Kavramları, prensipleriyle ele alınan bir yaklaşım olması 1990'ları bulan Barış Gazeteciliği, esasen daha önceleri de gerek bireysel inisiyatifler gerekse kurumsal yaklaşımlarla uygulanmaya çalışılmıştır. 1. Dünya Savaşı'nın bitiminden sonra bir kitle iletişim aracı olarak radyonun barış uygulamasına örnek olacak şekilde kullanılmasını ve medyanın barışa yönelik yayın yapma sorumluluğunu içeren 1936 Cenevre Radyo Yayınlarına İlişkin Uluslararası Konvansiyonu buna en güzel örnektir. Temeli bu kadar eskiye gitse bile günümüzde dördüncü kuvvet olarak nitelenen medyanın bu alanda görevini tam anlamıyla yerine getirdiği tartışılır.

Bu çalışma, toplumsal anlaşmazlıkların şekillenmesinde medyanın rolünü sorgularken öncelikle her bir kavramı tek tek ele alarak toplum

üzerindeki etkilerini de incelemektedir. Anlaşmazlık, Barış, Anlaşmazlık Çözümü kavramlarının yanısıra 'Hikaye Anlatma'nın anlaşmazlık çözümündeki önemine değinmektedir. Gazeteciliğin de gerçek hikayeleri anlatmak, topluma aktarmak olduğundan yola çıkarak bunu yaparken anlatıcının değerleri, yaklaşımları ve öğretilerinin, olayı aktarma ve kamuoyu üzerinde etki yaratma biçimini sorgulamaktadır. Bu çalışma ile medya çalışanlarının öz farkındalığı ve konuya yakınlığı da araştırılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Hazırlanan sorularla Barış Gazeteciliği hakkındaki düşünceleri, yaptıkları haberlerle anlaşmazlıklar ve barış konusunda taraf olabilecekleri, dolayısıyla, bu yönde bir sorumluluk taşıdıklarının farkında olup olmadıkları anlaşılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Medyanın Anlaşmazlık Çözümü ve Barış İnşasındaki rolünü anlayabilmek ve yukarıdaki sorulara yanıt bulabilmek amacıyla hazırlanan bu çalışmada, bu yönde yazın taraması yapılırken Türkiye'nin yaşadığı çeşitli anlaşmazlık içeren durumlar ele alınmış, verileri toplanmış ve bu verilerin incelenmesi ile medyanın bu durumlardaki eğilimi sorgulanmıştır. Ayrıca hazırlanan keşfedici soru formları vasıtasıyla gazetecilerle görüşmeler yapılarak bu yöndeki bilgi, değer ve yaklaşımlar ele alınmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler; Barış Gazeteciliği, Anlaşmazlık Çözümü, Medya, Hikaye Anlatıcılığı,

THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION, CULTURE OF CONCILIATION AND PEACEBUILDING

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INTRODUCTION

Media is a communication medium with a great power over masses. The media have the power to affect and change the individual's behaviour, tendencies and attitudes. The means of communication are influencing the behavioural patterns of the society, the ways in which values and ways of thinking are brought into the individuals and internalised by the populations. McCombs cited the Walter Lippmann's phrase, "*the pictures in our heads*," and claims that, the shape of the presentation of the news reports stimulate our perceptions and frames how we perceive the world and this correspondence designates the issues in the public mind (McCombs M.,2004: pp.68- 85).

The Objective Of The Study

The objective of the study is to understand what role journalism and media play and could play differently in conflicts. That means the thesis needs to inspect conflicts from every angle, try to understand its causes, what needs to be done to overcome and moreover to create a peaceful environment and where media should be placed to succeed that. Because of the study is about the role of media in conflicts and peacebuilding, other related concepts will be examined such as 'peace', 'peace journalism', 'war journalism' and 'conflict resolution'. In order to understand the media's role in Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding, it is more appropriate as an approach to study the effects on society by taking each concept individually. Therefore, to be able to understand the role of media in conflict resolution and peacebuilding, first, the effects and power of media on people and society must be studied.

To do this, there are two main research questions;

- What is the role of media in conflict, conflict resolution, culture of conciliation, peacebuilding processes and settlement of a sustainable peace?
- What is Peace Journalism and could it be used in today's media sector?

To respond to the first question, there are two different case study contexts examined in this study. Kardak and Cyprus crises were utilised in order to

investigate the impact of the media in conflict resolution and trajectories of peace journalism experience in Turkey. The newspaper archives searched and articles, news collected related these case studies to illustrate a representative example of how mass media handle or does not handle crisis communication for purposes of peace journalism and resilience.

When we move to the second research question, a questionnaire survey method was used, which helped to find out the approach of Turkish journalists in the sector to peace journalism and through from these approaches, the thesis tries to understand the applicability of Peace Journalism in today's media.

This study is journalism oriented and try to suggest several new methods and approaches to raise awareness of journalists which they might use reporting conflicts. However, although this study is about Peace Journalism, it also provides a platform for future work in this area, which should concentrate on a number of wider issues in the media sector. Moreover, this study tries to understand the relationship between journalism and story telling.

Structurally, this study consists of four chapters. Chapter 1 incorporates the theoretical and empirical parts which were articulated in order to investigate the role of Media in Conflict Resolution process and Peace Journalism. In this chapter, the literature is reviewed based on the scope of the study. Based on that theoretical and conceptual framework of Media, Conflict, Conflict Resolution that the concept of Peace is elaborated to understand the contents of these notions. While the section on the media is discussing its success and power of shaping perception, it is also trying to understand its role in creating conflict and peace perceptions, and subsequently, what it can and should do. Since journalism is also a type of storytelling, examples are given in this direction. Emphasizing the role of storytelling in the role of conflict resolution, reconciliation and peace culture, journalism is also investigated in the same context. Even though it is not included in this dissertation's focus of the media framework, the Social Media which is an important component of publishing today, likely to have a major impact on the social perceptions *vis a vis* in creating and resolving conflicts. This chapter also concentrates the emergence and growth of Peace Journalism, as an journalistic approach which has developed because of the problematic characteristics and applications of War Journalism. Therefore, the

literature review has been done with the understanding which includes the universal journalism ethics whose principles generally describe the principles of the Peace Journalism. In this section, attention is drawn to the concept, its practical operation and possible application areas. The approach that envisages Peace Journalism as a platform in which the point of conflict can actually be a solution to that conflict or a suggestion for alternative ways can be seen as an ideal search for more conflict sensitive media organisations as well as communities, seeks to promote reconciliation and peace cultures.

Chapter 2 presents information about the methods and design of the research as well as describing the research's key components such as its hypotheses, objectives, and data gathering techniques and analysis.

In Chapter 3, in order to better understand how the media has taken a stance during various disputes, two cases have been studied: Cyprus and Kardak crises. In each of the two case studies, the attitude of the media was investigated through traditional data gathering techniques such as content analysis and interviews, which have helped to gain insight into the extent and type of of journalism applied to date.

Finally, Chapter 4 summarises the study, present discussions, conclusions and recommendations for further action and research.

CHAPTER ONE

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1. MEDIA, CONFLICT AND PEACE

This chapter will first, focus on a number of different scholarly definitions and critical approaches to the concepts of media, conflict, conflict resolution, peace and Peace Journalism. It discusses these concepts through the media with considering the dominant methods of conflict reporting. This chapter also focuses on the power of media in relation to the role of media in conflict. Moreover, alternative examples of the conflict resolution such as conflict management and conflict transformation will be also explored briefly.

1.1.1. Media

Media studies accepted as an official discipline after the Second World War. In the 1960s Marshall McLuhan famously mentioned the phrase “*the medium is the message*” which he underlines that the power of means that can be formed and structured interpersonal relations, tribes and behavior. (McLuhan, 1964: p.11).

Today media has many different roles in the society. Besides providing information, media is an important tool for entertainment. There are some other components of news such as entertainment, famous people, show business rather than governmental issues and economy (Harcup & O’Neil, 2001: pp. 261 – 280). At the same time, the media is often used to monitor governments, trade relations and institutions. In ‘his seminal work entitled Culture and Media’, Jack Lule (2012: p.21) defines the main agendas of media as;

- 1 *To entertain and provide a channel for the vision*
- 2 *To educate and inform*
- 3 *To serve as a civil mechanism for the debate of important issues*
- 4 *To act as a watchdog for government, business, and other institutions*

Certainly, journalism is not the only form of the media. Media can be seen in many different forms. Different forms of mass communication are used for different objectives. Some of them are better suited for entertainment, while others are more suitable for spreading information. Because of its visual

advantages and supremacy, it can be said that television is more active than a written source and radio is an important tool of media which provides to reach large masses. At the end of the 1950s, almost every American home had television sets which was the most widespread model of mass media (Sterling and Kittross, 1990, cited in Aho M, Media's Role in Peacebuilding,). On the other hand, in the 1990's, internet has started to be one of the most preferred communication tool worldwide.(Cohen-Almagor, 2011: p.53). Internet allows public discussions and encourage everybody who requires to be part of a debate. The biggest challenge about the internet is its uncontrolled nature through which may cause spread thousands unchecked, fake comments or misinformed ideas and knowledge. That makes very hard to find quality information in its realm (Lule, 2012: p.21).

Nowadays, there are continuing progresses in the field of communication and technology, which makes the media a phenomenon that can reach very large masses in a short time and can affect them very easily. Castells states that the cumulative usage rate of social media proves that internet is one of the most crucial milestones of the communication field and provide a free space to demonstrate themselves for the people or actions which has been prevented before by the gatekeepers in the media sector (Castells, 2007, p:238-266.). So, in terms of 'Media', television, newspapers and radios as well as the internet, which makes up social media, need to be understood in a clear manner.

1.1.2 Shaping Public Perception - Agenda Setting

To be able to understand the role of media in conflict resolution and peacebuilding, first, the effects and power of media on people and society must be studied. The basic idea of agenda setting can be traced back to the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1914, the British scholar Graham Wallas observed that the urban working class was becoming "more and more dependent upon the passive reading of many newspapers, newspaper placards, and of a smaller number of magazines and books". Wallas reasoned that the only way people in authority could adequately function was when the public's minds were loaded up with the declarations and opinions regarding the realm via papers and other publications elsewhere their own ideas (Wallas G. cited Blood W. article Agenda Setting; A Review Of Theory, Volume: 26

issue: 1: pp. 3-12, 1982)

Walter Lippmann outlined the principal frameworks of media's effect in his book called 'Public Opinion', with the episode entitled "The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads" (Lippmann, 1922: p.5). He states that, the opinions in our heads regarding the public issues are shaped by the media via news reporting, "The world that we have to deal with politically is out of reach, out of sight, out of mind" (Lippmann, 1922: p.21). It can be said that our knowledge regarding what happens in the world, is depend on media's decision. More specifically, the result of this is that the media determines the primary issues for the public. After Lippman, the sociologist Robert Park (1925) mentioned the idea of agenda-setting in his study of news assembling. Park's interest in newspapers stemmed from his belief that the press' power was its ability to initiate public opinion. In a later study, Park made a critical observation about the function of news in modern society. He viewed news as 'knowledge of' rather than 'knowledge about' aspects of the world - a distinction with the direction of the agenda-setting allegory (Frazier and Gaziano 1979).

The 'Agenda-setting' caption has been seen primarily in Bernard Cohen's book on the press and foreign policy (McLeod, Becker, Byrnes, 1974: p.134) He claims that the press is not only a source which is spreading the news and information and arguing that "It may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think *about*." (Cohen,1963: p.13) He continues by underlining that each people perceives the world distinctive from each other because of their own concentrations and also the frame which determined by the journalists, essayist and editors. Furthermore, McCombs and Shaw claims that the developments in media sector and regular usage of the media sources such as television, newspaper etc. has strengthened agenda-setting effect (McLeod, Becker and Byrnes, 1974: p.135). Aslam also questioning the impact of the journalists' own lenses and perspectives on the public perception while they are reporting conflicts (Aslam, 2010: p.336).

There are significant examples that have proven the point around the way people's perception and knowledge in the society have been shaped by the media sources. For example, the 'Human Rights Survey Research" that was conducted by Konda Research and Consultancy Company in 2012 through face to face interviews with 2,559 people in 150 neighborhoods and villages

of 93 provinces including 27 provincial centres of Turkey clearly emphasises the power of the media on the society. In this survey, respondents were requested to list sources from where they learned their rights. A third of the interviewees said that while they did not know where their rights were written, a third of them indicated that they were written in the constitution. However, the most frequently learning source of the rights was not the constitution, but the media. Overall, the results of the research indicated that (Konda, 2012):

about half of the society says that rights are learned from television debates or from newspapers. 22.5 percent say "constitution", 13.2 percent said that they learned from the 45.5 percent cuts and newspapers that they learned from televised discussions and three of every five people in total reported that they learned their rights from the media. The amount of people who say that they learned from the environment around them and their family through the oral culture through the amount of the learners, from the school or from the books through the educational tools are about the same.

According to this, when television and newspaper responses are gathered, 58.7% of the people learn the most basic rights through the media. So, the media is stronger than the constitution in terms of creating perceptions about the most fundamental rights of people.

Another example of the media influence on the shaping of the public perception is about the gender inequalities issues. Gender inequalities are reproduced in the media in different ways, such as the inequalities in women's access to and participation in communication systems, the representation of women in stereotypical roles in the media, and the frequent presentation of violence induced women in the media, ensuring continuity of gender discrimination in the society and strengthening existing inequalities. It is to respond to this challenge that the Prime Ministerial Recommendation No. 2006/17 called 'Measures to be Taken to Prevent Customs and Honour Murders by the Violence Movements towards Children and Women' which is the first clear demonstration of taking action for the prevention of violence against women in Turkey, demanded the "institutions and organisations to be cooperated" at media organisations. In addition, it is stated that the 4th part of Annex D (Annex-2) of the Circular D "Institutions Required to Coordinate the

Resolution Proposals on Media and Violence" (Annex-2) to the obligations of press and audiovisual media organisations, information services and news agencies and press professional organisations and media organisations have been referred to as "responsible organisations" directly after the missteps of the proposals. (Resmi Gazete, 2006, <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2006/07/20060704-12.htm>: 19.05.2017)

In 2017, Anna Lindh Foundation and Ipsos MORI carried out a survey about the Intercultural Trends in the Euro – Med Region, for measuring trends in cultural relations. The survey has been conducted in eight European countries and five Southern and Eastern Mediterranean countries and territories. Regarding the survey, television is the most used and most trusted source for information in all countries. Television followed by print media with 40%, in the European countries. But in Southern-Eastern countries printed media is at the 4. stage with 15% after the online media and social media. Another important outcome of this survey is about the impact of media in shaping perceptions. According to the survey, the media might change the perceptions in Southern – Eastern Mediterranean countries up to 47% of the respondents - 21% in a positive way, 26% in a negative way. Almost in all countries surveyed, respondents who said that media stories had changed their views in a negative way outnumbered those reporting a positive impact. The Ipsos MORI survey reports that the impact of media in shaping perceptions is varied according to the respondents' socio-demographic characteristics. In European countries, higher educated respondents were more likely to state that there had been no change in their views due to the media stories. In the Southern-Eastern Mediterranean countries, respondents with a university degree reported that media stories had changed their views in a negative way. (Anna Lindh Foundation, 2017, Intercultural Trends in the Euro-Med Region, <http://www.annalindhfoundation.org/intercultural-trends-euro-med-region>, 18.08.2017)

To develop our discussions on the influence of the media in setting public perceptions, according to Ross, media has a crucial importance in international relations field because of their ability to provide information about the incidents which occurs distant places (Ross, 2006: p. 2). It is incontrovertible that there is a strong relationship between the information and

power. Moreover, as a source of information, media, has the ability to govern this power. Castell points out that 'the media are not the holders of power, but they constitute by and large the space where power is decided' (Castell, 2007: p.54).

1.1.3. Journalism

Journalism can be define a mass communication tool which provides information. Pulitzer claim that journalism is "the most exacting profession of all . . . the one that requires the widest and the deepest knowledge and the firmest foundations of character" (Pulitzer, 1904 cited in Adam, 2001: p.319).

Hanitzsch, puts the difference of Journalism between Public Relations by the irrelevance of the patterns of good journalism such as "truthfulness, objectivity, neutrality and detachment". Also, he explains the success of Public Relations as apparently described by a custom, an association or specific group of partners (Hanitzsch, 2007, cited in Kempf, 2007: p.2). It has been questioned that whether Good Journalism and Public Relations methods are similar or not. Kempf was pointed out that these two approaches are differ from each other because Good Journalism's aim is to transfer the information about the news truthfully, not to stimulate peoples opinion (Kempf 2007: p.2).

Meanwhile, Tomalin who wrote 'Stop The Press I Want to Get On' article in 1969 claims that, journalism was 'the first draft of history', created with nothing more than "rat-like cunning, a plausible manner and a little literary ability" (Tomalin, 1969, cited in A Journalism Reader edited by Bromley & O'Maley, 1997: p. 174). In 'Journalism, Ethics and Society', David Berry (2016: p. 37) emphasises this opinion further with the Windschuttle's words:

The origins of journalism lie in exactly the same place as the origins of history' and the eternal fountain for the journalistic source is Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian war. , and moreover Thucydides was a war correspondent as well as a historian.

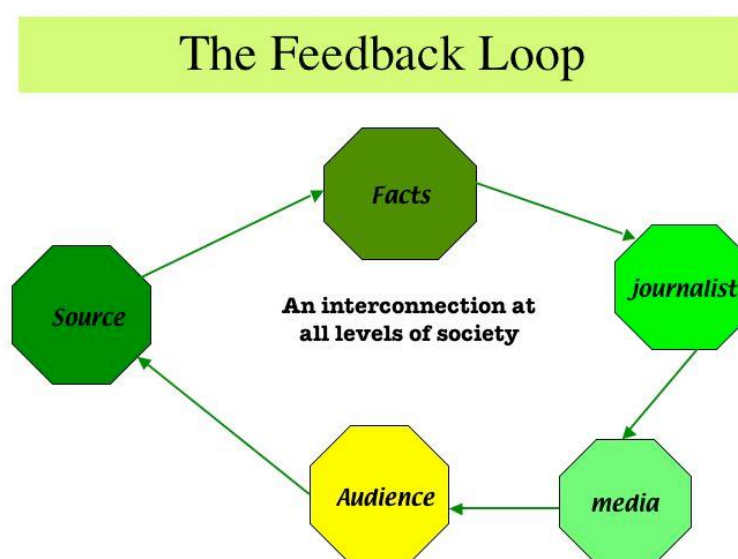
(Windschuttle 1999, cited in Berry, 2016: p.37)

There are different opinions about the roles of the journalist in the society today. Robie points out the idealistic definition of journalism is to provide knowledge and to train people. He claims that journalists are the 'watchdog of democracy' in society, keeping the interests of the individuals to provide them the space for their status and social existence. Curran argues that the most

constructive role of journalists in public is to be the guard of the main aspects of democracy such as social equality, justice and freedom of speech (Robie 2004, cited in Aslam 2014: p.17) Moreover, it offers neutral, truthfull and unbiased information uncoloured with propaganda or advertisement. According to Rosen, “it might make people be aware of the possibility of conflict or dispute but never be the part of a conflict itself and present people all the information from different angles to encourage them make their own decisions about the situation by themselves” (cited in Pauly 2009: p. 54)

Mc Goldrick and Lynch developed a Feedback Loop which is shown in Figure 1 below. With Feedback Loop they tried to schematicise the interconnection between journalists, sources, facts, media and audiences. By doing this they are questioning the common discourse ‘we just report the facts’ which is attributed to the journalists for a long time (Mc Goldrick and Lynch, 1998: p.22).

Figure 1: The Feedback Loop



Source: Mc Goldrick and Lynch, 1998: p.22

1.2. CONFLICT

Conflict is commonly defined as “a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources”(Boulding 1962: p.5). In the late 1970s, John Burton articulated the theory of intractable conflict in which he defines “the complex, deep-rooted nature of protracted social conflict by linking individual and group needs to an approach to conflict” (Burton 1985, cited in

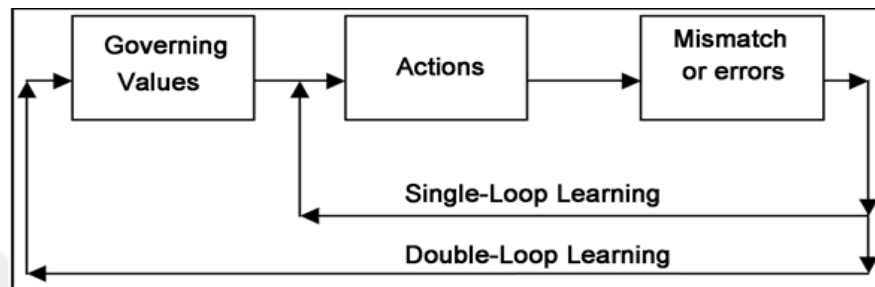
Sandole, Senehi, Stratoste, Byrne eds. 2009). His assertion was that unsatisfied human requirements are the main contributors of the conflict. By inspecting the social conflicts, it can be seen four main components; personal growth, safety, acknowledgment and identification (Burton, 1990). Park and Burgess (1921. p. 574) define conflict as a battle to gain prominence. In Himes study, Mack and Snyder additionally claim that conflict a battle not only for prominence, at the same time for sources deprivation and a change in social status (Mack And Snyder, cited in Himes 1980: p.12). Moreover Coser adds "power and resources" are the other causes of conflict (Coser, 1956: p.8).

Conflict occurs between two or more sides who think they have unsuitable objectives, Kriesberg argues in his seminal work entitled 'The Sociology of Social Conflicts' (Kriesberg, 1973: p.30). These parties might be societies, family members, people who belong to a specific nation, a workplace or community. Conflict continues until one of the parties stopping the others from maintaining their objectives (McGoldrick and Lynch 1998: p.15). James H. Laue, President of the Centre for International Understanding defined conflict as increased struggle within two or more sides, who individually wants to have dominance in power, benefits, prosperity and sources over the others (1996). Bonta (1996: p.405) claims that with its basic definition conflict seems to cause occasionally the communal hostility and adverse confrontation between two or more sides. Specialists of the field commonly used 'conflict' and 'dispute' equally, John W. Burton (1990, 1997) claims that these two theory are distinctively different. On one side, disputes are debatable which is based on administrative processes, on the other side in conflicts there is nothing to negotiate, but only requires investigative problem solution techniques (Burton 1996: p.22).

In some definitions, conflict seems as an element of disagreement on values, ideology, culture, perception, and principles. Even though conflicts seem to have unfavorable implications, it is not fair to claim that conflict is an unwanted situation. The point is that conflict may be managed constructively or destructively and consequently can have both good and bad outcomes. Rahim (2001: p.76) defines conflict management as a process of "designing effective macro-level strategies to minimize the dysfunctions of conflict and enhancing the constructive function of conflict in order to enhance learning and effectiveness in an organization". If the outcome creates a significant

development in a community, and brings the conscious of avoidance or prevention of future conflicts, then it can be consider as a constructive one. As shown in Figure 2 below, Argyris and Schön have developed single and double loop learning theory to understand how conflict may stimulate organizational learning (Argyris and Schön 1974: p. 18-19).

Figure 2: 'Double-loop' learning,



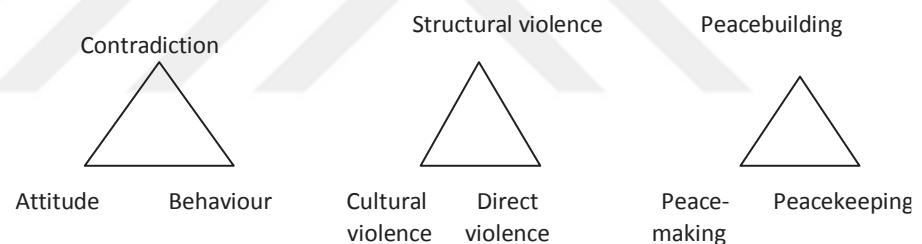
Source; Argyris (1990). *Overcoming Organizational Defenses: Facilitating Organizational Learning*, p.94

Single-loop learning involves the detection and correction of problems without changing the objectives, construction, or perspective of the organization. In this scenario, the definition of the problem and the proposed solution reinforce the status quo. In contrast double-loop learning provokes a re-examination of organizational goals, structures and culture. The status-quo is viewed as part of the problem (Bess & Dee, 2014: p. 35-36). According to Coser conflict "prevents the ossification of the social system by exerting pressure for innovation and creativity"(Coser, 1967: p.19). In other words, conflicts can be defined as a progress and setting of personal relationship which have 'good and bad stages' (Lederach 2003). Laue and Floyer claim that conflict is ordinary and unavoidable. It is, often an indication of a request for a change or transformation. A conflict's outcomes might be harmful or creative as Laue and Floyer state "conflict itself is not the problem; the problem is destructive conflict which inflates the costs of evolutionary change and obscures its benefits" (Laue and Floyer 1996: p.18).

In conclusion, conflict is an ordinary concept of life, to be encountered in its natural process. If conflict analysed properly, it leads to a conscious and creative stage. The compelling part in conflict is to practice the methods of

productive collaboration for people, in their personal relationships (Bodine, Crawford, and Schumpf, 1997: p.15). From that point of view, the human relations issue has to be examined with some other aspects which caused the conflict like strong negative emotions, violence, trust problem, injustice; and non-empathy. Because strong negative emotions such as fear, anger, resentment, frustration and their possessions on understandings, behaviors, and objectives are accepted as the fundamental barrier to constructive commitment and communication within the sides of the conflict (Pruitt and Kim 2004: p.102). Finally, with a more positive understanding, Galtung (2010) argues that conflict "is also a clear opportunity for human progress, using the conflict to find new ways, being imaginative, creative, transforming conflict so that the opportunities take the upper hand." (cited in Galtung & Fischer, 2013: p.96)

Figure 3: Galtung's Model Of Violence, Conflict and Peace

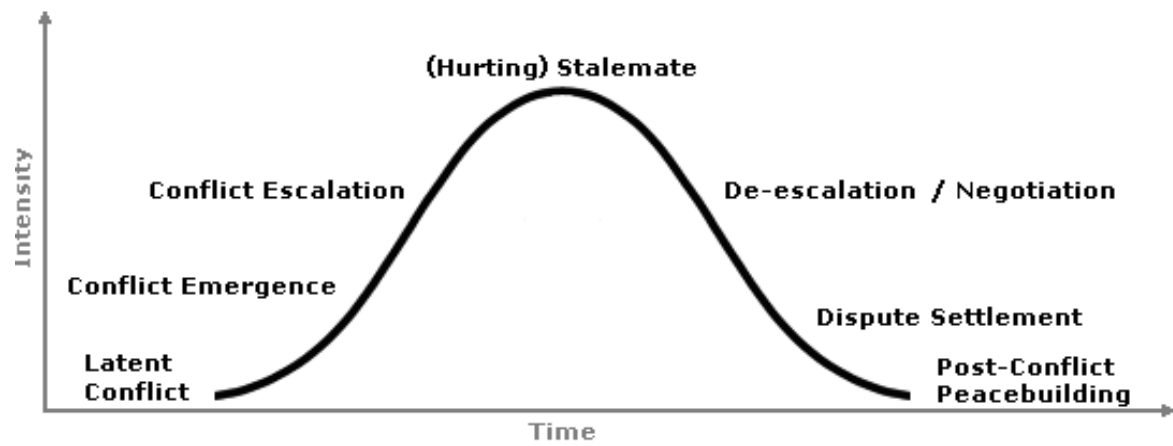


Source; Ramsbotham O., Woodhouse T., Miall H., *Contemporary Conflict Resolution* 2011: p.10

1.2.1. Conflict Resolution

Brahm (2003) compiled seven stages of conflict progress which described by several authors. He created a curve of the conflict wave that involves Latent, Conflict Emergence, Conflict Escalation, Stalemate(Hurting), De-escalation(Negotiation), Dispute Settlement and the Post-Conflict Peacebuilding stages.

Figure 4: The conflict “wave”



Source: Brahm, 2003,
http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/conflict_stages/?nid=1068

As Eric Brahm argues the determination of a conflict regarding its stages is subjective because of the different assumptions. It is crucial to evaluate these stages properly to decide a solution method such as conflict transformation, resolution or management (2003). Therefore, it is important to understand the conflict response with such concepts as 'conflict management', 'conflict resolution' and 'conflict transformation' which are commonly used by the specialists. Conflict Management involves a large spectrum of achievements towards constructive conflict directorate. Conflict Resolution "is a more comprehensive term which implies that the deep-rooted sources of conflict are addressed and resolved." (Miall, Ramsbotham and Woodhouse 1999: p.25) Finally, Conflict Transformation which covers the transitional stages to the peace processes.

As Kriesberg states even though there were much work has been done in academic field before, actual conflict resolution practical works became significantly important between the years 1946 – 1969 with the unofficial diplomacy gain importance in international affairs (Kriesberg, 1997: p.30). In short, conflict resolution is a process which covers wide range of practices and appeals to deal with conflicts, like the concepts of negotiations in the field of diplomacy, mediation, conflict prevention, arbitration, facilitation, conciliation, conflict management, conflict transformation, restorative justice,

peacekeeping. As Ozerdem and Lee explain that contemporary international peace activities such as peacebuilding and conflict transformation, have been revealed in the late 1990s (Ozerdem and Lee, 2016: p.37), and the discipline has grown because of the many scholars and professionals interest to the concept which as a consequence of to adopt changing social conditions. (Kriesberg 2001: pp. 407 - 426).

Burton points out that the main focus of conflict resolution is, basically personal behavioral and relationship based. He scrutinises conflicts in connection with needs, benefits and goals (Burton, 1990, p. 37). He states that even though the general approach of conflict resolution is resolving the particular cases, it is not effective in longer term if only one conflict resolved without focusing the roots of a problem. Conflict resolution should evaluate with a new approach which might valid in all social science areas as a decision-making basis. Therefore Burton defines a new term 'Provention' to differentiate this new role from the term 'Prevention'. He explains the methodology of 'provention' has turned the study of conflicts which is focused all behavioural fields different from conflict. (Burton, J. 1997). Furthermore, Bonta defines conflict resolution as "the settlement or avoidance of disputes between individuals or groups of people through solutions that refrain from violence" (Bonta, 1996: p.406). People's behavior and social conditions has to be analysed in psychological, sociological, structural perspectives properly to determine the methods of dealing or solving conflict.

(Azar, 1986; Burton, 1990; Kelman, 1972; Mitchell, 1981 cited in Understanding the Conflict and Conflict Analysis, 2008: p.3).

According to Ramsbotham, Woodhouse and Miall that 'Conflict Resolution' is an expression, which holds many components but most importantly directs the roots of conflict. This means nonviolent behaviour, no hostile attitudes and modified structure of conflict. They also states that, this term can be used to a new specialisation field like the 'conflict resolution journal' which might relate one of the main subject of peace journalism, as well as the any other activity related to this field.(2011: p.31)

Sociologist Simmel underlines that '*Conflict itself is the resolution of the tension between the contraries*' in The Sociology of Conflict (1908). Simmel's work is crucial in the field of conflict resolution, because he is pointing out a constructive social function for conflict. He claims that,

'conflict shows itself to be the positive factor in this very contrast with them; viz., shows negative factors in a unity which, in idea only, not at all in reality, is disjunctive'

(Simmel, 1908: p.490)

For Azar and Burton (1986: p. 30), a wide range of needs such as those in economic, relational and psychological realms could benefit from decentralised structures which are also required by conflict resolution. Peter Wallensteen states that in conflict resolution situation the parties agree on a deal which provides a recognition each other and finish all the destructive behaviors against each other. (Wallensteen, 2015: p.8). Deutsch argues that conflict resolution is mainly managed by the progress of ability. He pointed out the factors which might effect conflicts' outcome in productive or destructive ways. He puts four propositions that usually recognised in all of the conflict field (Deutsch, 1998: pp. 199 – 216) First, parties of conflicts mostly have a blend of cooperative and competitive goals. Second, conflict may have either positive consequence which direct to a constructive change, or negative consequence which might be harmful. The aim is to transform conflicts to a productive form. Third, methods in relating with the different approaches which called "cooperative" and "competitive", bring distinctive evolution of conflict resolution. And fourth, Deutsch (1998: p. 199) claims that the behavior and approaches of the both sides of the conflict during the process will be determined the consequence of the conflict which defines whether constructive or destructive.

1.2.2. Media and Conflict Resolution

Media and conflict relation was described in a multidimensional way. (Barzescu, 2010: pp. 20-29). Hackett who defined this relation as an asymmetrical one, claims that "journalism is unavoidably a participant in the conflict cycle" (Hackett, 2007: p.47). This is significant because the ability to present information decisions make societies stronger and support economic growth, democratic form and the positive vision on the future. For this very reason, the United Nations Millennium Declaration significantly stated the need "to ensure the freedom of the media to perform their essential role and the right of the public to have access to information" (United Nations, 2000). Resolution adopted by the General Assembly,

<http://www.un.org/millennium/declaration/ares552e.htm>, 03.03.2017

To provide an advanced democracy, media has a very important role. As Wolfsfeld states that to create an environment for discussion and diversity, independent and pluralistic media is a must. However, it should be remembered that media can be a dangerous weapon too if it is used for propaganda purposes in a negative way such as foment hatred, produce tensions purposely or spread specific thoughts which might create conflicts (Wolfsfeld G. 2004: p. 8-10). Moreover, Robinson argues that today's 24-hour news broadcasts and technology-promoted media are also affecting the development of governments and their decision-making processes (Robinson P. 1999 : p.99). As stated by Knightley, "the media have more influence than journalists seem to realize" (Knightley 2002, p.168, cited by Barzescu, 2010: p.22).

To further our discussions here Peleg claims that the media is a third party during the times of conflict and journalism has a crucial role in peacebuilding. He argues that journalists can be facilitators to build communication, arbitrators of conflict situations. Audiences might interfere or take side of a conflict by being fully informed by journalists, and in conclusion get mobilised in replacing "the ecstasy of combat with the harmony of concord" (Peleg 2007: p.5). In a similar vein, Howard remarks that the news media "can be a weapon of war, or can uphold prospects for peace" that points out the importance of the focusing direction on violence and conflict (Howard, 2005: p.1). On the other hand, the media especially news media are mostly conflict and violence oriented. Arno states that, although this is a disruptive feature, at least it helps to define the conflict and deal with the conflict in a constructive way (Arno, 2009: p.61).

Meanwhile Richards (2001) who studied the language of conflict resolution reporting, found that journalists, who report the conflict to the news, use a 'fighting frame' with the concentration on stances without covering the lies underneath them. From that point of view, it can be said that traditional journalism focuses the visible aspects of conflicts and wars, but not the root causes. Another point which has to be considered is that whether during the war and conflict times journalists could make news in isolation of their very own identity. Tumber supports this view by pointing out that the stress which has been created by to stay in between being an observer and a participant

(Tumber, 2004: p. 202). Especially if it is a national or international conflict, there might be some issues need to be overcome such as national identity, patriotism, fidelity, balance and objectivity.

1.3 PEACE AND PEACEBUILDING

Peace is a concept that most people do not think much about. The reason for that not to have the consciousness of the peace is as a result of the elimination of disputes or war situations, or the present perception of the need to make efforts to provide and protect the existing peace. According to Barash and Webel (2009: p.4-5)

“Peace, like many theoretical terms, is difficult to define. Like happiness, harmony, justice, and freedom, peace is something we often recognize by its absence”

Johan Galtung (1969:pp: 167 - 191) argues that to discuss the idea of peace we shall start from three simple principles:

1. *The term 'peace' shall be used for social goals at least verbally agreed to by many, if not necessarily by most.*
2. *These social goals may be complex and difficult, but not impossible, to attain.*
3. *The statement peace is absence of violence shall be retained as valid.*

In a real sense, 'Peace' can begin not after the end of war, conflict or disagreement, but after a process that has been worked on and made effort after these situations. Adam Curle states in his book entitled Making Peace that peace does not always mean the absence of conflict, but rather movement for inclusive participation in the making society - that is, empowerment, democratisation, and 'positive peace'. (Curle;1971: p.15)

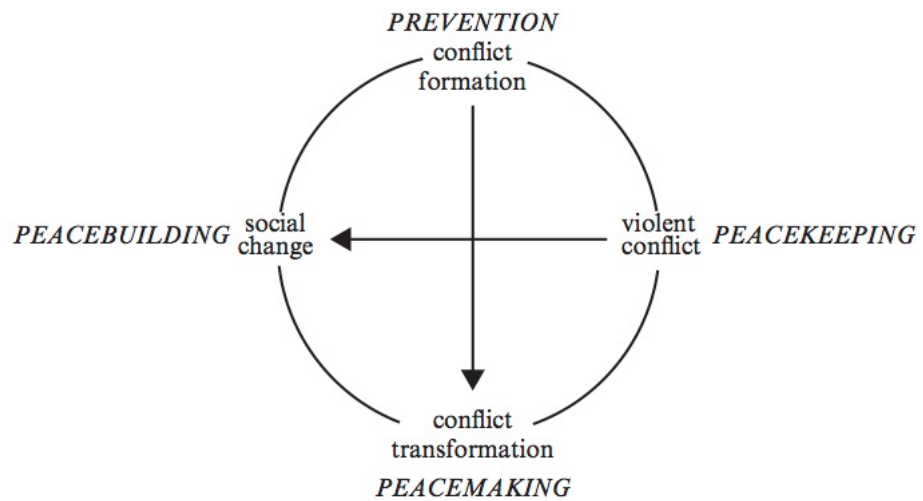
In order for peace to exist in a real sense and live in vividness, it is necessary to take it together with different concepts. Among them, prominent concepts are Peacebuilding and Peacekeeping. Based on Boutros-Ghali's speech(1995), Paul F. Diehl explains in his article entitled 'Paths to Peacebuilding the transformation of peace operations', peacebuilding means a new environment. According to Lederach (2005: p.33):

‘Peacebuilding is an enormously complex endeavour in unbelievably complex, dynamic and more often than not destructive settings of violence. I

had often thought about and suggested that a peace-builder must embrace complexity, not ignore or run from it. "Complexity before you simplify" I would often say in class. To simplify, as I saw it, was the second tier of activity. Once the full complexity is understood, you can then make a choice about what particular thing to do in a given setting. You then recognize that this one activity and process is in a complex system that has multiple actors pushing processes at multiple levels at the same time.'

Peacebuilding might therefore, be defined, say the least of it, prevention of conflict which means 'negative peace', but with a larger definition creates a peaceful social environment by strengthening government institutions, promote economic development, human rights activities etc (cited by Mason and Meernik 2006: p.107-127). The following figure shows the transformation from conflict formation to peaceful social change, which occurs by understanding the process from Prevention to Peacebuilding.

Figure 5: Conflict dynamics and conflict resolution



Source; Ramsbotham O., Woodhouse T., Miall H., 2011: p.25

Richard H. Solomon, President United States Institute of Peace states that sustainable peace means not only to prevent the actions of the long-time antagonists which might recur conflict, also provides a strong reconciliation which promote justice society-wide and solve the conflict by addressing the root of causes of enmity (cited in Lederach, 1997: p.7). Ozerdem claims that to achieve a secure environment there must be successful implementation of various peacebuilding programmes (Ozerdem, 2016: p.43) Furthermore, Ozerdem and Lee claim that when it comes to socioeconomic reconstruction of social justice which can be defined as one of the key dimensions of peacebuilding, it is important to consider the following three topics: the main objectives of the programmes, major projects frequently undertaken in contemporary peacebuilding and major issues hampering the effectiveness of the peacebuilding efforts (Ozerdem and Lee, 2016: p.3).

Overall, Galtung argues that *"An extended concept of violence leads to an extended concept of peace. Just as a coin has two sides, one side alone being only one aspect of the coin, not the complete coin, peace also has two sides: absence of personal violence, and absence of structural violence. We shall refer to them as negative peace and positive peace respectively"* (1969: pp. 167-191). He claims that, as far as the international community try to provide positive peace with its all aspects such as absence of all direct, cultural, and structural violence, we will stay in a negative peace environment

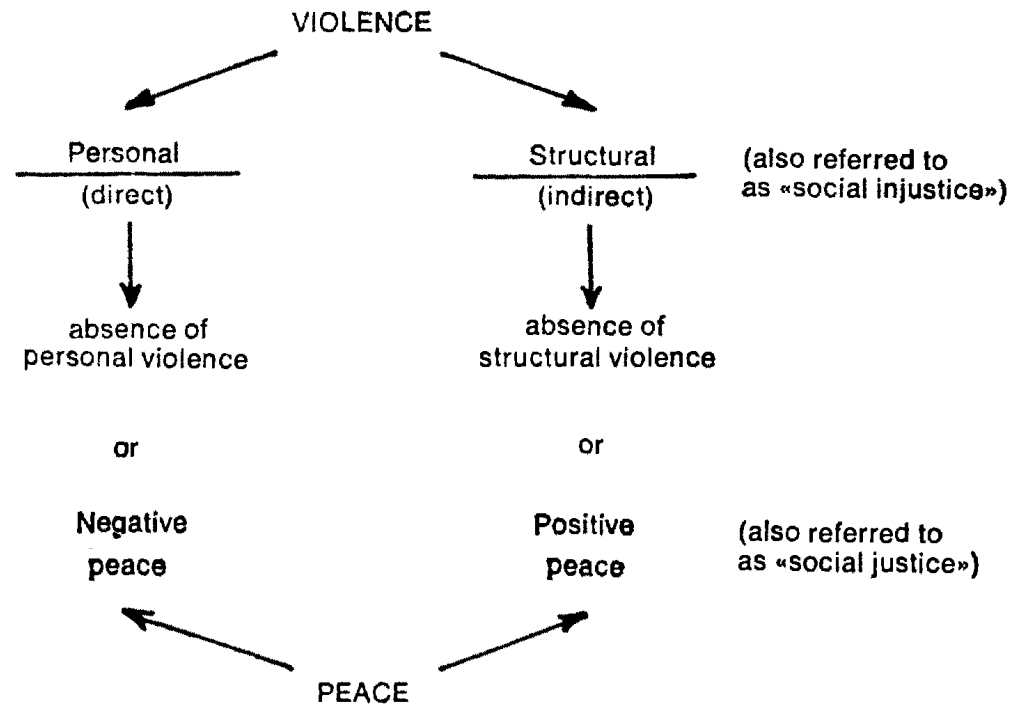
or the absence of war situation. In order to have an in depth understanding of the Negative Peace and Positive Peace concepts, it is necessary to handle them separately.

1.3.1. Negative Peace and Positive Peace

Negative peace and positive peace concepts first mentioned by Johan Galtung who is the founder and one of the most important scholars of Peace Studies, in 1964. He states that "*Negative peace is the absence of violence, absence of war, and positive peace is the integration of human society*" (Galtung, 1964: p.2). According to his argument, it is not possible to provide a real and sustainable peace without providing social justice for every components of the society. In his 'Violence, Peace and Peace Research' book he states that "Social justice is not seen as an adornment to peace as absence of personal violence, nor is absence of personal violence seen as an adornment to peace as social justice"(Galtung, 1969: p. 185). Meanwhile, according to Richmond (2010: p.21) because of the definite differentiation between negative and positive peace, many conflict resolution situation's are not sustainable.

Galtung defines violence in an expanded way which leads us to a expanded definition of peace (1969: p.168). He categorises violence as direct, structural and cultural. While the former is about violence that causes physical injury and death, the second one focuses on socio-economic and political injustices in the governance at different levels. In 1990, Galtung revealed the concept of cultural violence might occurred if facets of culture is used to rationalise and constitute direct and cultural violence. Furthermore, as shown in Figure 6 Galtung presents that peace should be something achievable and providable with its elements like social justice in every constituent of society and not involve any kind of violence (Galtung, 1969: p.183).

Figure 6: The Extended Concepts of Violence and Peace



Source: Galtung, Violence, Peace and Peace Research 1969: p.183

1.3.2. Constructive Storytelling in Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding

A basic definition of storytelling is “someone telling someone else that something happened” (Smith, 1980: p.232). Language, narrative, and stories encode ways of seeing the world that facilitate shared understandings of experience and personal competency in social life. They form naturalised truths for a particular cultural community (Narayan 1989). Meanwhile, storytelling which can be described as a conflict resolution technic to develop a reframe of scope is an undiscovered area. Ryan (1995) defines storytelling is the art of telling a story and includes all forms of shared oral or signed narrative, whatever the circumstances of the telling (cited in ‘Constructive Storytelling in Intercommunal Conflicts’ by Senehi (2002: p.44). Stories might be fictional or relate personal experiences.

Storytelling is a process of cultural production. Therefore, it is important to note that storytelling could in fact, be described as a negotiation of meaning amongst culture, performers and audience. That means storytelling has the

ability of controlling its own social construction of meaning (Bauman and Briggs, 1990: p. 59-88). It is very crucial to understand the role of storytelling in peacebuilding which can be described as the facilitation of establishing cultural environments where people can join each other to define their communities, to tell their experiences, to heal from past conflict, and to build their future (cited in Senehi 2002). "Through storytelling and other cultural rituals, knowledge and discussions are transported with the strengthening emotive content and impact of the story which can be felt by listeners (Urban, 1991, cited in Handbook of Conflict Analysis and Resolution, 2008 by Sandole, Byrne, Sandole-Staroste, Senehi: p.206). As stated by Henderson(1996), stories' power to touch the heart may also make them a influential instrument for social change. Raheja and Gold (1994) claim that with stories we can build our understandings of the past, define ourselves, and gain a perspective about the future. Because they define our communities, they provide a rationale for collective action.

Storytelling might use as a crucial instrument which has given voice to 'others' to express their life experiences (Gugeflberger and Kearney 1991; Randall 1991). Moreover, storytelling has a crucial effect to interpret the experiences in life. This effect can increases or decreases differences, creates duality and delegitimizes violence. Alongside every story that has appeared in the face of the day, there are dozens of stories that have been censored, banned and repressed (Jackson, 2002; p.29).

Senehi (2000) argues that constructive storytelling has a link with positive peace; while destructive storytelling has a link with its contradiction. Constructive storytelling supports collective power and bilateral acceptance and constructs the environment with the culture of reconciliation through impartialty, communication, and observation in order to create awareness and understanding. On the contrary, destructive storytelling destroys the values and culture of reconciliation, shows differences as a problem, creates an environment without the tolerant and awareness.

In relation to the argument in the previous paragraph, it can be seen that the effect of storytelling and narratives have been used to decreases conflicts as seen through the peacebuilding work on reconciliation between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, blacks and whites in South Africa, Palestinians and Israelis, and between descendants of Holocaust survivors

and Nazi perpetrators. In such initiatives, this section will particularly focus on *PRIME* -- the Peace Research Institute in the Middle East's *TRT*, is a non-governmental, nonprofit organization established by Palestinian and Israeli researchers -- To Reflect and Trust programme, working on conflicts and peace processes between Israeli and Palestinians. <http://www.vispo.com/PRIME/index.htm> (03.09.2017). In their project, history teachers from each side worked together for developing a booklet that includes the Palestinian and Israeli narratives of important historical events in Arabic and Hebrew languages. Their aim is not to criticise each other or change the real stories, nor build a bridging narrative to create a common history, but to create an opportunity to learn each other's narratives, stories and feelings. By this approach, they tried to use each story as a rock to build a peaceful future rather than throwing them at each other (Adwan S., Bar-On D., Musallam A. and Naveh E., 2003).

As storytelling can be used as a constructor to improve peaceful environment, to tolerate the differences, to be aware of other's feelings and to demonstrate conflict resolution technics; it can be a crucial instrument to destroy some values, camouflage discrimination and unfairness, aggravate negative feelings. This kind of destructive storytelling may cause to create discrimination in society (Senehi, 2009: p.203). Storytelling, which is a powerful channel of socialising children across cultures, might play a crucial tool for peace education and enabling young people to transform themselves to a peacemakers (Senehi and Byrne 2006: p.235 - 258). Mladi Most, which means "Youth Bridge," is a community centre and meeting place for different ethnic groups in Mostar such as Bosniak and Croat youth between the ages of 16 and 25, would be an example for this approach. Similarly Richard Salem a former journalist, encouraging children who survives after the genocidal violence in Rwanda to share their stories through his book 'Witness to Genocide' (Senehi, 2002: pp.41-64, <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1213&context=pcs>, 25.05.2017).

With this in mind, Barash emphasizes the importance of Gandhi's words that not only the minds but also the hearts must be transformed in order to achieve a true personal transformation (1991, p. 560). In this sense, the stories can be used to create moral pressure because of their emotional effects.

The development of a common historical narrative in extended conflicts can be a crucial tool to build a bridge between the parties and create a common identity without destroying the differences (Kelman,1998: pp.327-340).

In Belfast, 'Healing Through Remembering' is an organisation working on how to deal with the legacy of the past as it relates to the conflict in and about Northern Ireland. It is a voluntary initiative established in 2001, whose purpose is to provide as much opportunity and learning as possible in order to deal with the negative effect of the legacy of the conflict. To achieve this, Healing Through Remembering used storytelling is one of a set of proposals on overcome the past in relation with the conflict in and about Northern Ireland. They tried to archive and share stories and narratives from people who have experiences of the conflict in Northern Ireland and by this way they believe that this can be a comprehensive solution that may bring together complex but interrelated requirements.

<http://healingthroughremembering.org/>,(07.09.2017).

With such experiences in mind, Dan Bar-On explains one of the accomplishments of the storytelling method as a blending of human relations and conflict intervention methods. Storytelling addressed issues of external conflict and political asymmetry in the micro-group process as well as in the model of conflict while creating emotional ties between the parties as in the model of human relations (Bar-On D., Kassem F., 2000: p.28). Storyteller, writer, theologian, justice and peace activist Megan McKenna states that all stories have the purpose of "transformation, conversion, or change."(1998): Brussat F., An Interview with Megan McKenna, <http://www.spiritualityandpractice.com/books/features/view/15466>, (05.07.2017)

Overall, storytelling could be considered as a crucial instrument to transform conflicts and has a significant role in peacebuilding and establish democracy and culture of conciliation in various ways and generate models to facilitate these issues throughout the world. This tool might be used by everyone especially mediators, politicians, teachers and social workers. To maximize such an impact and to develop these opportunities further, it would be more efficient to create a wide range of opportunities of cooperation for storytellers and peacebuilders (Senehi, 2009: p.212)

1.3.3. Journalistic Storytelling - A Narrative Approach to Journalism

Storytelling can be defined as one of the main tools of the journalism. Bill Kovach and Tim Rosenstiel describe journalism as storytelling with a purpose in their book entitled 'The Elements of Journalism' (2001). One of the elements of journalism was discussed is related to storytelling. It is explained that to keep news attractive and appropriate, storytelling with a purpose is an important method. By doing this it would be possible for some news have more attention than others. Because *'Good stories are part of what make journalism different, and more valuable, than other content in the media universe'* Walter Dean, Rosenstiel T. American Press Institute, 2017, <https://www.americanpressinstitute.org/journalism-essentials/makes-good-story/>, (15.10.2017)

Storytelling can be considered as a substitute news method to traditional format, which might increase the understanding of the news. Katharina, Christoph, Schluetz,'s study with N = 706 adolescents aged 12–17 years, aims to compare traditional and narrative news forms in terms of being more effective and intelligibility. According to their findings, with narrative method it is possible to provide more powerful impact and conscious involvement. (Katharina, Christoph, and Schluetz, 2016: pp. 608 – 627).

The place of storytelling in future journalism which will be shaped with the development of new technologies that has not yet been researched. Today, there is not one definition of "storytelling" regarding stories in traditional media companies. In a research among journalism students conducted by Hultén and Wiklund (2016), it is seen that storytelling is considered at the highest rank as a prominent role in the future of their profession. As a result, the role of storytelling in journalism should be assessed properly and student-centered projects which combine storytelling and developing technologies should be considered more seriously (Picha and Hultén 2016).

In the apartheid years in South Africa, oral history narratives and storytellers paid attention to old experiences to express civil and governmental discussions for the people of Xhosa by their resistance to their current government and future goals (Scheub, 1996). In April 1996, at the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC)'s amnesty hearings which introduced an historical awareness for inclusive outcomes of political and

intergroup violence, people shared their experiences in the form of storytelling. These amnesty hearings aired on national TV and ensured that the voices of the victims of violence were publicly heard and legitimized (Senehi 2002). Overall, the media had a significant position during the existence of TRC. Ron Krabill describes this interaction as 'symbiotic' which means that TRC and media have effected one another (Krabill, 2001: pp. 567 – 585). Edward and Garda's analysis of media coverage during the work of TRC, the media's role described as crucial as the Commission itself to accomplish its aim. This study found that the work of media has been a positive impact on the process by informing people through newspapers, radios and TVs (Bird 1997).

To emphasise this further, Cantero states that in "South Africa, the deep involvement of the media with the TRC has been regarded as a unique and vital aspect of the democratic transition" (Cantero, 2011: p.46). He cited Wolfsfeld's words about the power or journalistic model on the "social construction of reality theory" which upholds that the meaning of events mostly created by the press. The main difference is not the incidents are being told but the way they are told (2011: p.47). With the South Africa context in mind again, Van der Merwe states that the TRC might be a starting point of a new culture of storytelling and articulation of values and needs to build an entirely reconciliatory society (cited by Biggar, 2003: p. 119).

To understand the impact of storytelling, it is important to underline the fact that power and knowledge are inextricable. Dominant ideology that is produced by the powerful technologies of the mass media, education system, and high arts might make social inequalities appear natural and ordinary (Senehi, 2002). White (1981) argues that historical narratives and stories do not simulate real events but rather impose an explanation onto the world of real events. This imperative can lead to the justification of the political structure in power, to make the injustices inhabited naturally and to foment hatred. Senehi (2002) remarks the danger of storytelling power might be used in a negative way. Because of its effect that can create a sympathy or demonise a particular people and misinterpretation past events and storytelling might be used in a dangerous way by people who has a secret agenda (cited in Byrne and Irvin, 2000: p.106).

Randall puts a new kind of journalism in 1991, called testimonial journalism which is practiced by listening oral life stories and making in-depth

interviews mostly experienced by communities in the third world and by women. Randall defines this way of journalism which is based storytelling is different from traditional journalism which is based product-oriented, not have a bound with the story and not interested in pre and post of the event/conflict. This new journalism form aims to understand the more information given by the authorities by asking questions such as what was, what now, what may be in the future, how and why. It also tries to clarify who did to whom frankly rather than report the incident with closed expressions (Randall, 1991: pp. 67-78). Finally with stories we remember, reinterpret, mourn or revalued the past. By sharing these stories with the society through media it became a common history and culture and might shape the future (Senehi, 2002: p.54).

1.4 PEACE JOURNALISM

1.4.1. War Journalism - Negative Effects of Media on Peace Processes

Throughout war and conflict times, news and reports mostly depend on the interests of the government, military forces and nationalist approaches. Lynch claims that “meaningful discussion on the role of the media in conflict is impossible without considering propaganda” (Lynch, 2008: p.8) He believes that, it is still possible to see that kind of approach in Western countries which is practicing “to penetrate and transform shared language and assumptions”, or working on the ideologies. William Howard Russell who has been accepted the first war reporter pointed out that “to have been part of the military, never doubting or criticizing the war itself, and often made some exaggerations and gave false reports” (cited in Frohlich, 2006). Stuart Allan and Barbie Zelizer emphasize the tensions of journalists during the war coverage, between objectivity, patriotism and humanitarianism which reflect on the news language in a significant way such as using ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ or ‘friendly fire’, ‘collateral damage’, etc. (Allan and Zelizer, 2004: p.13).

As U.S. Senator Hiram Johnson states in 1917, “The first casualty when war comes is Truth”, and it is not easy to be sure the truthfulness of the news during the war and conflict times. To have an impartial and objective approach and to be fair to all sides of the conflict requires courage and resistance. Greg Dyke, the then Director of BBC in 2003, points out this by telling that news media is responsible to present different voices. To manage the stress and difficulties for war journalism which highlighted in this section, he argues:

“Telling people what they want to hear is not doing them any favours. It may not be comfortable to challenge government or even popular opinion, but it's what we are here to do” (quoted by Allan and Zelizer, 2004: p.4).

War Journalism tends to ignore the root causes of the conflicts, their real impacts on the people's lives, and the destructive results which might be avoidable in advance. Galtung explains that war journalism has a partiality to the direction of violence by concentrating the superficial parts of a conflict and the statistic details such as total people killed or the features of used weapons. It is not analyzing conflict in a logical way which might explore its root causes and effects on peoples' lives, also not focusing the 'structural' and 'cultural' features of violence. War journalism evaluates the conflict situations as their consequences such as being defeated or a victory. (Galtung and Frisch, 2013: p.153). With such an approach, war journalism looks alike to some extent, like sports journalism which focuses only the result of the game. Galtung states that traditional war journalism has the same assumptions as Sports Journalism, with an approach to winning as the most important thing. He argues that, “traditional war journalism approach plays up conflict as an arena where participants are grouped starkly into two opposing sides (“them-vs.-us”) in a zero-sum game, and focuses on the visible effects of war (casualties, injuries, and damage to property)” (cited by Lee, Maslog and Kim, 2006: p. 503).

The Galtung's definition of differences between war journalism and peace journalism is based on four fundamental criteria as (1986, 1998):

Peace Journalism;

- peace/conflict,
- truth,
- people,
- solutions.

War Journalism;

- war/violence,
- propaganda,
- elites,
- victory.

Table 1: Table of 'What Does A Of Peace Journalist Do' by Prof Johan Galtung

PEACE/CONFLICT JOURNALISM	WAR/VIOLENCE JOURNALISM
<p>I. PEACE/CONFLICT-ORIENTATED</p> <p>explore conflict formation, 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 see conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity</p> <p>humanisation of all sides; more so the worse the weapons</p> <p>proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurs</p> <p>focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)</p>	<p>I. WAR/VIOLENCE ORIENTATED</p> <p>Focus on conflict arena, 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 "us-them" journalism, propaganda, voice, for "us"</p> <p>see "them" as the problem, focus on who prevails in war</p> <p>dehumanisation of "them"; more so the worse the weapon</p> <p>reactive: waiting for violence before reporting</p> <p>focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)</p>
<p>II. TRUTH-ORIENTATED</p> <p>Expose untruths on all sides / uncover all cover-ups</p>	<p>II. PROPAGANDA-ORIENTATED</p> <p>Expose "their" untruths / help "our" cover-ups/lies</p>
<p>III. PEOPLE-ORIENTATED</p> <p>Focus on suffering all over; on women, aged children, giving voice to voiceless</p> <p>Give name to all evil-doers Focus on people peace-makers</p>	<p>III. ELITE ORIENTATED</p> <p>Focus on "our" suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece</p> <p>give name to their evil-doers focus on elite peace-makers</p>

<p>IV. SOLUTION ORIENTATED</p> <p>Peace = non-violence + creativity</p> <p>Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war Focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society Aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation</p>	<p>IV. VICTORY ORIENTATED</p> <p>Peace = victory + ceasefire</p> <p>Conceal peace-initiative, before victory is at hand Focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society Leaving for another war, return if the old flares up again</p>
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Source; cited in Lynch & McGoldrick, (2000), *Peace Journalism What is it? How to do it?, Reporting The World, Transcend International Network: p.28)*

In addition to Galtung's classification, Lee and Maslog (2005: p.317) define three further criteria which used in war journalism's reporting language, which are: demonizing, victimising and emotive. Mostly, the stories which are told by using such a language, affects people's opinion on who is right or wrong, legitimize the injustice, violence or war. McGoldrick and Lynch state that these assertive tales might cause to legitimize violence and/or biases, and gain public attention and establish a connection by empathizing. They claim that with this method it is possible to create cognitive responses which might change the conclusion of the situation (McGoldrick and Lynch, 2015: p.16). Knightley claims that war journalism uses military victorious terminology; conflict based focus; and a reporting method without analysing conflict in an in-depth manner with its invisible roots and causes mostly framed by an association with one or the home side of the conflict (Knightley in Lee and Maslog, 2005: p.311).

With such characteristics are in mind, therefore, it is important to ask whether a journalistic approach which is objective and can reflect all the truth with every sides during times of war and conflict is possible. Some studies claim that this is a prerequisite because they believe that the components of the war such as patriotism, nationalism, social antagonism, will affect the content of the journalism from the root and the form of its practice (cited in Lee, S. and Maslog, May 27, 2004 . 2008-10-10 http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p112365_index.html, 08.01.2018).

Hackett attempts to analyse these situation in his article entitled 'Is Peace Journalism possible?'. He claims that the advocates of Peace Journalism should consider the way to convert the form of journalism in the context of

news media structures (Hackett, 2006, p.2). To achieve this transformation the dynamics of War Journalism has to be understood and analyzed in an in-depth manner. One of the main traits of the War Journalism is the manner it discriminates between cultures, communities etc. In contrast to Peace Journalism, War Journalism has a tendency to see cultural differences as a problem and flames the conflicts which arise from these differences rather than attempting to understand its root causes. In 1990, Maslog carried out a research in Mindanao in southern Philippines as a training example for journalist who are exercising Peace Journalism. In his 'A Manual on Peace Reporting in Mindanao' study he explains the main distinctions between Muslim and Christians which are based historical and traditional background of the communities. He puts some important points of common grounds to provide unity and prevent conflict between Muslims and Christians. To practice Peace Journalism principles, he advises that mass media should avoid to present the differences as source of problems (1991).

Martin Bell, BBC TV's chief correspondent in the meanwhile the war in Bosnia from 1992 to 1995 developed a new understanding in the context of Peace Journalism called 'journalism of attachment' which claims that for journalists, it is not possible to isolate themselves from a story because of their beliefs and opinions attached (1998). He explained that Bosnia was a milestone in his career, as he had comprehended that traditional journalism approach driven by the 'tradition of distance and detachment' which he called "bystanders' journalism". According to Bell, bystanders journalism "focuses on military strategies and weaponry rather than people. As a result, many critics have defined attached journalism as being characterised by human interest stories, which is incorrect" (Bell, 1998: p.18).

Overall, as presented in this section, through the War Journalism approach the media is likely to have a negative impact either deliberately or accidentally on war and conflict situations. To address the problematic characteristics of War Journalism, the approach developed, which is defined as Peace Journalism will be explored in the next section.

1.4.2. Peace Journalism Through Conflict Sensitive Journalism

With the understanding of the importance of peace studies, scholars and NGOs started to follow this field, its theories and rhetorics. Therefore, "the

term 'culture of peace' is increasingly popular among the leadership of UNESCO" (Mandelzis 2007: p.2). The UNESCO Media Declaration from 1979, 102, Art. 3 explains that "the media have an important contribution to make to the strengthening peace and international understanding and in countering racialism, apartheid, and incitement to war"(quoted by Kempf 2007: p.4).

As a concept, Peace Journalism was created by the Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung, in 1970's. Galtung and Ruge presented 'Peace Journalism' model as an alternative model to prevail the effects of 'War Journalism' in 1965. Later on, as a non-profit organization Transcend, which has been founded in 1993 by Galtung and some other scholars, promoted Galtung's concept of peace and Peace Journalism. Galtung argued that the one of the essential cause of violence is "inattention to the subjective reality of the famous other. There is no other. We are all human beings." (Galtung, 2000: p.162) The key point made by Galtung here is the significance of hearing the voices of all conflict sides and that is placed as one of the cornerstones of Peace Journalism. To explain this further, according to Hanitzsch, Peace Journalism started to be seen in mainstream media in the early 1990s, arising from peace studies (2004: p.484). In the late 1990s, a U.K. based organisation, Conflict and Peace Forums (CPF), moved the concept to a different point and started a series of annual conferences, which provided direct dialogues with journalists. These meetings had resulted in the publication of four handouts as The Peace Journalism Option (Lynch, 1998), What Are Journalists For? (Lynch, 1999), Using Conflict Analysis in Reporting (Lynch, 2000), and Reporting the World (2002).

Lynch and McGoldrick emphasize the importance of the selection of the news which is going to report or publish (McGoldrick, 2006: p.3). They define that "a critical realist theory about the reporting of a conflict" (Lynch, 2006: p.74). Social psychologist Kempf argues that Peace Journalism has to be processed in two steps. He believes that throughout the conflict, reporters should be fair to all sides, respectful, distanced and not to escalate coverage. In second step, it should be focused to find solutions (Kempf, 2003: p.9). Lynch and Galtung state that Peace Journalism is a severe, analytical, qualified reporting method which aims conflicts clear (Lynch and Galtung, 2010: p.17). In other words, Peace Journalism is peace-oriented, tends to analyze conflict

with its roots and outcomes. One of the main markers of Peace Journalism is the avoidance of demonizing language, not labelling as good and bad. It is also multiparty oriented (Lee & Maslog, 2005). Peace Journalism serves as a leverage for the removal of the conflict/war situation and the provision and maintenance of peace environment.

Nevertheless, Peace Journalism has many challenges and obstacles. The main criticism of Peace Journalism is in regard to its understanding of the journalist objectivity. Traditional journalism appreciates that a reporter should remain totally independent in their reports and news. Davis defines objectivity with the idea of being impartial which isolates one's own beliefs, ideas or feelings from the narrative.(1990). But according to him and some other scholars and journalists, true impartiality and pure objectivity is not possible because of the journalists' own judgments and values. On the other hand, Iggers claims that journalistic objectivity does not exist anymore and it is one of the remarkable barriers which prevent them to being more accountable and productive in a society (Iggers, 1998: p. 90 - 91). Peleg points out the subjectivity of concept of objectivity and claims that it is a difficult target to reach in journalism profession (Peleg, 2007: p.3). It is argued that being objective is in fact, not one of the fundamental aspects of Peace Journalism. Hanitzsch claims that objectivity might eliminate the moral content from a story and make it an unfilled report (Hanitzsch, 2004: p.488). As Peleg emphasizes, being fair and accurate are more crucial aspects of Peace Journalism to make a balanced reporting (Peleg, 2007: p.3).

Another criticism of Peace Journalism is the high responsibility attributed to journalists for peacemaking. Hanitzsch considers it as a naïve pragmatism (2004). As opposed to that, Peace Journalism advocates believe that journalists should use their profession as a tool to provide peace. Peleg argues that "Preventing a conflict from escalating and diverting it from a destructive to a constructive path is not merely a journalist's job, but rather, everyone's job" (Peleg, 2007 cited in Youngblood, 2017: p.72). In addition, Lee and Maslog claim that Peace Journalism is a conflict reporting form which involves stories that underline peace proposals, dilute ethnic distinctions and encourage conflict resolution, reconstruction and reconciliation (Lee and Maslog, 2005: p.311-312). Hanitzsch also states that applications of Peace Journalism are unnecessary because they are actually supporters of good journalism by

reminding “the idea of Peace Journalism comes as old wine in new bottles” (Hanitzsch, 2007: p.1). In response to that Peleg states that “Peace Journalism is actually cognizant of the confines of the structural setting, and that its skills are in tune with the changing circumstances and do provide an opportunity for reform” (Peleg, 2007: p.4).

Having considered such a critique of Peace Journalism, it is also important to note that limiting the notions of Peace Journalism with only the journalism profession would be unfair because, as Lee & Maslog state, Peace Journalism adopts the ideas of the civil initiative, and at the same time it requires a moral necessity to provide social justice in the community (Lee & Maslog, 2005: p.313). In this sense, it can be regarded almost like a civil society movement that makes peace a conscious choice which in the societal sense, considers the idea of the violence as an insult to humanity (Galtung 2000: p.163, Mandelzis 2007: p.7). However, the concept of Peace Journalism would only start to make sense in the context of implementation. During times of conflict, there are many different opinions about the application of the Peace Journalism criteria to the traditional reporting and making news. Hackett argues that although these methods are not easy to implement as measurable variables, researchers should apply and evaluate them through the facilitation of the content analysis and other forms of analysis (Hackett, 2007: p.51). Thus, the applicability of Peace Journalism increases and by doing this it would be possible to connect Peace Journalism with the practical form of journalism today. Otherwise as Blasi claims Peace Journalism might be an unrelated method from practice for journalists. (Blasi, 2004: p.2).

The following table presents the main differences between the approaches of Traditional Journalism and Peace/Conflict Journalism in order to present the issues around turning the concept of Peace Journalism as a tool of practice in journalism. The main differences and similarities of this classification are shown in Table 2 and it is based on the categories of;

- Role
- Style/Stories
- Approach to Journalism
- Approach to audiences

Table 2: Different Approaches to Traditional Journalism and Peace Journalism

FROM OLD	TO NEW
Role	
Watchdog	Enabler
Commentator	Communicator
Independent of issues covered	Independent yet interdependent
Spectator/observer	“in the boat”
Style/Stories	
Debate	Dialogue
Difference	Common ground and difference
Polemic	Discussion
Approach to journalism	
Seeks simplicity	Explores complexity
Reactive to violent events	Strategy to understand/uncover the conflict
Event-based reporting	Process-based reporting
“I am objective” Balance = cover both sides equally (quantity)	“I am fair” Balance = represent both sides stories and perceptions (quality)
Approach to audiences	
Bodily damage/gore increases circulation	Public participation in problem solving builds audiences/readership
Newsroom sets agenda	Public has role in setting a agenda

Leaders/experts know best	Ordinary people need to be consulted
Right to know	Right to participate in democratic processes
"This is the way journalism is done"	Exploratory and flexible; rooted in values

Source: Lynch J & Mc Goldrick A. (2000): p. 46

To question how Peace Journalism would look like in practice, Galtung (2006) presents '10 Pointers' which will be explained below in order to conclude this section. First of all, it is important to understand that Peace Journalism is more than just an advocacy work and therefore it should ensure the inclusion of 'peaceful outcomes and processes' in its discourse. Second, Peace Journalism in practice needs to adopt a critical perspective in the way that the topics for journalism selected with a particular reference to the possibility of facts being distorted and repressed by various interest groups and politicians. Third, through an investigative journalism it is imperative that Peace Journalism adopts a nuanced understanding of different types of 'texts and narratives' as effectively explained by Galtung (2006: p.2).:

The texts/narratives of conflict parties like governments must be reported together with the counter texts of other parties; There are usually subtexts where other intentions are hidden, embedded: try to get at them through investigative journalism; The open text may be a pretext or only a (very) partial truth; There is always a context, the broader conflict formation of parties and goals and issues: try to identify all of them! There are deeper texts, in the collective subconscious/deep cultures of the parties: study gender, class, national myths!

Fourth, victims of violence should be given a strong voice in reporting, as they are often sidelined and ignored by War Journalism. Fifth, Peace Journalism should pay a particular attention to the use of language as the situation reported could easily be distorted and misrepresented by the use of synonymous words describing similar meanings such as 'claim' and

'explanation'. Sixth, it is also necessary that Peace Journalism should come with a deep understanding of peace and it is not only the absence of violence. Seventh, labelling is another point of care that Peace Journalism should take care of, for example with the use of such terms as 'terrorist'. Galtung recommends that a better practice would be to 'use the names the parties use for themselves.' Eight, it is important to bear in mind that there are usually a lot more peace proposals around than they might come to the attention of journalist, and therefore, it is important to seek out such alternative narratives and possibilities as part of Peace Journalism. Ninth, Peace Journalism in practice should never forget that peace starts to become meaningful when it starts to involve ordinary people in its implementation, which is one of the most critical requirements of successful peacebuilding. Finally, in relation to the previous point, Peace Journalism should invite all stakeholders in the society to consider and make suggestions on peace and peacebuilding rather than relying on the opinions of the political class only.

CHAPTER TWO METHODOLOGY

After exploring the overall context and articulating the framework of an approach to the role of media in conflict resolution and peace journalism, the methodology part of the study explains the research strategy and research methods that were used to accomplish the objectives of this study. In this chapter, the following sections will be covered: the research questions, research design, sample selection, data collection instruments, data collection procedures and analysis.

2.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

There are two main research questions in order to summarise and analyse the main issues of this study.

- What is the role of the media in conflict, conflict resolution, culture of conciliation, peace building processes and settlement of a sustainable peace?
- What is the journalists' contemporary approach to Peace Journalism and could it be used in today's media sector in Turkey?

The first question is to understand the role of media in societal crises. To do this it is important to explore the impact of media in the resolution of conflicts and the way they can negate such a resolution process because of its war/violence oriented reporting. To investigate these questions further, the Kardak and Cyprus conflicts are focussed so that the attitudes and impact of media in the development and resolution processes of those political crises. With the second question, the main objective is to gauge how Peace Journalism is perceived in the contemporary media sector in Turkey, and this is done through a questionnaire survey.

In doing this, the whole essence of Peace Journalism is focused on understanding what needs to be done for a lasting peace. As McGoldrick and Lynch underline the importance of Peace Journalism very clearly for a society that capable of living peacefully and good at handling these kind of conflicts non-violently. They claim that there is no direct or collective violence and there is the possibility for all to fulfil their potential. It is a condition as well as a

process. Peace = non-violence + creativity. (McGoldrick and Lynch, 2000: p.22).

Therefore, it is possible that the application of Peace Journalism will have a direct effect on peace building process, as the main objective of Peace Journalism is to ensure a process of positive peace which aims not only the prevention of violent conflict, but also attempts to ensure social justice and conditions for sustainable peace. In other words, Peace Journalism is a crucial tool to enhance and develop the measurement of peacebuilding process (Kuusik 28.08.2010, The Role of the Media in Peace Building, Conflict Management and Prevention, <http://www.e-ir.info/2010/08/28/the-role-of-media-in-peace-building-conflict-management-and-prevention/> 23.12.2017). As in section 1.3.2 emphasizes, there are many obstacles and difficulties for application of Peace Journalism in media sector. As Aslam argues that it is not easy to make Peace Journalism applicable in contemporary media sector (2011, p.137). From that point the main purpose with the second question is to explore the existing Peace Journalism perception and application in the media sector today.

2.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

A qualitative research methodology is used in this study. The overall purpose of the study is to understand the role of the media in conflict resolution and peace settlement processes and also a particular attention is drawn to the concept of Peace Journalism, its practical operation and application areas. Therefore a qualitative research was considered to be more appropriate for the ontological needs of this study, which focuses on the impact of media in conflict resolution. Nevertheless, as will be explained below, the study also employed a small-scale questionnaire survey in order to reach out to a greater number of respondents.

There are two different research actions has been examined in this study. The main data collection methods for this study are:

- Archival research and content analysis of newspaper articles on the case studies concerned.
- Interviews through a questionnaire survey of professionals working in media

sector such as journalists, columnists etc., data collection.

To understand the first research question, Kardak and Cyprus crises will be utilised in order to understand the impact of the media in conflict resolution and trajectories of peace journalism experience in Turkey. The newspaper archives searched and articles, news collected related these case studies to illustrate a representative example of how to handle mass media in crisis communication for purposes of peace journalism and resilience. The questionnaire survey was used for the investigation of the second research questions. These interviews helped to find out the approach of the journalists in the sector, to peace journalism and through from these approach try to understand the applicability of peace journalism in today's media.

2.3. DATA COLLECTION METHODS

2.3.1. Archival Research and Document Analysis

Content analysis has been defined as a "research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifested content of communication" (Berelson, quoted by McMillan, 2000: p. 81). The advantages that this method provides, namely its unobtrusiveness, its acceptance of unstructured material and ability to cope with large volumes of data (McMillan, 2000: p.81). In return such characteristics make it a useful tool when looking at an entire coverage of a certain subject in more than one publication. Content analysis technique sticks to the steps of the determination of the subject from a specific means, regarding a particular issue or published in a certain period of time, leading to the construction of a sampling frame; a coding frame is further developed and applied to the sample (Gunter, 2000, p. 62-64).

Archival research and document analysis are frequently used to reinforce theory building. An archive means any collection of records. Archives are often paper based which printed or handwritten. With the development of technology and internet, many archives transferred to the digital platform which named as electronic archives. The archival research in this study has been included mostly electronic - issues of newspaper of Turkey and other sources.

Most case study research is based on a specific community, association or collection of documents. This research methodology involves empirical

approach and at the same time, it is often quite practical. Despite of the wide scope of the research questions, case studies enable research to focus on specific examples and give the opportunity to research specifically over these examples. In reviewing, the archive of the two cases of conflict which Turkey involved, namely, Kardak and Cyprus, were examined to understand the main characteristics of journalism in those crises. Both examples have been chosen from the Greek - Turkish conflicts as the Greek-Turkish relations are tensed over the decades because of the formal structures of the past sourced by nationalist approaches which based on emotive sufferings (Rumelili, 2005: p.5).

To analyse the case studies, Hürriyet archives have been scanned through carefully. Also some Greek newspapers have been examined for a comparative study. During almost all the recent conflicts between those two countries, the media was one of the major actors of the processes. They were politically active and have had a significant influential power over the societies. In this study, the archive of the Hürriyet newspaper which is a very well-known, commercial, daily paper with a very deep understanding of broadcasting and the highest rating in Turkey, formed the main source of information.

2.3.2. Questionnaire Survey and Interviews

As a basic data collection technique, "interviewing" was used in this study, which is a qualitative method to collect data from people directly. In this study, this method was used by asking a number of open-ended questions. Kvale (1983: p. 174) defines interview as a tool in qualitative research as "to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena." This method can also be defined as "speaking for purpose", and could be carried out in three types; face to face, telephone and computer assisted (Berg, 2004: p.75).

In this study, the interviewees were mostly journalists who were working for broadcasting organisations for many years. From the demographic point of view, the number of women and men who participated in this study was similar and that their professional experience has spanned between 10 and 40 years. The interview process started at the beginning of the March and lasted 8 weeks, until the end of the April. The interview request was sent to 38 media professionals, and 21 interviews (55,3 %) were undertaken as a result of this

process, including columnists, journalists, editors. While some of the other 17 did not accept the call with the reason that they were either not interested in the subject or on different missions, while the others remained totally indifferent.

Interviews took place with the interaction of the researcher and respondents through a questionnaire survey with mainly open-ended questions. The literature in social research describes a questionnaire as a type of research strategy "comprised of a series of questions" which can be both in "open-ended" and "closed" forms that can be answered by self-completion, self-completion in a group setting, interview and interview by phone (Labovits & Hagedom, 1971; Hakim, 1987; Robson, 1993; Hall & Hall, 1996 cited in Ozerdem 1998).

In our interviews six exploratory open-ended and closed questions related to research problem and the general purpose of the research were posed to the participants. The aim of the open-ended questions was to give the respondents to have the freedom of expressing their own ideas and experience as they wish. It was essential that as much experience, information and different opinions as possible should be acquired through this survey. Therefore, in these exploratory questions which are prepared in accordance with the research's analytical model, the three main variables were questioned: the approach to Peace Journalism, the responsibility taken in the news, and the thoughts on the content, insight and choice criteria of the news.

These questions were;

- a. What priorities does the concept of Peace Journalism reminds you of?
- b. Where should the ethical values be placed in relation to objective journalism, that is according to you, when making the news, is it the same to be 'impartial' and 'fair'?
- c. Should a journalist remain impartial while reporting a conflict?
- d. Do you prepare your reports by bearing in mind that you could be responsible for its possible consequences on social relations?

e. As a journalist, do you think you might have a dividing or unifying role in society when you are reporting?

f. What do you think the reason is for the media coverage of war and conflict being much more than peace and reconciliation?

In this study, a number of interviews were also undertaken face-to-face which were recorded electronically and transcribed later on. Although the face-to-face interviewing has much more advantages than the other forms as outlined by Opdenakker (2006), there were some interviews that performed online because of the logistical challenges..

2.4. DATA ANALYSIS

Findings from the content analysis and interviews will be listed in the next chapter. The news obtained by screening the archives of Hürriyet according to the selected case studies were firstly based on the certain dates and periods of the events concerned. However, in order to be able to understand the events and to investigate the news about them, they will be presented according to the flow history without adding any comment. In the Kardak crisis, it was only about 10 days from the incident's first occurrence, so only this period of time was investigated. Similarly, since the Cyprus process is a long-standing dispute, only news about the Annan Plan and related referendum were selected.

In the analysis part, all the sample news items were put together and analysed according to Galtung's methodology which involves the most accepted indicators of peace journalism, which is the most popular one in the field of peace journalism. News has been classified and interpreted through these indicators.

For interviews, there were six research questions which have been aforementioned in the previous section. In order to collect data and make an analyse according to responses which provided insight into the attitudes of journalists in the mainstream media towards Peace Journalism, their sense of responsibility for social disagreement, conflict and reconciliation processes while reporting, and their views on the nature of the what might be the news. In these exploratory questionnaire which are prepared in accordance with the

research's analytical model, the three main variables were as follows: the approach to Peace Journalism, the responsibility taken in the news, and the thoughts on the content, insight and choice in the development criteria of the news.

Some of the answers for the 6 questions concerned were given as they are in the findings section of the next Chapter. Among the answers given to each question, the ones that differ the most from each other were selected to use as particular points of engagement. In the analysis section, these responses are interpreted according to the above mentioned variables in order to reveal the main trends and approaches of the respondent journalists towards Peace Journalism.



CHAPTER THREE

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

3.1 FINDINGS FROM CASE STUDIES

3.1.1 Why Kardak and Cyprus?

In this chapter, the study focuses on the news coverage by Hürriyet of the two conflicts which Turkey experienced with Greece over the last few decades - Kardak and Cyprus. The relations between Turkey and Greece have been unsteady for decades. There were many conflicts, tensions and threats and the Turkish and Greek media played a key role in all of these cases. When we look at the times of disputes and conflict between Turkey and Greece, the media in both countries have mostly been in a similar attitude. They behave in a very defensive position for their countries and adopt a heavily nationalistic perspective. They seem to be acting as a guard of their societies. Carpentier Terzis offer some evidence from the GreekTurkish conflicts reporting as follows:(Carpentier and Terzis 2005: pp. 25-28)

"Greek and Turkish journalists ... feel like soldiers of the national army ... journalists would be fired in Greece and in Turkey ... if they go against the perceived national interest- ".....you want ... not be isolated from the main sources ... you socialize with them ... you don't want to be 'the bad guy' in the group' ... huge peer pressure especially in times of crises ... not to voice other opinions"

During the times of conflict, as Cohen (1994) refers, media, as a "frontier guard", signals you the message. "You know who you are, only by knowing who you are not" (Cohen, 1994: p.1), simply indicating who the clear 'other' (and potentially the enemy) is. To analyse the case studies, the content analysis model by Lee and Maslog (2005: p. 314) was used and the coding frame was based on Johan Galtung's classification of war and peace journalism characteristics, which is based on four broad practice and linguistic orientations:

- peace/conflict vs. war/violence
- truth vs. propaganda
- people vs. elites

- solutions vs. victory, and
- language

At the tables below, first, the conflicts of Kardak and Cyprus and the approaches of the media on both Turkish and Greek sides to those crises will be examined. Later on, the selected reports and news on these two case studies will be analysed according to the five parameters explained above.

KARDAK

Table 3: The News About Kardak Crises

TURKISH NEWS	GREEK NEWS
'Showdown for the Rocks in the Aegean'.	Extreme Driven from Turkey".
'Flag Battle"	'Turkish-Greek relations have entered the borders and could be turned into a conflict'
"Anxiety in the Aegean"	Turkish Provocation in Thrace"
"Greek Army Alarmed"	"the Turks Want an Island of Ours"
"That Flag will go down"	"They Grow Insolent. The Turks Ask for More Islands"
"They Landed the troops'	"Brutal Provocation. The Turks Humiliated Us"
The rumor that Greece, which haul down the Turkish Flag, land the troops into the Kardak Rocks yesterday	"Invasion of Turks",
'LAST NOTICE'	"Bayrak[Turkish word for flag]-Provocation"

"We are superior"	Agents' assault on rocky islet! Turkish provocation aiming at the islands of the Aegean."
"Turkey Can Overwhelm Greece in 72 Hours".	"The Tourkalades (...) the scoundrels"
"We are ready for every possibility"	They ask for new borders in the Aegean! The Turks start a slanging match"
	"Where were our war ships? Why would they let them to remove the Greek flag?"

The Kardak/Imia Crises (Kardak in Turkish, Imia in the Greek language), triggered by the stranding of a Turkish merchant ship on the islets. The ship was towed by a Greek tug, but the Turkish Captain protested the Greek salvage fees by claiming that the ship was in Turkish territory. After that incident both Greek and Turkish authorities claimed that the islets aground on their territory. But later the discussion of - to whom the Kardak rocks belonged to - of the Turkish and Greek media would bring the two countries to the brink of war.

On January 20, 1996, the Greek newspapers reported that "*Extreme Driven from Turkey*". On 25 January 1996, the Mayor of Kalymnos and some other civilians raised a Greek flag with their own initiative. (Arapoglu, 2002: p.16)

On January 27, 1996 the news was published in the Hürriyet Newspaper as a small news with the title of "*Showdown for the Rocks in the Aegean*". (Batur N., Çağlayan S., 27.01.1996, Ege'de Kayalık Restleşmesi, Hürriyet)

On 28 January 1996, Hürriyet published the photos of its journalists who flew to Kardak with a helicopter and replaced the Greek flag with a Turkish one. In the news which was entitled with "*Flag Battle*", journalists were

told that they could hardly come down to the island due to the stormy weather and that the Turkish Flag was planted on the island. (Fırat A., Sert C., 28.01.1996, Bayrak Savaşı, Hürriyet)

On the 29th of January, the first page of the Hurriyet was entirely dedicated to the Kardak Crisis and it reported the tension with the news titled "*Anxiety in the Aegean*" and "*Greek Army Alarmed*". The close-up views of Turkish and Greek attack boats were also given on the first page. It also reported President Clinton, saying to the Greek Newspaper, To Vima that "Turkish-Greek relations have entered the borders and could be turned into a conflict". (Batur N., Sert C., 29.01.1996, Ege'de Endişe, Hürriyet)

The tension rose the highest level during the night of 30 to 31 January. A small number of Turkish commandos stepped on the Kardak islets after the Greek commandos were placed on the Kardak islets in order to plant the flag again. "Opposing armed forces were stationed only a few hundred meters apart." (Batur N, 30.01.1996, Ada'da Yunan Marşı, Hürriyet)

On 30th of January, Hürriyet reported Kardak Crisis in the whole front page with the "*That Flag will go down*" headline. These words of the Prime Minister of Turkey and the words of the Prime Minister of Greece, "*We are ready for every possibility*" are mentioned. (Fırat A., Sert C., Aybars A., Koçarslan M., Çağlayan S., 30.01.1996, O Bayrak İnecek, Hürriyet)

In the inside pages, the news with the title of "*They Landed the troops*" reported that "*The rumour that Greece, which haul down the Turkish Flag, land the troops into the Kardak Rocks yesterday, caused exciting times to happen*". The content and the title of the article seem contradict each other because the content of the article demolished the certainty of the headline. (Fırat A., Sert C., Aybars A., Koçarslan M., Çağlayan S., 30.01.1996, O Bayrak İnecek, Hürriyet)

On January 31, the crisis was at its highest level in the newspapers. The headline of Hürriyet was '*LAST NOTICE*' in big letters (Ergin S., 31.01.1996, Son Uyarı, Hürriyet). Another related news item was the comparative table of the two countries military forces, which was given with the "*We are superior*" headline and "*Turkey-Greece power balance*" subtitled. (Türkiye – Yunanistan Güç Dengesi, 31.01.1996, Hürriyet) On the side of the table, the SAT Commandos were photographed with war paintings and arms. It was written under the photograph that these commandos are dispatched to

the hot zone. Also, Sabah printed an article that day, under the headline "*Turkey Can Overwhelm Greece in 72 Hours*". (Hadjidimos, K., 1998/1999, p.9)

Likewise, Greek newspapers took the case to headlines with sensationalist, nationalist approach and analyses, according the Vasiliki Neofotistos, (cited in Lenkova M., Hate Speech in The Balkans, 1998, pp. 71-77. Neofotistos' study 'The Greek Media on the Imia/Kardak Conflict' will be used to have access to Greek newspaper items on the Kardak crisis cited, as would otherwise, not be possible for our research due to language barriers.

The newspapers Eleutheros Typos, Apogeumatini and Adesmeutos Typos wrote "*Turkish Provocation in Thrace*", "*the Turks Want an Island of Ours*" and "*They Grow Insolent. The Turks Ask for More Islands*", respectively. After the Turkish Journalists removed the Greek Flag on the 28th of January Greek newspapers started to report with a sharper language. Eleutheros Typos wrote "*Brutal Provocation. The Turks Humiliated Us*", Adesmeutos Typos said, "*Invasion of Turks*", Nea wrote "*Bayrak[Turkish word for flag]-Provocation*" and Ethos wrote "*Agents' assault on rocky islet! Turkish provocation aiming at the islands of the Aegean*" on the 29th of January. (Neofotistos, 1998: pp. 71-77)

Following days with the headlines like "*The Tourkalades [pejorative for Turks] scallywags (...) the scoundrels*" by Adesmeutos Typos on 30th of January, Ethnos newspaper: "*They ask for new borders in the Aegean! The Turks start a slanging match*", tension has raised. Eleutheros Typos blamed the Athens government for such a showdown by asking "*Where were our war ships? Why would they let them to remove the Greek flag?*" (Neofotistos, 1998: pp. 71-77)

US President Bill Clinton and NATO officials were involved the process of worrying about the growth of the crisis and the war between the two countries. Prime Ministers Çiller and Simitis decided to withdraw the flags of Kardak and withdraw the commandos as a result of intensive negotiations between 30 January and 1 February and day and night in the Washington-Ankara-Athens triangle. (Hürriyet, 01.02.1996, Sağduyu Zaferi.)

"Many analysts contend that the 1996 Imia/Kardak crisis, which brought Greece and Turkey to the brink of war, was "triggered and then aggravated" by the Greek and Turkish media"(Dimitras, 1998). During the

Kardak Crisis, both media behaved similar ways, as described above. The nationalistic headlines and news created a magnifying glass effect and caused a deeper and bigger perception for the conflict with divergent interpretations and threatening news. Journalists who acted like soldiers often behaved in a manner that did not serve to inform the public with insulting approaches when they reported. From the beginning of the disagreement, the media of both sides became effective in the growth and distress of the conflict.

CYPRUS

Table 4: The News About Cyprus Crises Before The Annan Plan Referendum

TURKISH NEWS	GREEK NEWS
Is this a UN plan or a Greek Cypriot plan?	Nightmarish solution plan
The historical opportunity do not missed this time	The plan must be torn up and dumped
For the first time in 30 years	Not Annan's Plan, Aman Plan... Greeks are overwhelmed too much and when they react, they say 'Aman' in Turkish
They will accept defeat or they will recognize the TRNC	Bush and Annan have put up with a crazy plan. 9 out of 10 Turkish requests are accepted. Karamanlis does not know what he will do
Disagree with this agreement together	We want a solution. If we do not agree here, we will make a call for reconciliation and agreement with the words 'Do not open up between us.'

Immoral proposal in the last minute	They gave everything and ran away. Erdogan is having a holiday. Turkey's priorities were in the plan
	We have nothing to fear from the plan for a Cyprus solution, a plan we should face on the basis of a strategy and not emotionally
	A historic development. The last say for the acceptance or rejection of the result of the negotiations belongs to the people of Cyprus

Cyprus has been divided since 1974, its Greek and Turkish communities which separates each other by a buffer zone called the Green Line. It has been accepted the "longest-serving peacekeeping mission in United Nations history" and compared to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with its complexity and duration, but not bloodshed. Cyprus has been described as a diplomatic graveyard, because of the unsuccessful attempts of the negotiators who have work on to help find a political settlement. 25 UN special envoys and six secretary-generals have been involved in efforts to resolve the Cyprus problem over a period of more than half a century

(A Chronology: A timeline of UN's Cyprus diplomacy, Cyprus Mail Online, 29.12.2016, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2016/12/29/chronology-timeline-uns-cyprus-diplomacy/> , 23.10.2017)

One of the most meaningful explanations of the Cyprus conflict has been undertaken by Anastasiou who presented the conflict as a communication problem. He argues that the border that divides the island is, but the real divider is the communication problem which is the main obstacle to overcome (Anastasiou, 2002: pp.581-596). There are two major communities living on the island that identifies themselves as their nationalist

identities which were connected to their motherlands Greece and Turkey. Both communities regard themselves as part of their 'mother' nations and put their national and ethnic background to the key point of their future unification (Anagiotos C, 2015: p.3)..

The Annan plan which is named after the then UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan, of 2002 to 2004 was the UN's most collaborative and comprehensive pursue to reach a federal solution to the Cyprus conflict. As Çiftci mentioned in her article in 2014, the Annan Plan's aim was to overcome communal fears at both sides which had increased from the disruption of the 1960 Constitution. Annan submitted to the two sides a detailed plan for the solution of the Cyprus problem in November 2002. The final version of the plan which was assigned to construct The United Cyprus Republic (UCR) as the new State of Cyprus, submitted in March 2004. In twin referendums on 24 April 2004, while Turkish Cypriots accepted it, with 64.9 per cent willingly, Greek Cypriots refused powerfully the Annan plan, with 75.8 per cent voting against.. (Theodoulou M., The Peace Plans: 2004 Annan Plan, 29.12.2016, Cyprus Mail Online, <http://cyprus-mail.com/2016/12/29/peace-plans-2004-annan-plan/> 23.10.2017

From the beginning of the progress, the media played a significantly important role construction and continuation of this sensitive situation with their nationalist oriented news and reports. Sahin and Ross claims that peace advocates have start to discover the media to leverage mechanism to promote peace and create more comprehensive environment (2012: p.1). The Annan Plan took place in various forms in the newspapers of both sides, both in the preparation phase and after the publication, or during the referendum period. According to a BBC article entitled 'Cyprus papers divided over Annan plan', (2002) reactions and news were quite different from each other. News in the Turkish media mostly had positive and compromising, as Turkish Cypriots supported participation. Meanwhile, I Simerini, paper, calls the Annan proposal a "nightmarish solution plan". On the other hand, the Nicosia Volkan from the Turkish side notes that the plan calls for a considerable territorial concessions. The paper shows a map on its front page, and writes about the offer which provide for the evacuation of some 80 Turkish villages. A columnist asks "Is this a UN plan or a Greek Cypriot plan?" (Cyprus Papers Divided Over Annan Plan, 12.10.2002, BBC News,

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2453449.stm>, 23.10.2017)

The Annan Plan was the main topic of both sides' newspapers for a period of two years, during which various aspects have been revised. Negative approaches such as "The plan must be torn up and dumped" as well as positive approaches such as "The historical opportunity do not missed this time" created different effects on the public. What is interesting is that the plan has not only broken the Turkish and Greek media, but has also created a clear distinction between Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot media and between the Greek and Greek Cypriot media. The BBC, (2004) interprets this situation in its article 'Regional Press Dissects Annan Plan', as "the Turkish Cypriot press was divided in its assessment, while mainstream newspapers in Turkey welcome the plan. Reports in Greek Cypriot papers are largely factual, and reaction in mainstream Greek papers is one of disappointment." (Regional press dissects Annan plan, 01.04.2004, BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3589739.stm>, 23.10.2017)

When we examine a little more closely the news during the earlier month before the referendum, we can clearly observe it such as Hürriyet Newspaper dated March 24, 2004 was published with the headline '*For the first time in 30 years*'. (Tınç F., 24.03.2004, 30 Yıl Sonra İlk Kez, Hürriyet,)

On March 31, the emphasis was on turning into a one-sided win instead of emphasizing the win-win situation of both sides under the headline "*They will accept defeat or they will recognize the TRNC*" under the headline "*24.00 o'clock tonight*". (Tınç F., Batur N., Bilge Ö., 31.03.2004, Bu Gece Saat 24.00, Hürriyet)

Hurriyet claimed that the Greek press did not like the Annan Plan either. The newspaper reported that Elefterotipia Newspaper writes that Turks feast and Karamanlis does not know what to do in astonishment. With this approach they give the impression that they are in the state of sacrifice. Hürriyet claimed that Elefterotipia puts the difficulties ironically by emphasising the similarities in the way of unification under the headline '*Not Annan's Plan, Aman Plan... Greeks are overwhelmed too much and when they react, they say 'Aman' in Turkish*'. (Hürriyet, 31.03.1996, Yunan Basını; Fesli Plan: p.18). In the same report it is claimed that, Ta Nea said, '*Bush and Annan have put up with a crazy plan. 9 out of 10 Turkish requests are accepted. Karamanlis does not know what he will do*'. It focuses on the nationalistic sentiments by

emphasizing the 'fes' which is not accepted in the modern ages of the Turks.

On April 1, 2004, the photographs of the Turkish and Greek prime ministers, both of whom were referred to as "*Motherland*", It is emphasized that the people will make the decision on the leaders made by throwing the headline "*Now the word is...*". Greek Prime Minister '*We want a solution. If we do not agree here, we will make a call for reconciliation and agreement with the words 'Do not open up between us'.*' (Tınç F., (01.04.2004), Artık Söz Halkın, Hürriyet,)

The Hurriyet newspaper dated 2 April 2004 alleged that the Greek side was said to "*disagree with this agreement together*", under the headline '*Immoral proposal in the last minute*'. Hürriyet Özel, (02.04.2004), Son Dakikada Ahlaksız Teklif, Hürriyet. On the other hand, the Greek press, wrote that the Greek side is '*going to drink*' while the Turkish side is feasting, and writes that the interviews are against their own parties and they are dropped for loss. For example, according to Simerini Newspaper, '*They gave everything and ran away. Erdogan is having a holiday. Turkey's priorities were in the plan*' (Hürriyet, 02.04.2004, Erdogan Bayram Yaptı, Türk Ekibi İçmeye Gitti, p.30)

3.2. CONTENT ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDIES

In this study the coding frame used to analyze the stories was based on Johan Galtung's classification of war and peace journalism indicators, which is focused on four broad practice: peace/conflict, truth/propaganda, people/elites, and solutions/victory and three linguistic orientations which refers the language of reporting (Galtung, quoted by Lee & Maslog, 2005, p.314). The coding scheme is based on Galtung's related work (1986, 1998):

Table 5: The Coding Categories Of Peace Journalism and War Journalism

PEACE/ JOURNALISM	CONFLICT	WAR/VIOLENCE JOURNALISM
1. Peace/conflict-orientated		1. War/violence-orientated
- Explore conflict formation, x parties, y goals, z issues,		- Focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war
- General 'win,win' orientation		- General zero-sum orientation
- Open space, open time, causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture		- Closed space, closed time, causes and exists in arena, who threw the first stone
- Making conflicts transparent		- Making wars opaque/ secret
- Giving voice to all parties; empathy and understanding		- 'Us-them' journalism, propaganda, voice for us, focus on differences that led to conflict
- Focus on conflict creativity		See conflict/ war as a problem,
- Humanization of all sides; more so the worse the weapon		- Dehumanization of 'them', more so the worse the weapon
- Proactive: preventive before any violence/ war occurs		- Reactive: waiting for violence, or war before reporting
- Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/ culture)		- Focus only on visible effects of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)
2. Truth-orientated		2. Propaganda-orientated
- Expose untruths on all sides		- Expose 'their' untruths
- Uncover all cover-ups		- Help 'our' cover-ups/ lies
3. People-orientated		3. Elite-orientated

- Focus on suffering all over; on women, the aged, children, giving voice to the voiceless	- Focus on our suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece
- Give name to all evil-doers	- Give name of their evil-doers
- Focus on people peacemakers	- Focus on elite peace-makers
4. Solution-orientated	4. Victory-orientated
- Peace = non-violence + creativity	- Peace = victory + ceasefire
- Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war	- Conceal peace initiative, before victory is at hand
- Focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society	- Focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society
- Stays on and reports aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation, implementation of peace treaty	- Leaving for another war, return if the old war flares up again
5. Language	5. Language
- Avoids victimising language, reports what has been done and could be done by people, and how they are coping	- Uses victimising language (e.g. destitute, devastated, defenceless, pathetic, tragic, demoralised) which only tells what had been done to people
- Avoids demonising language uses more precise descriptions, titles or names that the people give themselves	- Uses demonising language (e.g. vicious, cruel, brutal, barbaric, inhuman, tyrant, savage, ruthless, terrorist, extremist, fanatic,

	fundamentalist)
- Objective, moderate, avoids emotive words. Reserves strongest language only for gravest situation. Does not exaggerate	- Uses emotive words, like genocide, assassination, massacre, systematic (as in systematic raping or forcing people from their homes)

Source: Adapted by Lee, Maslog & Kim, Asian Conflicts and the Iraq War, A Comparative Framing Analysis 2006 Sage Publications London, Thousand Oaks & New Delhi, 1748-0485 VOL. 68(5-6): p.517-518 DOI: 10.1177/1748048506068727 <http://gaz.sagepub.com>

3.2.1. Evaluation of Kerdak and Cyprus Crises Through News

The news titles that were previously presented in a table format by bearing in mind events and country media, are placed in a single column in the Table below. Each news will be analysed by using the coding framework based on Johan Galtung's classification of War and Peace journalism indicators, which is structured around four broad practice and linguistic orientations:

- Peace or War oriented
- Truth or Propaganda oriented
- People or Elite oriented
- Solution or Victory Oriented
- Language

Each news items are assessed according to the above listed orientation criteria and an overall judgement is made to place it as an example of Peace or War Journalism in this exercise. Moreover, the Table also indicates on the basis of which criteria that such a decision was made by placing it against that particular news item.

Table 6: Categorization Of The News According The Coding Frames in Table 5

NEWS	Peace/ Conflict Journalism	War / Violence Journalism
Flag Battle		War– Violence Oriented
Anxiety in the Aegea		Propaganda Oriented
Greek Army Alarme		Propaganda Oriented
That Flag will go down		War– Violence Oriented
They Landed the troops		Propaganda Oriented
The rumor that Greece, which haul down the Turkish Flag, land the troops into the Kardak Rocks yesterday		Propaganda Oriented
LAST NOTICE		War– Violence Oriented
We are superior		Victory Oriented
Turkey Can Overwhelm Greece in 72 Hours		Victory Oriented
We are ready for every possibility		War Oriented
Is this a UN plan or a		Propaganda

Greek Cypriot plan?		Oriented
The historical opportunity do not missed this time	Peace Oriented	
For the first time in 30 years	Peace Oriented	
They will accept defeat or they will recognize the TRNC		Victory Oriented
Disagree with this agreement together	Solution Oriented	
Extreme Driven from Turkey		Propaganda Oriented
Turkish-Greek relations have entered the borders and could be turned into a conflict		War Oriented
Turkish Provocation in Thrace		Propaganda Oriented
The Turks Want an Island of Ours		Propaganda Oriented
They Grow Insolent. The Turks Ask for More Islands		Propaganda Oriented
Brutal Provocation. The Turks Humiliated Us		Propaganda Oriented / Inflammatory Language
Invasion of Turks		Propaganda Oriented

Bayrak [Turkish word for flag]-Provocation		Inflammatory Language
Agents' assault on rocky islet! Turkish provocation aiming at the islands of the Aegean		Inflammatory Language
The Tourkalades (...) the scoundrels		Inflammatory Language
They ask for new borders in the Aegean! The Turks start a slanging match		Propaganda Oriented
Where were our war ships? Why would they let them to remove the Greek flag?		War Oriented
Nightmarish solution plan		Propaganda Oriented
The plan must be torn up and dumped		Propaganda Oriented
Not Annan's Plan, Aman Plan... Greeks are overwhelmed too much and when they react, they say 'Aman' in Turkish		Propaganda Oriented
Bush and Annan have put up with a crazy plan. 9 out of 10 Turkish requests are accepted. Karamanlis does not know what he will do		Elite Oriented Propaganda Oriented

We want a solution. If we do not agree here, we will make a call for reconciliation and agreement with the words 'Do not open up between us	Solution Oriented	
They gave everything and ran away. Erdogan is having a holiday. Turkey's priorities were in the plan		Propaganda Oriented
We have nothing to fear from the plan for a Cyprus solution, a plan we should face on the basis of a strategy and not emotionally	Solution Oriented	
A historic development. The last say for the acceptance or rejection of the result of the negotiations belongs to the people of Cyprus	People Oriented	

As shown in the Table above, the War Journalism framework was more assertive than Peace Journalism one in the sampled reports of both Kardak and Cyprus case studies. Mostly the nationalist ideology of both countries appears to be a key factor in triggering tensions in any aspects of a conflict scenario between Turkey and Greece. The nationalist ideology of both countries in regard to each other appears to be in the epicentre of a systematic codification, organization and processing, which in return, affects the beliefs and convictions about the 'other' by both nations (Lekkas 1994). In relation to

this reality that the following sections will be investigating and interpreting the above mentioned news according to the five main criteria of Galtung's Peace Journalism and War Journalism framework.

3.2.1.1. Peace/conflict vs. War/violence

In a news item entitled “*Flag Battle*”, Hürriyet published the photos of its journalists who stepped on to Kardak and replaced the Greek flag with a Turkish one. The journalists were told that they could hardly come down to the island due to the stormy weather but they did this nevertheless, almost acting like soldiers and they planted the Turkish Flag on the island. This is an important example, because in conflicting circumstances with particular sensitivities over national and religious identities, journalists should be expected to act in isolation from their own national and ethno-religious identities. However, as shown in this example journalists act in ways that completely out of their responsibility or even sometimes become the subject of those very circumstances. It is important to note the way that an interview carried out with one of those Turkish journalists years later revealed how the actual events with this flag incident developed and how his way of perceiving such circumstances have changed over time. The headline of Hürriyet is in the form of ‘*LAST NOTICE*’ is a kind of last warning before the conflict/war. With this headlines, readers remain to make a determination by themselves. This warning might seem to many readers like a peaceful resolution is not possible and war will be the only conclusion.

As Orhon and Dimitrakopoulou^[15] reflect from the Yannakogeorgos study which depends on Eleftherotypia newspaper’s interview with one of the journalists who landed on Kardak/Imia with helicopter in order to take photographs, but raise the flag. He tells;

“We nearly landed next to the flagpoles. Like soldiers we jumped out [of the helicopter] with its engine on and propellers roaring. We operated like a military unit, Even today, I wonder why.”

He claims that nobody told him to do so, neither the state nor army (cited in Orhon and Dimitrakopoulou, 2009,^[16] Greek Media’s Coverage of

Turkey's Accession to the EU and Turkish Media's Striking Back, p.10
<https://dimitrakopoulou.files.wordpress.com/2010/12/greek-media-s-coverage-of-turkey-s-accession-to-the-eu-full-paper.pdf>, 17.08.2017)

As elaborated by Yannakogeorgos above, the critical point to remember here is the way that this journalist went to the island to report what was happening at the time and how he changed such circumstances and became part of them. It was very likely that if he had been from another country but Turkey, he would have just reported what he heard and saw, and returned to his country. In fact, it should be noted that nobody asked this journalist to do what he did, and he behaved completely in his nationalist feelings by trying to get the approval of the public in general.

As it can also be seen above, both approaches of newspapers and journalists are actually far from trying to construct a common understanding. They seemed to act with 'nationalist' feelings and thoughts. The most delicate point in this particular example is that the journalists concerned acted almost as a soldier rather than journalist. They did not only report the event, but also they became a part of the action and/or in a way they were reporting what they created through their actions. In other words, such reporting from the journalists in an environment where feelings towards national flags were very sensitive, could only be considered as a pure example of war journalism.

Moreover, in another example of reporting at the Hürriyet at the time, a comparative table of the two countries' military forces were provided with the headline of "*We are superior*" and subtitle of "*Turkey-Greece power balance*". On the side of the table, the Turkish SAT Commandos were photographed with war paintings on their faces and arms. It was written under the photograph that these commandos were dispatched to the hot zone. It is clear that this news item was drawing a power binary of 'us' and 'them' and on this axis, there seems to be a call for war by provoking feelings of bravery, fighting and national pride. It is ironic that even before the states concerned – Turkey and Greece – made a decision on what should be the next steps in their response to each other, the newspapers were already making comparisons of how the armies of these two countries would fare against each other. There is also an element of trying to scare the 'other' by emphasizing that the Turkish side's military power was much more superior than Greece's. This news item could be interpreted as an example of how a conflict between the two countries in

its very early stages was expected to become the starting point of a major war by the media. Moreover, it was almost propaganda of that very purpose.

When we focused the positive examples, Turkish Cypriot Kibris daily's "The historic opportunity must not be missed this time" article about the Annan Plan referendum came to the front. The paper warned the politicians to accept the plan and give up the stubborn policies. However, the fact that this research has not been able to identify more positive examples for peace journalism is hugely revealing about the state of the media outlets concerned approached to those two political crises.

3.2.1.2. Truth vs. Propaganda

As the preceding analysis showed there was a strong propaganda aspect of the media reporting of the Kardak crisis on both sides of the Aegean Sea. For example, the newspapers Eleutheros Typos, Apogeumatini and Adesmeutos Typos chose the following headlines:

"Turkish Provocation in Thrace", "the Turks Want an Island of Ours" and "They Grow Insolent. The Turks Ask for More Islands"

"Anxiety in the Aegean" and "Greek Army Alarmed" with the close-up views of Turkish and Greek attack boats are also given on the first page.

"Where were our war ships? Why would they let them to remove the Greek flag?"

The above headlines and articles that accompanied them first of all, focused on the conflict itself rather than trying to understand its root causes. Rather than pointing out the conflict that they were reporting about in fact, had a long history and was the result of the way that a number of wider political and historical issues between the two countries had been ignored or left unresolved for decades, they were all about the urgency of the current conflicting circumstances. More importantly, the reporting was done through the use of unjustified information and based on pure nationalistic feelings in order to create an environment of fear and get the Greek public rise against Turkey. With an emphasis of 'us' and 'them' in their reporting, the reporting style of 'look, the Turkish army is on the move so our army should be mobilized

too before it is too late' could be interpreted as an attempt of propaganda to create an overall feeling of panic in the public. Furthermore, 'the Turks want more islands, the Turks desire our islands' type reporting tends to make reference to the previous armed conflicts between the two countries in the past in order to deepen such a feeling of fear and panic.

At the same way the Turkish press had some news and headlines which tried to spread anxiety and rumours. Under the headline 'They landed The Troops', it is written that 'the rumor that Greece, which haul down the Turkish flag, land the troops into the Kardak Rocks yesterday, caused exciting times to happen'. As it can be seen very clearly that the report based some 'rumors by unknown sources' but was reflected as the truth anyway.

The news item of 'Brutal provocation... The Turks humiliated us.' is also highly suitable to mobilise the public with anger. The entire piece is based on the emotional interpretation of the way the Greek people's honor was undermined by the Turks, and therefore, they have every right to be angry.

Meanwhile, the news item 'They gave everything and ran away. Turkey's priorities were in the plan' tried to create a sense of injustice amongst its readers towards the Annan Plan. The main point emphasised here is that the mediators in the development of the Annan Plan had not been objective and they were sidelined with the Turkish side and therefore, they and the Annan Plan should be trusted.

In other words, it is often the case that the media is used as a propaganda mechanism in environments of conflict and disputes. Therefore, it is imperative that the media that claims to be paying a particular attention in presenting the truth in the most objective way possible should also need to consider what to prioritise and present in that particular narrative, as propaganda does not always mean fake or wrong news. On the contrary, the propaganda is done by manipulating the existing truths in a way that would serve the objectives of a particular way of thinking. It is also possible that journalist might sometimes not be aware of the fact that what they do with their news could be serving for the purpose of a propaganda. In order to avoid this it is important that the conflict concerned and information related to it should be questioned with all of its aspects at all levels. Those journalists who have internalised peace journalism would not only be concerned about what is on the surface in regard to that conflict, but also what is not easily visible. They

would also be concerned with the impact of their news items on the public in terms of societal relations.

3.2.1.3. People vs. Elites

One of the most salient War Journalism indicators is the positioning towards elites as the main sources of information. The publication quotes of the Prime Ministers, President of US, Army Officials, UN Secretary, such as:

* On 30th of January Hürriyet has reported Kardak Crisis at the whole front page with the "*That Flag will go down*" headline. These words of the Prime Minister of Turkey and the words of the Prime Minister of Greece "*We are ready for every possibility*" are mentioned.

It is also reported that the President Clinton, is saying that '*Turkish-Greek relations have entered the borders and could be turned into a conflict*' by Greek Newspaper To Vima.

On the other hand, in the Cyprus negotiations what is done with the news item 'Bush and Annan have put up with a crazy plan' is the creation of a negative perception of the process at their very inception. The danger with such a title is that most readers would not read news items fully and make their mind up often on the basis of what they read as the headline says. Therefore, with this news item and particularly with its headline, the public perception is shaped up deliberately without giving any real opportunity to the public to judge the advantages and disadvantages of the peace agreement for themselves.

Most news items during conflict resolution processes are often given as a voice directly from people of power, parties to the conflict or other authorities. In such conflict or peacebuilding environments although it would actually be ordinary people who would be most affected by the result of resolution processes, they would hardly get any voice in the media. The political manoeuvrings between the parties of power and government, their populist political propaganda as a preparation for the next elections, and their promises that are made for political interests rather than benefit of their constituencies always find a place in the media and presented to the public as a general understanding. On the other hand, the reality is that it would be ordinary people who would be affected the most by such processes. For example, they might not be giving the necessary reaction to destructive armed

conflicts, as they are often not informed appropriately by the media in regard to what wars' devastating consequences could be, and do not often hear such information from real experts. More worryingly, even if the public would like to show its reaction to armed conflict, they might not be able to find a media outlet to do this. Johan Galtung who is considered as the father figure of Peace Journalism pointed out in an interview published in a magazine called 'On' in Cyprus that the resolution of conflict on the island could only be found by the people themselves, and those who experience the problem is much closer to finding a resolution to that problem (Turkkol, 2009)

Peace Journalism also adopts a clear position in making the voices of the unheard in the society heard. As the elites, powerful and those with authority, all segments of the society including the ignored and unheard societal groups would be affected by such processes, the Peace Journalism makes a specific reference to their participation to conflict resolution. No matter what the elites' views are on the challenges and opportunities of peace building in the particular context, the Peace Journalism produces news based on expert views and opinions it would try to make a better understanding of such issues by the public.

In relation to this argument, many of news items in regard to the Annan Plan in the context of Cyprus indicate that the media seemed to place the views of ordinary people on the peace process to some extent. One of the main reasons for this was perhaps the main decision on the plan was made through a referendum and therefore, the media paid more attention to public views on the agreement. In other words, journalists who wanted to get a better sense of the result of the referendum tended to tap the public opinion more than they would have done it.

3.2.1.4. Solutions vs. Victory

This zero-sum game is considered with its outcome and the stress that might caused the conflict. The arguments are supported by using a selection of negative and threatening adverbs and adjectives:

On March 31, the emphasis is on turning into a one-sided win instead of emphasizing the win-win situation of both sides under the headline "*They will accept defeat or they will recognize the TRNC*" under the headline "*24.00 o'clock tonight*". Traditional journalism tends to present conflicts in a binary

context between two sides that could only have one winner and one loser. In that view, the parties would always and should only aim to 'win'. The media narrative of conflicts often turn into the description of a football match in which two sides struggle against each other and the public is expected to act as fanatical supporters. In the context of the Kardak crisis, the headline of 'We are superior' and also the Sabah newspaper's articles with the headlines "*Turkey Can Overwhelm Greece in 72 Hours*", 'They Will Accept Defeat' could be given as a good example of such war journalism in which there is a strong sense of nationalism and encouragement for engaging in an armed conflict. In such a propagandistic war journalism, the best outcome of the crisis is presented to the public as 'we' to win and 'they' to lose.

In this news item, the main message is based on an us-and-them binary and therefore, the argument of 'for one side to win the other needs to lose' is likely to have a negative impact on the public perception towards the peace process. Within such a perception the main risk factor is that the perception of 'any means to win' is legitimised, accepting the possibility of violence as one of the main possibilities of sorting out the crisis. However, such an approach would ignore the possibility of many diplomatic and peaceful ways of resolving the crisis and prevent such action from being undertaken by the parties. From the Peace Journalism perspective, there is not necessarily one winner in conflicts. Possible solutions that can provide all parties with opportunities to win in the long term are considered through the prism of peace journalism. In such a perspective, a win-win strategy seeks possible ways of resolving the conflict so that all parties could benefit from the outcome rather than placing the emphasis on a negative binary of 'for one side to win, the other side should lose'. Overall, peace journalism could help the public to understand the importance of not focussing on a single 'victory' as the outcome of peace negotiations and implementation of a peace agreement, and therefore, the goal of peace journalism would be to explain how alternative approaches to the conflict could provide different resolutions to the problem.

On the other hand, in addition to such war journalism centred news items in regard to the Kardak and Cyprus crises, it is also possible to come across some positive examples which are more solution oriented. A good example for this would be the Hürriyet's news item entitled 'For the first time in 30 years' and Greek Prime Minister's statement, 'We want a solution. If we

don't agree here we make a call for reconciliation and agreement' indicate that from time to time the media also adopted a slightly more positive approach to the political crises concerned, and explored possibilities of peaceful resolutions. Some other examples for a more positive approach would be: O *Filelevtheros*, a Greek independent daily's news item "we have nothing to fear from the plan for a Cyprus solution, a plan we should face on the basis of a strategy and not emotionally." or *Alithia*, a Greek daily, saying that this plan is "a historic development". Its editorial refers approvingly to the plan to hold a referendum, saying: "The last say for the acceptance or rejection of the result of the negotiations belongs to the people of Cyprus".

(Cyprus Papers Divided Over Annan Plan, 12.10.2002, BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/2453449.stm>, 23.10.2017)

3.2.1.5. Language

The presence of words which might encourage violence could easily escalate the visible effects of the conflict. Using victimizing and emotive language might fury the each sides demonstrators frustrations. Demonizing terms like "terrorist," "extremist," "fanatic" and "fundamentalist" create a diversive atmosphere by "us" to "them". Such terms are clear indicators of judgmental look which a peace journalist should avoid of. They also mean the person is not reasonable, so it seems to try to negotiate with them is likely impossible. To make news by building through emotional language, over electrifying nouns like 'bloodshed', 'revenge' and 'outrage' or use expressions refer to that might create a very fragile atmosphere on people make them angry and furious.

* The headline of Hürriyet is in the form of '*LAST NOTICE*' in big letters.

The choice of capital letters is kind of expression of shouting and warning. Readers might think if this last notice would not be considered then, peace will not be possible and war is the only solution.

* "*Brutal Provocation. The Turks Humiliated Us*"

By saying 'Turks humiliated us' is a kind of telling the readers how they should feel and try to direct their feelings. It describes one party's perspective of what another party has to be done. A peace journalist would give all the fact and let the readers make their decision about their feelings for themselves.

* "*The Tourkalades [pejorative for Turks] scallywags (...) the scoundrels*

Using adjectives like "vicious," "cruel," "brutal", "barbaric" or in a special one which can be create a vulnerability for others may create frustration and anger. This kind of emotive words may incite and inflame. To use this kind of terminology might help to legitimize an escalation of violence.

* *"They ask for new borders in the Aegean! The Turks start a slanging match"*

It is important to underline the expression of 'a slanging match' here by which a serious international border crisis is in a way downgraded to petty fighting between neighbours. The condescending attitude in this news item is primarily to reduce the significance the other side's concerns on the matter and therefore, questioning its reaction to the crisis.

In both Cyprus and Kardak crisis, almost all news items were presented with a high level nationalist perspective and in line with such an approach that the language used reflects this to a large extent. First of all, within the 'us and them' approach, the language used in the media during those crises tend to have racial undertones and heavily condescending the other side. For example, the expression of 'Rumlar' (this is plural of Rum rather than referring to Greek Cypriots as 'people') used for the Greek Cypriots by the Turkish media is perceived as an insult because of its strong historical connotation and the 'Turkish side' is deliberately used by the Greek media, again similarly as a weapon of insult to upset Cypriot Turks. As a positive alternative, the media on both sides could have adopted a more neutral and constructive language and refer to the people on both sides of the island as 'Turkish people' and 'Rum people'. The significance of this is that the selection of such terminology by the media tends to play a critical role on readers. The way that certain terminology used, cultural coding done or judgmental approaches made tend to create different perceptions and an unnecessary anger and resentment towards the peace process concerned. In the presentation of a conflict through peace journalism, the journalist should be able to present the dispute with its all angles by incorporating both sides' perceptions of it in a well balanced way and give voice to both sides even though s/he might be belong to one of those sides. A sensitive approach by the media and the language used becomes particularly important in nationalistic disputes as the case studies of this research. The use of emotional, provocative and nationalistic language by one of the sides might seem to be legitimising a similar usage of language by the other side's media,

but the principles of peace journalism would advocate a rational and conciliatory approach that would prevent the situation from becoming even more complicated and explosive.

This may not be always easy, as such journalists could be branded as treacherous, traitor or ignoring his/her country's national interests. Orhon and Dimitrakopoulou, in 'The Greek Media's Coverage of Turkey's Accession to the EU and Turkish Media's Striking Back' study which analyses Turkish and Greek media relations, argue that the 'other' may not necessarily be from the other side. They claim that the 'other' can also be one of 'us'. (Orhon and Dimitrakopoulou, 2009, <https://dimitrakopoulou.files.wordpress.com/2010/12/greek-media-s-coverage-of-turkey-s-accession-to-the-eu-full-paper.pdf>, 17.08.2017)

Katharina Hadjidimos refers to that situation as a different kind of 'hate speech'. She gives journalist Ricardos Someritis' letter as an example which is directed to the Athens Journalists' Union (ESIEA) (1999: pp. 6-7):

Many Greek journalists, mainly on radio and television, behave like soldiers in the front: they have chosen their camp, their uniform, their flag. If they are columnists, it is their right to do so. Nevertheless, how come that even the Patriarch is censored by many media?... All journalists with a point of view different from the dominant one or who dared offer the information that others refused to give are being threatened or humiliated.

Despite everything, there were journalists and columnists who became discreet and consensual. They invited the people and politicians to be calm by writing 'Let's be cool first', 'Playing with Fire'. After the Kardak crisis, Turkish and Greek journalists began to gather together to create common platforms among them. But it was not always easy, even sometimes failed. The opinions of journalist Haluk Şahin, on this subject are as follows:

After the Kardak Crisis in 1996, we came together as Turkish journalists and Greek journalists. At our first meeting, the meeting was mixed and dispersed because a Greek colleague who was disturbed by the content of a friend's speech. Then we understand that contact is not enough for communication. When we decided to recapture, we put a rule; Everyone would criticize their own media. We criticized the Turkish media, they criticized Greek media.

Then we look at it and we get along very well. We see that mutual recognition of each other is not a hostility but a friendship.

(cited in Akgul E., Örneklerle Çatışma Süreçlerinde Barış Gazeteciliği, Bianet, 19.04.2013

<https://bianet.org/bianet/yasam/145986-orneklerle-catisma-sureclerinde-baris-gazeteciligi>, 07.06.2017)

3.3. FINDINGS FROM INTERVIEWS

To understand the ideas and opinions of Turkish journalists about Peace Journalism and applicability of Peace Journalism in the Turkish media sector, a questionnaire was prepared, targeting 38 journalists who have been working in the media sector at least more than five years, but only 21 of them responded to the call. Many interviews were also made face-to-face by the visits their offices.

6 questions has been asked to journalists. These questions were prepared include whether journalists take responsibility for news outcomes, as well as the priorities they set when making the news, how they perceive the conceptual difference between being objective and being fair and to understand that as a journalist if they were aware of the role they had, in shaping the social structure.

These questions are;

- a. What priorities does the concept of Peace Journalism remind you of?
- b. Where should the ethical values be placed in relation to objective journalism, that is according to you, when making the news, is it the same to be 'impartial' and 'fair'?
- c. Should a journalist remain impartial while reporting a conflict?
- d. Do you prepare your reports by bearing in mind that you could be responsible for its possible consequences on social relations?
- e. As a journalist, do you think you might have a dividing or unifying role in society when you are reporting?

f. What do you think the reason is for the media coverage of war and conflict being much more than peace and reconciliation?

3.3.1. Analysis of Questionnaire Survey and Interviews

In this section, based on the responses to the questionnaire survey, the main approaches to Peace Journalism and their applicability in today's media environment are analyzed. The analysis of the responses shows that there is a wide range of approaches for the media's role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding processes, and they will be presented here in terms of responses to specific questions in the questionnaire survey. The main objective of this analysis will be to show how peace journalism is perceived and implemented when it is incorporated in the day to day reporting by the respondent journalists.

QUESTION 1: What are your opinions about the priorities of the concept of Peace Journalism?

Aim: The aim of the first question was to gauge what comes to the respondent's mind in relation to peace journalism. From that point of view that it tried to understand if peace journalism is a viable and applicable concept and approach for contemporary journalists and what obstacles might prevent the implementation of peace journalism. In other words, with this question, we tried to measure the impact of peace journalism in the sector

Table 7: Opinions About The Priorities Of Peace Journalism

Approaches	Number	Some highlights from the responds that collected as below;
I Agree with the Concept	10	<p>A6: It makes 'Peace Language' is a priority. You are working with the conscious that the focus is human and the importance of human. That's why you are in favor of the peaceful living of all humanity. This forces the journalists not to stand by a group or a community or the power but the advocate a humanitarian and egalitarian point of view. Of course the neutral press is a priority for this understanding. Otherwise, the system is forced to become a supporter of hard-style, hawk policies. In my opinion, "Peace journalism" is a professional understanding that focuses on people, parties, groups, not on the basis of business, but on the benefit of the people and aims to live in peace and contemporary standards.</p>
I Am Not Sure About the Concept	7	<p>A11: Since peace journalism is not something that is present in the todays media, it is difficult to answer a question like which concepts might come forward.</p> <p>A10: It reminds me of the great importance of the work that we are committed to, even though not all of us reporters have war and conflicts as our work arena. I think the focus on conflicts/hard news in general often is very massive compared to the focus on peace and "happy stories". We seem to have the idea (maybe for good reason) that dramatic headlines get more attention from the readers/viewers. But maybe it has to be like that, because the public relies on truth seeking media to cover all the aspects of a critical situation, war or another conflict. So when you ask about priorities, I think it is the most urgent news coverage that gets priority in a constantly pressured media society.</p>

I Don't Agree with the Concept	4	A14: The concept of peace journalism is a false concept. The journalist is undoubtedly peaceful and by the side of peace. He can defend peace but never ignore the fact that he has caught up for the sake of peace. Because the first and constant task of the journalist is to announce the truths to readers.
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Analysis: Responses to the first question which underline different approaches to Peace Journalism presented a broad range of different priorities and differences in the understanding of Peace Journalism amongst the participants. It is important to note that although some respondents considered Peace Journalism highly significant and meaningful for their work, there were also those who perceived peace journalism from a negative lens. For example, one of the respondents pointed out that the concepts such as reconciliation, constructive or peace journalism should not be part of the overall journalism mission. The respondent concerned states that 'For me to make any activity that I gain a financial benefit sacred is not a right thing to do, and obviously, this includes journalism.' In a wider sense, this argument urges us to consider the overall meaning of journalism and what kind of occupation it is. As the respondent underlined, it is possible to question whether such roles as mediation, conflict prevention or peacebuilding are really part of journalism. For such concerns, it is important to remember what Samuel Peleg rightly points out: 'Preventing a conflict from escalating and diverting it from a destructive to a constructive path is not merely a journalist's job, everyone's job.' (cited in Youngblood, 2016: p.72) In other words, the ultimate goal should be such objectives becoming much more mainstream in our lives, and not only considered as part of journalism.

When we look at the demographic information of the interview survey, it is possible to say that those who find Peace Journalism unnecessary and even dangerous are relatively older journalists. From their responses it seems that they tend to stick the old interpretations coming from the traditional approaches to journalism. To unpack this further, it could be argued that the readiness to reject the concepts of Peace Journalism and constructive communication might be to do with the fear of new means and ways of journalism and difficulties in adapting such trends.

From the responses, the strongest argument against Peace Journalism was around the concern of risking the truth by adhering to peace journalism or the sake of peace. With this concern, it seems that the main argument is in relation to the journalist's role in proclaiming the truth to readers. The responses show a certain level of anxiety around the risk with the way that the principles and objectives of peace journalism and constructive publishing could damage the factual reporting.

From such a rejectionist behavior we observed in responses of the survey and the way that some journalists show a high level of resistance to Peace Journalism, it is clear that for it to become mainstream and applied widely in the media sector, a significant effort will yet need to be made. In relation to this a number of other emerging trends should also be considered. For example, in our contemporary world as a result of technological advancements in the fields of communication and media, publishing is no longer in the control of certain institutions and individuals. In fact, the decentralization of publishing world where every individual with access to Facebook or Twitter could actually become a 'journalist' has meant that a rethinking of what journalism is all about and as an occupation what responsibilities and tasks it should entail is now an urgent necessity.

The practice of journalism in the absence of adhering to the considerations of peace, conciliation and constructive relationships, as shown through different examples presented in the literature review, does not perhaps cause violence directly, but it tends to legitimize and ease the use of violence for destruction and death. The over-presence of negative and destructive of news in the media also creates a sense of numbness for violence in the public, contributing towards an attitude of complacency to take action to prevent it. In other words, it is necessary to acknowledge that the conventional journalism does not realise that by not adopting the principles of peace journalism it faces the risk of contributing to an environment of violence, even this is done completely unintentionally and indirectly.

QUESTION 2: Where should the ethical values be placed in relation to objective journalism, that is according to you, when making the news, is it the same to be 'impartial' and 'fair'?

Aim: In this question, while the meaning of being impartial and fair was questioned, their relation to being objective was also explored. Objectivity is

one of the main aspects of journalism of all times. The meaning of being objective according to Merriam and Webster, which is one of the most trusted dictionary more than 150 years, is about "expressing or dealing with facts or conditions as perceived, without distortions by personal feelings, prejudices, or interpretations". In other words, with this question, how journalists position such concepts as impartiality and fairness in their day-to-day jobs is investigated. (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/objective> , 25.09.2017)

Table 8: Ethical Values Of Being Objective When Making News

Approaches	Number	Some highlights from the responds that collected as below;
Same	10	<p>A9: If being impartial and fair would accepted synonymous when making news, I think that there won't be much debate or quarrels in the media. When you are making the news, I think that if you always keep the ethical values in mind, the work you do is different from the others.</p> <p>A5: A journalist must never sacrifice ethical values when making and writing news. He must adhere strictly to the principles and rules of journalism. The indispensability of these principles and rules is to be impartial and fair.</p>
I Am Not Sure	6	<p>A11: On the basis of respect and empathy, efforts to publicly listen to issues, discover concrete solutions for public interest, research and analyze are indispensable elements of objective journalism. You can create ethical values as a sum of these concepts. The rise of science and cognitive values in the age of information society narrows the gap between impartiality and the concept of justice. The fact</p>

		<p>that in the light of science, in the interests of the masses, and in a conscience-based manner, the journalist opens the way to be fair when impartial.</p>
Not Same	5	<p>A14: Objectivity can be very hard to achieve completely, but it is important to strive to be as objective as possible. I went to a conference with the Pulitzer awarded American journalist Carl Bernstein a few years ago, and he said something that has been some kind of a mantra for me since: "Journalism is the best available version of the truth". I think that covers the most important thing that a reporter needs to strive for – finding the truth and present it the best way possible. Bernstein also quoted another famous reporter, Ben Bradlee, who has one secret rule: "Never assume anything". And that is so true. If we are not objective, I think we try to find the truth that we assume to be the truth. I have very often learned my lesson when it comes to that. If I try to put my own feelings and ideas aside, most of the people and areas I write about, end up surprising me – one way or the other. So being objective and impartial is crucial when it comes to really uncovering the truth. But I don't think "impartial" and "fair" is the exact same thing, though. I think you can use your common sense and gut feeling by sometimes protect people from themselves. You can still be impartial, but when necessary, you can use your human</p>

		knowledge to prevent unnecessary harm.
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Analysis: When we look at the responses, there seems to be an overall consensus over the necessity of incorporating all these values in journalism. However, it should also be noted that there are also different opinions about the conceptual relationship between them. Some respondents argue that the concepts of fairness and impartiality are definitely the same and that if they are perceived as such, many problems would be solved in journalism. On the other hand, there are also journalists who think that these concepts are very different from each other and refer to knowledge, morality and conscientious humanitarian values for the reduction of the distinction between them. It is emphasised that impartiality does not always provide justice, which can sometimes be an obstacle to the realisation of the facts.

A number of respondents also underlined the importance of not being impartial for journalists sometimes, but remaining fair at all times. Based on this argument it is clear that for those journalists who underline the concept of objectivity via fairness, the moral values are a must in such a context. In other words, despite of the overall agreement amongst respondents for the importance of such concepts for journalism in general, there seems to be a wide range of differences in the way they are understood and put in practice by different respondents. Dean and Rosenstiel in their article 'The Lost Meaning of Objectivity', describe the main aspect of objectivity 'a transparent approach to evidence' which isolate from the personal and cultural prejudices. They claimed that a journalist might not be objective, but the praction of journalism should be objective.. To be successfully doing that, journalists need to be undertake a deliberate effort. (Dean and Rosenstiel, The Lost Meaning of Objectivity, 2015, American Press Institute, <https://www.americanpressinstitute.org/journalism-essentials/bias->

objectivity/lost-meaning-objectivity/, 15.04.2017)

It is also important to acknowledge that journalists as human beings come from a particular background defined by their class, education, and socio-economic and political affiliations. Subsequently, they clearly represent a particular outlook to life and perception of certain values, concepts and principles. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind the fact that nobody including journalists could be completely bias free. Based on their demographics and socio-economic characteristics that journalists would be engaging in their news making process. In such a context, a journalist would be making choices which could be sometimes conscious but often unconscious about how a particular news item is defined, structured and presented. In other words, it is imperative to recognise that when journalists insist on their objectivity, they in fact, make such a claim on the basis of ignoring an important fact, and that is they actually cannot be completely objective. When the responses to this question were investigated, it is clear to see that the concepts of fairness and objectivity had not often been clearly defined by the respondents. There is also a lack of understanding about what is referenced in the interpretation of such concepts. What this means is that the way those most frequently used concepts in journalism are in fact so much based on personal interpretations is a clear indicator of possible problems with the legitimacy of news and their overall objectivity and fairness.

QUESTION 3: Should a journalist remain impartial while reporting a conflict?

Aim: The third question was about whether journalists should be impartial when making news. As impartiality in reporting could easily be distorted by simply ignoring or exaggerating certain characteristics and facts about that particular context, context and actors, the process of conflict reporting is open to easy biases as each conflict represents particular set of political views, values and approaches.

Table 9: Being Impartial While Reporting Conflict

Approaches	Number	Some highlights from the responds that collected as below;
Yes	19	<p>A4: It should definitely stay, but in today's journalism understanding (except for exceptions) this unfortunately does not seem possible. When reporting on a person or an institution, it often seems that the phenomenon is being attempted by the sensational without empathizing, regardless of the situation on the other side.</p> <p>A8: The journalist should accurately and impartially reflect the incident he or she is facing. This is the unchangeable principle and the rule for him.</p> <p>A16: I think all reporters must strive to be impartial while reporting any kind of conflict. But – that does not mean that the reporters don't have responsibility by finding and uncovering stories that they feel strongly for. We reporters are also human, and we do right in digging into what we feel is injustice, criminal or in another way critic worthy. That said – when we start to work on the topic, we must “never assume”, but find “the best available version of the truth” by studying all sides and aspects with the same sceptic eye.</p>

Not Sure		
No	2	A14: It would be correct even though with not to know the content of the report, but to act on the understanding that the journalist's side is the people's side. The point here is that the disclosure of the report is very fragile. This sensitivity is not political, economic or ethical balances, but rather the journalist's knowledge and conscientious approach. It must be the thoughtful front-line that the people should know the facts if they do.

Analysis: There seems to be an overall assumption in journalism that being impartial would mean being on the side of people and societies, and this creates a blasé attitude about impartiality without an urgency of checking and monitoring whether that is really the case. This is largely because such an assumption prevents journalists from having a deliberate approach of clarifying with what values that they claim to have impartiality in their news making process. When it comes to conflict reporting, some of the respondents pointed out that in today's media there is a deliberate attempt of ignoring certain aspects of that particular phenomenon or context for the benefit of sensationalism, which lacks of any sense of empathy in regard to the real issues and challenges experienced by conflict affected communities and individuals. This particular approach, which is one of the weakest points of traditional journalism, represents a completely contrary understanding to peace journalism.

Impartiality demands that all sides and opinions on that particular conflict should be listened to and incorporated in the development of that news item concerned. Moreover, one of the respondents claims that a journalist would not need to be impartial in making news, and in fact, it is pointed out that such a process should allow the presentation of the journalist's own views and opinions. According to this respondent, it is not impartiality that really matters, but it is fairness. However, even journalists would reflect their anger, sadness

or disapproval in their news making, these should not be used in the legitimisation of the content of the news concerned in any shape and form. In other words, although there is no need for the journalist to be impartial, there is a requirement for the presentation of the news in an impartial way. Even in such cases where the realities within the news item would oppose the journalist's own beliefs and opinions, the ability of presenting it in independence from such personal judgements is probably one of the main challenges of journalism.

As discussed above, considering that journalists are products of their own socio-economic and demographic characteristics and backgrounds, impartiality in news making could only be achieved through a deliberate awareness and practice, and this in fact, forms the main principle of constructive reporting and peace journalism. From this argument it can be concluded that the impartiality of news could only be ensured by incorporating different evidence and opinions in regard to that particular phenomenon or context, but not simply relying on the journalist's own views and perceptions. By presenting the news in an impartial way, readers would be able to make their own opinion on that particular case, and this could even be completely different than what the journalist might have had in mind in its preparation.

QUESTION 4: Do you prepare your reports by bearing in mind that you could be responsible for its possible consequences on social relations?

Aim: The fourth question was to elaborate whether journalists are aware of the responsibilities in regard to the consequences of their news could have on societal relationships. This is a particular urgent and significant issue in conflict affected contexts where communities might be deeply divided and the media reporting could easily worsen such damaged relations further. With this question, the awareness of respondents in regard to the way that they could manipulate the public opinion was investigated. By bearing in mind that journalism and the media in general, could play a significant role in the public opinion formation, the overall objective with this question was to understand to what extent journalists really consider this in their reporting.

Table 10: Awareness of Responsibility

Approaches	Number	Some highlights from the responds that collected as below;
Yes	21	<p>A9: Yeah. Reflecting the truth, investigating details, evaluating possible outcomes, and acting with conscientious censorship are not part of auto censorship, but are part of professional ethics.</p> <p>A17: The reader comments underneath the news you make, actually give the clearest answer to this question. Even the title and the spot you throw in even the slightest public order (page 3) can be very important. When people read what they read, like their family, or their behaviors towards the movements of a person close to the social circle, psychologically integrate himself / herself with the person in question. This can lead to very poor results for this person. With given the names of people in the news about suicide, rape or murder, coded, closing details as much as possible, using plain and simple language with the reader, you are making a perfect news.</p> <p>A19 Journalist should consider the social balances as well as the obligation to comply with the principles and rules of the profession when writing the news. This understanding is the conscientious responsibility of the journalist. In particular, journalists working in a mass journal such as Hürriyet, should not forget their responsibility to take care of social balances.</p> <p>A21: I always think about that. And that is why</p>

		I strive very hard to be fair, even though I work on a critical story. If I shall be able to sleep well at night, I have to make sure that I have done my absolute best. It can be very tempting sometimes to write things just for the “good headline”, but if I don’t feel comfortable with my coverage, I know I have made a mistake. It is worthless for me to have the most read story, if I know that I have pushed the wrong buttons or crossed an unnecessary line. I need to be fearless in the truth seeking process, but I still don’t have to write everything I know – if I feel that it will cause unnecessary damage.
Not Sure		
No		

Analysis: The responses to this question point out that journalists are overall, quite sensitive to social balances. The notion that stands out constantly is the concept of conscientious responsibility. A number of issues and requirements for this were particularly underlined by most respondents such as the significance of investigating the facts better, paying a particular attention to the importance of not disturbing sensitive societal balances and in order to achieve this, the need for presenting the contexts and issues concerned in a holistic manner with all of their main characteristics.

One of the respondents points out that especially with the crime reporting the need for paying a particular attention to the way the news item is presented could be particularly important. It is possible that the news concerned could create a sense of familiarity with the particular circumstances of the reader,

which might have some implications at the psychological level if they start to internalise the crime and the way it was carried out. With such an awareness, it is important to question the way that some rape and murder news are presented, and how much details have been included in the description of what happened. It is also important to bear in mind that the way that such crimes are reported could easily create a wave of public reaction, endangering the lives and well being of people who are accused of carrying them out and therefore, there should be a serious consideration to the moral responsibility with the consequences of such reporting.

Meanwhile, the responses indicate an interesting issue with reporting around the difficulties of avoiding sensationalism, because there seems to be a clear demand for big headlines for high ratings in the media. It should be borne in mind that in the contemporary media the need for higher ratings or readership, there could be a tendency for presenting a particular news in a certain way. Obviously, it is not always easy to assess what implications such reporting might have at the societal level. As we know, in the written media it is often the case that only the headlines are read but not the main content, and with that in mind, there is an extra level of responsibility for the way each news item is actually packaged and presented. To avoid possible negative consequences at the societal level, it is important that as the literature review has also pointed out, the power of the media in the formation of public opinion and the way this could sometimes be highly negative for societal relationships should be reminded to journalists frequently.

QUESTION 5: As a journalist, do you think you might have a dividing or unifying role in society when you are reporting?

Aim: Investigating the role of journalists in terms of the way that their reports could have an impact on societal relationships as being unifying or dividing was the main focus of this question. More importantly, with this question the questionnaire survey tried to understand if the respondent journalists are aware of their power in shaping public perceptions through their news, articles or reports.

Table 11: Consideration On Being Dividing Or Unifying When Making News

Approaches	Number	Some highlights from the responds that collected as below;
Yes	15	<p>A7: It should also be remembered that journalists need to think about the separating and unifying influence of society on society.</p> <p>A15: I never want to have a dividing role. But sometimes I have to work on a story that has to very separate parts. In that case I have to present those to aspects for my readers and help them see what is in the center of the conflict. At the same time it is not my job to be unifying. I still feel that unity is the most important thing in a society/country/family, so I always try to have in mind that I will not try to create conflict just to stir up a mess – when it is not important.</p> <p>A1: If you are looking at news from only one direction in the news language you are using, you may be a parser, but if you are using the same two cuts, you will be unifying. The important point here is what the journalist wants to do.</p>
Not Sure	6	<p>A18: I think that we take on such a role from time to time by trying to make peace language prevalent, by rejecting parsing and divisive approaches. But since the news is a reflection of the truth, I can say in comments or in articles that I pay more attention to this element.</p>
No		

Analysis: The responses show that there should be a clear distinction between news items and articles in newspapers and the way they should deal with the objectives of impartiality and objectivity. The respondents make this distinction as follows: while the news or reporting is a direct reflection of the facts in regard to a particular situation, they can add their own comments, views and opinions in their articles. In general, it can be said that there is a sense of responsibility in regard to this particular matter. On the other hand, one of the respondents points out that although s/he has a clear awareness around the possible dividing or connecting impact of his/her news items, rather than paying so much attention to this point, in reporting his/her objective is to present the facts in most accurate way possible. In other words, if the reporting of facts in an accurate way has an impact on the society, and even if it creates divisions, those journalists think that it is beyond their responsibility. They seem to place their priority on the requirement of reporting in the most accurate way possible, and that is where their role as journalists ends. Some of the respondents are particular anxious about the possibility that trying to control the possible negative or positive implications of their news items on the societal relations would have an impact on the accuracy requirement in reporting. Therefore, it is very important to underline that although this might seem to be one of the main handicaps of Peace Journalism, in fact what peace journalism aims to achieve is the completely opposite.

Peace journalists do not distort facts and they care about the accuracy principle in their reporting any less. Moreover, peace journalism is also accused of trying to create peace artificially or from nothing, which is again something that peace journalism ever aims or even could possibly do. However, what is clear that such criticisms are often founded on the misunderstanding of what peace journalism is all about and what tries to achieve. In short, Peace Journalism also agrees that all facts should be presented accurately as they are, but it also aims to avoid any sensationalism. Moreover, Peace Journalism also questions whose facts or truths are presented or prioritised and according to what, and this makes it stand out from traditional reporting. This is what Peace Journalism could bring as an added value to a more effective and purposeful reporting as well as protecting the very principle of good journalism around presenting the facts accurately.

QUESTION 6: What do you think the reason is for the media coverage of war and conflict being much more than peace and reconciliation?

Aim: This question explored the reasons why war and conflict news are more prominent than peace and reconciliation news. Indirectly, this question tries to understand to what extent that journalists are aware of the climate of aggression and negativity in reporting, which is a dominant trend in today's media. Another point that this question aims to gauge is to elaborate whether journalists feel any responsibility in such outcomes.

Table 12: The Reason For Dominance Of War News Then Peace News

Approaches	Number	Some highlights from the responds that collected as below;
Because of Audiences/Readers	9	A2: Unfortunately, the biggest reason for this is the mass of the reader. To give a very simple example, when you report conflict anywhere, the reading rating of this news is very high, while the consensus or peaceful meeting between two tribes living in the eastern region is hardly of interest to the reader. Because of this, this type of news is not very popular in the written media or digital media and it can not be seen easily...

Because of Media	5	<p>A7: I think that all the conflicts in a country and in the world are so urgent to cover, that it gets the priority. We know that even though we like to believe that the hard news get more attention, happy stories are very popular. So every news company should strive to find a balance. The public need more than war and conflicts. But with all the medias losing money, and because of that must reduce their staffs, there is not enough people to cover all that we wish we could. And the effect of social media, is that people get so many news very fast from all over the world, so the pressure on traditional media to cover more and more, is extreme.</p>
Other Reasons	7	<p>A11: Since war and terror are the dominant force in the world, there is not much in the way of journalists.</p> <p>A20: The primary reason is the world conjuncture. The world builds on industry and economic-oriented development, based on a new era of exploitation. There are no colonial countries in this sense, instead they have the objectives of obtaining and operating strategic resources such as energy, mining and water. Freedom of the press is also crushed under these hawk approaches and can find its place as a party in the new world perception.</p>

Analysis: The prominent opinion in most responses that, because readers tend to show much more interest in certain types news with characteristics of sensationalism, journalists feel obliged to make such news. The respondents pointed out that most readers tend to be more interested in the news of disasters, armed conflicts and negative examples of social relations. They underline the fact that media organisations are often responsible for their finances and profits, and because of that they need to

bear in mind the particular interests of their readers and preferences in what types of news they seem to pay more attention. This picture becomes particularly complicated as most media organisations depend on their income from advertising, and companies would like to advertise in newspapers with high ratings. In order to ensure high ratings, then media organisations tend to find themselves in a situation where they go for a more sensational style of reporting.

On the other hand, in the contemporary media discourse the relationship between viewers/readers and media is one of the mostly debated issues. The directors of media companies that tend to use low quality, superficial, violent content in their programmes often defend themselves by arguing that this is exactly what their audiences and readers would like to see and read. Moreover, they also point out that there is actually no responsibility for the media to educate the public or provide different point of views, and what they do is actually a natural reflection of the culture that surrounds them. Such views were also strongly visible in the responses to the questionnaire survey.

Some responses also argued that as long as there are wars and terrorism in the world, then there would be news about them. Also, in order to see a particular change in the style of reporting there should be similar changes in the wider cultural dynamics in that society. In other words, according to some respondent this is like a cycle that cannot be avoided and there is nothing that journalists can do about it. They seem to believe that journalism has no capability or power to influence the society in a better way. This view places journalists in a passive and inactive position. This understanding, while supporting the belief that journalists have no responsibility for the social structure, structuring and evolution of the society, assumes journalists as simple pawns or puppets of the current political system and culture.

This assumption is also what Peace Journalism responds to strongly as a key principle, because of its value around the role that journalists could play in the resolution of conflicts and peacebuilding. In fact, neither the practice of peace journalism nor academics working in this area claim such a notion as solving the world problems. On the other hand, Peace Journalism is very much interested in the way that the media culture has an impact on societal relations, and therefore, the significance of not ignoring such an impact and need of taking responsibility for it. Just that the immediate socio-cultural environment

is aggressive, violent laden and conflictual, journalists should not develop counter strategies for them and provide alternatives of conciliatory, positive and peaceful angles in their reporting for their readers and viewers.



DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

DISCUSSION

It is important to remember that in the relationship between the media and conflictual, aggressive culture, the dynamics of influence tend to be effective in both ways. In other words, the media cannot and should not deny its own role in contributing to the emergence of such violent conditions in the society. It is at this point that Peace Journalism takes the responsibility of doing its own part in changing the direction and dynamics of such change and transformation in a best way possible. In doing this rather than adopting an attitude of a top-down advisor or ombudsman approach, peace journalism aims to present alternative angles, perceptions and solutions through investigative journalism, which might otherwise be ignored because of the stress and blindness created by a culture of violence and aggressiveness.

A number of recent studies show that rather than what traditional journalism defends as means of interpretations, approaches presented by Peace Journalism tend to find wider acceptance. Steve Youngblood argues that good journalism and not just peace journalism, has always understood its responsibility to lead, and not just follow (Youngblood, 2016: p.74), and Jack Lynch refers to a study that he undertook with Anna McGoldrick in the Park University's 'The Peace Journalist Magazine', stating that readers/viewers now tend to prefer news that have been prepared within the principles of peace journalism. The study by Lynch and McGoldrick, focussed on the four countries of Australia, the Philippines, South Africa and Mexico; produced a total of 42 television news packages (two versions each of 21 stories) and played them to over 550 participants. In each country, a big social event was presented in both traditional/war and constructive/peace journalism approaches to readers and their reactions were observed in this study. It is interesting to note that in all four countries the constructive approach was appreciated a lot more than war journalism by the participants. Therefore, Lynch argues that those media organisations claiming all they do is to give what their readers/viewers want should in fact, start to make more conciliatory and constructive news towards peaceful relationships. As a result of such findings, Youngblood argues that peace journalism defenders should argue that traditional/war news media actually do not give audiences what they want,

because what they really want, as demonstrated by these studies, is Peace Journalism (Youngblood, 2016: pp.73 – 76).

In relation to the way some media companies defend their war journalism approach and hence not being able to adopt the peace journalism principles as a result of their financial concerns, which were also observed in the questionnaire survey of this study, Jack Lynch in his article entitled 'Peace Journalism Works' urges non profit organisations to increase their work in the field of peace journalism. He argues that as it is now a proven fact that readers/audiences would like to read and see constructive reporting, then there is a responsibility for NGOs to take a more active role in this area in the name of creating more peaceful societies (Lynch, 2012: p.3).

When we look at the recent history, we can find many conflicts and wars across the world that were influenced by the media, as for example, it was used as a true propaganda tool by the Nazi Germany before and during the Second World War and the Rwandan Genocide, the disintegration of former Yugoslavia or in such recent contexts like Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria. As we observed in the case studies of this study, media has a crucial role on the set the tone of conflicts and wars.

When all these events are examined, it could be seen that in the situation of conflict and war situations, the media is often used for the purpose of creating an environment of violence and the war journalism is applied consciously. When we look at the example of Rwanda, we see that radios, which has a significant impact on the African people, made broadcastings promoting polarisation and negative tensions between the Tutsis and Hutu tribes. They tried to foster the fear by telling that the other was ready for attack and would destroy them, and also trying to facilitate the massacre by saying that their enemies were rats and cockroaches, and not human beings. Even one of the radios clearly expressed the genocide by using the terms for a "final war" to "exterminate the cockroaches." (The Impact of Hate Media in Rwanda, By Russell Smith, BBC News Online Africa editor). It is also known that hate broadcasts on Serbian and Croatian televisions were supporting and provoking violence in Bosnia. (Spicer K. 1994, <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/12/10/opinion/propaganda-for-peace.html>, 10.01.2018)

A similar situation was also experienced in Kenya during elections. In 2008, 800 people were killed and 250,000 were forced to displace from their

homes as a result of the post-election violence. Hate-filled radio broadcasts played a very strong role to create a turmoil and helped to provoke tribal violence. Tribal language broadcasts urged listeners to “take out the weeds in our midst” and referred to other tribes as “animals from the west” who want to take over “our kingdom.” *“It has been thinly veiled, but it is clearly hate speech, and to a large extent the violence we’re seeing now can be attributed to that,”* (Kamanda Muchecke of the Kenyan National Commission on Human Rights told the London Daily Telegraph).

Since the media has been used in these and many other social conflicts, wars and polarisation situations, it is also possible to reverse this effect in a very efficient way in the context of social reconciliation and peace. That is why all the attackers, aggressors or those who want to create disagreements start their actions by destroying or capturing radio and TV stations of those societies concerned. In other words, the media plays a crucial role in shaping, perceiving, reacting, and publicising all social events and in the unbundling, polarising or integration of society. Therefore, it is clear that peace journalism, as argued in this dissertation so far, is only the right approach to use carefully and consciously in publishing and reporting, taking into account the size and importance of this role in terms of building peaceful societies and an environment of reconciliation.

CONCLUSION

This study was undertaken to understand the media's contribution to conflict resolution, peace and peacebuilding processes. Peace Journalism is a new concept and even its very key parameters have been emerging over the last couple of decades. It should also be noted that in the practice of conventional journalism, some journalists already internalise and practice the norms of Peace Journalism deliberately or simply out of good practice of journalism. However, the movement of Peace Journalism as explained in this dissertation, deals with the negative impacts of war journalism and tries to improve the appliance of journalism in a way that it would positively contribute to conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peacebuilding and reconciliation dynamics and experiences.

This study advocates that journalists who use a broad range of media from the printed and visual to social media should consider the impact of their work on peace and conflict dynamics through a constructive, reconciliatory and peacebuilding perspective. To achieve this, the dissertation focused on the two main questions:

- What is the role of media in conflict, conflict resolution, peace building processes and settlement of a sustainable peace?
- What is the journalists approach to Peace Journalism and could it be used in today's media sector in Turkey?

Therefore, this chapter will first, response to these questions by summarizing the main findings and then there will be a set of recommendations to improve the practice of Peace Journalism in the context of the Turkish printed media.

On the question of what role the media plays in peace and conflict environments, as shown in the literature review, both Peace and War Journalism tend to have significant impacts as a contributing factor in the formation of various dynamics and processes between different actors and stakeholders in both armed conflict and peace process environments. Peace Journalism tries to provide a more balanced, ethical and constructive approach in its reporting in order to avoid the worsening of perceptions

between the conflicting parties and/or between the public and conflicting parties. If it is in a post-conflict context, Peace Journalism then tries to strengthen the dynamics of peace building through its key reporting principles. In other words, Peace Journalism is not a passive undertaking of objective reporting, but in fact, it deliberately constructs its reporting to have a better understanding of root causes of the conflict, giving voice to the truth of all parties, avoidance of the dehumanization of warring sides and communities, or identification of commonalities and ways of living together between those parties. In other words, journalists have the influence over both division and unification of conflict affected societies as they could provide a dialectic construction between the parties and could become the voice of those who are normally voiceless in their communities because of their demographics, ethnicity, religion, class, caste or other socio-economic characteristics. In short, journalists can play an important role in shaping the prospects of peace or conditions of war in society with their constructive or destructive approaches. These issues were discussed extensively through the two main case studies in the previous chapter.

When we move on to the second question from this point of view, it should be considered how the media can be used in the transformation of society into a more peaceful and reconciliatory state. First, the media is not only has a great importance in influencing peace or war dynamics, it is also important for the peaceful life of the society, sustainability of such a peaceful environment and the progress and development of society with a constructive approach. In order to achieve this, journalists, publishers and editors working in the media sector may take Peace Journalism through adopting its key principles, internalizing the concept in a holistic manner and, if necessary, improve its practice through capacity building training programmes. What can be done in this regard is further addressed in the Recommendations section.

Second, journalists should try to explore the root causes of a conflict and determine the objectives of all sides, while remaining trustworthy that their reporting would provide dignity to those suffered from the conflict. Journalists should not try to manipulate the loss and suffering, but make sure that their reporting is fair and constructive, and furthermore, they should be aware of the fact that their news can easily be manipulated by politicians and warlords. Some other characteristics of this type reporting is to give voice to the

supporters of peace and reconciliation, and make them heard by masses. Seeking potential resolutions and being proactive to other tensions which might also turn into violence should also be at the core of peace journalism. The point of reference to be used by the media for peacebuilding purposes could engage different strategies such as:

- (1) Conflict-sensitive and peace journalism;
- (2) Peace-promoting entertainment media;
- (3) Media regulations to prevent the provocation of violence,
- (4) Peace-promoting citizen media
- (5) Constructive publishing
- (6) Solution-based journalism

Finally, as the literature review showed that media and journalism can be a great supporter in conflict management and peacebuilding. The media would not only be a good device in a wealthy and functional socio-economic and political environment, but also particularly needed for moral and responsible reporting to serve sustainability of peace and safety. The role of the media can be considered in two different directions; on the one side, the media reports and indicates on important matters and by doing this it can motivate to inquiry accepted concepts and ideas with biases. On the other side, as pointed out above, they can be used for propaganda intentions and instead of exposing the truths it could become a tool in curtailing people's freedom and right to information. With these two points in mind, the ability of the media in conflict and post-conflict situations involves a huge potential towards a positive and constructive direction but it has always been unfortunately under-utilised to realise its full potential for peacebuilding.

The second question of this study focused on how Turkish journalists approach to the peace journalism and on the applicability of Peace Journalism in the Turkish media. The following are the main conclusions that could be drawn from discussions based on the questionnaire survey undertaken as part of this research.:

It has been observed that there are different approaches for the media's role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding processes. However, it was noted with the results of the questionnaire survey with journalists that some of the respondents did not believe in the concept of Peace Journalism and its necessity. That is the indicator of the challenge that we face in the context of

contemporary media and how to establish Peace Journalism as a way forward to frame news in a constructive way. However, it is encouraging to know that especially in the last 30 years, there has been an increase in scientific studies as well as practice of Peace Journalism across the world.

From the questionnaire survey we know that Peace Journalism is not widely practiced in the Turkish media and there is a lack of comprehensive understanding of what it is, why it is important and what it could mean for a constructive and ethical journalism in the contexts of peace and conflict. For some journalists, 'there is no concept like Peace Journalism, but there is just journalism', and subsequently such a mind set which is unfortunately, very prominent in the contemporary Turkish media, does not see the domino impact that their news tends to create. Consequently, this is a good indicator of the state of affairs when it comes to the practice of Peace Journalism in Turkey and the breadth of activities that needs to be covered. The Turkish media is only at the beginning of such a process with some early understanding of the importance of Peace Journalism, and probably the most significant reassurance that there are already a number of excellent practices carried out by different journalists, setting the example for way forward.

For this reason, it is important to return to the answers to the second question again and to start working in this direction by defining the forms of understanding that can and should be made by the media in this respect. The Recommendations section discusses what can be done for this purpose, and some of them will be addressing the need of how to improve the practice of Peace Journalism in the contemporary Turkish media.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Throughout the course of the study, a variety of recommendations have been compiled to better appreciate the media's role in resolving disputes and peacebuilding. Therefore, it is imperative that media professionals should understand and internalize the importance of each publication in relation to peaceful societal relations. For that purpose, there are some activities to improve the practice of journalism en route the peace journalism principles, but it is also important to note that they are sometimes taken worthwhile to consider. Although, the views on peace journalism seem to be quite divided and different from each other, it is anticipated that there is an increasing level

of interest for peace journalism amongst academics, which could be considered as a good indicator for more awareness and consciousness on those matters in the profession in the future. With this trend in mind, the following recommendations will be presented to outline the key responses that could be undertaken to address the gaps identified in the analysis of the previous chapter.

As it is shown in the Analysis section, the promotion of peace journalism could be done in three main areas. The first one is for journalism profession and journalists, the second one should target people and society, and the third is for civil society organisations.

Journalists and Journalism:

- 1) To add the concept of 'Peace Journalism' to the curriculum of all institutions that educate and train members of the media. To be able to convey the message that publishing is not merely reporting an event should lead to various changes in the journalism curriculum. With such a thought, journalism training should be the starting point for a new generation of journalists with a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of such a consciousness towards the impact of journalism on peace and conflict matters in the future. Such specific peace journalism training programmes can be added to the curriculum of journalism, communication and related fields at universities.
- 2) To organize short seminars and discussion meetings for the employees in the media sector at present, taking into account the opinions of experienced journalists in the media sector. The topic should be discussed with a brainstorming approach in order to incorporate different views and opinions on the matter. In this regard, assistance can be obtained from universities and academicians. Also, it is crucial to note that one of the main challenges in accomplishing this objective would likely to be around the self-righteous attitude that tends to be the norm in the media sector. This could be a significant barrier to remove in order to provide an enabling context for peace journalism in practice. The main hope with this is that there is already a significant number of journalists in support of peace journalism, and the key objective therefore, should be collating and supporting their voice and activities for this objective. With this purpose that working with academics could be an appropriate way forward, as this would bring new opportunities

and horizons in dealing with the protracted views of how journalism is all about just reporting without giving much consideration to its consequences.

- 3) To provide further training opportunities in peace journalism and constructive publishing in terms of organizing short courses, seminars and conferences in the subjects of Conflict Resolution, Peace Building, Confidence Building, Effective Communication and Coping with Differences, which are yet to be fully understood in Turkey. The activities should be undertaken to ensure that these issues come to the table more often and can provide a better platform for society's consciousness and memory. It should be emphasized that all these approaches are not merely for war or disagreement situations, but also they should be considered important in the natural functioning of the society and that there is always a need to strive for the preservation of social peace. In this sense, raising the awareness of these issues should be a priority so that individuals would look at every aspect of life from this vision.

People and Society:

- 4) To provide appropriate information on peace journalism to young people during their high school education, as nowadays every individual who uses social media in fact, becomes a publisher. Therefore, training programmes can be given at high schools for this purpose, as most adolescents tend to share their lives, their surroundings, their challenges with the outside world through the means of social media without a full understanding of their impact through such reporting at individual level. Through such training opportunities that they should realize the power that they have to shape society both in a positive or negative way, and emphasize the importance of sharing news with the consciousness of peace journalism.
- 5) To reconsider Media Literacy for readers through Peace Journalism and Constructive Broadcasting principles should be another area of priority. Media literacy, which has gained importance recently, aims to raise awareness on the media's influence on public. Being aware of the power of the news on forming societal and political opinions, this approach aims to unpack how the media news should be read and perceived through logic and consciousness by adding the norms of Peace Journalism and Constructive Broadcasting. The main objective with this should be to show readers how they could actually be told the same news more positively and constructively without risking the possibility of reporting the facts, but how this could make a more effective

contribution to the dynamics of peacebuilding and conflict resolution.

- 6) To create a greater interest in such topics, competitions and scholarship programs on Peace, Peace Journalism and Constructive Broadcasting could be organized. Such awards and bursaries could also be added to other types of competitions in the areas of arts and sports. In this way, the message of peace could be mainstreamed and there could be a wider awareness of such issues as peace journalism, peace studies and constructive communication and media. More importantly, such messages could be incorporated in popular programmes on TV in order to reach to much wider audiences.

Civil Society Organisations:

- 7) Civil Society Organizations could play a significant facilitation role in developing awareness around peace journalism principles. They could also monitor the local media, and if there is any kind of news which involves aggression, belligerence or discrimination, NGOs can warn editors, writers, reporters or journalists about the possible consequences of such reporting on societal relationships. To create this awareness though, it is important to start to raise such awareness amongst NGOs themselves by providing them with appropriate information on the importance of peace journalism. It is following this that how they could act in checks and monitoring of what is being reported and how in the local media could be discussed with them directly. NGOs could be provided with the contact details of media organisations so that they could express their dissatisfactions in the cases of blatant, divisive war journalism and also to encourage the media to undertake a conciliatory, peaceful and constructive approach in their broadcasting and publishing. More importantly, NGOs could be encouraged to form a Media Monitoring Committee and made sure that such a role becomes an integral part of their services to the public.
- 8) It is also important to see a significant increase in the level of NGOs' direct engagement in peace journalism and in fact, some of them could take up peace journalism as an activity. If professional media companies cannot change their ways of reporting, as claimed and argued by them, then it is important that civil society organisations show much greater interest in peace journalism. They could be reminded that as part of their main financial resources from private donors, sponsorship from companies and fees from their members, they also have the responsibility of guiding the society through

more positive media approaches. To achieve this, it will be imperative that NGOs should be provided with opportunities of awareness raising and appropriate training.



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