



PEACE JOURNALISM HANDBOOK

Sevda Alankuř

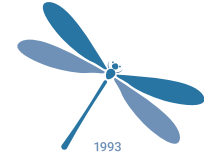
translated by Tolga Korkut



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34430, Beyoğlu, İstanbul

Tel: +90 212 251 1503

Faks: +90 212 251 1609

e-mail: bia@bianet.org

website: www.bianet.org

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Sevda Alankuş

Training Advisor for BIA (Independent Communication Network), Dean of Kadir Has University's Faculty of Communications (Prof. Dr.). She graduated from Ankara University's Faculty of Political Science, completed her masters and doctorate degrees in the field of Political Science and Public Administration in the same university. She continued her academic studies in Leeds University from 1988-89. Between 1982-1999, she worked in Ege University and Ankara University as an academic member in the Faculties of Communications. She received her titles of associate professor and professor in the field of Communication Sciences. She founded the Communication and Research Center for Peace in the period when she was the dean of Eastern Mediterranean University's Faculty of Communication and Media Studies (1999-2008).

Since 1999, she has been the editor of IPS Foundation publications as the Training Advisor for the Independent Communication Network (BIA). Among her fields of research are alternative media, peace journalism, feminist media criticism.

Tolga Korkut

Worked as an editor, reporter, announcer and manager for various media groups in Turkey. He was an editor for bianet in the period 2005-2010. Translated several articles for bianet, Açık Radyo, National Geographic Türkiye. Translated film subtitles for Digiturk and various documentaries about ecology. His main fields of interest in journalism are human rights, labour rights, gender, discrimination, diversity, ecology, non-violence and non-violent communication, and peace journalism.

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Preface to A Peace Journalism Handbook

By Susan Dente Ross

While the date of conception of Peace Journalism is somewhat murky – as are many beginnings – it is clear today that the field has reached a robust and active maturity. Whether viewed as a challenging alternative to biased or pro-stasis mainstream journalism, as a broader and more balanced platform for myriad perspectives and viewpoints, as a “possibility of another kind of journalism” content and structure, or as an antidote to “negative” news focused on conflict, crime, and celebrity imbroglios, Peace Journalism stands upon the theory that the free flow of accurate information to the people from all corners of the world is the foundation of an informed citizenry and to fair and just systems of government.

In the past few decades, some have credited Peace Journalism (in partnership with the much-ballyhooed role of social media) with propelling the Arab Spring, supporting the non-violent struggle of Palestinians in the West Bank, and improving peace negotiations in Cyprus and elsewhere. But while the media clearly contribute to public attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge, the power of the news media (let alone the more specific combination of practices embraced by Peace Journalism) to initiate or alter group behavior and instigate or end mass violence is quite uncertain. Rather, the writers of this workbook and other advocates of Peace Journalism hope that Peace Journalism will enhance the ability of all – governors and

governed, worker and owner, female or male or transgendered – to better see themselves and their world in order to envision new roads toward justice and peace for all.

It is clear, then, that this review and handbook of Peace Journalism is timely. It is prescient to reconsider this field as the world faces unanticipated waves of “fake news,” the challenge of mass migrations, the evisceration or fraying of human rights around the globe, and elections that place increasing power in the hands of a few who wish to pull away from multinational alliances, increase the stigmatization of the Other, and swell a bellicose chorus of aggressive nationalism.

The intentional infusion of both feminist theory and rights-based journalism into this consideration of Peace Journalism offers a welcome clarification of several areas that have plagued the development of the field. First and foremost, it provides a much-needed critical basis for identifying and justifying why all perspectives and versions of events are not equally important. This volume’s clear focus on feminist theory and the critique of privilege embedded in traditional news narratives and in language itself – their structure, syntax, vocabulary, inflection, and blind spots – targets for reconsideration the traditional and systematic silencing, stigmatization, and disempowerment of women, yes, but also of identified “others” whose very existence might pose a challenge to established order. This book’s embrace of feminist theory urges Peace Journalism to act consciously and consistently as an antidote to the dominant rhetoric of a specific time and place by embracing the language of the Other.

Such a perspective of conscientious response to systematic exclusion or underrepresentation replaces the traditional journalist’s mantra of balance with a more specific and located idea of equity. At least half a century of research and experience now demonstrate how traditional journalism’s call for similar and balanced treatment of

competing perspectives produced narratives in which those relegated to the margins of power were allowed primarily to respond to the vision and interpretation of the powerful. In contrast, feminist theory calls upon communicators to allow the women, the people of color, the disfavored of every ilk to craft the central portrait and to ask those in power to respond by actively changing the conditions of this reality.

Whereas traditional journalism offered a formulaic approach to the work of reporters, feminist Peace Journalism offers no such simple, one-size-fits-all formula for newsgathering and reporting. Instead, a feminist practice is both highly nuanced and situational. It asks not that practitioners systematically favor the disfavored. Instead, it encourages journalists to both recognize and understand the myriad realities of life in any given community at a very particular time. To do this, those who report the news must endeavor to find and attend to precisely those individuals who do not have equal opportunity, access, or power in that specific situation and to assure that their voices are amplified sufficiently to expand the dialogue.

The complementary but quite distinct and less-established approach of rights-based journalism eschews traditional journalism’s focus on some imagined and idealistic “objectivity.” Here again, much research and practice have made clear that objectivity is a fiction that can as easily misguide as guide journalists toward effective and robust reporting. When we aim to be objective, we too often project our own experience and values into the events we report. We tend to see what is familiar as true and what is different or frightening as less credible. Given objectivity’s imperfection as a journalistic model, a rights focus encourages journalists to recognize their personal flaws and biases as well as the systematic influences of powerful elites and to work toward reporting that privileges fundamental rights above other values.

In this light, the role of a journalist goes beyond identifying and

reporting the facts toward careful and systematic scrutiny of how those facts undermine or support foundational human rights. Thus, a rights-based report on war would not focus exclusively, or even primarily, on the events between the combatants but would look beyond, around, and beneath those events to examine their ongoing impact on the people and their lives. In an active conflict, a rights-based journalist asks not, “Who is winning?” or “Who lost more lives?”, but “What is happening to the community?”, “How secure are the people?”, “Do the residents have access to food, water, shelter, and medical care?”, etc. In this way, a rights-based journalist illuminates the ways in which the exercise of military power is often oblivious to the rights to life and liberty of the people and highlights how war rarely affects those who chose to wage it but often (always?) devastates the bystanders who traditional journalists generally recognize only as unnamed “casualties.”

It is clear that each and all of these approaches to Peace Journalism present new challenges for practitioners. It is fair to say that each asks a great deal in the way of growth and introspection from adherents. Each encourages journalists to increase their ability to step outside their own experience, to become more self-aware and empathetic, to move beyond their circle of comfort to seek to embody other’s experiences, to overcome cultural, political, religious, ethnic and other barriers. This is a great deal to ask. Indeed, it may be too much to expect. And yet, while it is important to recognize that none of these approaches – Peace Journalism, feminist Peace Journalism, rights-based Peace Journalism, or some combination of them – is perfect, it is equally important to recognize the enormous benefits they can bring to our ability to understand, share, and grow together. It is important to support their development as an alternative and/or complement to traditional mainstream journalism.

This Peace Journalism Handbook takes a major step toward that support. It opens with a poignant reminder of the work of the IPS

Foundation and the ongoing events in Turkey and well beyond that propel its mission. It then provides a very brief overview of how the handbook came into being before touching upon some key documents on the principles and responsibilities of journalists. The heart of the handbook begins with a discussion of the nature of Peace Journalism: Why is it needed? What is it? How is it new or different? The handbook then turns to the specific application of Peace Journalism in Turkey before exploring how a rights-based approach and an embrace of feminist theory can enrich and expand the practice. This deep foundation establishes a springboard for more detailed and systematic scrutiny of how to practice Peace Journalism that encompasses the definition of what constitutes news; who and what are the sources to be relied upon; what values undergird and drive the practice; what structures and assumptions are encouraged; how a new language can improve our understanding; what can be done to work within the myriad challenges of active conflict or war; why photographs matter so much and how to improve the practice of photojournalism; and – to close – a review of why we need peace journalism and how you can help it grow.

This Peace Journalism Handbook makes an extremely valuable contribution to the field and to all of us. It can, and should, be read by every one of us. Every citizen everywhere on earth should use this new and encouraging critique of where, why, and how mainstream journalism has lost its way as a wake-up call to individual action and increased responsibility. We should bask in the light it sheds on how each of us can better consume, understand, and respond to the news narratives that shape our view of ourselves and the world in which we live. I hope we will not only read it but take its call to heart and act upon it.

Secondly, this book can, and should, be read by all those who today work as or train journalists. It offers an essential guide to better practices and more critical approaches to how those in the field view

and conduct your work. In some ways, this volume helps to place working journalists more solidly in the moment. It helps reduce the distance between the observer and the observed by putting our shared humanity and our common values and truths center stage. In this way, it can help journalists move away from zero-sum thinking toward a notion of a truly global common good.

Finally, because this handbook goes well beyond rich practical tips and how-to's, I hope it will evolve from a one-time read into the well-worn companion of every journalist in the field. When a working journalist faces self-doubt or unquestioning certainty about what is newsworthy or how to present the events she sees, this volume offers itself as that reliable friend who will always ask the necessary and pointed question to encourage her to act from her best self. I hope we all accept the challenge presented by this book. And I hope that we will each rise to meet it!

*Dr. Susan Dente Ross is professor of English, director of the Paxim Peace Research Group and Humanities Fellow at Washington State University. Leading international advocate for peace journalism, Dr. Ross has served as distinguished peace journalism fellow at universities in Canada, North Cyprus, Israel and Japan. She holds a PhD in media law from the University of Florida and a master of arts degree in journalism from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Her work is widely published in journals of communication, critical studies, law, mass media, peace studies and policy. Dr. Ross is co-author of a top-selling textbook on the Law of Journalism and Mass Communication (Trager, Ross, Reynolds, 2018), two other books, numerous chapters in collections, and scores of scholarly articles.

Preface: From the IPS Communication Foundation

By Nadire Mater

Now is the time for peace (Sabah), The Dolmabahçe agreement (Cumhuriyet), This is a call (Habertürk), Call for a farewell to arms (Yeni Şafak), The debate over laying down arms in the resolution process (Zaman), The laying down arms process (Birgün), Spring of peace (Star), 10 principles call (Özgür Gündem), Lay down arms (Vatan), Call for a farewell to arms (Taraf), The first joint declaration (Evrensel), 10 points of polemic (Bugün), Giant step to peace (Akşam), Historic call (Takvim), Good things are happening (Güneş), They drew arms against the republic (Aydınlık), Coalition for the presidency (Yurt), Historic day (Türkiye), Assurance of separation from AKP to PKK (Ortadoğu), Language of arms will end (Akit), Call to PKK to lay down arms (Milliyet)

Those newspapers with headlines generally reflecting the joy and good news of peace are dated March 2015. On February 28, 2015, members of the parliament from Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) Sırrı Süreyya Önder, Pervin Buldan and İdris Baluken met with Deputy Prime Minister Yalçın Akdoğan and Minister of the Interior Efkan Ala in Dolmabahçe Palace. The meeting called, "the Dolmabahçe Deal," was coded as "historic" the minute it was held. Kurdistan Workers' Party's (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan's 10-point letter was read. Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu said, "The process is settled on new grounds now. The language of violence and arms in Turkey will end and the way for democratic politics will be paved." President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan remarked on the importance of implementation.

During the hours that the Dolmabahçe meeting was held, we lost the

author Yaşar Kemal. The headline of daily *Hürriyet* was "May earth and sky cry" and the summary was as follows: "Yaşar Kemal endeavored a great deal for the resolution of the Kurdish question. The master author passed away on the day that a call was made to lay down arms within the resolution process".

We started the Peace Journalism Project in those days when these headlines were flying in the air. In the following days, as we read the "peace-oriented" news stories of newspapers, with a few exceptions, I remember how we mocked those among us asking whether our Peace Journalism book would be unnecessary, as we kept in mind how the editorial choices and perspectives of the media could transform according to the government.

After a few months had passed over those headlines, the media changed their position along with the government. In that one year, the massacres of Diyarbakır, Suruç, and Ankara occurred. Tahir Elçi, chair of the Diyarbakır Bar Association, was murdered. In the cities of Kurdistan, hundreds died, and people were shut inside in their homes or were displaced to homelessness. The media became more polarized; with media's contribution, society did too.

As long as wars, armed conflicts, and the numerous antagonisms in all areas of life prevail in this country and in the close or remote corners of the earth, journalism will either play the role of establishing, "right now," a just, equal, free, and peaceful life, or, unfortunately, it will cause these conditions to regress.

That's why we invite journalists to a "disturbing" and pro-"right now" book and therefore to a journalism practice because we define journalism as a profession of "being unable to feel at ease" and "disturbing" the audience.

If we speak about wars, we must always keep in mind those two sayings that remind us how much more important journalism becomes in such situations. First is the saying attributed to Senator Hiram Johnson from when the USA entered the WWI: "The first casualty of war is the truth". The second saying belongs to David Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Britain, who said, "If the people really knew [the truth] the war would be stopped tomorrow."

Hence, as "we", the independent journalists, academics and the local media gathered under the roof of the IPS Communication Foundation and established the Independent Communication Network (BIA) saying "another communication is possible," we always have tried to pursue "the truth". And we knew that pursuing the truth needed to be "deal breaking" with regard to the thing that governments and the mainstream media subject to them presented as "the truth," and we also knew that acting on the contrary meant "being an accomplice" as stated by the Academics for Peace and the journalist who supported them...

Journalism at *bianet*, which has been an important reference of journalism, has gone beyond itself for 16 years and has always progressed according to a rights-based and peace-oriented track. The daily journalism practices at *bianet* moved forward with questions and examinations such as "how should that report be looked at from a rights-based and a peace-oriented approach?", "should we use such wording?" and, "should we use that photograph?" and settled on its theoretical base via the discussions and studies that we tried to carry out in workshops, trainings and in the academy.

Sevda Alankuş, the author of this book who is our training advisor, has a particular position in that voyage. Apart from her, several academics from Turkey and Cyprus whose names I cannot list one by one have been always with us. However, I particularly want to mention the names İncilay Cangöz, who has always been just beside us both in this project and in many other BIA projects, and Esra Arsan, who first mentioned peace journalism in her presentation entitled "Pro-war and Pro-peace Discourse in the Media" at BIA basic journalism programs' Journalism in Conflict and War topic.

Peace Journalism Handbook is one of the 2015-2016 projects of IPS Foundation that gave life to *bianet*. In the archives of *bianet*, there have been several texts already about what peace journalism means, how to behave with such a decision and the need for peace journalism via criticizing various news stories of the mainstream media, all of which could serve as guidance in the practice of journalism. However, within the scope of that recent project, resources about the topic were both increased and gathered together in the Peace Journalism Library¹. In the workshops we held, reporters, editors, ombudspersons, people advocating for the rights and the academics

of communication got together and again discussed "the possibility of another kind of communication" within the framework of peace journalism. They dwelt on whether the structure of media ownership, thus the problematic "editorial independence", was an impassable obstacle against practicing peace journalism, how a journalist's individual stance could form her/his journalism or the news stories she/he covered (or did/could not cover), how people who covered or tried to cover news within the framework of peace journalism achieved it and what kind of journalism language they consisted. Consequently, all those debates we had and the experiences shared from the world and from Turkey made us think again, that putting the peace journalism choice into practice is not impossible, even though there are challenges.

Now, we have a Peace Journalism Handbook. That work brings the literature of peace journalism into question by blending the "negative" and "positive" news story examples in practice within an interdisciplinary reading. While doing this, it also constitutes a guide for those who would like to practice peace journalism and, additionally, adds two considerable theoretical contributions to the field. First, it converges feminist news criticism and peace journalism via the epistemology presented by feminist philosophy, two things which have progressed without much contact for whatever reason, even though they have similar arguments about journalism. Second, it discusses rights-based journalism and peace journalism, underlining their relation within the framework of examples presented in its practice guide, a topic which has not been improved sufficiently even though their proximity has been emphasized in the international literature. Thus, both the theory and the practice of peace journalism is enriched via the rights-based journalism experience of BIA.

Our handbook has a format enabling different readings. On one hand, by neatly presenting and comparing the relevant theories, it provides the opportunity to rethink conventional journalism and calls for peace journalism by discussing why it should be an alternative choice. On the other hand, since it is called a "handbook," it is also a reference study. Therefore, it was written to be kept in hand, to be read as one would like – from the beginning or the middle or the end – and to be benefited from. It is enriched by sidebars and content consisting of definitions and articles in frames alongside positive and negative

examples. So, those sidebars might be helpful even when read on their own. Furthermore, repetitions weren't avoided on purpose. In summary, the intention by all this was to have a handbook, which would be kept in hand, and be helpful in a versatile way both for academic or practical goals.

As our book was on its way to the print house, journalism and people's right to information being almost denied was a topic on the agenda not only in Turkey but also in the world; by reported and unreported news stories, 35 journalists in prison, journalists sued, pointed as target, threats from power holders, dismissals of journalists, solidarity stands of journalists. Such situations are evidence that peace journalism-oriented journalism is an ever urgent necessity. So, we, journalists who adopt peace as a norm, need to be the "deal breakers" of the present and also to behave with a new ethical responsibility pursuing "the truth" which is essential for the news.

With wishes and hope that the Peace Journalism Handbook will always be in our hands and practiced.

* Nadire Mater is the chairwoman of IPS Communication Foundation, project advisor at Independent Communication Network (BIA) and bianet. Since 16 years, she has been seeking for the possibility of another communication built upon freedom of expression, human rights, women, children and those who are pushed out of sight. She was a RSF Turkey representative between 1994-2000. Having worked at several local, national and international news organisations, she left behind 35 years in her journalism career. Her first book, "Mehmed's Book" - a compilation of interviews with 42 young people who were deployed to the hot clash zones in the southeastern Turkey under compulsory drafting - has been published, banned and acquitted in 1999. Later on, it was translated into English, German, Italian, Finnish and Modern Greek. Her second book "Street is Beautiful - What Happened in 68?" came out in 2009, published by Metis Publishing House.

About the project

We conducted the "Peace Journalism Handbook and Online Library" project with support from the Kingdom of the Netherlands Consulate General's Human Rights Program for the term 2014-2016. The supervisor for the project was Sevda Alankuş, the coordinator was Begüm Zorlu.

For the lead-up, academic member of İzmir University of Economics Faculty of Communication, Assistant Professor Doctor Altuğ Akin scanned nine newspapers' issues between September 1 - October 15, 2014 and prepared a report according to the peace journalism criteria with Faculty of Communication students Ayşenur Ölmezses Şentürk, Aslı Sayat, Begüm Yalçinkaya, Emre Ocaklı, Özge Sarı and Özgür Akşakar.

Within the project, we conducted three workshops with journalists-editors² (March 30, 2015), academics³ (April 18, 2015) and ombudspersons - representatives⁴ from rights organizations. Associate Professor Doctor İncilay Cangöz was the editor of the Peace Journalism Online Library.

On November 21, 2015 we organized the meeting "Peace Journalism: A New Ethics, Practice and Journalism Education" with the Memory Center. In the meeting, under Murat Çelikkan's moderation, Prof. Dr. Sevda Alankuş and Dr. Rukhsana Aslam (New Zealand Auckland University of Technology) talked about peace journalism and carried on a discussion with the audience.

On the choice of peace journalism and the handbook...

This handbook was written about peace journalism in order to meet a dual necessity. First, it aims to meet the academic need about peace journalism which has been heard about, discussed, and practiced namely in Turkey and Northern Cyprus since the early 2000s, but there wasn't an integral book study written in Turkish about it yet. For that need, the book brings together the theoretical debates, thereby drawing a zone for peace journalism and the field of critical sociology of news. The book intends to make a contribution to the field of peace journalism within the framework of feminist epistemology and ethics and news criticism acknowledging that those haven't been in contact sufficiently.

The book approaches peace as a situation in which probable causes of war and conflict, poverty, discrimination, racism, xenophobia, violation of rights don't exist, or at least the pathways for human creativity are paved in order to minimize those causes, and where violence isn't a method to solve conflicts anymore, and, finally, as a prerequisite for a radically transformed democracy. Thus, it expands the definition of peace journalism through an approach based on the redefinition of the routine journalism concept and practice becoming rights-based and peace-oriented. It defines that expanded version of peace journalism as journalism based on ethics towards resolution of social or inter-social tension or conflict issues by a rights-based perspective and nonviolent methods. In other words, it enriches peace journalism with the rights-based journalism perspective. It starts off with the statement that such an ethical choice for the expanded version of peace journalism is also an important political choice particularly in places where the public space is fragmented through ethnic, cultural, different faith groups and disbelievers and political



polarization intersecting with them. Therefore, it aims to meet the need for a handy reference book for the journalists who would have such an ethical and political choice. For that purpose, it gives examples of conventional journalism's pro-war journalism inciting violence, violating rights and of its alternative: peace journalism. It presents brief translated texts about what peace journalism is as well as texts and guides compiled from various books, workshops, Independent Communication Network's (bianet's) journalistic experience about how to put peace journalism into practice.

In brief, the book in your hand is one that you could read in several ways according to your need.

You could either read it all or just the parts you need or just keep it in hand and take a look occasionally.

We hope that our handbook will be a contribution via journalism to peace coming true and taking roots, a peace culture formed and sustained in our country whose history is disabled with agonies, which have not been confronted and have not been taken responsibility for yet. Because, parallel to Jacques Derrida's approach to democracy as "democracy to come" because it always needs improvement, we approach peace, an essential for the democracy, as "to come" because it needs a further step taken after every phase achieved and we wish to have a hand in the peace journalism "to come" in Turkey.

Why another kind of journalism and what kind of peace journalism?

We know that, though in different time periods, the news media have been an instrument for the formation and standardization of national languages and the formation of national identities in all the countries, which have gone through the nation-building process.

UNESCO, "Declaration on Fundamental Principles Concerning the Contribution of the Mass Media to Strengthening Peace and International Understanding, to the Promotion of Human Rights and to Countering Racism, apartheid and incitement to war" 28 November 1978

ARTICLE 3

1- The mass media have an important contribution to make to the strengthening of peace and international understanding and in countering racialism, apartheid and incitement to war.

2- In countering aggressive war, racialism, apartheid and other violations of human rights which are inter alia spawned by prejudice and ignorance, the mass media, by disseminating information on the aims, aspirations, cultures and needs of all peoples, contribute to eliminate ignorance and misunderstanding between peoples, to make nationals of a country sensitive to the needs and desires of others, to ensure the respect of the rights and dignity of all nations, all peoples and all individuals without distinction of race, sex, language, religion or nationality and to draw attention to the great evils which afflict humanity, such as poverty, malnutrition and diseases, thereby promoting the formulation by States of the policies best able to promote the reduction of international tension and the peaceful and equitable settlement of international disputes.

Journalists' Association of Turkey, Declaration of Rights and Responsibilities, the basic duties and principles of the journalist:

The journalist defends the universal values of humanity, chiefly peace, democracy and human rights, pluralism and respect of differences. Without any discrimination against nations, races, ethnicities, classes, sexes, languages, religious and philosophical beliefs, the journalist recognizes the rights and respectability of all nations, peoples and individuals. The journalist refrains from publishing material that incites enmity and hate among individuals, nations and human societies. The journalist should not make the target of direct attack the cultural values or beliefs (or lack of beliefs) of any human society or of an individual. The journalist should not publish or broadcast material that justifies or incites violence of any kind. (Translation by the Association)

Correspondingly, we also know that, though it varies depending on the historic, political, cultural conditions, the news media have never been able to think and act in a transnational way, due to actually considering the society, the state, the military and even the religion and sect of the dominant ethnic group as "one/whole" and "us". Therefore it is possible to show in many cases that in the face of tension and conflicts, during situations of war, civil war, etc., the mainstream media always act blaming the other/"enemy" side and claiming their own side as "whiter than white" and with orders and statements from political and military authorities, they fan the fire of war and act as worshipers of power and war machines with their narrative that consist of only how many targets were bombed, how many people were "captured dead" or "neutralized". Hence, that is why, in several national and international documents it is stated that the media have an important contribution to make with respect to the strengthening of peace and international understanding (see page 25). However the expectation of the media is not limited to not inciting war; it is expressed that journalism in practice shouldn't cause discrimination and violation of rights based on age, gender, race, language and religion. Defending peace, democracy and human rights is mentioned among the fundamental norms that journalists should abide by.

On the other hand, we know that discontentment with current journalism created inquiries about how journalism should be practiced, and consequently approaches to journalism like public journalism, citizen journalism, developmental journalism, deliberative journalism, new journalism, and trustworthy journalism emerged. All these approaches shared a common ground, which was giving the journalist a proactive role by problematizing the myth of "objectivity and impartiality."

Peace Journalism is also one of those quests. Its preamble was the research the famous Peace Studies scientists, Johan Galtung and Mari

Holmboe Ruge, conducted in 1965 that presented data about how mainstream media journalism was pro-violence and depended on negative reporting. Meanwhile, it was Johan Galtung who mentioned Peace Journalism in 1970,⁵ but it was not before the 1990s that academic publications about peace journalism were issued and trainings were organized. We see examples of peace journalism starting with the late 1990s. Peace journalism started off with the requirement to consider peace as the normative aspiration for secure and harmonious life (Peleg: 2007:7). Former BBC journalists Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick contributed a great deal to theorizing peace journalism and transferring it into practice including a guide. They keep contributing through peace journalism trainings in close combat zones or in countries experiencing post-conflict armistice or a peace process. After Ireland, examples from Uganda, the Philippines, Indonesia, Nepal, Afghanistan, Serbia, Israel, and Rwanda indicate that peace journalism is not a desktop invention by academics but that it can be implemented. Looking closely, we see that those countries have something in common in that they are problematic countries in terms of their democracy, and/or just experienced war or civil war. Certainly, the question of why no Western democracies except Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland are cited among the countries in which peace journalism experiences took place is a question to be answered and we will try to answer it later on as we will discuss the rules of conventional journalism and the ethical principles.

For now, what needs to be underlined as good "news" is that new opportunities and forms of journalism acquired through communication technologies have made the implementation of peace journalism easier in a way. Because now, the unlimited space that the Internet provides for news and the ability to free ourselves from the obligation of traditional journalism's linear narrative as well as the multitude of news resources it can provide to enrich news topics and sources can also transform news from being result-oriented to being process-oriented as peace journalism requires. The Internet also allows the

news to be interesting in more creative ways, such as through infographics and various visual material. It enables unlimited access to the news, makes the voices of minorities heard by enabling citizenship journalism, and, thanks to its interactivity and polycentricity, it can diversify the news for different communities (Fenton, 2010: 557-559). Therefore, journalism transferred to the Internet becomes an important medium for peace journalism. Journalism on the Internet, no doubt, has some disadvantages too. For instance, now that the news reporting is in real-time, news stories should be continuously updated. And within all the rush, rapid and constant verification of the information, images and videos in the news feed is required. On a separate note, verification of the information to be used is not just a "technical" question. And finally, even though journalism is inevitably shifting to the Internet, and that medium serves alternative journalism best, peace journalism still particularly needs to find a place in traditional media, which in all likelihood will still be important for a long time.

What is peace journalism?

Peace journalism is when editors and reporters make choices – about what to report, and how to report it – that create opportunities for society at large to consider and to value non-violent responses to conflict.

(Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005:5)

Lynch and McGoldrick's much cited peace journalism definition emphasizes that on the one hand, peace journalism is about individual and editorial choices, and on the other hand, that by enabling non-violent resolutions to conflicts and disputes, this form of news reporting is a social responsibility. Their emphasis on editors' and reporters' choices about what to report and how to report is about the fact that the news is merely "one of the representations of the truth" as mentioned by those studying critical sociology of news, as opposed

to conventional journalism's claim that the news "reflects the truth". Another importance of the emphasis in the definition is that it points to the fact that pro-peace partial journalism is also a "political and ethical choice" (Alankuş, 2013) as far as peace is a normative demand. Thus, since another way of journalism is necessary, it evokes the idea that it is possible to overcome justifications about political pressure, economic profit, media ownership status, etc. which are presented as excuses for holding on to conventional journalism, even on the level of individual choices.

Peace Journalism is a normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflict, that aims at contributing to peacemaking, peacekeeping, and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals, and audiences towards war and peace. (Shinar, 2008:166)

In other words, of course some claims are true to a certain extent such as today the news is a commercial commodity that needs to sell, that news corporations determine journalism policies within their conflicts of interest or their common interests with national/international economic and political centers of power because of their vertical and cross monopolization and therefore it is not possible to expect a radically different journalism from the mainstream media including peace journalism⁶. However we can predict that this might change if we consider the immanent characteristics of the structure of news⁷ and the fact that the way journalists internalize the professional ideology and their own mindset patterns – within the political, cultural, historical context they socialize in – actually have become the obstacle against alternative journalism.

As a matter of fact, the findings of a research study about journalists' role perceptions conducted with 1,800 journalists in 18 countries including Turkey, indicate that traditionalistic norms of journalism such as objectivity, distance from centers of power, impartiality and trustworthiness are "universally" accepted (Hanitzsch et al, 2011)⁸. That finding gives the way to the thought that, though it is

questionable to what extent it is put into practice, the obstacle in front of journalism is that role perception itself, that is, the "professional ideology" (Deuz, 2005, Taş, 2010) of the profession and it compels us to remind once again how that ideology has been formed.

We know that conventional journalism's rules and ethic codes which are considered to be universal today, actually were formed and practiced in the late 19th century when penny press newspapers cost little to publish thanks to the improvements in publishing technology and as they could act independently from the political parties which they had leaned on until then. However, we also know that the newspapers could receive advertisements only after they ended partisan publishing (Hackett, 1984 and 2010: 181). Those principles hadn't become a professional ideology until the mid 20th century (Deuze, 2005: 444-447). But, although the objectivity principle is among the most criticized editorial values, it keeps a significant place in journalists' role perceptions about themselves. Yet already, objectivity has been attempted to be ensured through such methods such as covering the opinions of both parties in order to obtain balanced, impartial, trustworthy reporting. The fact that "the parties" are never limited to two and that they never consist of a homogeneous unity has been neglected. In doing so, they actually take the side of the military, political, economic, cultural capital holders who have the opportunity and the authority of conveying their voice strongly (Hackett, 2010: 181-182). Furthermore, it is important to note that the underlying base of the objectivity myth is the positivist epistemology claiming, within the hegemonic scientific approach of the day, that "the truth" can be known empirically, and therefore it can be reflected by the journalist just like a mirror, though its validity has become quite questionable today (Hackett, 2010; Schudson, 1978).

Meanwhile it is necessary to mention something feminist researchers called our attention to: those "universal" rules and ethic codes of conventional journalism, which are constantly brought up as the

professional ideology, were developed in newsrooms where women were either excluded systematically (Kinnebrock, 2009), marginalized, or they had to act like male journalists (Chamber at. al., 2004: 21). Therefore, the news, as a type of narrative, essentially belongs to the male world in which men talk to each other or women reporting for men are allowed to talk with women at most, as Molotch put it (1978:31). According to Mills (1988), "the news is what men call news". According to Skidmore (1998), newsgathering has an aggressive culture dependent on domination and at the same time based on male solidarity and loyalty. According to Van Zoonen (1994), news is a linear information processing process constructed by men, socializing the audience via stereotypical judgments including gender, consequently causing socialization within a sexist attitude. Therefore, although the language which women developed while protecting themselves from the masculine language of the public sphere (Köker, 2005) and the thought routines weaved within it have deconstructed the phallogocentric language of daily life, women have been excluded from the formation process of that masculine type of language. And that explains the intertwined discourse traffic of conventional journalism, war, military, football, nationalism and racism which proceeds over the body of "the woman as another" and preferentially "the woman of the other" (Alankuş and Cangöz, 2007).

Good journalism or peace journalism?

Peace journalism is not merely good journalism; it is a different journalism and a departure from the traditional way of covering news stories, particularly conflict and violence, not only in nuances and emphases but also in substance. Peace journalism is not to report what is seen but to report what can be seen; not simply to reflect reality but to explore reality and unearth what is not ostensibly reflective. ... to regard and cultivate readers' interests but not to be manipulated by them. (Peleg, 2007:70)

In spite of all these criticisms feeding the claim that journalism should be practiced in "another" way, there are some who claim that pursuing peace journalism is not something new, but rather that it consists of practicing "good journalism" according to existing standards and practices. If present codes and ethics were properly applied and if "good journalism" was practiced by its ideal principles and codes, these defenders say, "there would be no need for pursuing alternatives" (Kempf, 2002 and Loyn, 2007). Additional objections come from David Loyn and Thomas Hanitzch. For example, defending the objectivity principle, they claim that the journalist is responsible for only reflecting the truth impartially and if that is cast aside and a side is taken, the result would be "engaged journalism" (Loyn, 2007 and Hanitzch, 2007). Besides this, they regard advocates of peace journalism as "naive and in childish idealism" (Ross, 2007:79). Still, Hanitzch claims the theory lacks an epistemological base⁹. However, according to Hackett (2009:42 and 2011:42) peace journalism is an epistemological revolt, a challenge against the objectivity claim of conventional journalism. By the way, another significant topic of debate is the challenges for enabling peace journalism. Those who are discussing within that framework state that political, economic, corporate and professional circumstances pose a challenge against enabling peace journalism and they feel the urge to add that the most convenient medium would be the alternative media (Hackett, 2009) or public broadcasting corporation (McGoldrick, 2006 and Lynch, 2011).

Journalism / news reporting comparison in conventional 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"	"I am fair"
Balance = cover both sides equally (quantity)	Balance = represent both sides stories and perceptions (quality)
Approach to audiences	
Bodily damage/gore increases circulation	Public participation in problem solving builds audiences/readership
Newsroom sets agenda	Public has role in setting a agenda
Leaders/experts know best	Ordinary people need to be consulted
Right to know	Right to participate in democratic processes
"This is the way journalism is done"	Exploratory and flexible; rooted in values

Source: Lynch ve McGoldrick, 2005: 240 ("Appendix A- Dialogue with the Devil's Advocate")

On the other hand, there are studies that refer to the significance of pro-peace government policies or political conditions as factors that enabled the practice of peace journalism, such as in Ireland or in Northern Cyprus. Yet the same studies feel the need to underline that, journalists' definitions of the profession (Fawcett, 2002) and the traditional structure of journalism and the language/discourse of the news (Dente Ross and Alankuş, 2010; Alankuş, 2006) constituted an obstacle against peace journalism, even though facilitating conditions existed. Accordingly, as aforementioned, there are studies stating that in the countries where peace journalism's objectivity principle is practiced or attempted to be practiced with fidelity and as a condition of "good journalism" and where public responsibility of the media is considered very important, when it comes to the case of peace journalism it is considered to be a "deviation" from objectivity and it is encountered with resistance, therefore, as aforementioned, it is underlined that journalism codes and the perception about them prevent peace journalism itself (Hackett, 2006).

As for Turkey, obstacles against peace journalism are multi-layered, so we cannot say they simply arise from immanent structural problems of conventional journalism's principles and codes. Because we are faced with such news media that "good" journalism in the traditional sense has/could never been practiced, in other words, the media have never been independent from military, political and economic centers of power and the media have been expected to be held accountable only when they haven't supported centers of power sufficiently, yet they have never felt the responsibility of being accountable to their audience (Çoban, 2010). Besides, we have witnessed that public service media operate as a governmental body and the commercial media is pinned down by various direct or indirect political, legal, economic interventions or that they have been designed from top to bottom for supporting government policies.

Peace journalism in Turkey !

"Actually, life imposed something about peace journalism in Turkey. So some support came from some media owners. But that hasn't been internalized within the editorial processes. Therefore, we haven't been able to adopt peace journalism as a guide either at the reporter, editorial or the top [media owners] level." (Faruk Bildirici, ombudsperson, daily *Hürriyet*, Peace Journalism Workshop, April 22, 2015)

Turkey has experienced quite a convenient period for peace journalism to be practiced and talked about. One of the significant cornerstones in that process was Independent Communication Network's (BİA) rights-based journalism, initiated as a project, which has since brought peace journalism forward through trying to popularize it and having it as a topic in its trainings. In addition to BİA's influence, the publications and practices of a small group of academics from Cyprus and Turkey and the conferences they held initiated a broader discussion about peace journalism in Turkey¹⁰. Another turning point was the start of the process called the "Kurdish Initiative" or "Democracy Initiative" in 2009, which first lasted for a very short time and then added to the agenda again later on and proceeded quite a deal. Meanwhile, both the so-called "pool media," which supported government policies unconditionally, and the institutions of Doğan media group, which represented another center in the polarized political environment, seemed to be supporting the peace process. On the other hand, peace journalism has been included already in the latter's code of conduct document since December 12, 2012.

However, in spite of the partial proceedings, nowadays the mainstream media which seemed to be pro-peace-process for a period of time though it was very limited – and that is not peace journalism – apparently have reverted back to its old days after the government abandoned the Kurdish initiative and the unnamed "war" restarted between the security forces and PKK and YPG. As for peace journalism, we see it inserted in the news reports of just a few journalists and

columnists who could remain in the mainstream media, and by the alternative media initiatives. Moreover, even in that small space peace journalism is inserted into, we can see that authors of news stories or articles that could be considered examples of peace journalism lack consistency. Or, when peace journalism is practiced often by the alternative media initiatives or by left-wing intellectuals or journalists regarded as "marginals" or "naive people," it becomes ineffective. And finally, because TRT, the corporation that should represent public service broadcasting, reports just as an official governmental body, it becomes impossible to expect peace journalism from such a body.

So, in spite of all those negative conditions, it has become ever important that journalists in the mainstream media who position themselves as taking sides with peace as a norm, make an ethical/political choice for peace journalism and properly practice it, although it hasn't become an editorial policy. A similar situation is true for both the media who have established their publishing/broadcasting policies on "being anti-government" and whose record of war journalism is well known, and for "Kurdish media" and some "alternative media" who together reversely reproduce the discourse of the mainstream media.

"Violence and particularly the language [of violence] as a form of opposition in Turkey relieves us. It makes us gloat. And that is an obstacle against peace journalism and against building a peaceful society." (Güven Gürkan Öztan, Academic, Peace Journalism Workshop, April 22, 2015)

Already, the peace process which would end an undeclared de facto "war" situation of more than 30 years taking more than 45 thousand lives of soldiers and civilians has now been heavily wounded just when it was expected to transform from being a ceasefire into becoming real and to bringing an enlarged democracy with itself, because peace is the prerequisite for it. However, the need for peace is more than ever.

"Regarding the Kurdish question, I've never put an adjective before PKK and nobody forced it. I used names without adjectives such as Öcalan and PKK. And that's why members of PKK watching television asked, is

that one a friend one of ours?" (Mete Çubukçu, Journalist, April 22, 2015)

The reason peace journalism couldn't be put into practice, undoubtedly, has to do with the fact that larger capital media and the local media in Turkey lack the tradition of behaving independently from the political and military center of powers' policies, and since the mid-2000s, due to the rapid transformation in media ownership formed by the government's direct intervention and consequently a voluntary or fear-based dependency has been formed¹¹. Besides, steps just taken about the freedom of communication, which is a prerequisite for proper practice of journalism, have been taken back further. However, another equally important reason is that journalists don't feel the need to discuss and redefine their present mentality of journalism even when there is a sincere pro-peace choice. In other words, unless the principles and codes of conventional journalism are deconstructed and questioned, it may not be possible to practice peace journalism, even if suitable conditions and intention for it exist. The good "news" is, as aforementioned, that examples around world indicate that we can encounter peace journalism in countries which have experienced ethnic, religious and sect based tensions and civil war and have paid for the media's provocative role in transformation of those tensions into violence, rather than the established Western democracies where journalist keep their distance with politics and they rhetorically bless professional principles such as objectivity, impartiality (Hackett, 2006). Hence, at least for that reason and before more price is paid, we may hope the number of journalists who make a pro-peace journalism choice will increase.

The book in your hands was written with that very hope, to show that it is possible to start practicing peace journalism at some point, once a political/ethical choice is made to take sides with peace and nonviolent solutions in all situations that bear potential conflict, regardless how unfavorable the conditions may be; and it was written to invalidate excuses listed as obstacles. And in terms of approach, the book

shares the opinion that even so-called "good" journalism comprise the war journalism characteristics. Therefore, it is based on a journalism concept and practice that sides with having all principles and codes that are taught and practiced as the ABCs of news reporting – from newsworthiness to the question of news sources, from news writing rules based on 5W1H (who what where when why and how) to language and discourse, to editorial values described as objectivity, impartiality, balance, accuracy – realized by redefining them within another framework of epistemological positions and ethics, rather than discarding them. And while doing that, it expands the boundaries of peace journalism.

"Expanding the boundaries of peace journalism":

Just-peace journalism

The reliance on credentialed facts from elite sources, and the privileging of events over contexts both reinforce a global status quo of misery for millions of people, sidelining issues such as poverty, labour exploitation, and private sector corruption that are not on official agendas until they erupt in catastrophic upheavals. (Hackett, 2010: 39-40)

In our handbook, the peace journalism concept is used in a broader sense, meaning a journalism "alternative" to conventional journalism. And that is related to our approach to both dominant journalism in the mainstream media and to peace. We have already stated that we consider the conventional news reporting conception and practice of the dominant journalism in the mainstream media equal to those of war journalism. And our approach to peace attributes a positive meaning to the word, indicating policies that would establish social justice and reduce the structural and cultural violence preventing people from fulfilling their potential, rather than a negative meaning indicating just an absence of violence.

As peace is comprehended as a "just-peace" within that positive sense, the difference between rights-based journalism and peace journalism becomes obscured and the two become complimentary (Schirch, 2002 cited in Shaw, 2011: 98 and 111). Because those two types of journalism both represent the proactive journalism that sides with solving conflicts by nonviolent means and is against the war which creates the most "legitimate" environment for human rights violations. But they express a journalism practiced within an alternative epistemological and ethical position alternative to that of conventional war journalism as long as they are based on the just-peace (a positive peace) conception based on that human needs, rights and justice that would be met "for both me/us and the other" as opposed to the conception that they would be met for "me/us at the expense of the other" (Shaw, 2011: 104).

Within that framework, our handbook's approach is based on converging rights-based journalism and peace journalism, both of which constitute an alternative to the conventional journalism dominant in the mainstream media¹². And by saying rights-based journalism, we take reference particularly to the Independent Communication Network's (BIA) journalism conception and practice carried out since 2000¹³. In summary, we define peace journalism at the point where it converges with rights-based journalism.

Peace journalism is news reporting of any sort of tension, conflict or multiple hostilities without inciting violence and towards establishing and sustaining just-peace within the framework of a "the other"-centered ethics.

Thus, we project a new journalism revising newsworthiness, news sources, news writing, language and discourse, editorial values of conventional journalism conception and the epistemology and ethics it is based on.

Towards a rights-based Peace Journalism (redefined):

- Journalism should be established on a political and ethical pro-peace choice.
- Peace should be understood in its positive definition. That is, for sustainable peace to be advanced, such journalism should be practiced in ways that would focus on injustices based on class, gender, religion, sect, language, ethnicity, etc. which always should be struggled against.
- Topics that should have been issues for conventional journalism, but have been excluded by the hegemonic journalism approach, or which are rights violations or topics that have been reported in such a way that they could cause new violations, should be covered by peace journalism, too.
- While covering tensions, conflicts of interest, or power struggles, the journalism practices that seek nonviolent and just-peace resolutions should be chosen, and for situations where violence already exists, the choice should be proactive journalism that would construct the intellectual base for resolutions which primarily look out for the interests of all sides whose rights are violated.
- It is essential to remember that such "the other-based" journalism could only be built upon feminist epistemology.

Why "(an)other" and feminist ethics for peace journalism?

We have claimed that conventional journalism is pro-war and provocative even while it is criticizing violence. It is also aforementioned that its ethical principles were formed within the political circumstances and market relations of the early 20th century, bearing the traces of philosophical and scientific discussions of the era and that they gradually

have become universal as the official ideology of the profession¹⁴. However, with regard to those studies, let us recall that the principles in question don't say a thing about, for instance: people dying in "occupational accidents" or because of occupational conditions – in house cleaning, in road, subway, shipyard constructions, in denim sandblasting workshops – not being covered because the number of deaths didn't amount to the "significant"(!) threshold that would appeal to the majority interest, or trials about the individuals responsible for those deaths not being followed-up; or no appreciation of newsworthiness for peace efforts that have been woven stitch by stitch while wars are considered to be newsworthy (Alankuş, 2013:224). And let us add that there isn't much to expect from ethical statements assumed to assure "good journalism" – either "not to be in close affairs with the news source and not receiving presents from them" or "making a distinction between commenting and news reporting", etc. – and that those often serve to cover the "structural partiality" of conventional journalism reproducing "situation definitions" of political, economic, military and symbolic elites and that conventional journalism is dependent on them (İnal, 2010: 41-42 and 1995).

Before proposing a set of alternative ethics for journalism, that claim compels us to identify the epistemological position that conventional journalism's ethics are based on, knowing that beneath every ethical position there has to be a consistent way of knowing, understanding, and explaining of the world. Historically, the ethical codes of conventional journalism are fed by two philosophical foundations, though sometimes a mix of these two has been adopted. Immanuel Kant's deontological approach is a conception projecting a universal and inclusive humanistic ethics that wouldn't individually require professional ethics, and it is concerned with the reporting aim of the news rather than the effects it would cause. On the other hand, the teleological approach predicated on John Stuart Mill says that every incident should be judged on its own merits and that as individuals, the consequences of our deeds are important rather than their

aims and therefore journalists should act considering the possible consequences of the news they are reporting beforehand (Alankuş, 2005:46-47, İrvan, 2005 and İnal, 2010: 36-42). In regard to those approaches, Lynch and McGoldrick, who have important roles in the theorisation of peace journalism, think that an ethic based on the teleological approach is much convenient for peace journalism because it requires a proactive journalism in accordance with nonviolent resolution of conflicts and considering the possible consequences for every individual incident (2005:218).

Those approaches have a common point in that they have been developed in the tradition of Western Enlightenment, which positions the individual at the center. (Keeble, 2005: 58)¹⁵. And within that framework, first it regards the – self-referential – "human reason" as the basis of the ethic assuming that it would always work in the way that it would find the truth. Second, by force of the liberal-teleological philosophy it relies upon, it forms a basis for a journalism practice that would legitimize the majority dominance over the rights and liberties of the minority, as long as it acts abiding by the idea that "what is for the benefit of the individual would be for the benefit of the majority" (Alankuş, 2005: 47-48). However, in our opinion, peace journalism intends to unseat such journalism based on binary oppositions which attribute all the positive to "us" but regard "the opposite/the other" as the source of all the problems. And while doing that, peace journalism needs an ethical concept that would approach all parties from the same humane distance and provide mutual-understanding and in a way that would make the voices of the wronged heard, who couldn't make themselves heard, regardless of whichever side they are on.

Because, according to the philosophical narrative of psychoanalysis in line with Jacques Lacan, in order to say "I" in the social sense, there's always need for "the other" and as inevitable as this is, our adventure of being as an individual/subject takes place via (an)other. Therefore,

we owe our unity/individuality to "the other" or otherizing as the substitute, because while it is in (in us) rather than outside, we send the unity/individuality to the unconscious as an essential condition/cost of the subjectification process and have to substitute it. In other words, "the others" out there are always present, but also are always fictional as far as they are our projection of what is distressing to notice and hard to confront inside ourselves and unfortunately belonging to the immanent other that makes self the "I/ego/subject." As long as we construct our presence by means of the irreducible difference of that other "outside," "we" are with "them" and "they" are with "us" and we are mutually responsible for each other.

On the other hand, as we understand and explain life as if it consisted only of absolute binary oppositions such as I/us ("good ones", "right ones", "rational ones") and s-he/them ("bad ones", "wrong ones", "irrational ones") and often without noticing and regardless of our gender, as far as we regard the attributions by us to the other of those binary oppositions as constant lack of "what we possess", we consequently attribute "femininity" as well, and that is a "gift"(!) from the phallogocentric language that we inevitably construct ourselves with. In other words, as we exteriorize and project weakness on the other, wrongdoing, uncanniness that we have but cannot embrace, we otherize women and feminize the others in a way that the first "uncanny and untrustworthy" woman "Eve" is the primary/archetypal model of, but we absolutely do the worst to the other woman or the other's woman when we get hold of or "harp on" (Pala and Irzik, 2014) her¹⁶. That is, since the woman as the other is "weak, emotional, all beyond her ken, unpredictable, untrustworthy, uncanny and therefore she needs to be controlled, checked, punished if she takes things too far" so is "the other"! That is why, as these lines are being written, military special forces can write "Girls we came and we broke into your cave" on the walls of ruined houses as they left Silvan which had been under siege for more than 10 days on the grounds that PKK had infiltrated, or before a derby between Fenerbahçe and Galatasaray

(football teams in Istanbul), Fenerbahçe fans can burn a "sex doll" dressed up with the opponent team's jersey. And the mainstream media keeps on reproducing this. For instance, headlines such as "honorary execution" or "killed his wife who always took the same bus" legitimize men's women-slaughter by treating women as "the primary other." When you google the expression "kahpe saldırı" i.e. "fickle attack" (trans. note: the headline attributes "fickleness", but the word used for it "kahpe" means "prostitute" in Turkish), there are thousands of results containing those words either in the headline or in the text and considerable amount of them are about PKK attacks (see page 45).

A journalist, in his article titled "I regret not being a PKK member," fantasizes about "abducting" a Kurdish female singer "to the mountain" and by doing so he dares to claim the PKK as the Kurdish male identity and actually "Kurdish masculinity" via the Kurdish woman's body. He dares to defend himself on grounds of "joking" against the criticisms. A male colleague supports him by writing that "the author 'lacks the abilities' even to ask a woman to dance, let alone to abduct one" (i.e. he lacks the necessary masculinity) and that debate of manhood can be continued easily via a Kurdish woman because she is regarded as the other('s) woman. After a couple who were business people were found murdered in their house, the title "Ölen bayan" ("Dying lady", trans. note: This is a pun referring to the trademark "Ören Bayan" (Weaving lady) that the couple owned) was used. That was laying death on the other woman by such racism that if they hadn't been Jews such title would not be regarded as convenient (see page 46).

Therefore, both in journalism and everyday life, there is a need for a feminist epistemology and journalism with such ethics that springs from that epistemological position in order to topple down that way of knowing and narrating which substitutes the woman for the other and the other for the woman¹⁷ but most of all that targets the


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Kahpe saldırı

Şemdinli'de 60 kişilik terörist grup, Beyyurdu Karakolu üs bölgesine roketlerle saldırdı. Çıkan çatışma yaklaşık 2 saat sürdü. 11 hain öldürüldü, 3 er şehit düştü

f Beğen
🐦 Tweet
Paylaş
🏠
🖨️
💬
A⁻ A⁺

Son dönemde saldırılarını artıran PKK'lı teröristler bu kez Hakkari Şemdinli'nin Beyyurdu Jandarma Karakolu üs bölgesini hedef aldı. Ağır silahlarla baskın yaparak büyük kayıplar verilmeyi planlayan teröristler, emellerine ulaşamadı. Teröristler, karakola 2 km uzaklıktaki üs bölgesine 3 koldan hareke geçti. Ancak gece 23.30 sıralarında, roketatar ve ağır silahlarla saldırı yapmaya hazırlanırken askerler tarafından son anda fark edildi. Mehmetçikle teröristler arasında yaklaşık 2 saat süren çatışma yaşandı. Teröristlerin ilk ateşinde Piyade Onbaşı Erkan Akdeniz (22), er Volkan Yulalı ve er Mahmut Yatçındağ (22) şehit olurken, 11 terörist öldürüldü. Diğerleri bölgeden kaçtı.



HERONLAR TESPİT ETTİ
Çatışmanın ardından teröristleri bulmak için İnsansız Hava Araçları (İHA) Heronlar havalandı. Heronların tespit ettiği teröristlerin bulunduğu noktalar, helikopterler ve top atışlarıyla ateş altına alındı. 11'i çatışmada öldürülen ve 60 kişi olduğu tahmin edilen teröristlerden bir bölümü de uzaktan atışlarla etkisiz hale getirildi. Çatışmada hafif yaralan 3 asker ise tedavi altına alındı. Çatışmanın yaşandığı üs bölgesinde saldırı sırasında 30 askerin bulunduğu, karakolda da yaklaşık 200 askerin olduğu kaydedildi. Teröristlerin, Kuzey Irak'tan geldiği belirtildi.



Source: Takvim, August 23, 2014.

other's woman. That epistemological position requires us, first of all, to question the "male-female opposition" structured as a primary opposition by acknowledging that the other is us and we are the other and therefore it also requires us to think for the other because it is the condition of being responsible for ourselves. The ethical approach we suggest here follows the philosophical tradition of Emmanuel Levinas and Jacques Derrida¹⁸. Such ethic is based on the thought that I/we can be achieved only via the other, underlining our responsibility for the other as far as we owe I/we to an irreducible difference, presence of the other. As Zygmunt Bauman put it, we are in various relations of togetherness in the everyday life and if we speak about the necessity for the public sphere, we need to be for-the-other, rather than with-the-other in togetherness based on encounters. Being for-the-other means getting into an emotional commitment, being responsible for the other's defects when necessary (Bauman, 1995), so knowing ourselves through the mirror of the other before drawing a specific line of action for the other.

Besides this, another point that needs attention is that in the "self/individual"-centric ethic conceptualization, the professional ethical

codes are attributed, as for all professional ethical codes, as a quality that would forever exculpate the ones who comply with them, once those codes have become written codes/rules (Alankuş, 2005:39-40). On the other hand, the function of the ethics referring to "the other" is not to comfort the consciousness, but to disturb it. In other words, what needs to be aimed for is not an ethic that demands things to be accomplished within our power and invites the subject to aim for the satisfaction deriving from accomplishing all responsibilities¹⁹. Therefore, at the same time, ethical responsibility should be experienced as an "endless experience of responsibility" (Calin and Sebbah, 2011:57). The answer to the question "What are the possible repercussions of that in journalism practice?" is, concerning the consequences of the news story, a state of uneasiness and follow-ups that prescribe acting with constant responsibility about the unequal (the other) in the news story rather than feeling at ease by saying "I reported the story truly and in a balanced way." For example, being not content with just reporting about the deaths of domestic worker women caused by the so-called "occupational accidents," but also reporting about the domestic worker women getting organized in trade unions or the results of penal and compensation court cases against employers filed by the workers is possible only by such state of "uneasiness and responsibility."

Newsworthiness in Conventional Journalism

Conventional/war journalism's approach about how news should be defined and accordingly what is considered to be newsworthy and what is not, has been debated for a long time. Two sentences that best express that approach are "If the dog bites the human, it's not news. If the human being bites the dog, then it's news" and "if it bleeds, it leads". Thus, even those two stereotype phrases are enough for us to understand how extraordinariness and tension and conflict – if particularly containing violence – are regarded as primarily newsworthy

by journalists. Galtung and Ruge's much referred to 1965 study and several following ones about news topics list what the mainstream media regard as newsworthy almost the same way. Let's add the fact that cultural, historical and political context is important in the definition of newsworthiness. Considering Turkey, information about events or facts are regarded newsworthy are those that:

- are new, sudden, have just happened or are follow-ups,
- are about the ones close to "us" in terms of culture or geography,
- contain statements from political, military, economic, cultural elites or centers of power,
- contain private lives of well-known people,
- are about public interest and considering many people,
- are predictable, or on the contrary, interesting, strange, extraordinary,
- contain a tension or a conflict (negativity), violence.

The most significant thing that this study and the following ones tell us is that they reveal how the routine about what would be considered newsworthy or not has been formed by the choices made in time and has become a set of rules.

Adding the practical reasons which make reporting a fact or an event easier, such as the presence of an image, or photography that is emotional and sensational, the topic being easily and quickly reportable, follow-up of an event that is already in the agenda or balancing previous coverage about it, primary news topics determined according to the employer media corporation's economic and political affairs of interest (Harrison, 2010:196), we often see news stories:

- whose subjects are hegemonic male elites or centers of power,
- constructed within the discourse of those centers,

- that reproduce the sufferings of the others,
- are event/result-oriented rather than being process-oriented, thus detached from their context,
- that present a fragmented world and daily life picture merely consisting of a sum of personal or individual, exceptional stories, disasters or incidental achievements,
- that absolutize conflicts or disputes, reduce problem solving to possessing individual skills and increase the worshiping of power.

Consequences of conventional journalism's newsworthiness conception that create violations of rights and pro-war/pro-violence stance

- women, children, LGBTI individuals, poor people, old people, ethnic minorities, and groups of believers and non-believers are not being covered as news topics and their voices are not listened to unless disasters or "accidental," "exceptional" accomplishments take place,
- thus, anti-hegemonic narratives about how to solve problems such as poverty, hunger, forced migration, child labor exploitation, discrimination, etc., violation of rights are ignored and the status-quo is reproduced. The probability of social antagonisms tending towards violence is increased by this result/event-oriented newsworthiness conception, peace efforts which are part of a finely weaved process and which need to be covered for the better and their continuity are not considered newsworthy, and therefore belief in conflict, antagonism or war resolution by nonviolent methods and negotiations in a democratic system is obstructed. Violence is normalized and legitimized.

After all, for peace journalism or just-peace oriented journalism, the definition of newsworthiness should be expanded and newsworthy topics should be approached absolutely in a peace-oriented and rights-based way.

Redefining newsworthiness

In order to expand the definition of newsworthiness within a framework of a positively defined peace conception, it is necessary to reconstruct what conventional journalism considers "worthy" to convey with a new focus and ethical responsibility as much as covering what haven't been covered as news topics previously. Therefore, we need a creative journalism as underlined by Galtung (2006).

For instance, football cups are certainly newsworthy. However, if what happens in the houses and streets where the cup is watched was covered within the context of the political and economic circumstances of the country where the cup is held and on the basis of women and children, both a rights-based journalism concerning just-peace would be practiced and news topics that are extraordinary, personal, therefore worthy to read, are seized. bianet's news stories such as "World Cup and Women Trafficking" (May 6, 2006); "Human Trafficking in the World Cup" (June 19, 2006); "Women Tell the Euro 2008 of Their Own" (June 25, 2008); "Women in the World Cup Countries" (June 19, 2009); "Through the Eyes of a Child: World Cup Barcelona" (June 12, 2010); "World Cup: Entertainment for Millions, Torment for the Deprived" (June 15, 2010); "Football, South Africa and What is Not on the Screen" (July 5, 2010); "World Cup of Stateless Peoples" (June 4, 2014) are the ones expanding the newsworthiness definition and shifting the focus of conventional journalism even just by the topics their titles mention and the sources they use²⁰.

Women tell the Euro 2008 of their own*

Bianet asked women whether they watched the Euro 2008 matches and about their relationship with football. Among them are journalists, a grocer, and a house wife. The women bianet interviewed said they get carried away by the excitement of the European Football Championship. (...)

"I always put on a jersey while watching the game"

Şehnaz Tanılkan (UNICEF staff): (...) Football is my lifestyle. I support Fenerbahçe. I am interested in national matches as much as I am interested in Fenerbahçe's international matches. Yet, since my childhood, European Championships and World Cups have been exceptional for me. Of course I am more excited about tonight's game, as the national team climbed up level by level in the European Cup and the excitement increased accordingly.

"Curses that feminize the defeated and masculinize the winners are the worst"

Handan Koç (Feminist, stationery shop owner): I will watch Germany-Turkey match, certainly. I am not a fanatic, but I've watched the games since my childhood, I support Beşiktaş. I support the national team in national matches. I care who's playing well and who's not; in the end it's a game. Curses that feminize the defeated and masculinize the winners are the worst.

"Peaceful banners could be put up in the matches"

Eren Keskin (Human rights activist): (...) The militarist, chauvinist structure in Turkey uses football to motivate the masses. People supporting democracy and peace could put up peaceful banners for the fraternity of peoples in order to knock down chauvinism. When I'm angry with the state, I don't support the national team. I don't think I'll support a team in tonight's game but I will support Turkey even though I get angry. (Laughs)

"Football is too achievement-oriented"

Yeşim Çobankent (Journalist): I support Beşiktaş. I used to be more fanatic but I am not that much now. Recently I watched the match with Croatia in Vienna; I thought the slogans were very much machismo. If that's the situation in Europe, I can't imagine how it is in Turkey. I remember there was a small group chanting "ya Allah bismillah", I was really irritated.

"I got carried away with the wave of excitement, too"

İpek Çalışlar (Journalist): I usually don't watch the matches much but

I will watch tonight's game. I got carried away with the wave of excitement, too. I enjoyed the last minute goals they scored very much. (...) I'll watch the game in Büyükada (Prinkipo) at the dock.

"When we win we shout at home, nothing else"

Zeliha Aksoy (Grocer): My guy (means her husband) is a match addict, so we are obliged to watch all the games. I am not excited about other matches but because we are Turkish, I am very excited about the national matches. When we win we shout aplenty at home.

"I used to be a crazy supporter once, marriage dulled it"

Zuhal Yılmaz (Housewife): I used to be a crazy supporter once, but marriage dulled it. The national matches boosted my love for football. I'll watch the game at home, but I won't go out if we win, I'm not that much of a fanatic.

"There isn't football, there is nationalism"

Emine Özcan (editor, bianet): The moment the match with Croatia ended was a bad experience for me. They continuously fired guns. Last night a huge banner, saying "Crazy Turks" on it, was put up and flags were drawn on the walls of the street where I live. I won't watch the game, because there isn't football, there is nationalism. It won't be sound to watch it anywhere whether they win or lose. I don't feel safe. (NV-CU/TK)

* (The story is abridged) Nilay Vardar – Ceyda Ulukaya, İstanbul, BIA News Center, June 25, 2008. Source: <http://bianet.org/bianet/kadin/107873-kadinlar-kendi-euro-2008-lerini-anlatiyor>. Date of access: January 20, 2016

Practicing peace journalism is possible even with sports/football journalism, which Galtung says is very similar to war journalism. In September 2008, two friendly football matches were played first in Yerevan, then in Bursa as part of the convergence process between Armenia and Turkey. Abdullah Gül, the President of Turkey and Serzh Sargsyan, the President of Armenia attended the matches as



spectators. Hence, peace journalism can be achieved by news stories focusing on the ordinary people out of the match field rather than just focusing on the incidents in the field or the meetings of two leaders.

"Friendship" won in Turkey-Armenia football match

Armenian President Sargsyan welcomed by President Gül in Bursa. İSTANBUL

Following the historical protocol signed between Turkey and Armenia, the national match played in Bursa became a political summit. There were extraordinary security measures in the city and the tickets were issued to a limited number of supporters. There was great quietness before the match because of the extra security measures around the stadium. The fanatic supporter group of the local football team Bursaspor chanted "Sarı Gelin" (trans. note: a folk song sung both in Armenian and Turkish) in unison. ...

White pigeons were released

Presidents of the two countries watched the Turkey-Armenia match together and the match took place within a friendly atmosphere. White pigeons were released for peace. Some Azerbaijan flags were seen even though it was forbidden. Some spectators put up friendship banners and some protested the Armenian flags by whistling... White pigeons, symbol of peace were released before the match.

Impressions from Bursa

(...) There was nothing negative except some minor demonstrations of protest. The biggest problem was that people who wanted to watch the match in the stadium couldn't find tickets. Hüseyin Odabaşı, a high-school student who had come to the stadium for days hoping to find a ticket, said "I haven't gone to school for three days, I look for a ticket day and night. I'll fail because of absences. I still haven't found a ticket. There won't be any fuss in the game. We will welcome the Armenians well". Ersin Demirci said "The tickets are reserved by name. I've been attending to Bursaspor games for 20 years, I have never seen such a thing. There won't be a fuss before the match, but if the supporters can't find tickets, there may be."

Ahmet Bodur is one of the fortunate supporters who could find a ticket: "I found a ticket, I am glad. I got it from one of the former cheerleaders. It was a favor from the neighborhood. Turkey will be defeated absolutely but friendship will be the winner." Tickets were under the Teksas cheerleader group's responsibility. 6 thousand free tickets were distributed. Selim Kurtulan, leader of the Teksas group, talked about the tickets and measures taken by their group: "Three million people live in Bursa. They can't issue three million tickets. In the end, the stadium has a 20-thousand-person capacity and it will be full. There won't be any rampage. They welcomed our president Abdullah Gül very well and we will welcome Sargsyan in the best way. We will chant Sarı Gelin altogether". Chair of Teksas Association Mehmet Güzelsöz said "Our affairs with Armenians should normalize. Beyond normal, we should

be friends already. We will demonstrate it in the stands." In the cafe adjacent to the stadium, four retired teachers, indifferent to all the developments, were playing rummikub. Nurten Beceren compared the Armenian question to the blood feud in the southeast and said "It should be stopped now." Necla Ateş said "I am against the normalization of affairs. It is not that I don't like Armenians, but it is done because somebody else imposed it." Leman Bekman said "I want peace. I hope the match will end in a tie." Özcan Şenyurt said, "I want the hostilities cast aside. Let the two countries become friends and that friendship endure, but I want Turkey to win the game"...

Serkan Ocak, Bursa, Radikal, October 14, 2009. Source: <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/turkiye-ermenistan-macinda-dostluk-kazandi-959207/> Date of access: 19 January 2016.

We know that the mainstream media's elite-oriented journalism is transformed to be ordinary-people-oriented only if the topic becomes "the others;" however, while doing that, newsworthiness is picked from within opposing topics / positions which affirm "us" as being more "civilized", "intelligent", "safe", etc. depending on the context. In other words, if "others" are covered in the news that is done by treating them as the "negatives" of the assumed "happy family" picture. Even more, they are represented as a homogeneous group without any distinction among themselves in order to avoid considering them equal with the "hegemonic subject." For example, the dominant narrative in conventional media's news stories about the Syrians is such a narrative and the image put into circulation about the refugees consists of only helpless men crying after lost relatives during the voyages they started "illicitly," or children and women whose dead bodies wash ashore, who beg/are made to beg on the streets, whose clothes, appearances and cultures are "different." Meanwhile, it becomes easier to perceive them as threats who would grab our jobs and spoil or "happy family" picture "if god forbid

they settle permanently,” let alone that they would “Arabify” the country, changing our demographic structure, pollute our streets and neighborhoods and receive wages from our taxes. Yet, not all the Syrians in Turkey live under same conditions. There are people who contribute to Turkey’s economy, art and culture, who have preferred to stay here, paying their taxes although not receiving services and they deserve to be covered in that plurality. For example, bianet’s news story “Syrians who prefer to live in Istanbul”²¹ represent them in such plurality, opposing news stories that portray them in the binary opposition of either victims of a suffering not caused by “us,” or people who make us suffer with their presence (see page 59).



Syrians Who Prefer to Live in Istanbul Speak*

The Syrian refugees who leaving Syria because of the civil war and take the risk to go to Europe because of not wanting to stay in Turkey are on the world’s agenda.

But, what about the ones willing to stay in Turkey? What are the reasons they prefer Turkey, what are their living conditions, the difficulties they run into and their expectations?

I am in a three-decker bookstore named “Pages.” There is the owner, Samer al Kadri and a worker in the cafe, Rawad al Samman, besides young Argentinian lady named Sofia Nicolini Llosa. I come to learn that Llosa has come to Turkey to work with children from Turkey and Syria to conduct the final leg of an event organizing artistic activities with children from 32 countries.

The bookstore was opened in June and with its books in Arabic, English, Turkish as well as workshops, poetry and music sessions, and film screenings, it has been a meeting point for people from Turkey, Syria, and Europe.

Istanbul because...

Al Kadri is a fine arts graduate and graphics designer. He is the owner of a publishing house named Bright Fingers that publishes children books in Damascus. He and his wife, a children’s book writer, and their two children moved first to Jordan and then to Turkey in 2012 after the war broke out.

“I never wanted to be in Europe. Europe wasn’t an option for me. Especially for my children, it wouldn’t be easy to return to Syria from Europe, it is much easier to return from here.

“People from Turkey and Syria are very much alike. Not a lot has changed for us since we arrived. I really like Istanbul.”

Al Samman graduated from the Faculty of Law. His first stop was Jordan after leaving Damascus in 2012. He has been in Turkey for over a year now with his wife and 2-year-old child. His wife is an English Literature graduate and is teaching English courses to Syrian children.

“Life in Istanbul is 75% like the one in Damascus. One day I’ll return to Damascus. Particularly for our child, who will feel at home in Damascus after being here, but it won’t be the same with Europe.”

page, I saw that it was in Turkish as well.

Education?

Education is another important issue. Al Kadri explains his two children go to private Syrian schools. Language and integration are two major problems for the children.

“Classes may be opened that teach Syrian children Turkish for a year. The education might proceed with the Turkish children the following year.”

“We need to understand each other”

While Samman says “Damascus is always there, we are on a long vacation now” as to returning to Syria, al Kadri says “I will return to Syria not after the war is over but after [Bashar al] Assad is gone.”

“Syrians should understand Turkish culture, and people from Turkey should understand Arabic culture. The future will bring us side by side; we need to understand each other. This place is a small step.” (BK/TK)

* (The story is abridged) Beyza Kural, bianet, December 18, 2015.

Source: <http://bianet.org/bianet/yasam/170328-istanbul-da-yasamayi-sen-suriyeliler-anlatiyor>. Date of access: January 16, 2016.

So, in bianet’s example, though it looks paradoxical with rights-based peace journalism, within the context constructed, using “cultural elites” as a news source and paying regard to the facts that “Syrians” presence in Turkey is not a favor shown to them, that there are Syrians who can’t help but live here but also there are ones who prefer to be in Turkey by some choice though they might migrate to somewhere else, remind us of the need to consider the point as a question of rights where their status should be regarded as equal citizens as we perceive them within all their “plurality.” In other words, as Syrians are represented only with their absolute suffering, now newsworthiness

GÜNEŞ:

95 Dead 246 Wounded

Dastardly and Fickle

[trans. note: the headline attributes

“fickle,” but the word used for it “kahpe”

literally means “prostitute” in Turkish].



AYDINLIK:

We’ve lost 95 lives of our own

Bloody warning from the US:

Stop fight against terror

The report that shed light upon the attack

Turkish Armed Forces Warned Three Months Ago:

All elements of the USA are in duty

ÖZGÜR GÜNDEM:

Dastardly attack against peace

You put our hearts on fire

We’ll demolish your palace

[trans. note: the word “palace” implies the

residential estate built for President Erdoğan]

Source: Daily papers Aydınlık, Güneş, Özgür Gündem, issues October 11, 2015.

<http://t24.com.tr/basin/2015/10/11>. Date of Access: January 20, 2016.



is expanded and enriched in favor of the others by listening to the words of Syrian intellectuals and artists.

Lynch and Galtung give another useful hint about how the definition of newsworthiness can be expanded, regarding news about hot war and conflict. According to the authors, peace journalism could use the cracks and inconsistencies in conventional journalism rather than defining newsworthiness from a completely oppositional point to what conventional journalism attributes newsworthiness to. Peace journalism shouldn't report absolutely "good/positive" stories in order to balance war journalism's negative journalism (Lynch and Galtung, 2010:14).

Although Peace Journalism does not necessarily mean "good news," it is conceived of as a fairer way to cover conflict, relative to the usual coverage, and suggests possibilities to improve professional attitudes and performance; strengthen human, moral and ethical values in the media; widen scholarly and professional media horizons; and provide better public service by the media. (Shinar, 2007:3)

Therefore, hiding some elements for the sake of "good" news cannot be expected. War hurts, and those who are hurt are a news topic, but journalism should not consist of merely reporting the number of victims. Here, the journalist's choice and creativity becomes important. Just like it was during the civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the existence of mass graves, raping of women, snipers shooting civilians, is certainly news, however it is also important how they are reported. A tiny effort behind the front for reestablishing the daily life routine which war has shattered, for instance, or a concert in the ruins during the ceasefire, is also news and it will affect "constructively" the people whose lives were hit by an extremely destructive blow within war. Thus, the journalist can yield a personal, extraordinary, "positive" news story giving hope for the future by focusing on ordinary people and their lives, rather than statements from government authorities and military authorities.

Another example for expanding the definition of newsworthiness from the peace journalism point of view might be the news about the suicide attack in October 2015 against people who were about to attend the demonstration for Labor, Peace, Democracy in Ankara. According to the official declaration 102 people were dead and more than 500 were wounded.

Practicing peace journalism about the incident was very hard and practicing war journalism was very easy. Considering the news about the incident, we see completely different constructions of truth between the news whose sources were official authorities and the ones whose sources were the political movements and trade unions organizing the demonstration, though they were similar in quickly announcing "the other side" in the political polarization as the perpetrators of the attack (see page 61).

In spite of the differentiation between the news about the numbers of dead and wounded, the police's post-attack behavior, service provided to wounded people in hospitals, depending on the news source and position of the parties, it is possible to say that peace journalism was not achieved even in the media where the attack was approached in a way focusing on the sufferer. On the other hand, examples of war journalism and peace journalism about the topic can be found at the same time in the newspapers of different political groups.

Yet, if we thought about what could have been done in such situations, it is possible to say the following:

- First of all, the context about the causes and the effects of the attack should be constructed. Quick generalizations and polarizing discourses should be avoided while doing that. Announcing "the criminal" by quick judgments lacking evidence should be avoided.
- The sufferers should be covered with their life stories, rather than being just numbers²².

- The situations of wounded people should be covered as follow-up stories.
- However, creating an image of helpless suffering should be avoided.
- First degree suspects and the ones known to be responsible in different degrees should not be put in the same equation.

For instance, a news story can be considered as an example of peace journalism within the framework in which İzzettin Çevik was the news source. Çevik, who lost his sister and daughter in the suicide attack in Ankara, has become a symbol of the suffering via the photograph showing him embracing his wounded wife. The news story entitled “I knew my daughter was dead” (Habertürk, October 23, 2015)²³ is concluded by the following words from Çevik’s: “And we are not angry with those children who undermined the peace. Those children are not guilty. They are like our own. As a matter of fact, I give my condolences to the mothers of those children...They are children of people like us whose economic conditions are not good, maybe children of people who are Kurds just like I am. But you take those children...create monsters of them...put a bomb and detonate it in the middle of Ankara. Somebody did that. My breath will be following them until I die, until my last breath.” So, a very different narrative is constructed from the possible meaning if, for example, the news story was concluded by only the last sentence of the aforementioned last paragraph. The legal remedies demanded for punitive action against the responsible parties stick in the mind “together with” the message that hopes for peace should prevail. It enables readers to receive an “ethics for the other,” which could form a crack in the approaches of people who expect revengeful words against a monolithic enemy front and the ones who sympathize with the perpetrators of the attack, by a “condolence” message coming from the very sufferer of one of the most painful “personal stories” of the attack for the mothers of the suicide bomber “children.” The reporter’s and the editor’s way of constructing the news story as well as their choice of concluding with

that quote, remove the sufferer from being the “incapable” object of the attack as a news topic and make him one of the “true” subjects of peace and contributes to just-peace in a stronger and more significant way than governments could do.

On the other hand, defining the need as journalism concerned about just-peace, means expanding newsworthiness in favor of the sufferers of structural and cultural violence. In addition, that is also required to make the news process-oriented rather than being event/result-oriented. For example, in Turkey where since 1941, about 3 thousand mine workers died in mine “accidents,” mining and quarry mining are the industries with the most number of deaths by “accidents” according to the data. Occupational safety standards in those two industries are far behind the required relevant standards. That topic needs to be monitored and covered regularly without waiting for a new “accident” with several deaths. However, long before the “accident” on May 13, 2014 in which 301 mine workers died and for which we know the reason was safety weakness, although the need was a journalism carried out by systematic follow-up coverages questioning Turkey’s still not ratifying the International Labor Organization’s (ILO) Safety and Health in Mines Convention 1995 (No. 176)²⁴ and supporting the opinions of the relevant professional chamber and the political initiatives, we know that such journalism wasn’t practiced. In other words, as it was known that working conditions were below the required mine management standards, a proactive, just-peace oriented journalism about the government signing the convention determining the relevant standards and bringing forth responsibilities for the employer was possible. But the mainstream media, so to speak, waited for an “extraordinary” consequence, such as 301 deaths, for the follow-up. Therefore, it is possible to say that the “result-oriented” journalism practiced right after the incident – which itself requires another critical analysis – aggravated the multi-layered violations of rights experienced through the loss of lives. Furthermore, it is also possible to say that the reasons for the “Soma disaster” were partially put out of sight by the help of the “truth

regime” (Foucault, 1991) established by the official statements saying that “such accidents are in the nature of the occupation.” However, after the Soma “accident,” several topics are still waiting for newsworthiness and follow-up coverage through the experiences of the sufferers, rather than through the lips of “primary news descriptors,” topics such as the trial processes against the responsible people and to what extent the promises given by the political power to the kins of the workers who lost their lives in the “accident” are kept. Hence, there are some examples of good journalism which focus on “the other of the other”. For example, television reporter Göksel Göksu's news series “Brides of Soma,”²⁵ made with cameraman Emre Kınacı, is one of them. Because Göksu's news stories are taken from the voices of women who lost their spouses in Soma, it enables us to see how the financial support determined by the government for the women who have to sustain daily life with their children after losing their husbands who had provided the income for the household, could not be used under the conditions imposed by the patriarchal hegemony.

News Sources in Conventional Journalism and need for enriching

We have already discussed how news sources transformed the definition of newsworthiness itself. If we need to emphasize it again, news sources called primary news definers determine the discourse and framework of news and how it is discussed (Hall et al., 1978). Moreover, primary news definers themselves decide what is newsworthy or not. Within the elite-oriented journalism conception of conventional journalism, news is often based on statements from the representatives of government and political parties, local political and administrative authorities, military or security forces offices, forensic reports, on the grounds of the belief that they are “trustworthy” and they would provide “accurate” information, depending on the event that is the topic of the news. We encounter a similar situation such as news about the economy including the club of the rich as news

sources, or in news about culture having cultural capital owners as news sources. By such choices:

- The news gets sided with “the primary news definers” and other perspectives or the voices of the wronged people whose rights are violated and the institutions representing them are not heard.
- Additionally, when news sources are official authorities, the “woman perspective” is excluded, reproducing the hegemonic male narratives even when the issues are directly related to women, particularly in Turkey where women have very little representation in politics and bureaucracy.
- The right to receive information is obstructed because official authorities often hide the “factual truth” in countries such as Turkey where censorship is applied directly or indirectly over the media and freedom of information isn't practiced.

For example, we know that after the air forces operation on December 28, 2011 against the civilians from Uludere/Roboski village who were border trading, with the official suspicion that they might be PKK members, and resulting in 34 people dying, the mainstream media stayed silent until the General Staff made a declaration exactly 12 hours later and then the news was covered only within the framework of official sources.

- Sometimes, as is the case with men murdering women, or hate crimes committed against LGBTI individuals, the information taken and used from official authorities for the sake of “accuracy” can lead to reproducing violence and the violation of rights.

For example, conveying details about the offensive weapon within forensic reports or conveying the perpetrator's plea given in the police station about how the crime was committed as it is, etc. might cause imitating the violence perpetrated. Besides, as it happened in the Münevver Karabulut murder case, in which newspapers printed the

autopsy report about Karabulut after which it was later discovered that the findings were mixed up with another male dead body's findings in the morgue, publishing information from reports without any suspicion of “truth” can violate the rights of the victim and her/his family once more.

Particularly while in conflicts or hot war, the situation of violence prevails when military, political, official authorities are used as news sources, a propaganda-oriented journalism is practiced which is situated within the oppositions of “us” and “them”, “winning” or “losing”, therefore legitimizing, inciting violence and the most important, keeping the probability of peace and the fact that just-peace could only be achieved when all parties get win-win benefit, out of sight.

The way the “military operations” in Southeastern part of Anatolia in Turkey were covered is a typical example for that. The “operations” were carried out with Special Forces teams in residential areas, such as Silvan, Nusaybin, Cizre, Sur against Kurdistan Worker’s Party (PKK), The Patriotic Revolutionary Youth Movement (YDG-H)/ The Civil Protection Units (YPS) and caused the deaths of several civilians, women, old people, children. The news media practiced war journalism based solely on the political power’s statements within the embedded journalism framework – something we have witnessed the first “official” examples of on the occasion of journalists participating the operations together with the US army during the invasion of Iraq – and not minding at all the violations of rights that people suffer, people who will inevitably live together/next to each other tomorrow. Since the abandonment of the Democracy/Kurdish initiative, the government’s so called “total cleansing” policy has been repeated exactly as it would be seen on the December 18, 2015 issues of the newspapers. Considering that such policy caused the deaths of civilians without discriminating among women, old people, children, that is taking sides with the war by using headlines that would make one think that Kurds who



Sabah: You'll vanish in those pits

Yeni Şafak: You'll vanish in those pits – 400 PKK members constrained

Milliyet: They will vanish in those pits

Güneş: Cleaning in the city

Yeni Şafak: Total cleaning

Source: Daily papers Yeni Şafak, Milliyet, Sabah, Güneş, December 17 and 18, 2015, <http://t24.com.tr/basin/2015/12/17> ve <http://t24.com.tr/basin/2015/12/178>

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haven't voted for the government are regarded as the ones "to be cleaned, to be destroyed" totally within an opposition of "you are either with us or with them"²⁶ (see page 69).

To enrich news topics and news sources...

- Approach the news in a process-oriented way, rather than event-oriented, and cover the event's/fact's cause-effect connections and context. Think that it's never late for that.

- Do not keep your news sources limited to the official authorities and the elites, include representatives of rights organizations as news sources. Their opinions will give dimension to your news story and might provide a completely different perspective.

- Use the news sources of the people described as the sufferer or the enemy and alternative/independent news sources, as well. For example, go and interview Syrian President Hafez al Assad!

- Do not pretend to be balancing your news story by constructing it in a binary opposition such as "our side said that", "the other side claimed that", particularly in situations of tension, conflict, and war.

- If you are taking sides, always keep the suspicion that "your" side might lie and "the other" side might tell the truth, but cover your news with your the-other-oriented perspective paying regard to the one who needs just-peace the most. For example, if there is a case of violence against a woman and the perpetrator is male, do not excuse his deed by highlighting his pretexting statement, do include the sufferer and her relatives/kin as news sources, but take care not to cause any further damage. However, consider the perpetrator's right to a fair trial, as well.

- Remember that your news story will be enriched when you increase your news sources in a way that your audience will encounter different perspectives as much as possible.

- In situations of conflict/war, use conflict resolution methods and your creativity and expand your news topics and news sources.

- Derive extraordinary, personal stories focused on women, children, disabled people, LGBTI individuals, old people, too, from any routine news story through "responsibility for the other", but do not marginalize them, and do not make them develop any learned helplessness.

Editorial Values:

So-called Objectivity, Impartiality, Balance

I am no longer sure what 'objective' means: I see nothing object-like in the relationship between the reporter and the event, but rather a human and dynamic interaction between them. As for 'dispassionate', it is not only impossible but inappropriate to be thus neutralised—I would say even neutered—at the scene of an atrocity or massacre, or most man-made calamities. (Former BBC reporter Martin Bell, cited by Aslam, 2010:338)

Objectivity, impartiality and balance, representing the editorial values in conventional journalism are often used interchangeably, yet they are based on different philosophical positions regarding how to achieve "the knowledge of truth." The objectivity principle has been mentioned since the late 19th century after a transformation in the journalism tradition in USA, and it became a universal code in the following century. The objectivity principle was grounded on "naïve-realism" (Hackett, 2006: 8) in the beginning, claiming that the external world contained an existence/being that could be verified independently regardless of our subjective values. Partially moving away from that approach, it has been considered a method of conveying the truth with as much fidelity. It is assumed that objectivity could be achieved if journalists covered the news without introducing their opinions, balancing it by referring to different opinions, basing

it on the authorities who are expected to give accurate information. Impartiality on the other hand, appeared as a broadcasting promise in Britain during the first BBC radio broadcasts when “disputable topics in radio news” were prohibited with the concern that newspapers might lose readers, and later on it has been a part of journalism literature (Franklin and others 2005: 109). Impartiality, without denying the fact that the truth may be expressed by different sides, points out that the journalists write and interview keeping their distance from all sides and in a super position above all sides, or try to equalize their broadcast using opinions, images from different sides. For example, impartiality in news about politics is attempted to be achieved by taking care to allocate enough place and time for representatives of different opinions (Franklin and others 2005: 110). The typical example of balancing in BBC's broadcasting with journalism appears in the form of listening to both sides and conveying “A said that...”, “and B says that”, “...time will tell what will happen” for the sake of balance (Kempfner 2003, cited by Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005: 211). In order to have balance, the number of sides in complex topics are reduced to two, or traditional official sources are focused on more than required, so that the opinions of other parties are excluded (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005: 203-212).

People who study peace journalism have significant criticisms against the trio of conventional journalism. Lynch and McGoldrick, argue that, journalism based on the opinions of two sides' official authorities in order to achieve accuracy and balance often leads to a journalism in favor of violent resolution to the conflict (2005: 209). Because in this way, as it was aforementioned, the “construction of truth” by political, military centers of power of either one side or the other gain validity. Because the structural-cultural causes which led up to the outcome that became the news topic haven't been questioned and answered, a violent end to the conflict/tension becomes natural or legitimate. The news present a world consisting of the good (us) and the bad (them/the others), so conflicts are conveyed to the audience in a way such

that they consist seemingly of only two poles and a linear oppositional relation between them, therefore highlighting the oppositions rather than a common base of reconciliation. So, events/facts which should be always considered as multilayered and multidimensional are presented to us in a framework that consists of absolute winners and losers, as if they were in an opposition of black and white and as if they were homogeneous among themselves and had monolithic interests.

Moreover, feminist theoreticians made us see that so much of an emphasis on objectivity actually is related with the belief that journalism could be practiced only by the “male” reason and its knowledge, and also assuming that emotion and passion are their opposite, that they belong to the female and the private space and trivializing them; as it is done with all binary oppositions. Hence, because objectivity is considered equal to masculinity, several female journalists, in order to compete with their male colleagues in the same line, are obliged to adopt that masculine style or they can exist in the “light” topics of the private space left to them (such as health, education, beauty, marriage, family, high society, celebrity news) and in women supplements. Thus, regarding prime-time news debate programs in Turkey, we witness that the number of women invited as experts about foreign policy, international relations, economy, politics, law, security are just a few, besides the ones sought after are mostly who raise their voices in a “manly” manner and prefer a confrontational style and anyway the format itself obliges participant women to do that and the ones who can't make it are left out.

The objectivity regime helps to manage the symbiotic relationship between the news media and the state. Politicians gain access to media audiences and the opportunity to shape the public definition of political issues; conversely, so long as they follow the rules of objectivity, working journalists gain relatively stable access to senior officials and politicians, without sacrificing their public image of political independence and neutrality. (Hackett, 2010:181)

Finally, following the ones who say that the objectivity regime actually serves to legitimize existing power relations and naturalize the neo-liberal system, and the fact it leads to supporting the status quo is through actions not completely voluntary, but not coincidental either (Hackett and Zhao, 1998: 161; Hackett, 2006:9), we need to add that, although “objectivity” is not even mentioned rhetorically in Turkey nowadays, the political economy determining the present media regime is sustained by hiding behind it.

Redefining the Editorial Values

In one sense you want a journalist to be objective, but of course you know they cannot be, but you do not want them to distort the facts either. I was thinking: how I could reconcile that with my agonistic view? One distinction, which is certainly important, is between ‘la vérité de faits’ [factual truth] and ‘la vérité de raison’ [truth of reason]. I do not believe in truth in an absolute sense. Obviously, there are factual truths – as far as is possible, because it is not always possible – and you want journalists to be objective with respect to factual truths. The question would then be: how to combine this requisite of objectivity with respect to factual truth, with recognition of the fact that you cannot convey an absolute dogmatic truth? There is a problem there [laughs]. I think it is important for audiences to be shown that there are different views. People should not be told: this is the interpretation. There are always different interpretations, different aspects, and different perspectives. It is important for journalists to be able to show those differences, to make people think by themselves, and not telling them: this is what you should think. (An interview with Chantal Mouffe, Carpentier and Cammaerts, 2006:974)

Peace journalism's criticisms against conventional journalism's values determining editorial preferences are directed at redefining and practicing them, as it is with definition of newsworthiness and using news sources. In that case, from objective, impartial,

balanced journalism, we need to understand reporting the factual truth in a way that enables us to comprehend it knowing different perspectives (Carpentier and Cammaerts, 2006:974)²⁷, rather than “reporting the truth” (once in Turkey, a TV channel's evening news bulletin was concluded with the phrase “You have watched the truths!”). Therefore, the criterion being “truth-oriented,” which is considered a requirement for peace journalism in the comparison table of war journalism and peace journalism (see table in page 89), needs to be evaluated within that context. Since the “truth of reason” about the facts cannot be only one, peace journalism should try to reveal “lies of all sides” and what they cover up. Thus, in rights-based peace journalism, journalists' role should be regarded as opening doors for their audience to reach the “truth of (their) reason” presenting them “argumentative plurality” rather than being gatekeepers²⁸. But let's add that, while doing this, the journalist should act within an ethical conception based on knowing the self through the other and consider the goal of “just-peace.”

So, if the journalist is expected, as a criterion of objectivity, to cover news separating his/her emotions and political views and opinions from facts, then feminist epistemology and ethics should be the reference point. Hence, Susan Harding says that as we are always partial subjects, knowing the perspectives of marginalized groups and the oppressed and listening to them will actually help us to get the picture objectively (Harding, 1991 and 1996), and she calls that “strong objectivity” (Harding, 1996).

Journalism's professional ideology's arguments about impartiality and balance become questionable through the same approach. Because if Galtung's words ‘in a conflict between slaves and slave owners, I know on which side I stand’ are expanded, when the issue is racism, discrimination, sexism, or exploitation, a journalist's political and ethical preference should be on the sufferer's side.

Balance is even more problematic. Because the sides are at war with valid arguments because of their claims over a controversial piece of land for instance, it is easy to report with balance. But, if there is a structurally asymmetrical war between the occupier and the occupied, just as is with the dispute between Palestine and Israel, balancing the news practically leads to taking sides with the occupier. So, in the journalism pointing out the way to freedom, such imbalance should be reflected in the news (Galtung, 2006:4)²⁹. Or as the example of environmentalist journalism in USA indicates, allowing for the views denying global climate change [it's not hard to figure those are political and economic centers of power who have interest in that denial] to be valued as much as environmentalist organizations' views in order to achieve balance might lead to disseminating untrue news contrary to the scientists' relevant data based on consensus and therefore strengthening the hegemonic narrative (Bennett 2008, cited by Hackett, 2010:82).

Galtung explains “balanced” journalism according to peace journalism’s requirements:

- giving attention to all goals and positions of all parties,
- giving attention to ordinary people as well as to elites,
- giving attention to all phases of a conflict, before, during, and after violence

(Galtung, 2006: 5)

However, as it is with his own example of Palestine-Israel, trying to balance the news story might lead to normalizing and legitimizing the Israel occupation on Palestinian land. Besides, sometimes trying to balance the news story by having the opinion of the opposing side can exaggerate and incite what was actually a minor conflict and that might lead to a misbalance (Friend and Singer, 2007: 10). In such cases, what the journalist needs to do is consider whether the

news story would incite the course of the conflict and for whom the news story would yield beneficiary consequences and for whom it would work against, and pursuing a fairness considering the harmed, unequal side of the conflict. Keeble calls the required role for the journalist in such cases “critical subjectivity” based on a strong self-reflexivity (2005: 57-58).

5W+1H, Reverse Pyramid formulas of conventional journalism and their problems

In the reverse pyramid news writing form, official statements often lead the story and constitute most of the news story and that might provide the journalists a distant, even ironic stance against political life and might lead to a negative type of impartiality. Reverse pyramid writers trying to convey both sides for every story create an impression of both strong conflict and misbalance, even though the conflict itself is minimal. Using the model “A said that / B said that” in order to balance the story might expose journalists to manipulation. (Friend and Singer, 2007: 10)

5W+1H and the reverse pyramid rule, which have become the ABCs of conventional journalism's news writing, mean writing the answers to questions “who, what, where, when, why and how” right in the first sentences (Tokgöz, 2008: 262-264) by a preference of hierarchically decreasing order of importance and that rule is historically and philosophically related to the objectivity principle. It has been thought that accuracy, balance and impartiality would be ensured by the answers given to those six questions, and therefore a news reporting free of the journalist's individual judgments would be achieved. Additionally, it has been claimed that the formula leads to institutionalization of the objectivity principle (Friend and Singer, 2007: 6-7). However, the more important thing is that duo of rules make life easier for the editors while shortening the news story (Friend and others, 2005: 122).



Swedish woman's trial with a Turkish guy!
 "I begged to leave"
 Beyoğlu night ended in bed

Source: Habertürk, January 22, 2012 (not accessible, unpublished later on)

If one problem of the news story formed with a convenient text structure with the reverse pyramid model and 5W+1H rule is constructing a hierarchical order of importance depending on the journalist's preference, another problem is that it defines newsworthiness in favor of the elites. Given that news sources are often political, economic, military authorities, the structure works in favor of official statements starting with the first sentence in the news narrative (Friend and Singer, 2007: 10). Besides, in most cases, because the news story is event/result-oriented and is based on the information and testimonies served by the elites, the answer given to "why," which supposed to be the most vital question of the news story, leads to a "closure" of the news story's dominant narrative in favor of those primary definers. Thus, opinions and testimonies of the others, mostly the sufferers and the disadvantaged, are not represented on grounds such as unimportance or being hard to reach, etc. and the answer to the question "why" is either skipped or given in a way according to the ones considered being reputable and with stereotypical expressions as much possible and highlighting the dimension presumed to be the most sensational and interesting and that mostly contains violence and conflict. Hence, the "factual truth," which we know is always multilayered and can only be represented by

asking too many questions and referring to different perspectives, is reconstructed in a partial way with a reductionism safe for the status quo and is determined by the habitual preferences in the current journalism culture. Accordingly, in Turkey, where more than 200 women are killed every year on average by men most close to them – husband, ex-husband, fiancée, boyfriend, father, brother, uncle, – the answer to the question "why" in news stories about those murders is given by stereotypical narratives, making people think that "the woman deserved what happened to her" as if she forced the position the dominant patriarchal mentality imposes on her.

For example, titles like "Killed his wife for taking the same minibus everyday" (Posta, May 27, 2009); "Murder by Jealous Husband: Dreamed she betrayed him, Stabbed his wife at 15 points" (Vatan, March 27, 2012); "Killed his wife of 14 years for 'over-make up'" (Zaman, October 20, 2011) and their content tell such news stories. Or, as it is in the news story titled "Swedish woman's trial with a Turkish guy! Beyoğlu night ended in bed" (Habertürk, January 22, 2013) about a raped woman and an image gallery containing her photographs in swimsuit picked from Facebook, tells with cause and effect how a news story complete in terms of 5W+1H is constructed for the voyeur masculine-eye.

On the other hand, a news story being proper in terms of 5W+1H is not enough to be "good news" within the perspective of peace journalism, because a news story with the correct elements might be violating rights, inciting or encouraging violence due to preferences of time, narrative, source, image, etc. in the way it's structured. Besides, for peace journalism focused on just-peace and referring the other, the 5W+1H formula is not adequate to open doors for comprehending the "factual truth." For comprehending the truth, which is always multilayered, more than those six questions should be asked and answered. That issue will be mentioned again later (see page 97).

Finally, Internet technology offers a significant environment for freeing the news from being event/result-oriented, elite-oriented and victory-oriented and for peace journalism. It eases structuring process-oriented news with enriched news topics and sources and by answering more questions without forgetting the "why" question. The linear and hierarchical narrative characterizing conventional journalism's news structure, which is obliged to start with a striking beginning in which all the elements of the news story are fit into the first sentences, can be "broken" via hyper-texts in online journalism so that both the journalist's preferences about structuring the news story and the audience's preferences about reading it are expanded (Friend and Singer, 2007: 8-9). However, with new technologies, now, news reporting has become a race with real-time; as news reporting has become easier a competition has emerged, particularly caused by the social media and citizen journalism; although there is vast amount of accessible information sources, only some of them are reliable. All those reasons increase the responsibility of journalists, who have to catch the right news in the required time.

News language and discourse in just-peace journalism

News writing as journalism focused on just-peace, requires creating a framework via the language and discourse within responsibility for the other. Yet, the language and discourse field, which is the primary tool of constituting meaning about ourselves and life, is ideology's field, though they don't coincide exactly. Therefore the language of daily life is not free from values or is not impartial (Ellis and Coward, 1977) and also that language is phallogocentric in which the woman can find a place only as the other³⁰. News and journalists become partial as long as the news story is constructed in that masculine language and the way of (or discourse of) knowing/

explaining which dominates the language.

So, the question of what kind of a language and discourse the news story will be constructed in is of key importance for practicing peace journalism. The primary task is ousting the masculine language and the hegemonic discourse which create discrimination and inequality by constituting the woman as the other, feminizing the other and maligning the other woman/woman of the other. Besides that, language and discourse make female body the sexual object of masculine power's voyeur eyes, its pornographic fantasy and its desire to discipline even if the woman herself is not the news topic.

Phallogocentric language is encountered the most in situations of predominating the other side and teaching their place, just like the way it is in football fields, therefore in reporting during situations that contain or might lead to hot war or violence. The ideological ground of nationalism's language is based on military narratives such as protecting the homeland imagined like a female body in the possession of a hegemonic male (Nagel, 1998), or invading "the other's" land and planting a flag on it and that language shapes in the most severe warmongering and sexist forms in such situations. So, "disarming" the language and the discourse will pave the way for freeing the news from sexism, as well.

A way of freeing the news writing from dominant discourse stereotypes and at least from violating rights, is to prevent reproducing the hate speech that we encounter in daily life and even to have it questioned in news narrative. Although it is not always easy to decide on the limits of freedom of expression, it is generally accepted that hate speech is an issue, if 1) hate against a group or group's members is encouraged in any text and if qualities imputed to that group are shown as the "just" cause of that encouragement; 2) the group's members are degraded, treated inferiorly, or regarded as the perpetrator of something because of their identity; 3) group members' deprivation of their rights is legitimized (Çınar, 2013:143). And the

hate speech categories found in the news media are classified as the following (Çınar, 2013: 149-150)³¹:

- Exaggeration, imposition, distortion: “Protect from my lesbian spouse” (Hürriyet, October 9, 2014)
- Swearing/ insult/ degrading: “ECHR (European Court of Human Rights), the infidel” (Yeni Akit, September 18, 2014)
- Hostility and warmongering discourse: “Kobani must be razed” (Yeniçağ, October 10, 2014)
- Using the natural identity as an element of hate, degradation and symbolizing it: “Jewish Mind” (Milli Gazete, January 8; 2013)

Referencing the statement that no kind of hate speech may comply with journalism focused on just-peace, a careful renewal of news language can start particularly with news titles and it is a necessity to avoid the stereotypical expressions which are also related to taking the easy way out even though it is legitimized on grounds of being interesting, appealing to readers or sales. Furthermore, as the following examples will indicate, those stereotypical expressions multiply the discrimination, inequality and hate speech against the otherized women/feminized others by conveying daily life’s phallogocentric language via the news media, thus reproducing it; therefore, not using them is basically a question of editorial preference.

“In 2003, we didn’t send troops to Iraq and in the news it was reported as US invasion and Iraqi resistance. The parliament accepted a mandate for military action in August, but no soldiers were deployed. Then we asked ourselves ‘What would we say if troops were sent?’ We had been saying “US invasion,” what if soldiers were sent, what would Turkish newspapers call the Iraqis resisting against the occupation, ‘resistants’ or ‘terrorists?’” (Mete Çubukçu, Peace Journalism Workshop, April 22, 2015).

Suggestions about necessary actions regarding language are as follows:

- Expressing gender for people under 18 years old, legally children, to use the word boy instead of man as the counterpart of girl. For people over 18 years old, to keep the distinction as woman and man. In other words, to remove woman-girl distinction in gender identity for women over 18.
- Not to use concepts excluding or disregarding women such as mankind, businessman, statesman and to choose words either neutral in gender (“business person”) or to use the word in a way including women (“businessman and businesswoman”).

Negative examples: “An open letter to Wise Men” (Evrensel, August 1, 2015); “Bezmialem brings up hundred percent men” (Akit, September 30, 2014).

- Not to use such expressions and adjectives in forms of daily life’s stereotypical concepts, the proverbs and idioms which otherize women and make the female body an object of male dominance on the grounds that they make the news narrative easy, appealing, or interesting by puns, etc. or just because they are habitual. In the case of citing, to use them absolutely in quotes or not to highlight them or not to use them in titles.

Negative examples: “Photos of the year make debut” (Hürriyet online, November 12, 2015) [trans. note: The idiom in Turkish used for ‘making debut’ actually means a girl’s being seen by the candidate groom’s relatives for an arranged marriage]. “From Erdoğan to Kılıçdaroğlu: It is easier for the single man to divorce the wife (Radikal, May 25,2010) [trans. note: mot-a-mot translation of a Turkish idiom which means “easier said than done”]. “You have a daughter, you have trouble” (Vatan, April 7, 2013) [idiom in Turkish]. “Fickle ambush” (Star, August 20, 2015) [trans. note: the headline attributes “fickleness,” but the word used for it “kahpe” literally meaning “prostitute” in Turkish]. “The government raped the law – CHP

leader Baykal said ‘Soldiers are arrested for the absence of a coup d’état danger, not because there’s no such present danger’ (Akşam, March 3, 2010). “6 years 8 months for the bruising kiss” (Hürriyet online, November 24, 2015).

- Not to use words signifying identities of gender, ethnicity, religion, etc. when they are not the complementary element of the news story or there is a probability of causing hostilities. And for the contrary, in news about success stories, not to use the word “Turk” attributing to everyone, to respect the sub-ethnic identity or the identity the person would like to be called with and to use the phrases “from Turkey” or “citizen of Turkey” when necessary.

Negative examples: “Female driver spreads terror”; “Jewish businessman left” (about İzak Alaton’s resignation from Alarko Board Chair and being replaced by İzzet Garih, Vahdet, May 27, 2015); “Syrian father spreads terror” (Millet, July 29, 2015) - “Driver trying to save the transvestite was killed” (Enson Haber, February 23, 2014); “Transvestite with AIDS spread terror in the beautician’s after rejection” (Mynet news, February 21, 2007); “Killed his daughter in love with the Sunni young man – Honor killing in England” [Title indirectly implies the perpetrator is Alawi; besides murder by the perpetrator father is legitimized by choosing the word “honor”] (Milliyet, October 9, 2009).

- Not to hide the suspect/perpetrator primarily for the news topics that contain violence and conflict, and also to avoid using expressions, detailed information and adjectives that strengthen, guide for, and legitimize the deed and the suffering caused by the deed or the ones that make the suffering look like inevitable and produce “learned helplessness.”

Negative examples: “Chain honor executions after family council judgment” (Sabah, June 2, 2011); “Honor insanity” (Takvim, March 25, 2010); “Unemployed husband shot seven bullets” (DHA, August 11, 2011); “Ran away from her husband, caught by the bullets” (Hürriyet,

August 17, 2011); “Yet another husband savagery, burned his wife with boiling water” (Cumhuriyet, November 16, 2015); “Western life style Uğur Dündar and Soner Yalçın demanded lead to death in Sivas, rape in Antalya. They had said ‘Persist with mini skirt, persist with décolleté, persist in living together girls and boys’” (Akit, February 14, 2015). Or “Yet another refugee drama, baby once again” (Sabah, October 5, 2015).

- To avoid using adjectives and expressions that may jeopardize the suspect’s/perpetrator’s right to a fair trial.

Negative examples: “Rapist children are free, remorseful statement from the governor” [another problematic aspect of the news story is that the perpetrators are children and detailed information about their deed is given] (Vatan, April 26, 2010)

- To avoid using expressions or images as compliments to war and arms, to “disarm the language/image.”

Negative examples: (see page 87) “Stop to Rattlesnake Crisis, identification card of Sidewinder missile –The 100 thousand dollars hit” [Because of the images, page design and the focus on arms, although Turkey president’s words “We don’t want tension”; Russia and Turkey prime ministers’ words “We will not go into war”, “Russia is our friend” are present in the news story] (Takvim, November 2, 2015). “I hit a Mig in one shot” (Hürriyet, November 2, 2012)³²

- Not to represent the other side in a “dehumanizing”³³ way and to avoid any type of hate speech.

Negative examples: “Turkish Armed Forces entered as far as PKK dens” (Sabah, September 27, 2015) (see page 86); “Entered into their dens” (Star, December 14, 2014); “PKK dogs killed our soldiers” [MHP MP’s words, which were said during an argument between MHP MPs and HDP MPs in the parliament, are quoted] (Sözcü, March 6, 2013). “Armenians Became Rabid” (Yeniçağ, December 17, 2008).



"Tens of terrorists are killed"
"Turkish Armed Forces entered PKK dens"

Source: Sabah, September 27, 2015, Ahmet Kavak, Sekvan Küden
<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/09/27/inlerine-girildi>

I hit a Mig in one shot

A Hürriyet reporter was among the first users of the simulation system of the fighter jet F-35 of which Turkey plans to buy 100 paying 16 billion dollars. Riza Canikligil tested the electronic warfare system. As the countdown goes on for the F-35 fighter jet project which is expected to be the "sole ruler of the skies" for the next 30 years, Hürriyet was among the first ones who sat on the jet's simulator seat. We had the chance to test the fighter jet of the future F35 installed in the model cockpit using the flight and combat codes Turkey intends to have, during the presentation in New York for the representatives of outstanding news corporations from the partner countries of F-35 project. We combated against Russian made MIG fighters, bombarded a military airport and shot ground targets using the F35 in real cockpit simulator under supervision of experienced flight trainers.

Blue colored ghost

According to the authorities, using F-35 will be very easy for fighter pilots. F-35 is outdistancing seven models of jet fighters still in use



"Stop the Rattlesnake Crisis,
identification card of Sidewinder missile –The 100 thousand dollars hit"

Source: Takvim, November 26, 2015,
<http://t24.com.tr/basin/2015/11/26>. Date of Access: January 20, 2016



such as F-16, F-18, F-22 and also considerably reduces the need for scout planes such as “Awacs”. F-35’s manufacturing does not contain aluminum as it was with F-16s and it avoids the radar thanks to its ghost (Stealth) technology.

The radar system installed at the plane’s nose detects all ground and airborne elements very early and acknowledges the pilot. 360 degrees are visible on giant touch screens and even on the pilot’s helmet thanks to its 6 cameras installed in the circuit.

It can approach the target undetected, contrary to F-16s, and all left to the pilot is choosing the target to shoot and press the trigger.

There are ten 320 km ranged, GPS guided missiles on the next generation jet. F35 fighter jets are manufactured in three versions, “horizontal take-off and landing”, “short take-off “vertical landing” and “landing on aircraft carrier”.

Turkish missiles might be installed

3,100 jet fighters are planned to be manufactured within the scope of the “F-35 development partnership” project participated by USA, Turkey, UK, Italy, Holland, Australia, Canada, Denmark and Norway. TAİ, Aselsan, Mikes, ALP Aviation, Kale Aero, Petlas, LISI, TEI, Mege Teknik and Ayesas will manufacture very important parts of F35 within the scope

Comparative Table of War Journalism and Engendered Peace Journalism

War/Violence Journalism	Engendered Peace/Conflict Journalism
I. War/Violence-Orientated	I. Peace/Conflict-Orientated
Focuses on the conflict arena: 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war, general zero-sum orientation	Explores conflict formation: x parties, y goals, z issues, general win-win orientation
Focuses on mostly male resource persons—military, heads of state, governments, police as source of information	Explores how women and men of all parties are affected and included in win-win orientation
Closed space, closed time, causes and exits in an arena, who threw the first stone	Open space, open time, causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history and culture
Making wars opaque/secret	Making conflicts transparent
“Us-them” journalism, propaganda, voice for “us”	Giving voice to all parties, empathy, understanding
Sees “them” as the problem, focuses on who prevails in war	Sees conflict/war as problem, focuses on creativity
Reactive: waiting for violence before reporting	Pro-active: before any violence occurs, focuses on initiatives including those coming from the women
Focuses only on the visible effects of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)	Focuses on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture, marginalization of women and children)

of the project which Turkish companies will have a contribution margin of 8 billion dollars. TAİ, which has a manufacturing contract for “center housing” of 400 planes, several parts they manufacture are successfully used in F-35s in the test flight phase. F-35 Program Integration and Business Development President Stephan O’Byran stated that Turkey’s role in the project is very important and Turkey owns 100% of the plane by inputting 3% and that they plan installing Turkish made missiles on F-35 in future phases and offering them to other partners, as well.

Riza Canikligil, New York, Hürriyet November 2, 2012

Source: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/tek-atista-mig-vurdum-21832494>.

Date of Access: January, 20 2015.

News framing and writing in situations of conflict and war

The journalist should ask the questions: What does the woman experience in war conditions in Turkey? What kind of difficulties does the woman experience who lost her relatives? What should the woman obliged to make both ends meet do? How does the woman, not speaking the language (Turkish), look for her relatives in a government office? (Burcu Arkan, Women’s Initiative for Peace, Peace Journalism Workshop, April 22, 2015).

Certainly, we don’t always encounter violence in the form of direct and physical violence. In daily life different forms of violence are dealt with: structural violence such as labor exploitation, political, cultural, patriarchal oppression, colonialism, racism, slavery, military occupation, corruption, clientalism, impunity; cultural violence such as hate speech, fear of brutality, pressure of heroic myths, religious justification of war/death, the myth of being the “chosen nation/society,” vanity of being the superior civilization (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005: 60-61). When the peace is comprehended

Portrays women and children as helpless victims (see what “they” did to “our” women and children)	Portrays women as active contributors in conflict transformation and peace building
Dehumanizes “them”	Humanizes all sides
II. Propaganda-Orientated	II. Truth-Orientated
Exposes “their” untruths	Exposes untruths on all sides
Helps “our” cover-ups/lies	Uncovers all cover-ups
III. Elite-Orientated	III. People-Orientated
Focuses on “our” suffering: on able-bodied elite males being their mouthpiece	Focuses on suffering all over: on women, aged and children; giving voice to the voiceless
Gives name of their evil-doers	Gives names to all evil-doers
Focuses on elite peacemakers, mostly men	Focuses on people peacemakers, heroes of non-violence, including women
IV. Victory-Orientated	IV. Solution-Orientated
Peace = victory + ceasefire	Peace = non-violence + creativity
Conceals peace initiatives, before victory is on hand	Highlights peace initiatives, also to prevent more war
Focuses on treaty, institution, the controlled society	Focuses on structure, culture, the peaceful society
Aftermath: leaving for another war, return if the old flares up again	Aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation (includes women’s needs and participation), peacebuilding

Source: See Reyes ve Rajjeli, 2007.

with a conception of standing against the cultural, structural violence, as well, hence when peace journalism is comprehended as the proactive journalism not only about the situations of conflict or revealed violence but also about daily life situations caused by implicit structural and cultural violence, there's a need to build principles and rules in order to make all the news rights-based for the other. Hence, it has been discussed and given examples about how present rules and codes and editorial values of conventional journalism should be practiced by redefining them based on which ethical foundations, within the framework of such journalism focused on just-peace. Now, peace journalism practices in situations or in danger of hot conflict will be discussed.

There are various peace journalism guides about journalism practices alternative to conventional/war journalism in situations of war and conflict that became common via the practice in alternative journalism media and that were formed within various journalism experiences in the Philippines, Israel and Palestine, Uganda, Ireland and Turkey. There are visual and written news texts developed by Lynch and McGoldrick themselves for their trainings, in order to constitute examples of war and peace journalism. Such an example has been implemented by bianet in Turkey, in order to use it in the workshops which were a part of this handbook³⁴.

Those guides developed actually belong to Galtung (2006), and they have been prepared based on the peace journalism criteria in the table comparing war journalism and peace journalism, however we used the table from the handbook of Reyes and Rajjeli (2007) which we found more useful because of its emphasized gender aspect (see pages 89, 91). Let's mention the following at the expense of repetition:

- A peace journalist researches the causes of the conflict via a process-oriented journalism rather than a result-oriented one.

Covering women in situations containing conflict/war...

- Ask women what solutions they may suggest and not just what they feel.
- Strive to find affected women and children and include their untold stories, opinions, goals, and solutions.
- Sustain reportage on a peace process beyond the ceasefire and signing of a treaty. Make visible the efforts of women in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding.

Source: Reyes ve Rajjeli, 2007.

Peace journalism is an ethical and political choice...

Do not create such excuses for not reporting the news!

- We've already done that!
- It's not our kind of story.
- It's too expensive.
- It's too late, my program/page is full.
- It's too tacky, too down-market.
- It's boring.
- We've not got any pics.
- It doesn't move the story on.
- Not enough dead.
- It can wait.
- I'm in a rush right now.
- It would take too much telling.

Or, do not make your choice of news merely depending on the following!

- There are pictures or film available.
- They contain short, dramatic occurrences which can be sensationalised.
- They are open to simple reporting.
- They occur on a grand scale.

- tries to clarify and make positions of all sides transparent and the number of sides is always more than two; tries to bring forward the commonalities of the sides without hiding the different opinions, positions between them.
- while doing that considers that peace/resolution is always a trade-off relationship, that it is a situation that both sides will give something and gain something in return.
- focuses on the invisible effects of the conflict, concentrates on the most effected ones (women, children, etc.), approaches all sides humanely.
- enriches news sources and the definition of newsworthiness acting with the knowledge that peace can be built and be lasting only by the work of ordinary people, mostly of women, and rights organizations.
- while reporting conflicts, concentrates on the probabilities of generating nonviolent solutions to disputes by using creativity rather than the probabilities of achieving victory and declaring ceasefire.
- doesn't hide behind professional habits and use them as excuses when peace journalism is easy to practice.

Furthermore, Galtung, Lynch and McGoldrick suggests a journalism by first mapping the conflict and then using the conflict resolution techniques when there's a probability of tension transforming into hot conflict, war or when they are present. However, they also needed to note, the journalist's role here is not acting like a peace activist, mediating for peace or directly attempting to resolve the conflict. Yet, a journalist reporting the danger or presence of hot conflict is expected to be informed and trained about conflict resolution, just like the way health journalism or environmental journalism requires particular efforts in their respective areas.

- They contain everything; violence, blood, crime, catastrophe, beautiful woman, etc. (Once, an anchorman in Turkey summarized that by a live question: "Is there blood, is there?")
- The audience would love it.
- They provide balance with other news.
- They allow an event to be reported in personal or human interest terms.

Source: Compiled from Jackie Harrison, "Gatekeeping and news selection as Symbolic Mediation", Stuart Allan (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to News and Journalism*. Londra. New York: Routledge, 2010, p. 196-197.

Mapping the violence...

- Violence is never wholly its own cause. Conflict is made up of structure, culture and process –the context, without which no explanation for a violent event is complete or, indeed, correct.
- Non-violent responses are always possible. There is always more than one way of responding to conflict. Many people, in many places, are devising, advocating and applying non-violent responses.
- More than two sides. There are always more than two parties to any conflict – some, whose involvement or interest is hidden, need putting on the map. Others, presented as a solid aggregate of views, may contain important internal divisions, and they need dis-aggregation.
- Every party has a stake. Parties to conflict should be seen as stakeholders, pursuing their own goals, needs and interests – some openly acknowledged, but almost invariably some hidden as well. (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005: xviii).

In brief, the following should be considered in peace journalism:

- First, trying to comprehend and explain the causes, sides, goals, probable outcomes of the conflict, violence, therefore trying to ask more questions and give more answers.
- While doing that, whatever the sides – regardless of whoever they may be – cover up is uncovered, their lies are revealed, and news stories are only based on verified information.
- Voiceless, unheard people are accessed. News stories are expanded and detailed by the information those news sources give about their lives effected by the conflict/war, their problems, their strategies of resistance, their initiatives for survival, their attempts for peace and accordingly, their success stories.

For example, in Cyprus, journalist Sevgül Uludağ's investigative news stories and special reports about the rapes against women and enforced civilian disappearances in the communal conflicts which ignited the Cyprus question and the war in 1974, which she has covered since the times it was very hard to speak about, are peace journalism. Her special reports about the civilians whose names were in the enforced disappearances list by talking with their relatives, urging the witnesses to tell what they knew and matching that information with official records on the one hand kept the issue on the agenda and on the other hand guided the studies in the island conducted by international organizations for finding those disappeared people and helped retrieving the bones of several disappeared people and also constructively contributed to the peace process via those stories of violence and the confrontations they provided and those reports were gathered in a book later on³⁵.

- It is based on not being an instrument to the propaganda of military, political elites (the ones who decide for war, sustain it or take responsibility for it, etc.) while being obliged to have them as news sources.

Expanded 5W+1H suggestion for Peace Journalism

Who

- Who is affected by this conflict; who has a distinct stake in its outcome?
- What is their relationship to one another, including relative power, influence, affluence?

What

- What triggered the dispute; what drew it to your attention at this time?
- What issues do the parties need to resolve?

When

- When did this conflict begin?
- How long have the circumstances existed that gave rise to this dispute?

Where

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

Why

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

How

- How are they going to resolve this, e.g., negotiation, mediation, arbitration, administrative hearing, court, armed warfare?
- What are the costs/benefits of the chosen method?

Options

- What options have the parties explored?
- How do the various options relate to the interests identified?

Common Ground

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

Source: Rosemarie Schmidt, "Working with Journalists to Enhance Conflict Coverage", The Canadian Conflict Resolution Networks's Media Program, 1994, www.cnetwork.ca. Cited by Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005, p. 54-55

For example, journalists' cancellation of their interviews with Syrian President Bashar Hafez al-Assad because of the embargo applied by the Turkish government is surrendering to "official propaganda." Once, a similar situation occurred about interviews with PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan. On the other hand, in some interviews, distance from the "counter-official propaganda" could not be kept. bianet's coverage about PKK's withdrawal process, which started on May 8, 2013, by Çiçek Tahaoglu who was there with the guerrilla groups, consisted of news stories such as "I'm Waiting for the Withdrawal in Duhok," "First PKK group withdrew, everyone's very Excited," "A night in Camp Metina," "Metina Mountains in pictures," and those news stories are significant examples in terms of contribution to the peace process³⁶.

- Trying to clarify and make positions of all sides transparent and the number of sides is always more than two; not covering up the differences and conflicting interests, however emphasizing commonalities and the benefits of peace for all sides.

For example, before April 24, 2004, when the resolution plan for Cyprus suggested by UN General Secretary Kofi Annan would be voted on in referendums in both communities, Yeni Düzen newspaper published the Annan Plan as a supplement. Anti-peace propaganda was trying to keep the information that Cypriot Turks would lose their lands on the agenda. The newspaper published news stories simulating the houses Cypriot Turks would acquire with their deeds of title, and stories about how the brain drain caused by the embargoes and unemployment would come to an end, therefore making the plan transparent and regarded peace in a win-win perspective (Alankuş, 2006)³⁷.

- Voices of all sides are heard, "the other" is listened to, thinking in line with the other.

For example, in Cyprus, before and during the process when the Annan

The collage consists of several newspaper pages from Taraf. The top page features a large headline: "Analar ağlıyor: 49 PKK'lı öldürüldü" (Mothers cry: 49 PKK members are killed). Below it, there are smaller headlines like "'Askeri konsey'e nokta operasyonu" (Point operation to the military council) and "Kazan Vahdini Toprak ve Hava Salvarları" (Victory of the ground and air forces). The middle page has a large headline: "Recep abi bir gün internete girmiş..." (Uncle Recep went on the internet for one day...). Below it, there are smaller headlines like "Korsan taratarlar" (Pirates are attacking) and "Bililiksiz'suç' tesbit etti" (Established the guilt of the ignorant). The bottom page features a large headline: "AB, insanlığın en büyük barış projesi" (The EU, the greatest peace project of humanity). Below it, there are smaller headlines like "Dinlediği en pahalı şey olmalı" (It should be the most expensive thing it listens to) and "Orada ne şiirler yazıldı..." (What poems were written there...).

"Mothers cry: 49 PKK members are killed"
Taraf, October, 2011.

Source: <http://arsiv.taraf.com.tr/haber-analar-agliyor-49-pkk-li-olduruldu-80359/>
Date of Access: January 20, 2016.

Plan was discussed, pro-peace newspapers in the North and the South opened their pages to each other and shared their opinion articles. Greek Cypriot journalist Tony Angastiniyotis directed two documentaries called “The Voice of Blood.” Those news-documentaries were about the Muratağa, Atlılar and Sandallar massacres in which Cypriot Turks were murdered and buried in mass-graves. The documentaries were apart from what their government, the official representative of the Republic of Cyprus, said within the official ideology and later on when he was obliged to live in the North of Cyprus he kept on practicing peace journalism through his articles.

- Inspires and guides new creative solutions via examples and experiences from different places. Conveys those to the decision makers and reports their responses.

For example, news about the Ireland model which covered how the peace process proceeded were published during the period called the “Kurdish initiative;” however, it is suggested that such a practice should be a part of the news reporting routine.

- Concentrates on the invisible effects of the conflict, therefore on women, children, old people, disabled people, relatives of the people who were killed in the conflict/war and what they left behind, etc. However, while doing that, it doesn’t construct the opposition of “our sufferers/innocents” and “them, those who got what they deserved.” It doesn’t derive advocacy or support for violence from suffering and doesn’t legitimize violence via the suffering. Approaches all sides with the same humaneness.

Example news: “Mothers cry” (Taraf, October 13, 2011) (see page 99). “Their Families Tell About Their Losses: Soldier Ahmet and Guerrilla Ebru” (Işıl Cinmen, bianet, November 5, 2011).

- Regards conflict/war/violence as a problem. Enacts creativity to end the conflict by creative means without transforming into violence, or covers news about such creativity.

For example, the story “The Most Meaningful Response to Racist Greeks’ Attack Against Cypriot Turks Came From Pro-Peace Greeks” (Diken, November 18, 2015) is an example of that.

- Acts pro-actively, in other words, reports when the course of events are foreseen before tension/hot war emerges and reports for cooling down by resolution rather than fueling it.

War and peace journalism via photography

“Peace photography constitutes more than anti-war photography, because disrupting the logics of familiar binaries (‘good’ and ‘evil’, ‘victim’ and ‘oppressor’, ‘us’ and ‘them’) is only the initial step. ... a second step is vital in this regard. It is my contention that peace photography calls for nothing less than a profound re-imagining of photographic form, practice and epistemology in the first place.” (Allan, 2011: 163)

Photography or any kind of image or recording can be used as an element that strengthens the news and it is news on its own, as well. However, what the journalist accomplishes by adding the photograph to the news story is always more than what the photograph can convey on its own. (Zelizer, 2005: 268) Moreover, many news stories aren’t reported just because they are not supported by photography or any visual material (Ottosen, 2007: 3). The witnessing or the sense of “I saw it” as if one were there provided by photography and particularly its “reality” effect created by its strength because of the quality of capturing and freezing the moment (Zelizer, 2005: 168-171) has always made it one of the primary topics of journalism ethics debates, therefore of war and peace journalism debates, too.

Although the history of press photography is much older, the concept of photojournalism was first encountered in the 1920s and 1930s (Brennen, 2010: 73). War photographs are particularly significant in the history of press photography. Especially the witnessing role

photography played while documenting the survivors of Nazi concentration camps after WWII, or events such as photographs taken from the front during the Vietnam War that caused official US policies to be questioned in the USA and in the world (Brennen, 2010:74). These examples increase photography's effect for being regarded as the document of truth. By the way, examples such as a boy with a gun pointed at his head in Vietnam, or a girl about to die from hunger in Sudan photographed with the vulture next to her, caused still ongoing debates whether the journalist has to help the sufferer rather than photographing. Although that debate often went on with the majority tending to say that the journalist shouldn't intervene with the situation, which became the object of photography, recently the facts that press photos taken in the wars and civil wars particularly in the Balkans and Africa have been evidence of war crimes and used for the responsible individuals' accounting for, strengthen the photojournalists' tendency to focus on and document the destruction war caused in civilian lives and the violence against women and children (Tumber, 2010: 356-537). Even though that redefinition of professional responsibility is criticized, claiming that journalists, including photojournalists, act with a selective agenda in order to influence their government's policies regarding the human rights violations in the war and international humanitarian law violations (Tumber, 2010: 537), it starts a more intervening tradition of photojournalism. In the mid-19th century, press photos were expected to be technically perfect and to reflect the objective truth impartially. Today their contribution to the representation, understanding and interpretation of social problems is emphasized much more. Therefore, it is possible to say that photojournalism has proceeded from documenting photographs to sensuous photojournalism (Allan, 2010:77). However it is worth adding that a much more pro-active photojournalism is accompanied by the gradual decrease in the number of people working in photojournalism.

On the other hand, regarding either photojournalists' technical and

emotional preferences about the photographs or editors' preferences about using them, it is possible to say that ethical problems of masculine journalism and war journalism are repeated in those visual texts, as well. Therefore, as Stuart Allan put it, there is a need for the "visual-grammar" emerging from a new epistemological position in order to contribute to human rights and social justice (2011: 163).

The primary condition for the news photography to be consistent with just-peace oriented journalism is, while preferring the "sensual" photography, to avoid producing habitual binary oppositions in various combinations such as "us/good/powerful" or "sufferer"; "them/bad/powerless" or "aggressor" depending on the situation, as it is with news texts propagating war. For example, a partial control over news photography was attempted during the Vietnam War, but during the First Gulf War and after the 9/11 attacks in USA, the act of not circulating the images that would make us look "powerless," but exhibiting



Source: Unknown



Source: http://www.lynseddario.com/women-at-war/11_LA_WomenatWar_2

the powerlessness of “the other” depended on such editorial preference. The most typical example to that is found during the First Gulf War, in the strong opposition between the images of hyper-healthy, happy, well-equipped US pilots returning from bombarding the targets, and the images of Iraqi soldiers in regret and misery trying to kiss the boot of the US soldier taking them as prisoner³⁸. Some time after the US invasion in Iraq in 2003, the photographs served when Saddam Hussein was captured exhibited the other who had been hiding cowardly in his den, captured without resistance and tamed (feminized) (see page 103).

Another example is the well known news texts accompanying the photographs about the American “white” men/women – “us” - and the civilized party – “rescuing” the “black” Afghan women from the



“Here is the teacherous PKK”
Takvim, August 26, 2015



Mothers cry... General Staff: 16 martyrs in Dağlica

Source: Zaman, September 8, 2015
http://www.zaman.com.tr/gundem_analar-agliyor-genelkurmay-daglicada-16-sehit_2315301.html. Date of Access: January 20, 2016.

hands of the “black” men which we encountered during the US invasion in Afghanistan, in 2001 (see page 104).

So, it is noticed that the women who have been ignored in the usual situations within the war/propaganda journalism based on binary oppositions have suddenly become visible via the sensual photographs. Those are sometimes photographs chosen to be the topic of a suffering competition. Photographs exhibiting the mothers of “our martyrs” who almost all are poor, helpless and in pain, ignoring the pains of “the other” mothers, are like that (see page 106).

In other times, for example, if we are geographically far and safe enough from the “danger,” we are made the observer of the other woman’s suffering by “her own” man: “Here is the treacherous PKK: PKK held her brother hostage, poured down death threats. They made the young girl a suicide bomber at gunpoint after giving her drugs” (Takvim, August 26, 2015). That news story, completely untrue and based on a photomontage that covered the whole page, is an example of that (see page 105).

Or, the photographs make us witness how “our” men “marked” the female body as the “coup de grace” of their victory over the other men. Photographs exhibiting half naked and dead bodies of female PKK guerrillas that we encountered particularly in the 90s in the mainstream media, or photographs exhibiting the naked body of female guerrilla Ekin Wan/Kevser Ertürk after she was killed, which were recently served and distributed via social media and also used by some news sites, are like that. To summarize, it is possible to say that in conventional/war journalism, photographs are used as the objects of the gaze of the dominant male subject’s (Tagg, 1993: 12 cited by Allan, 2010: 78) disciplining pleasure practices.

Using news photography in a way to reproduce the suffering by exhibiting it in favor of the perpetrator and to symbolically reinforce its own power is not limited just with women, but also it is valid for otherized people just like women such as LGBTI individuals, old people, the poor, children, representatives of “minority” languages, religions, sects, cultures.

Furthermore, as it is with press news, the patriarchal state/male power over particularly the other woman’s body, is reproduced via photographs and other visual material with phallic references even when the news topic is not related with the women at all.

On the other hand, when a photograph or any other image is constructed in a sensuous way, or it is presented to the audience in a way fixing some moments that we would prefer not to know about otherwise, it becomes a question of frameworking (therefore inclusion or exclusion by definition) as it is a question of objectification. So, as a visual text might have the potential of creating a humanely warm empathy towards the other, the sufferer, it might also have the potential for the contrary effect, for example, mobilizing voyeurism or similar psychopathological emotions, for example, by mobilizing emotions such as “the other got what they deserved.” Hence, knowing that images exhibiting the ripped, wounded or disturbed female body

might mobilize the fear of similar suffering among women and such secondary type of emotions among men, therefore such photography should not be used even if they are blurred.

But it is not always easy to decide whether to use the present photographs when exhibiting the moment of violence or post-violence in question. The crime scene photographs after the “suicide bombings” in Suruç on July 20, 2015, against the people in the civil initiative who aimed to carry aid to Kobani, and in Ankara, on October 10, 2015 against the people who participated in the Labor, Democracy and Peace demonstration, are like that³⁹. Because in such situations, by using the photographs, there is a probability of emphasizing the importance of peace using the contrast between a peaceful demonstration and the consequences of the violence against it. Besides, there’s a need to watch for the psychological states of the first degree sufferers and their relatives and kin. People who are distant from the probable tragedy in the social memory caused by the trauma of the incident or even regarding the sufferers as “enemies” might finally empathize with the



“Special operation teams: They are our children, too”

Source: <http://www.yerlidusunce.org/haber/4246/ozel-harekat-timleri-onlarda-bizim-cocuklarimiz.html>

sufferers. On the other hand, the same photographs might feed the contrary reactions such as gloating or “they got what they deserved”.

Questions to be answered while using photographs/images in peace journalism practice

- Does the photograph/image inflame passions, or make a bad situation worse?
- Are these images sensational, or are they necessary for a complete understanding of the story?
- Do the pictures in any way glorify the crime, making it (in a sick way) attractive to copycats?
- Will these images needlessly inflame passions against the suspect, scuttling the right to a fair trial?
- What will the sufferer and/or his/her family feel if the image is published? (Youngblood, 2012)

Making choices according to the requirements of peace journalism ethics is very important while using the visual material, and also there’s a need to recall that the reception process of the media messages never occur according to the predicted dominant reading, and that is most true with photography. Therefore, the accompanying news story’s language (pro-war or pro-peace) is as important as the photograph itself is. However the fact that photographs are independent conveyors of meaning, as they are in the aforementioned examples, should be taken into consideration.

For example, the photograph of three-year-old Syrian Alan Kurdi’s dead body washed ashore conveys its message by itself and it is strong regarding the changes it caused in the European Union’s policies about immigrants. On the other end, on the news site of Yerli Düşünce, the photograph accompanied with the title “Special operation teams:

They are our children, too”⁴⁰ gets its “strength” and meaning from the contradiction it creates, but although the probable intention was to create sympathy, the contrary effect is much expected (see page 108). The content of the news story is as follows: “An operation against terrorist organization PKK was performed in Diyarbakır. During the operation a police officer member of the special operation team kissed the children on the street and gave them candies and chocolate. ... Police officers, on duty and living away from their families for a long time, kissed and embraced the children they saw on the street in Diyarbakır and said they are our children, too.”

Finally, there’s a need to talk about the new ethical problems about photographs in the news and photojournalism caused by the opportunities digital technology provides. To begin with, there’s an increase in the speed of journalism and the need for images because of the circumstances enabling and requiring “real-time” flow of the news. However, digitalization and new techniques of image editing, etc., provides everyone capturing and transferring images and even constructing non-existing images from the scratch using their smart phones, which increased the number of visual materials that could be used in the news, also decreased the need for professional photojournalists. This, in turn, creates a question of reliability about them (Brennen, 2010: 75).

In those circumstances, as a condition of peace journalism, photojournalists of the news media are expected to exhibit all the arguments of all parties, to make the conflict and war transparent, but while doing that to reveal the invisible aspect of the war by focusing particularly on the ones who suffer most from the war, such as women, children, old people, and disabled people. So there’s need to emphasize, once more, the importance of the journalists and the editors taking refuge in creativity about what not to show and why, as well as what to show and how to show.

Nepali Times newspaper editor Kunda Dixit’s photography exhibition in

Nepal can be regarded as a positive example, even though it could be considered as inciting war in another context. Dixit and a group of photojournalists supporting the project exhibited 179 raw images that the news media had preferred to filter, taken during and after the civil war. The images were selected from about 3,000 images. Their aim was to show how Nepali people were affected during and after the war and the human cost of the violence and to make people feel that peace wouldn’t suddenly with the end of the war. The civil war in Nepal lasted about 10 years and concluded in 2006 with about 15 thousand dead people, mostly civilians (Allen, 2011: 161). So, those photographs, which might have been provocative or better not to be exhibited in another context, probably try to gather Nepali people at the common feeling and wish that those happened in the past should never happen again by reminding them the death and the pain discriminate no sides.

Things to consider choosing

the photographs in just-peace journalism

- Photograph or any kind of visual material should make the invisible ones visible, particularly women, children, old people, disabled people, LGBTI individuals, members of minority communities of race, ethnicity, belief and non-belief. For example, during the Gezi resistance, the mainstream media as a whole tried to marginalize the “Geziciler,” the resisters. But news from alternative media sources indicated that the resisters consisted of so many heterogeneous groups in terms of ethnicity, class, occupation, political views, etc. and even apolitical individual participations.
- In news stories about suicide, murder, men’s violence against women, or child abuse, a photograph of the sufferer preferably should never be used and impersonations/animations or clips from movies should not be used either. A photograph of the suspect

should be used after filtering.

- When people the conventional media ignored are regarded as “worthy of showing,” as they become newsworthy subjects, objects of some extraordinariness, their and their relatives’/kins’ rights of privacy should be protected. If the news is about a violation of rights, then the photographs should be chosen based on preventing further violation.
- In an encounter with tension, for example an event expected to be disrupted by the police, it is inevitable that the camera can become positioned behind or among the security forces, or across from the people practicing their rights to demonstration, thereby than acting as “the eye of the police.” In this respect, the preference about the angle of the camera and its focus requires responsibility. The best practice is to diversify the images and to shoot from several angles.
- In news stories about men’s violence against women or men’s killing women, the offensive weapon should not be shown contrary to the fact that it is the usual practice.
- Using images that praise war machines, their qualities, or power; advertising war machines in order to support news about war and conflict, should be avoided.
- Preferences discriminating the deaths and violations of rights of “us” versus “the others” should be avoided. Victory / propaganda-oriented preferences such as showing the dead bodies of the ones representing the power of “the others” and exhibiting them if they are women and in return hiding the ones belonging to the ones on “our” side and representing power (for example the soldiers), exhibiting the losses of “our” women and children in order to be the evidence of suffering and innocence and to legitimize pro-war policies, should be avoided.
- In situations of war and conflict, photographs and images about



Source: Unknown

hardly sustaining the daily life behind the front should be preferred. There might be positive news to cover about that life with so many negativities, and those should be shown.

- Sometimes a photograph or image used could be the cause of tension or conflict itself. In such situations, the preference should given to not having the image in order to consider the sensibilities of the others who are not homogeneous and to avoid multiplied violence, not because of giving up with the freedom of expression as a practice of self-censorship. On January 7, 2015, in an attack against the magazine Charlie Hebdo, 11 people from the staff were killed and 11 were wounded. The debate in Turkey about whether publishing another caricature assumed to be about the prophet Muhammad -which was the justification for the attack- in order to express solidarity with the magazine which published it, is an example of that. bianet preferred ethically not to publish the caricature considering on the one hand the probability of violent reactions being repeated in Turkey and, on the hand, the existence of believers whose religious feelings might be hurt by the caricature, despite us being against the violent reaction. But bianet also criticized the attitude prohibiting the freedom of communication that advocated not publishing the caricature.

Once again on peace journalism, the need for it and how to do it...

Though we have given various definitions in our handbook with slight differences of expression and emphases, let's say for the last time it in a simple way: Peace journalism is news reporting of any kind of tension, conflict or multiple oppositions in the society in a rights-based way and without inciting violence. Therefore, it is important to regard it as an individual and editorial journalism preference, particularly in a geographical location like Turkey, which is segmented via multiple political, economical, cultural and social polarizations. The purpose of our book points to a journalism/news reporting theory and practice not only for times of war/conflict, but for all times— expanded and enriched within the focus of peace journalism and rights-based journalism when it is described as a situation of peace, as bianet adopted; and not a situation of ceasefire or lacking war/conflict, but one in which the reasons that lead to conflict are indefinitely struggled against and the conditions that could remove those reasons are being attempted to be created.

Peace journalism does not consist of only good journalism. It problematizes conventional journalism known as good journalism in terms of newsworthiness, news sources, definition and practice of editorial values, news writing rules, news language and discourse and the epistemological position and ethics which all these are based on; it questions the qualities of conventional journalism which incite war and violence, reproduce them, violate rights and are on the side of the status quo and the hegemony, even though they are hidden.

However, although we suggest it as an alternative to conventional journalism, which we criticized and regarded as war journalism as shown in the tables, peace journalism does not constitute a binary opposition to conventional journalism. The philosophical basis of peace journalism that we suggest here cannot be included as part

of a binary opposition, for it encompasses the idea that the world cannot be comprehended and explained via binary oppositions. It re-describes and sets conventional journalism on such a basis, considering that the point of view based on such oppositions reproduce the female-male opposition constructed as a primary opposition; Jacques Derrida called it “the metaphysics of the West”.

So, peace journalism ousts conventional journalism, which claims to be impartial and objective but hides that it is on the side of status quo, the hegemonic elites, war and violence; and peace journalism deeply questions journalism as we know it and reconstructs it via another philosophy/theory and ethics and explicitly declares that it is partial.

Peace journalism is partial, but that does not mean it is related with or on the side of one party or engaged news reporting; peace journalism takes sides with peace. Peace is essential for achieving the environment that democracy would be radically and continuously redefined, which is considered to be the best regime known for conceiving human creativity, and struggling against the inequalities that prevent it. In this respect, peace is a political and ethical choice, and so is peace journalism...

Besides, being on the side of peace means being on the side of the others, as well. Minorities of ethnicity, belief or non-belief, LGBTI individuals, children, disabled people, women, poor people are often the ones war and violence harm the most. And being on the side of these others makes peace journalism inevitably rights-based, too.

But being the other is not regarded as an absolute and constant position in peace journalism. The fact is that there will always be the other of the other is always considered. In the context of Turkey, the other of the otherized woman⁴¹ are Kurdish women and their other are poor Kurdish women and the list goes on. Besides, peace journalists always consider the fact that the other will not be always

and absolutely “true”. For example, for that very reason, a pioneer of Neo-Marxist critical cultural studies, Jamaican “black” academic Stuart Hall needed to emphasize that having a black director would not ensure a beautiful and right film, in order to indicate that suffering would not always mean rightfulness. So, the criteria of partiality in peace journalism are those whose rights are violated and whose “legitimate” or “illegitimate” demand is expressed in terms of “truth of reason”. Hence, as it was mentioned before, if the Palestinian territory is occupied by Israel, then the demand and the action of the other is legitimate, but that legitimacy does not justify violence!

Peace journalism is focused not on the elite, but the other and the citizen whose rights are violated. That means redefining conventional journalism’s definitions of news sources and newsworthiness, constructing the news on the position of people whose opinions are never asked, therefore enriching and augmenting the news in a way to make it focused on just-peace and rights-based.

Peace journalism is focused not on propaganda, but “truth.” That means not talking the language of the governing, the powerful, the ones who say victory at all costs, keeping the distance with them, revealing the cover-ups and lies of them. Therefore, “truth” here is not the “absolute truth” – which is non-existent – but the “factual truth,” and in peace journalism it is conveyed with different points of view. Comprehending the “truth of reason” is left to the audience.

Peace journalism is not victory-oriented; it is resolution-oriented. However peace journalists are not peace activists. They neither devise resolution nor mediate, but they inform and make people think about where the resolution might come from. They use their creativity and mobilize creativity in regard to that topic. While doing that, their criteria are both the facts that peace is favorable to war and that peace is a long, indefinite process that requires work and progress, just like democracy is.

The fact that peace journalism is not victory-oriented but resolution-oriented makes it so that it pursues a journalism focused not on the result, but the process. Because winning (victory) or losing is related with the moment. However, absolute victory is non-existent, and so is absolute-winning. The projection of that in journalism is not reporting who won, who lost, who had how many casualties, who threw the first stone or who scored the last goal, but it is reporting follow-ups, researching the causes of the outcome, providing the information about the perspectives, winnings and losses of all parties altogether. However, with respect to the fact that permanent peace requires a win-win balance, it is also highlighting the winnings of all parties and not hiding the losses. Meanwhile newsworthiness, and therefore news sources and news ethics, already become redefined.

People who think that horizontally organized alternative media initiatives that are not benefit-oriented are the most convenient environment for peace journalism are in the majority. Besides, public service media are regarded as quite convenient for peace journalism. However, a consequence of the fact that peace journalism remains limited in the alternative media, and is often organized in the new media, is an ongoing gap in the public realm as a result of parallel publics not converging unless they insult each other in an extremely polarized political climate, as it is in Turkey. Because everybody talks in that realm, nobody listens to each, other excluding the ones who share the same point of view. Additionally, considering the current models of structuring, it is not likely to expect peace journalism to come from the public service media including the BBC, let alone TRT. On the other hand, the mainstream media’s capital structure, monopolization and their interpenetrated relations with political, military, economic centers of power constitute an obstacle against practicing peace journalism in the mainstream media. So, it would not be realistic to expect media owners to benefit from peace and the editors making pro-peace

preferences. It is worth remembering that war is not sustainable and a state of non-violence provided by brutal force is called ceasefire, not peace. Then again, there's no absolute winner in any war and peace should be a choice in the end.

Furthermore, given that the obstacles against peace journalism practices are structural in terms of political economy – as conventional journalism is structurally partial with the status quo, the hegemony – also the excuses derived from the daily journalism routine and the internalized professional ideology constitute another obstacle against the journalist. In other words, the primary obstacle is getting carried away with the easiness of the habitual and repeating the stereotypes of journalism accompanied with excuses.

Therefore, peace journalism is both easy and hard to practice. Journalists could go ahead right away without inventing excuses, however the conditions that enable peace journalism practices as an editorial choice could be achieved or created even though it may be cyclically hard to do.

The easiest way of starting peace journalism practices is to redefine newsworthiness and news sources. There are detailed clues about how to that in our text. Actually, the most important element to be considered while doing these is the language and the discourse the news would be constructed in.

We encounter “us and them” opposition regarding the news. A target is shown. For example, while there were demonstrations in Turkey either in support of or against during the Kobani resistance, the pro-government media supporting the latter by reporting as “They were killed because they had beards.” This is a severely stigmatizing, hostile expression. Besides, those two groups were labeled with some other hostile adjectives according to the newspaper's political tendency such as “PYD-PKK traitors that made a theater of war,” “the remorseless,” “vandals,” “thugs,” and “imported provocateurs.” For instance, Birgün newspaper called them “enemies of humanity.” Özgür Gündem used

adjectives such as “blood guilty fascist regime,” “ISIS: the organization of savagery.” Although ISIS creates violence, there is no need for an adjective before its name. Just like using the adjective “baby killer” for PKK and Öcalan, or, saying “creatures who sold their souls to Satan.” And let's look at the affirmative labeling for the affirmation of “us”: They say “an officer who dedicated their life to struggle,” “well done our police,” “resistors of honor.” No distance with the police or the military is kept... (İncilay Cangöz, Academic, Peace Journalism Workshop, April 18, 2015)

The suggestions for this are – at the cost of repeating – as follows⁴²:

- The news should be constructed with a concrete language. The text should not consist of only generalizations, but it should be concrete, certain and detailed, and the audience should not be presumed to be already familiar with the topic. When a name or a place is referred for the first time, those should be absolutely defined.
- Adjectives, routine phrases dramatizing the situation, stereotypical concepts and explanations should be avoided. Remembering how heterosexist the daily language is, that language should be deconstructed rather than reproduced.
- The language used in the news should be respectful to all cultures and systems of belief and should not be offending and invidious to the parties. Hate speech and discrimination should be avoided. That avoidance should be valid for all parties of a conflict.
- The criterion of the language and the narrative should be based on an ethics based on an indefinite responsibility holding the self, responsible even for the mistakes of the other.
- The journalists might be one of the parties of the conflict or they might feel close to one of the parties. In such a situation, they should express that clearly and inform the audience. However, journalists should not let any party take advantage of them.
- The question of “what creative options are present” should be added

to the essential news questions of what? who? when? where? Why? and how?

- A good peace journalist/commentator/columnist should make the audience think out of the box via different perspectives. They should try to explain the causes which drove all the parties to a conflict, rather than using a simplified narrative such as “Party A committed violence against party B or party B is exposed to violence from party A and this is a horrible situation.”
- In situations of violence and deep polarizations, parties tend to choose the easiest way and repeat the views of military, political leaders. Therefore, repeating the statements of the leaders who are already ready to make declarations should be avoided. Instead, the news should be constructed in a way that focuses on the causes of the parties’ support and breaks the hegemonic narrative and provides different perspectives.
- In situations of tension that might transform into violence or war, or during times of war/conflict, the first goal should be trying to understand and explain the conflict. That requires that journalists train themselves or be trained about conflict resolution.
- Journalists should think about how the conflict developed, its causes, the positions of all sides and on what options they might agree. Information about how similar problems were resolved in various places and contexts should be gathered and conveyed. Legitimate and demonstrable sufferings of all the parties should be correctly represented.
- It is important to reach all the parties of war and conflict. Journalists should know that binary oppositions such as “I/Us” and “They/Others” will never be able to explain the sides, because sides are never homogeneous, even in the sharpest oppositions. Besides, “the other” is in “the self” and “the self” is in “the other.” Therefore, journalists should try to ask and reveal where the similarities and

differences and conflicts of interests and common interests are between the side considering themselves righteous, true and good and the opposing side who are considered to be bad, wrong, and unfair.

- Such questions should be asked: Who will benefit from the outcomes when violence/war/conflict is resolved? What outcomes will different options create in favor of or against who? What lessons will people draw from watching these events unfold as part of a global audience? How will they enter the calculations of parties to future conflicts near and far?
- Questions like, How are people on the ground, particularly women, old people, poor people, disabled people, etc. affected by the conflict in everyday life? What do they want changed? What solutions do they suggest as women, old people, children, or disabled people? should be asked.
- Assessing the merits of a violent actions or policies of violence in terms of its visible effects only need to be avoided. Instead, journalists should try to find ways of reporting on the invisible effects, for example, the long-term consequences of psychological damage and trauma, perhaps increasing the likelihood that those affected will be violent in future, either against other people or, as a group, against other groups or other countries.
- Reporting only the violent acts and describing “the horror” should be avoided. Otherwise, it would be suggested that the only explanation for violence is previous violence (revenge) and therefore the only remedy is more violence (coercion/punishment). Instead, the fact how people have been blocked and frustrated or deprived in everyday life should be shown as a way of explaining how the conditions for violence are being produced.
- The focus should be on sufferers and the difficulties they experience while reporting on acts of violence, but traumas of the sufferers and

human stories should be structured in a balanced and professional way, free from emotional exploitation. Journalists need to avoid focusing exclusively on the suffering, fears and grievances of only one party. Instead, treating as equally newsworthy the suffering, fears and grievances of all sides is required. Balance should be achieved at that point.

- Journalists need to refrain from using “victimizing” language like “devastated”; “defenseless”; “pathetic”; or “tragedy” which disempowers the sufferers and limits the options for change. Instead, report on what could be done by the parties or by other sufferers in similar circumstances.
- Journalists need to be extremely careful using emotive words which are not politically valid to describe what has happened to people, such as “genocide” (literally means the wiping-out of an entire people); “extermination” (decreasing population to one tenth of it); “tragedy” (a form of drama, originally Greek, in which someone’s fault or weakness ultimately proves his or her undoing); “massacre” (the deliberate killing of people known to be unarmed and defenseless).
- In situations of rape and forcing people from their homes, what sufferers experienced is of course bad in any circumstances, but it is important to know whether it is systematic and it really has been organized in a deliberate pattern and to amplify the effects of each other. Therefore, journalists should always be precise about what is known. While the sufferings need not to be minimized, the strongest language should be reserved for the gravest situations. Otherwise, the public will be inured to violence and journalists would be helping to justify disproportionate responses which escalate the violence.
- Uses of demonizing labels like “terrorist”; “extremist”; “fanatic” or “fundamentalist” that are always given by the hegemonic power to

“them/the others”, should be avoided. For a journalist to use them is always to take sides. They mean the person is unreasonable so it seems to make less sense to reason (negotiate) with them. Instead, calling people by the names they give themselves is required.

- Focusing exclusively on the human rights abuses, misdemeanors and wrongdoings of only one side should be avoided. Instead, journalists need to try to name all wrongdoers and treat equally seriously allegations made by all sides in a conflict; to make equal efforts to establish whether any evidence exists to back them up; to treat the sufferers with equal respect and the chances of finding and punishing the wrongdoers as being of equal importance.
- Journalists should refrain from making an opinion or a claim seem like an established fact. Some caution and calmness does not cause any loss for the news story, on the contrary it is beneficial.
- Peace is never ending a conflict by the signing of documents by leaders, which bring about military victory or ceasefire. Therefore, the essential news topic to be considered is defining the issues which may still be a threat to peace in the future and report follow-ups about them.
- Journalists need to avoid waiting for leaders on “our” side to suggest or offer solutions for peace. Instead, pick up and explore and inform about different peace initiatives wherever they come from on whatever experiences they are based on.

Finally, peace journalism needs to be a question of editorial policy or choice. Once it has become an editorial choice or written among the editorial principles, the broadcasting/publishing institution’s consistency of policies regarding peace journalism and monitoring by its own internal mechanisms and presence and functionality of “ombuds-person” becomes very important. As we prepared our

handbook for print, “operations” in the Southeast of Turkey, in Silopi, Cizre, Nusaybin, Lice and finally in Diyarbakır Sur had started and were ongoing. In this respect, daily paper *Hürriyet*’s ombuds-person Faruk Bildirici’s self-criticism is a very important first of a kind compared to the war journalism practiced about the operations which totally ignored the principles and ethical rules of conventional journalism, let alone peace journalism.

Observations about the operation news

Journalism in the Southeast, in regions of curfew, is very hard. Journalists are neither permitted to work freely in front of the barricades and pits, nor do they have the opportunity to go behind them. When they can’t go beyond the blockades, only official statements and unofficial information from security units substitute the fundamental journalism information based on research and observation. Being dependent on only one news source, no doubt, is always risky for a journalist.

We don’t know for how long those operations and prohibitions of five months will continue. It will be helpful to review journalism practiced until today in order to hold the compass right way. In this regard, I scanned *Hürriyet*’s news stories in that period and collected my observations under titles.

Success of the operations: The General Staff regularly declares the number of “PKK terrorists neutralized” in joint operations. “The success of the operations” are told via those numbers as well as “the percentage of barricades cleared.” But from time to time, there is confusion about those numbers. For example, Minister of Interior Efkan Ala said “Three thousand terrorists were killed” (December 16), the numbers General Staff declared was in the hundreds. The total number given in the General Staff declaration on January 6 was 296. Furthermore, the numbers in the official statements and the numbers in “military sources” and the numbers in the news stories with uncertain sources do not match. Also, it is remarkable that funerals for PKK members weren’t as much. For example the number of PKK members killed in Cizre according to

official statements is over 114, but there has been only one funeral news story published. Is the number of killed PKK members less or are they buried secretly? That’s unclear.

Common pains: Sometimes the difficulties the civilian population experience during the curfews and the operations are covered on the front page. “Cizre is locked” (September 11), “500 stores closed in Sur” (December 5), “Running away from the neighborhood” (December 7), “Message came, they are returning home” (December 14), “Call for help from doctors” (December 19), “That’s how Sur is” (December 22), “Breath for Nusaybin” (December 25), “Sur under smoke” (January 4). Those are the news stories containing the difficulties the civilian population there experiences. But if I compared them to the news stories about the military aspect of the operations, I cannot say that the news about civilians are sufficient. Particularly, the news articles about the shattered lives of people are insufficient. However, it needs to focus on the common pains in order to prevent emotional fractions. In that regard, I should note that the soothing language and the stance against violence in the news about the attacks against the Kurdish workers and their workplaces in Kırşehir and in some other Western cities are praiseworthy.

Civilian casualties: News about the martyrs and their funerals are covered widely in the newspaper. In those news stories, emotional titles are used often and the striking aspects of the aborted lives are conveyed. “Bye bye your sister’s rose” (December 3), “Your ring is on my finger” (December 23), “The last look to the father” (January 8), “I have 3 sons remaining, long live the homeland” (January 6), “The painful news came while picking oranges” (January 11), “Small coffin, big pain” (January 16). A colder language is used regarding the civilian casualties. “Two dead in Diyarbakır” (December 15), “Mother of four died” (December 18), “2 dead in the protests against the curfew” (December 23), “4 dead in Nusaybin and Cizre” (January 9). Civilian deaths are mostly covered in a smaller area. But occasionally there are examples of the civilian deaths on the front page such as “Granddad and grandchild shot by the terror” (December 27), “Two siblings dead in crossfire” (January 16).

Cause of deaths: Another problem is that often it is not clarified by whose fire the civilians are killed. Hence, on January 4, it was unknown by which side the “mortar shell” killing the woman having breakfast at home was fired; therefore, there wasn’t a clear expression in the news story. However, on December 27, in the news story titled “Granddad and grandchild shot by the terror” about the killings of 3-month-old baby Miray and her grandfather, it was said that “Anatolian Agency reported that they were shot by the fire from the terrorists” presenting a claim as if it was a verified fact. Total information about civilian casualties is not given already. However, according to the Human Rights Association, 170 civilians were dead. 29 of them were children, 39 were women, 102 were men.

Photographs with blood: Photographs that would spread the terrorizing effect of terror are not published. That is an appropriate attitude. There are some diversions with the dead body images. For example, in the news story titled “She fired at the police and was killed”, an image of the dead female PKK member was used, although it was a long shot photograph.

Military methods and weapons: Sometimes military methods and weapons are featured in the news. The news story on December 17, titled “Operation with 2 generals” is as such. This is a development indicating the military participation in the operations. However, terror and the Kurdish question are intertwined in the region. Besides, sometimes praise toward the weapons and military material is overdone. For example, the news story titled “Pit monster” on December 21. It was written that the vehicle used to close down the pits in Sur was “the only armed vehicle that could float” and “could move in the water by the help of two jets”. But there is no water in Sur.

Photographs distributed: The source needs to be specified when photographs distributed by the security forces are used in the newspaper. Sometimes that note is forgotten. Besides, when the photographs about the soldiers and the police delivering bread or food to the civilians are used, those photographs are not assisted by information. For example, how many people live there or how much bread was delivered? Lacking

that information, those photographs are insufficient to tell the truth.

Objective journalism: Declarations of politicians from HDP (Peoples’ Democratic Party) are covered in an objective language in the newspaper. But sometimes an ironic title such as “Crossed the river, couldn’t enter Cizre” (September 11), or a blaming approach such as “Declaration containing Öcalan in Diyarbakır” over the photograph of the news story titled “Prosecution against Demirtaş” (September 10) stand out. On December 28, the abstract written under the headline “Manifesto with pit,” “Explicit support to the PKK terrorists who dig pits and turned the cities into battlefields and to the proclamations of autonomy” contains commentary. In spite of those examples, some claims by the members of HDP are conveyed to the readers. Without being content with the declaration of the governorship about three women killed on January 6 in Silopi, the autopsy report and the claims of arbitrary execution from HDP was published on the front page.

Journalism by special permit: İsmet Berkan and Sebati Karakurt, entering Sur province by “special permit from Diyarbakır governorship,” was a significant journalistic opportunity. It provided seeing the prohibited zone through the window of the security forces, and it was good. However, the view through that window shouldn’t be sufficient. The other side of the coin should have been conveyed by addressing the life on the other side of barricades and particularly the conditions of the civilian population. In the article, “Peace in Diclekent” substituted the tragic stories of those people and the words from the police, for example “how careful they were about not harming the civilians” were not questioned.

Controversial information: The General Staff declared “In the operation against the terrorists in Yüksekova, 16 more terrorists were neutralized by airborne operation added to 15 terrorists neutralized on November 4” on November 6, 2015. However, on November 7 in Hürriyet, it was written that “119 terrorists were captured dead” in that operation in the news story titled “Entered in their dens in -15 degrees”. The number of killed PKK members, which had been 31 a day ago increased to 119 the day after. That is another problem with the operation news.

Conclusion: The mainstream media ignored and supported the military measures in 1990s when the villages were burnt down, but that had no contribution to the resolution. The media shouldn't repeat the same mistake today. They should focus on the long-term effects of the barricade-pit war and the curfews. They should go towards peace journalism in order to prevent fractions between Kurds and Turks and to achieve social peace. They shouldn't neglect questioning, researching, standing on objective observations and conveying different, even contradictory opinions, and most importantly, they should focus on the common pains of people...

Faruk Bildirici, Letters to the Ombuds-person, *Hürriyet*, January 24, 2016, Source:<http://okurtemsilcisi.hurriyet.com.tr/default.aspx?Do-cID=40044722>. Date of Access: February 3, 2016.

But journalists do not need to wait for peace journalism to be registered as an editorial policy in order to practice it. Let us recall, research indicates that the primary obstacles against practicing journalism are journalists' forms of adopting the pro-status-quo conventional ideological values of the profession as a rhetoric, the justifications they invent and the stereotypes they make use of for deciding what to do and not to do amid the everyday rush. However, the obligation of practicing peace journalism is not so hard whatever the circumstances may be, and the responsibility of practicing it is too important to give up by such excuses as the political regime, the boss, the everyday routine, the amount of work, not knowing about it, etc. For example, while these lines are written down, the initiative by journalists from the west of Turkey saying "we pursue the truth, we stand by our colleagues" and starting to go to the cities under curfew in weekly changing groups and to report from there, in order to express solidarity with their colleagues in the region who struggle to report under difficult conditions. That initiative is an example to remember that in spite of all the difficulties, journalists can stand up against the embedded journalism. (<https://habernobetim.wordpress.com>).

1. <http://bianet.org/bianet/ifade-ozgurlugu/165262-baris-gazeteciligi-kutuphanesi>
2. Prof. Dr. Sevdâ Alankuş (Kadir Has University/BİA educational consultant), Assoc. Prof. Dr. İncilay Cangöz (Anadolu University Faculty Of Communication Sciences), Recep Yaşar (Association of Journalists in Turkey/TGC), Erdal İmrek (Evrensel Newspaper), Erkan Çapraz (Yüksekova Haber), Mehmet Ali Ertaş (Komeleya Rojna megeren Azad Association of Free Journalists), Birkan Çalık (Netherlands Consulate General Turkey), Leyla Barlas (Netherlands Consulate General Turkey) Uğur Güç (Trade Union of Journalists in Turkey), Feray Yalçuk (North Cyprus/Yeni Düzen), Mehmet Kamlı (Zaman Newspaper), Yeşim Kaptan (İzmir University of Economics), Murat İnceoğlu (DİSK Basın İş – Trade Union of Press, Publishing, Print Workers in Turkey), İrem Özcan (Birgün Newspaper), Belma Akçura (Milliyet Newspaper), Sedat Yılmaz (Özgür Gündem Newspaper), N.Tuğçe Özçelik (Sendika.org), Evren Gönül (IPS Communication Foundation), Nadire Mater (IPS Communication Foundation), Begüm Zorlu (Peace Journalism Project Coordinator)
3. Prof. Dr. Sevdâ Alankuş (Kadir Has University Faculty of Communication/BİA educational consultant), Assoc. Prof. Dr. İncilay Cangöz (Anadolu University Faculty Of Communication Sciences), Eylem Yanardağoğlu (Kadir Has University Faculty of Communication), Yrd. Doç. Dr. Suncem Koçer (Kadir Has University Faculty of Communication), İrem İnceoğlu (Kadir Has University Faculty of Communication), Yrd. Doç. Dr. Tuğç Karavaş (Sabancı University), Yasin Duman (Sabancı University), Emre Hatipoğlu (Sabancı University), Prof. Dr. Nezih Orhon (Anadolu University Faculty of Communication), Prof. Dr. Ülkü Doğanay (Ankara University Faculty of Communication) Nur Bekata Mardin (Boğaziçi University Center for Peace Studies), Prof. Dr. Nurçay Türkoğlu (Çukurova University Faculty of Communication), Yrd. Doç. Dr. Göktürk Yıldız (Kocaeli University Faculty of Communication) Doç. Dr. Barış Çoban (Doğuş University Faculty of Communication), Prof. Dr. Özden Cankaya (İstanbul Aydın University Faculty of Communication), Evren Gönül (IPS Communication Foundation), Nadire Mater (IPS Communication Foundation), Begüm Zorlu (Peace Journalism Project Coordinator)
4. Prof. Dr. Sevdâ Alankuş (Kadir Has University Faculty of Communication/BİA educational consultant), Assoc. Prof. Dr. İncilay Cangöz (Anadolu University Faculty Of Communication Sciences), Faruk Bildirici (Hürriyet Newspaper ombuds-person), Güray Tekin Öz (Cumhuriyet Newspaper ombuds-person), Mete Çubukçu (NTV), Yıldız Tar (Kaos GL), Mert Onur (Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Association), Burcu Arıkan (Women's Initiative for Peace), Hakan Tahmaz (Peace Assembly), Yrd. Doç. Dr. Güven Gürkan Öztan (History Foundation of Turkey), Feray Salman (Human Rights Joint Platform/İHOP), Nuran Gelişli (Hrant Dink Foundation), Evren Gönül (IPS Communication Foundation), Nadire Mater (IPS Communication Foundation), Begüm Zorlu (Peace Journalism Project Coordinator)
5. Some alternative names have been used instead of pace journalism, such as, conflict-oriented journalism, conflict analysis journalism, constructive journalism.
6. For the analysis of those structural political economy problems both in general and in Turkey regarding the probability of peace journalism practice, see: Yıldız, 2012:213-259.
7. For the study about how the news rhetoric and narrative could limit the peace journalism choice even in the ideal circumstances in Ireland where peace journalism was

- editorially preferred during the peace negotiations, see: Fawcett, 2002.
8. Besides, according to the same study, journalists in countries with problematic democracies and limited freedom of press such as Turkey are more exposed to the influence of political centers of power and they are prone to blend those centers' views in their reporting and to practice interventionist reporting. That makes us think there are different obstacles in those two groups of countries regarding peace journalism practice. Although such situation seems to make peace journalism practice difficult at first sight, it is also possible to say that the countries in that group might learn a lesson from the recent conflicts and wars they experienced and the media's negative role in those times. See: <https://eciencia.urjc.es/bitstream/handle/10115/5405/JS%202011.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
 9. See, particularly issue 6 (2) in 2007 of Conflict & Communication which gathers debates about peace journalism and Dente Ross, 2006 and 2007 for an article summarizing those debates and suggesting a more flexible and integrating situation. Besides, for a compilation about criticisms against peace journalism, see: Yıldız, 2012: 64-74.
 10. For the conference texts, see: Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition, Fall 2006 issue. Besides, see: Ersoy, 2004; Arsan, 2005; Alankuş, 2006; İrvan, 2006; İltar, 2008; Baillie and Azgin, 2008.
 11. For a study criticizing the news media in Turkey in peace journalism perspective, see: Yıldız, 2012: 259-302.
 12. In our previous studies, we compared rights-based journalism and peace journalism and regarded both of them as examples of politically and ethically responsible journalism and we explained the former as a position to visit for all types of new journalism quests.
 13. Trainings for the local media are collected in the Rights-Based Journalism series books Human Rights Journalism (2007), Gender-Based Journalism (2012) and Children-Based Journalism (2012). From the School to the News Room Trainings for communication studies students are collected in the book Getting Started: Journalism (2013). For the books published by the IPS Communication Foundation, see the bibliography.
 14. There are several critical news analysis or sociology studies and it is possible to add the ones conducted in Turkey. See: Hall, Tuchman, 1972; Schudson, 1978; İnal, 1995; Hackett and Zhao, 1998; Dursun, 2004 and 2005.
 15. However, after that definition Keeble needs to add that expecting something from journalists' professional ethics would be naivety within the current media environment and relations of power (2005: 590).
 16. Opinions in that chapter are distilled from and based on several interdisciplinary reference publications, however hereby only the fundamental ones are referred to. (See: Irigaray, 2006; Wright, 1991 and 1995; Grosz, 1990; For another study discussing the claims in a more systematic way, see: Alankuş, 2008).
 17. For a study about feminization of the eastern other, see: Mutman, 1992. Besides, about legitimization of penetrating, possessing and subduing the others by feminizing, see: Rattansi, 1997:58 cited by Çoban Keneş, 2015: 52.
 18. For a study comparing the approaches of two authors, see: Critchley, 1999.
 19. About the ethical conception of Levinas, see: Bernasconi, 2011:14.
 20. For the journalism which BIA tells as reversing the situation in the mainstream media, see: Mater and Çalışlar, 2013; and Kejanlıoğlu et al. , 2012.
 21. <http://bianet.org/bianet/yasam/170328-istanbul-da-yasayamayi-secen-suriyeliler-anlatiyor>
 22. See: "Stories of People Who Lost Their Lives in Ankara", bianet, October 12, 2015 <http://bianet.org/bianet/2015/10/12> Date of Access: January 20, 2016. Besides, for special reports by P24 Independent Journalists Platform about people died in Ankara massacre, see: <http://101015ankara.org>. Date of Access: January 20, 2016.
 23. <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1143717-izzettin-cevik-kizimin-oldugunu-biliyordum>
 24. The Great Assembly ratified the convention on 12.12.2014 only after Ermenek Mine Accident on October 28, 2014 taking 18 lives and Soma Mine Accident on May 31, 2014 taking 301 lives. Before Soma accident Kozlu Mine Accident on March 3, 1992 which took 263 lives was the one with the most death toll.
 25. See: <http://www.cnnturk.com/video/turkiye/somanin-gelinleri-komur-karasi-1-et-al>.
 26. For the study about everyday language imputing "dirtiness" to be cleaned to Kurds, Alawis and Armenians, see: Çoban Keneş, 2014.
 27. In the study based on the interview with Chantal Mouffe and in our text, I prefer and use the distinction of "la vérité de faits" [factual truth] ve "la vérité de raison" [truth of reason]. I used to prefer the distinction as "factual reality". I thank dear Meral Özбек and Barış Kılıçbay for their suggestions about Turkish translation preferences from English and French.
 28. The authors interviewing Chantal Mouffe add that (citing from Manca, 1989: 171) the role of the journalist is gate-opener, rather than gatekeeper.
 29. However, according to Galtung, "But not by condoning the killing, unless one subscribes to the idea that the goal justifies the means, or at least explains the violence." (2006:4)
 30. The concept "phallogocentric" Derrida used combining the words phallus, logos and center might be difficult to translate particularly for the logos part which means mind, thought, word. Because of that difficulty we preferred using phallogocentric in our book, but also occasionally used the concepts phallogocentric or phallic-centered. The concept and its meanings are distilled from a debate -fundamentally post-structural- so extensive that it could not fit into such a handbook. For other texts summarizing the relevant debates, see: Alankuş 2008 and 2012. Examples about hate speech are taken from the hate speech report published by Hrant Dink Foundation in September 2014, unless indicated otherwise.
 31. See: <http://www.nefretsoylemi.org/rapor/EylulAralik2014raporuson.pdf>. For other

examples see: Çınar et al. 2015. See: www.nefretsöylemi.org

32. See: Sevda Alankuş “I Hit A Mig in One Shot Journalism”, <http://bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/141810-tek-atista-mig-vurdum-gazeteciligi>
33. In studies of war and peace journalism, sometimes the word “demonization” is used, but we preferred not to use it after being warned in our workshops not to use it considering people of the Yazidi faith.
34. For that example by journalists Murat Utku and Işıl Sarıyüce, see: <http://bianet.org/bianet/medya/169522-ayni-goruntulerle-baris-ve-savas-odakli-iki-tv-haberi>
35. See: Sevgül Uludağ, *Oysters With The Missing Pearls: Untold Stories about Missing Persons, Mass Graves and Memories from the Past of Cyprus: Oral History, Interviews, Articles, Nicosia, IKME, 2005.*
36. See: <http://bianet.org/bianet/diger/146584-duhok-ta-cekilmeyi-bekliyorum> <http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/146589-ilk-pkk-li-grup-cekildi-herkes-cok-heyecanli> <http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/146614-metina-kampinda-bir-gece#> <http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/146708-fotografarla-metina-daglari>
37. It needs to be added that, some of those news stories were a part of the professional campaign in favor of the referendum conducted by the ruling political party CTP.
38. Let’s remember that USA took censoring the war reports to another level during the Second Gulf War and the world was introduced with the concept “embedded journalism” then. For the chapter comparing three global examples about the Gulf Wars (CNN, Fox News and Al Jazeera) within the framework of war and peace journalism, see: Yıldız, 2012: 173-211.
39. See: Yücel Tunca, “The Picture of Violence and Photojournalism”, <http://bianet.org/bianet/medya/166621-siddetin-resmi-ve-haber-fotografiligi>
40. The title is as is. See: <http://www.yerlidusunce.org/haber/4246/ozel-harekat-timleri-onlarda-bizim-cocuklarimiz.html>
41. According to bianet’s 2015 Male Violence report based on the compiled data from news stories, in 2015, men killed 284 women along with 19 children and men with them; raped at least 133 women and girls; wounded/inflicted male violence on 370 women; harassed at least 208 women and girls. See: <http://bianet.org/english/women/172117-3-musicians-voice-we-men-killed-284-women-in-2015>
42. That part is mostly compiled from various guides used for peace journalism. For references, see: Lynch and McGoldrick (2005:28-29); Galtung, 2006; Reyes and Rajeli, 2007; and again <https://www.transcend.org/tms/about-peace-journalism/3-principles-and-guidelines-for-tms-writers>; http://www.park.edu/center%2%ADfor%2%ADpeace.../peacereporting_guidelines1.rtf

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