

THE
CONFLICT-SENSITIVE JOURNALISM
TEACHING GUIDE

PHILOSOPHY AND PRACTICE

FIRST EDITION



forumZFD

PECOJON

The Peace & Conflict Journalism Network



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The Conflict-Sensitive Journalism Teaching Guide:
Philosophy and Practice

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CHED's Message

Greetings!

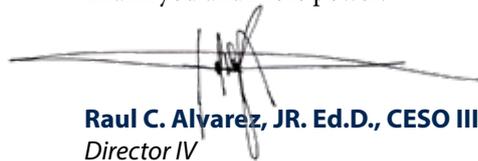
It is with great pleasure that I convey my sincere appreciation, as I extend my full support to Forum Civil Peace Service (forumZFD) and Peace and Conflict Journalism Network (PECOJON) in mainstreaming the conflict-sensitive journalism (CSJ) framework in the Communication programs in Davao Region.

I am proud of the efforts of the forumZFD in launching numerous successful initiatives especially in producing this CSJ teaching guide, I am confident that these programmes, along with the multiple exciting initiatives planned for the future will be instrumental in the evolution of the CSJ framework not only in the region but also in the country.

This teaching guide can support student learning and increase student success, This will encourage faculty members to include the CSJ topics in the subjects! courses that they are teaching, Let us aspire and believe that together we can achieve the goals we have set specifically in promoting the CSJ framework. Let us be determined to push on and outline our efforts to achieve the goals we have for education and for peace education.

May I therefore express my sincere thanks to everyone, particularly, the teachers and students for that reassuring support and commitment in sustaining the objectives of peace in Mindanao,

Thank you and more power!



Raul C. Alvarez, JR. Ed.D., CESO III
Director IV

Preface

In 2013, after reflecting on its experiences and lessons from the project focused on the integration of peace education in teacher education, Forum Civil Peace Service (forumZFD), in partnership with the Commission on Higher Education (CHED) Regional Office XI, explored how peace education could be contextualized in communication programs. Knowing the focus of Peace and Conflict Journalism Network (PECOJON) in the responsible and constructive reporting of conflict, we invited them to collaborate with us in introducing and eventually mainstreaming the conflict-sensitive journalism (CSJ) framework in communication programs in Davao Region and in other regions.

The framework of conflict-sensitive journalism has been developed to respond to the media's strong and often negative influence on conflict dynamics through its power to shape public opinion and peoples' decision making. Recalling the core values of good journalistic practice, i.e., accuracy, balance and impartiality, this approach employs tools of context analysis that help to understand conflict not just as a singular event, but as a social process. Aiming to present the broad picture by giving a voice and a rationale to the goals of different stakeholders, conflict-sensitive journalism is a constructive paradigm that creates space for the peaceful transformation of violent conflict instead of contributing to its escalation.

The project believes that to successfully incorporate a conflict-sensitive view into regular media practice, journalists should reflect as early as possible upon their roles and responsibilities, before perceptions and attitudes are shaped by the day-to-day work. Through the introduction of conflict-sensitive journalism at the university level as a pre-service training, students are encouraged to examine the concepts and relationships between peace, conflict, and violence while in their formation. The introduction of the framework, therefore, means not to effect radical change but to provide an enhancement of the current journalism training and practice.

Since 2013, the project has journeyed with a group of teachers coming from communication-related programs (Mass Communication, Communication Arts, Development Communication, Language and Campus Journalism) of eight universities in Davao Region (i.e., Ateneo de Davao University, Davao Oriental State College of Science, and Technology, Davao Central College, Holy Cross of Davao College, Jose Maria College, University of Mindanao-Main, University of Mindanao-Tagum College, and University of Southeastern Philippines). Bound by a common goal to enhance the quality of media/journalism education, these teachers organized and collectively called themselves as Media Educators of Mindanao (MEM). A series of trainings and retooling workshops on conflict-sensitive journalism were conducted to equip them with the content and skills necessary to bring the discussion of the framework in classroom teaching and learning.

Along with PECOJON, we accompanied these partner-teachers in their integration of the conflict-sensitive journalism topics into their specific major subjects, such as Introduction to Mass Communication; Introduction to Development Communication, Introduction to Campus Journalism, Mass Media and Society, Environmental Journalism, Advanced Writing for TV and Radio, and News and Public Affairs, among other subjects.

Some teachers showcased the outputs of their students (such as short documentaries and campus papers) who applied CSJ principles and strategies during the organized Students' Congress in March 2015 and the 10th Mindanao Film Festival in December 2014. Student caravans in different partner schools were also organized by the Media Educators of Mindanao to engage students and their fellow teachers who were not reached by the project's activities. Each station of the caravan was individually designed based on the context and needs of each school, but commonly planned and conducted by the partner-teachers.

Thus, after three years of piloting the integration of CSJ in communication subjects, the forumZFD, PECOJON, and MEM decided to develop a contextualized teaching guide to strengthen the process of institutionalizing/mainstreaming CSJ content in the communication programs' curriculum. This guide hopes to encourage universities and colleges within and outside Davao Region to include CSJ topics in the syllabus of their communication programs. This teaching guide not only aids teachers to elaborate CSJ content in the classroom but also seeks to inspire them to continuously take part in the cause of developing future journalists towards responsible and quality journalism.

We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to the partner-teachers who have journeyed with us through the years and who worked with us in developing this teaching guide. Your reflections, insights, and experiences serve as the foundation for the crafting of this teaching guide.

We are grateful for the great contribution of PECOJON and their trust as we introduce the philosophy and practice of CSJ here in Davao Region and beyond. We also express our thanks to CHED Regional Office XI for the sustained support that they have given to the partnership. Let us all continue our commitment to peace in whatever ways we can.

Wolfgang Doerner

Program Manager - Philippines

Forum Civil Peace Service (forumZFD)

INTRODUCTION

Why Conflict-Sensitive Journalism?

Conflict-Sensitive Journalism is a body of knowledge borne from the study of journalism as a discipline, an understanding of conflict science, and the experience of hundreds of local, national and international journalists who are part of a fellowship of media practitioners called PECOJON.

Despite its parlance, CSJ is not so much the craft of covering violence and war, as it is the craft of effectively covering conflict which, in turn, is defined as a situation where two or more people have or think they have incompatible goals and undermine each other's goal-seeking potential.

The intention of CSJ is not the resolution of the conflicts its practitioners cover — from the war fronts, where armed interventions seek to political questions; to the halls of the legislature, where political discussion aims to resolve social questions; and to the disaster areas where resources are scarce and the needs are great — though it is often through good reporting that conflict is reduced.

Neither is it a form of journalism that advocate intentions such as Justice, Peace, Human Rights and Integrity of Creations. Its aim is to facilitate understanding, engagement, and action among society's real problem-solvers: the people and its many segments.

At its core is the institutional belief that people, on their own, are able to make educated choices that can bring about a just and peaceful society, a society where human rights are observed and all creation is afforded its place in the world, once they are given information that is accurate, unbiased, contextualized, and nuanced.

Vital to the concept, however, is the quality of the practice of journalism. A journalist whose craft solely seeks to satisfy the exigencies of commerce and the expansion of the media house he or she represents cannot achieve this impact.

Conflict-Sensitive Journalism stresses four key concepts — truth-seeking, active accuracy, a focus on relevance, and good writing — and recognizes access to information, freedom of expression, and the safety and security of its practitioners as requisites.

Truth-seeking is a sacred commitment every CSJ practitioner must make to his or her audience. It is a commitment not only to produce stories but to seek and make known what is previously unknown so that people are aware of matters that actually impact their lives.

Active accuracy and a focus on relevance, meanwhile, are at the heart of CSJ practice. These are not new concepts, but truly old ones whose meanings have somehow degraded over time due to the exigencies of the market. Active accuracy involves the pursuit of truths and, beyond the ubiquitous quote and attribution, the actual evidence of these truths.

A focus on relevance, meanwhile, is CSJ's commitment to always put the needs of the audience first. Here, a reporter's choice of what to write and how to write it favours relevance to the reader over values like prominence, currency, or oddity.

Beyond what gets written as news for the audience, CSJ also gives heavy focus on how it gets written and presented.





In CSJ, a well written story is a story that provides context to all facts presented, an exploration and explanation of how the news event evolved, a presentation of multiple perspectives to enable more nuanced public discussion, debate and consensus, and an insight behind the interests and needs of the significant actors of the news event.

CSJ stories are engaging, not merely entertaining, and are premised on an institutional belief that the audience is smart and not mere consumers of information but active actors in social and political discourse and processes.

Journalists practicing CSJ, therefore, endeavour to not simplify the facts, but rather to explore complexities in a language that can be understood.

This teaching guide aims to assist those who intend to learn CSJ and those who want to instruct others in the principles, techniques, and strategies of the craft. It is not a course but a collection of lessons to be integrated in existing curricula for communication and journalism. It is a toolkit more than a textbook.

Each chapter contains several lessons, with activities of varying difficulty levels that focus on different aspects of CSJ. There is no order to be strictly followed, but this guide is structured towards a particular logic that flows from principles to practice.

There is a substantial level of trust afforded to academicians who will utilize this teaching guide, because they will probably come from the communities where the would-be journalists they train will most likely serve. These teachers know better the nuances and contexts of those community issues that the future CSJ practitioners will likely tackle, so they should be given the leeway to frame their lessons accordingly and to select local examples.

As the instructor’s role is crucial, it can only be hoped that the teachers would embrace the values of CSJ as they espouse the lessons that comprise it.

Ed Karlon N. Rama, MMS, CSP

National Coordinator - Philippines

PECOJON - The Peace and Conflict Journalism Network

MODULE 1

The Role of Media in Society

OVERVIEW

The media are communication channels through which news, entertainment, education, data, or any information are disseminated. This includes broadcasting and narrowcasting media like newspapers, magazines, television, radio, billboards, internet.

Through its potential to address large audiences or very specific groups, and its power to generate and to mold public opinion, journalism has an important function in a democratic society.

Some call the media the sword arm of democracy as it can act as a watchdog, protecting public interest against any oppression and also creating awareness.

The media's aim, therefore, should be to facilitate peoples' understanding of issues relevant to their lives so they can participate in their community and the country as a whole.

Given the media's reach and its power of information, they can play a crucial role in the discussion of issues. When reporters and editors choose what to report and how to report it, they immediately filter information and thereby significantly impact how issues are portrayed.

The lessons in this Module deal with the power of the media, their scope, and their influence on decision makers and on communities. It is divided into three lessons: The Power of the Media, The Media and Their Audience, and The Pressures of the Practice.

CHAPTER 1: THE POWER OF MEDIA

Intended Learning Outcomes

At the end of this lesson, the students should be able to:

- ▀ State how the media shape public understanding of an issue;
- ▀ Relate how framing, priming, and agenda setting affect communicative process; and
- ▀ Draw out how framing technique, priming, and agenda setting are most likely used by reporters in existing news articles.

Rationale/Content Overview

The media have a vast reach. They can communicate to a large number of people all at once and influence how they view issues of the day and, subsequently, how they want issues to be addressed.

A radio or television station with 600 watts of power can broadcast to any radio or television set within 60 kilometers. Boost that to 10,000 watts and the broadcast can encompass whole regions.

Something similar may be said of newspapers. While lacking broadcast's reach, newspapers have staying power: they can be kept, filed, and referred to again.

The powerful influence of the media's ability to connect to millions of people at once is obvious in Philippine history. During the 1986 People Power Revolution, the media were such a force that they shaped the issues and became a platform for the people's dissent. Decades later, in 2001, the media played again a role in the ousting of former president Joseph Ejercito Estrada. The media revealed his alleged malfeasance in office, and, later, covered and provided context to his trial; so much so that people began to get engaged, and, using a media platform available to them — mobile phones and internet-enabled computers — directly involved themselves in the protest action that led to Estrada's ouster.

Communities are also influenced by the information they receive from the media. There is a high level of trust involved when the media transmit to the general public. Even personal opinions, when aired or printed, are often taken as fact.

Likewise, leaders are influenced by information reported by the media. This information can affect crucial decisions that will eventually impact the lives of communities. However, what some stakeholders say is often communicated only through the media and not directly to the persons involved.

In this lesson, we determine how the media affect their consumers.

Theory Input

Framing - Framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue, say de Vreese and Lecheler (2012):

The potential of the framing concept lies in the focus on communicative processes. Communication is not static, but rather a dynamic process that involves frame-building (how frames emerge) and frame-setting (the interplay between media frames and audience predispositions). Entman (1993) noted that frames have several locations, including the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. These components are integral to a process of framing that consists of distinct stages: frame-

building, frame-setting and individual and societal level consequences of framing. (pp. 292-293)

Frames can be episodic, depicting social issues like poverty as limited to events only and not placed in a broader interpretation or context, as Shanto Iyengar (1990) explains: “Poverty is covered in terms of personal experience; the viewer is provided with a particular instance of an individual or family living under economic duress” (p. 22).

Or the framing can also be thematic. In thematic framing, the narrative is less about the experience of particular victims or individuals and more about societal or collective outcomes. Iyengar (1990) adds:

In the thematic frame, the news consists of information bearing on general trends (e.g., the poverty rate, the number of states experiencing significant increase in hunger, changes in the governments’ definition of poverty, etc.), or matters of public policy... These are essentially background or takeout stories in which the object of the coverage is abstract and impersonal (p. 22).

Examples of thematic media frames, according to Neuman et al. as cited by De Vreese and Semetko (2004, p. 95), are the following:

- Human impact – focuses on descriptions of individuals and groups affected by an issue
- Powerlessness – refers to the dominance of forces over weak individuals or groups
- Economics – reflects the preoccupation with “the bottom line”, profit, and loss
- Moral values – the often indirect reference to morality and social prescriptions
- Conflict – the journalistic practice of reporting stories of clashing interpretation

According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), these are some of the framing techniques that are often observed in media reports:

- Metaphor – the comparison of a conceptual idea to something else
- Story (myth, legend) – to frame a topic via narrative in a vivid and memorable way
- Tradition (rituals, ceremonies) – cultural mores that instill significance in the mundane; closely tied to artifacts
- Slogan, jargon, catchphrase, and meme – a catchy phrase that make an object more memorable and relatable
- Artifact – an object with intrinsic symbolic value, a visual/cultural phenomenon that holds more meaning than the object itself
- Contrast – a description of an object in terms of what it is not
- Spin – a presentation of a concept that conveys a value judgement (positive or negative) that might not be immediately apparent; an inherent bias by definition (p.125)



Structured Learning Activity

1. Identifying media frames

Time: 30 minutes

Materials: Five newspapers (back issues or old copies are acceptable), the black/white board

Instruction:

- Divide the class according to the number of newspaper copies available.
- Assign one newspaper per group and let them pick out the headline on the front page and the inside page headlines.
- Ask each group to assess and report on whether their story is episodic or thematic and what frame the reporter most likely used.

Discussion:

- What frames were most often used by journalists?
- Compare episodic stories with thematic ones and determine which stories offer more relevance to readers.
- What range of reactions can readers get from episodic stories and thematic stories?

Theory Input

Priming – Priming is the ability of the media to provide a context for the discussion of a given issue, thereby setting the stage for audience understanding. The concept draws heavily from the political science research of Shanto Iyengar, Mark Peters, and Donald Kinder (1982, pp.848-858).

Priming occurs when exposure to information or an event activates a construct in the audience’s memories, which then informs subsequent judgments that they make. News priming, in particular, often involves exposure to particular news stories on particular topics, which makes those issues relevant to later political judgments (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p.6). Iyengar and Kinder argued that priming is of particular importance to political evaluations because it changes the standards that individuals use when making decisions, on the basis of what has been emphasized in the media.

It is widely speculated, for example, that Benigno Aquino III, who was not even originally considered as a nominee by his party, the Liberal Party, won the Philippines’ 2010 presidential elections in no small part because of the massive (time and space) media coverage of the death of his mother, former president Corazon Aquino.

Structured Learning Activity

2. What primed you?

Time: 30 minutes

Materials: Video – the 9/11 hoax

Instruction:

- ▀ Survey the class on what they know about the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center.
- ▀ Allow students to narrate what they remember.
- ▀ Show the video.
- ▀ Ask them what they think about the 9/11 attack now.

Discussion:

- ▀ Did the video change the minds of some of the students into thinking that the 9/11 attack was indeed a hoax?
- ▀ Apply the discussion to a more current event, e.g., Marcos and historical revisionism.

Theory Input

Agenda Setting – Agenda-setting theory, as originally formulated in 1972 by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, explains the relationship between the emphasis that the mass media place on issues and the importance that media audiences attribute to those issues.

The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. (Cohen, 1963, p.13)

McCombs and Shaw (1972) provided empirical support for the claim that the news media priorities become public priorities. Their article detailed the result of a study they conducted during the 1968 presidential campaign in which they asked 100 registered yet uncommitted voters in Chapel Hill, North Carolina a set of questions: “What are you most concerned about these days? That is, regardless of what politicians say, what are the two or three main things which you think the government should concentrate on doing something about?”

At the same time, McCombs and Shaw analyzed the political news contents of the mass media used by Chapel Hill voters during the campaign (four local newspapers, The New York Times, the news magazines Time and Newsweek, and the NBC and CBS evening news broadcasts). McCombs and Shaw found an almost perfect correlation between the issues listed by the voters as most important and the topics that were given the most space, time, and prominence in the news media.

In choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. In reflecting what candidates are saying during a campaign, the mass media may well determine the important issues—that is, the media may set the “agenda” of the campaign. (McCombs and Shaw, 1972, abstract)

Many studies have been done on the subject since McCombs and Shaw’s seminal work, and they have given rise to a question: who sets the media’s agenda?

Structured Learning Activity

3. Today’s headliners

Time: 30 minutes

Materials: An old newspaper; three sets of photocopies of five different news stories taken from the paper’s various pages; choose stories without jumps and photocopy them without showing the headlines.

Instruction:

- ▀ Divide the class into three groups and distribute the five news stories.
- ▀ Tell each group to discuss the stories and to rank them according to importance.
- ▀ Make the groups present and explain their rankings.
- ▀ Take note of the differences in the stories’ rankings and make each group defend their decisions.
- ▀ After the groups exhaust all arguments, show them the newspaper in its entirety and the pages where the stories were originally placed.

Discussion:

- ▀ Editors place what for them is the most important news story on the front page and the less important stories on succeeding pages.
- ▀ The placement signals to the readers what the important news of the day is.
- ▀ Though it may not be what the audience considers relevant or important, what the editor finds important will be thought of as the most important issue of the day and will be the subject of discussion and debate.

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CHAPTER 2: THE MEDIA AND THE AUDIENCE

Intended Learning Outcomes

At the end of the lesson, the students should be able to:

- ▀ Point out the media's role in a functional democracy;
- ▀ Review the news values present in traditional journalism;
- ▀ Understand where the concept of news values evolved from; and,
- ▀ Evaluate how positive feedback loop could relate to framing, priming, and agenda setting.

Rationale/Content Overview

In the previous lesson, we became aware of how the media can impact its audiences: from shaping information, to controlling how information is perceived, to influencing what audiences think are the important/salient issues of the day.

In this lesson, we discuss how crucial this power of the media is in the context of democracy; how information ideally flows within a democratic structure; the potential havoc this power can wreak when misused or when hijacked by interests; and the ease with which media can lose track of what is relevant.

Theory Input

The media report on an event that happens. The decision to report depends on the target group of the media house and very often this is also influenced by news values. The actual list varies but it generally includes Timeliness, Proximity, Prominence, Impact, Currency, Conflict, and Oddity.

These themes are mainstays in conventional journalism education and in-house newsroom instruction, though there is often scant discussion on how they came to be.

Johan Galtung and Mari Holmboe Ruge (1965) published the article that led to the emergence of the concept of news values. The article detailed conditions that increase the likelihood of a news event getting noticed by journalists for publication. The 1965 research identified 12 themes grouped into three categories — Impact, Audience Identification, and the Pragmatics of Coverage.

Under Impact:

- ▀ **Threshold** – Stories that involve an event that affects a larger number of people will have a larger chance of getting published or aired than those about events that involve fewer people. Similarly, stories whose publication or airing will impact a greater number of people will have a greater chance of being read or seen than those stories that interest fewer people.
- ▀ **Frequency** – Stories that unfold within the news

production cycle, whether they be daytime breaking news or a previously scheduled public hearing or press conference, will have a greater chance of getting published and aired than stories that unfold at intermittent intervals or those that break outside of the production cycle.

- ▀ **Negativity** – Stories that are negative in nature — death, damage, disaster and the like — will have a greater chance of being published or aired than more positive news, the latter being considered as fluff pieces or light material.
- ▀ **Unexpectedness** – Stories involving events that are out of the ordinary or unexpected will have a greater chance of getting published or aired than stories that are more ordinary.
- ▀ **Unambiguity or Simplification** – Outside of specialized publications, stories that are simple to write and easy to understand, like an open-and-shut murder case, will more likely see print and broadcast than those stories that are difficult to write and even more difficult to understand for the lay person, like the taxonomy of seaweeds.

Under Audience Identification:

- ▀ **Personalization** – Stories that involve people and their attributes will have a large chance of publication and airing than stories involving purely abstract ideas. For example, a personality sketch of a scientist who recently won an important award will not be complete if it does not involve some personal detail or two to humanize the presentation.
- ▀ **Meaningfulness** – Stories that are more relatable to audiences will have a larger chance of seeing print or airtime than those stories involving topics that are largely alien to a publication or a network's patrons.
- ▀ **Elite Countries** – In foreign news, stories involving first world countries and those which are culturally proximate to us have a greater chance of being aired or published here than stories involving other third world and global south countries.
- ▀ **Elite People** – Stories that involve people with high status — ranking politicians and other officials, as well the rich and the famous — are more likely to see publication and airtime than those involving ordinary people.

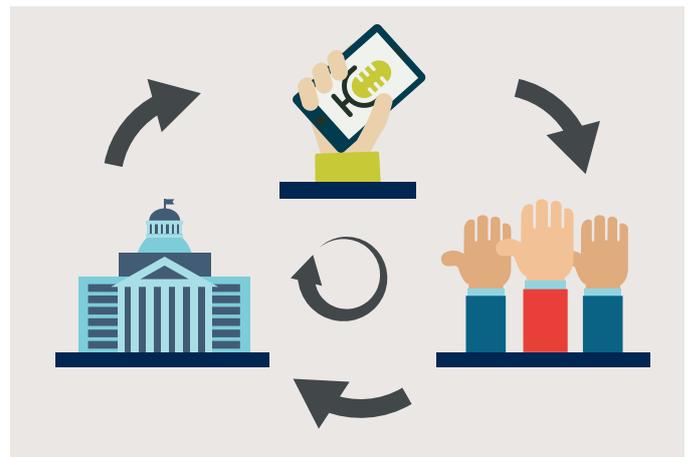
Under Pragmatics of Coverage:

- ▀ **Consonance** – Stories that conform better to what the news gatekeepers think the audience would like to read, watch or hear will have a better chance of getting printed and aired when compared to stories that gatekeepers feel, rightly or wrongly, would be irrelevant to the audiences they serve.
- ▀ **Continuity** – Stories that build upon what audiences already know or are aware of will likely see publication and airing more than stories that have yet to gain momentum.
- ▀ **Composition** – Editors like to mix things up on pages assigned to them. A light story might be aired or see print in place of a lesser-degree serious report if all other stories

on the page are already deathly serious.

These factors have been validated by a number of follow-up studies that have built on Galtung and Ruge’s list by extending, summarizing, or restructuring it (as cited in Meissner, 2015). Regardless, Galtung and Ruge’s pioneering work remains the most influential study in the field.

There is a need to note, however, that the values indicated in the Galtung and Ruge study indicate the likelihood of media attention. The study never regarded these values to be must-haves for a story to become newsworthy.



The dynamic can begin with the authorities having information for the public and channeling it through the media and the media giving information to authorities from the feedback it gets from its audience. The feedback, in turn, becomes the impetus for new information/reaction from authorities, and so on and so forth.

When the media gives compromised information to its public, the public’s decision-making becomes compromised and the feedback the media get is tainted, affecting the entire loop and future cycles.

Some media effects are intended, while others are not and are just effects of the regular unconscious news process. This means that some media houses may be aware of the agenda they would like the public to react to and to think of, while others are unaware of the impact of the news or material that they transmit.

Within the context that the media reach a vast number of people and can make them act based on the information provided, it is paramount for media students to be aware of what message a media material delivers, intentionally or not, to the public. Those media messages, therefore, need to be carefully thought out.

Structured Learning Activity

1. Story analysis
 Time: 30 minutes
 Materials: Three news stories from a local paper

Instruction:

- Analyze the stories.
- Identify the news value/s that got the articles chosen as news.
- Ask students to report.

Discussion:

- Is the story relevant to the needs of the audiences at the time of the publication?

Theory Input

The idea that news is limited to events that have one or more of the news values discussed before seriously limits what the public is made aware of and what social processes and discourses they can meaningfully participate in.

Moreover, an awareness of these same news values provide enterprising propagandists an avenue to influence what gets reported and what doesn’t, thereby — through the mechanics of Framing, Priming and Agenda-Setting — influencing how audiences later take part in social discourse.

Taking into account the Feedback Loop of McGoldrick and Lynch (2000), whereupon audiences are deemed not just consumers of news but sources of it as well (p. 22), and things take on a more serious tone. Lynch and McGoldrick describe audiences and sources as counterparts that, through the media, influence each other’s actions.

Thus, whatever and however the media covers about an event by sources will impact how the audience reacts and however and whatever of the audience’s reaction is covered by the media will affect how sources will counteract and so on and so forth.

 **Structured Learning Activity**
2. The Red Herring

Time: 30 minutes

Materials: None

Instruction:

- ▀ Pre-lesson, direct the class to find out what a Red Herring is.
- ▀ Make them apply what they discover by looking for a running news story that became less interesting because a newer story broke out. (Example: The international attention on EJK in the Philippines and the Leila de Lima drug protection racket)
- ▀ Let them report their findings in class.

Discussion:

- When the media become so focused on news values, they become prone to being led away from a truly relevant issue to a less relevant but more news values-laden one.

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CHAPTER 3: PRESSURES TO THE PRACTICE

Intended Learning Outcomes

At the end of the lesson, the students should be able to:

- ▀ Understand the media filters, as defined by Herman and Chomsky, that potentially influence how journalists frame their reports;
- ▀ De-construct the natural and personal filters which reporters use in processing their reports that affect their objectivity and accountability; and
- ▀ Point out how media filters affect decision making.

Rationale/Content Overview

The key discussion point of this lesson focuses on the various pressures imposed upon the practice of journalism in the context of both an advertising-driven media environment and the natural biases and partiality of journalists as human beings.

It undertakes the painstaking commitment to understand the various linkages of media houses and how decisions in the newsroom are influenced by media owners. The same reality is true of individual journalists.

In some countries, journalism guilds or groups are established to ensure that journalists are insulated from unwarranted impositions by media owners on how stories should be framed, how audiences should be primed, and which agenda should be set.

Journalists there are also made to keep themselves in check. They take a licensure examination before they can work in a media house. The examination is conducted by a duly authorized professional body and is based on their standards of professional responsibility. An ethical violation can, depending on gravity, result in the suspension or cancellation of a journalist's license and, by extension, the suspension or termination of his or her journalistic practice.

In the Philippines, no such guild or licensure requirement exists. Journalists work directly under the authority and influence of media owners who make business decisions. There is also no leverage for quality, ethical, and responsible journalism: media owners can fire journalists who, on ethical grounds, refuse to angle stories in a particular way, and, because of the absence of licensing, hire just about anybody to do media work.

In fact, ethical violations among media practitioners in the country rarely get pointed out simply because no unified professional standard is in place and enforced. In war coverages, for example, many Philippine media houses have their reporters embed with military units. They justify this as the only way reporters can enter conflict areas and do their reporting.

This is also the practice of journalists in other countries. During the war in Iraq, for example, international news agencies embed reporters with the US army. The reporters live like soldiers in compliance with rules set by the US Army.

But media houses that embed their reporters in one side of the conflict should also embed reporters in the other side for quantitative and qualitative balance. In the Philippines, similar to the USA, media houses generally do not. Nor are they required to because of the absence of an enforceable code of professional standards.

Nevertheless, the media sector's ability to analyze and criticize itself is one of the elements that defines the quality of the reported news and the integrity of the media house.

Theory Input***Propaganda Model by E. Herman and N. Chomsky***

The media's agenda are affected by their own industry-specific realities.

Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman argued that the media "are effective and powerful ideological institutions that carry out a system-supportive propaganda function by reliance on market forces, internalized assumptions, and self-censorship, and without overt coercion" (Herman & Chomsky, 1988, p. 306).

The public is not sovereign over the media — the owners and managers, seeking ads, decide what is to be offered, and the public must choose among these. People watch and read in good part on the basis of what is readily available and intensively promoted. Polls regularly show that the public would like more news, documentaries, and other information, and less sex, violence, and other entertainment, even as they do listen to and watch the latter. There is little reason to believe that they would not like to understand why they are working harder with stagnant or declining incomes, have inadequate medical care at high costs, and what is being done in their name all over the world. If they are not getting much information on these topics, the propaganda model can explain why: the sovereigns who control the media choose not to offer such material. (p. xix)

Chomsky and Herman detailed five influences or filters that impact media operation:

1. Ownership, size, and profit orientation – The size and profit-seeking imperative of dominant media corporations create bias.
2. Funding – The fierce competition throughout to attract advertisers makes the media vulnerable to marketing pressures, such as promoting advertiser interest.
3. Sourcing – The mass media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest.
4. Flak – The media fear being discredited because it means losing audiences and, in the end, advertisers. Thus, they are not likely to disagree with or cast doubt on prevailing assumptions that are favorable to established elite powers.
5. Ideology of fear – The media promote fear not only because it increases a public's dependence on the media, thereby increasing market share and, ultimately, advertising interest, but also because “if people are frightened, they will accept authority” (Chomsky, interviewed by John Veit in High Times, April 1998).



Structured Learning Activity

1. Scenario analysis (Blackout)

Time: 30 minutes

Materials: The scenario

Millionaire **Bill Jobs** owns the newspaper, **The Daily Truth**, and a shopping center, **Your Daily Needs' Mall**. As owner and publisher, **Bill Jobs** has the authority to fire people. As mall owner, he has a responsibility to his investors. He already has many competitors and sales performance has not been that high. **The Daily Truth**, though, is performing well. It is the second-best newspaper in a community that has two other newspapers and three television stations. One morning, the elevator cable of **Bill Jobs'** shopping center snapped and the elevator dropped from the third floor all the way to the ground floor. Luckily, no shoppers were in the elevator when it happened. Unluckily, the elevator operator, a female security guard, **Rosa**, was inside. The fall broke her ankle and she was rushed to the hospital while other mall personnel hurriedly put a yellow caution tape around the elevator, saying it was under maintenance. **Ace**, a news reporter, found out about the incident from **Anne**, a nurse assistant at the hospital where **Rosa** was rushed to. **Ace** then called his editor, **Strella**, to say he was filing a report. **Strella** now has to make a decision. Should she run the story?

Instruction:

- ▀ Group the class into two, one affirmative and the other negative.
- ▀ Pose the question, should **Strella** publish **Ace's** story? Make each group come up with five reasons for their decision, and let them challenge each other on the merit of their arguments.
- ▀ Pay attention to the arguments of the negative side. Ask the class to form a consensus between the affirmative and the negative side.

Discussion:

- ▀ Point out how Chomsky's media filters affected the decision-making.
- ▀ Ask what the effects of a news blackout would have been.

2. Scenario analysis (Ownership)

Time: 30 minutes

Instruction: Following the first lecture, the class is divided into groups that correspond to the number of local dailies that circulate in the community and the number of national media houses whose presence can be felt in the locality. Each group is then assigned a media house and asked to determine who owns that media house and to find out what other business ventures the media house owner/s have.

In the next meeting, they are to bring a copy of the newspaper published by their assigned media house. It does not have to be the day's copy but one that is recent.

In class, the groups scan their respective papers for stories that are either positive or negative to the newspaper owners' other business ventures, and stories that are positive or negative to competing business ventures.

(Notes: Politics can also be a consideration if the owner/s of the media house hold elective positions. If the students don't know that the local media house is owned by a politician, the teacher must be able to point it out.)

3. Scenario analysis (Funding)

Time: 30 minutes

Instruction: Following the lecture on the topic, the class is asked to return to their media-house-based groupings and to produce the copy of the newspaper that they previously brought to class, or to secure a copy of a more recent issue from the same media house.

The groups are then tasked to make a list of all the advertisements and advertisers appearing in their newspaper. Following that, they are asked to look for stories that mention the advertiser, and, if they are able to find any, to evaluate whether the story depicts the advertiser in either a negative or positive way.

(Notes: Advertisements paid for by local politicians are included. Likewise included are advertisements paid for by local government units (LGU) or national agencies like the Department of Health (DOH) or the Department of Education (DepEd)).

4. Scenario analysis (Sourcing)

Time: 30 minutes

Instruction: As an assignment following the lecture, the class is asked to conduct independent research on two separate incidents:

1. The March 9, 1999 incident where then-President Joseph Estrada filed a 101 million peso libel suit against The Manila Times for its Feb. 16, 1999 banner story that described him as an “unwitting ninong” to a 17 billion peso power contract between an Argentinian firm and the National Power Corporation (NPC).
2. The July 10, 1999 incident where several movie advertisers and all government-owned and controlled corporations boycotted the Philippine Daily Inquirer.

Discussion 1:

- How did Estrada react to the story?
- How did publishers handle the reaction?
- What were the other direct consequences to the media?

Discussions 2:

- What was the supposed reason for the boycott?
- What was the consequence for the paper?
- What was the consequence to the media as far as access to the President was concerned?

5. Scenario analysis (Flak)

Time: 30 minutes

Instruction: Divide the class into groups and ask the members of each group to share among themselves their experience with trolls in social media, particularly what behavior gets associated with trolls, what media topics usually get trolled, and how do the trolls attack or approach the topic. Let one member of each

group record and summate the sharing and then report it later to the entire class. Pay attention to key terms like yellow media or Duterte media, A-bias CBN, etc..

Discussion:

- How are media houses affected by trolls?
- How are media houses reacting?

6. Scenario analysis (Ideology of Fear)

Time: 30 minutes

Instruction: Divide the class into groups and require each group to bring a newspaper (old or new), where the headline involves terrorism, state security, war, or the like. During class, direct the groups to exchange papers and allow them 10 minutes to read the headline and story and to lift paragraphs from the story that support the headline. Make them present their findings to the entire class.

Discussion:

- How much facts support the headline and how much verification has been done to support these facts?
- How can the headline be re-written in such a way that it is better supported by the actual and verified facts in the story?
- Compare the original headline and the re-written one. Which headline is more likely to get the attention of readers? Which headline will likely be bought?

Theory Input

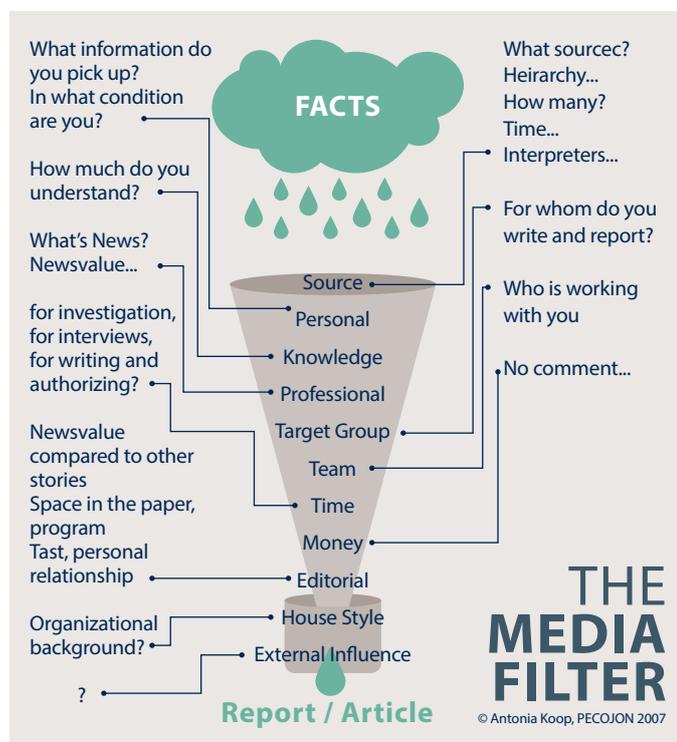
Beyond Chomsky’s list is a host of other factors, impossible to exhaustively discuss, that impacts the quality of journalism. There are, for example, newsroom operation concerns like story quotas versus daily deadlines, e.g., a community-based journalist has a six-hour work window to produce four to five stories.

Truth-seeking and a focus on relevance are threatened as journalists settle for whatever news can be obtained so as to feed the news machine. The desire to meet story quotas and the deadline shift attention and resources away from data verification, thoughtful angling and comprehensive research.

Another concern is house-style; for instance, when stories that highlight sex and gore are given premium over more development-oriented pieces as a matter of editorial policy.

Then, there are journalist-centered concerns like skill or the lack thereof, or bias coming from a lack of understanding of the

role of journalism in a democratic society, and personal filters or a journalist's preferred way of looking at things.



These personal filters can include:

Gender – Gender identity can influence the attention a journalist gives to a story. A female journalist will probably nuance a rape case differently than a male reporting handling the same case, owing to different insights on different aspects of the narrative.

Religion – Religion plays various roles in the lives of people, even the journalist. If a Christian journalist and a Muslim journalist had together covered the fall of Camp Abubakar in 2000, the intensity of their depiction of then-President Joseph Estrada celebrating his victory by bringing loads of pork and liquor into the camp—sacrilege for Muslims who consider the grounds as sacred—would have differed.

Rights – It is hard to detach journalism and the issue of human rights. There are even some instances when a journalist chooses to angle his story for the purpose of surfacing the abuse on the rights of “victims” of conflict. It is one of the overarching debates on the thin line that separates journalism and advocacy.

Identity – Given the identity of a media house, will it report certain stories? Will CNN report on the US government with all truthfulness? Will a government-owned media house be critical of the administration? Similarly, will a media house report critically on a sister-company or any party with an interest shared by the media house?

Structured Learning Activity / Output or Assessment

1. Scenario analysis (Motives)

Time: 30 minutes

Materials: A feature story on any conflict in the Philippines or abroad

Instruction:

- ▀ Have the students do a background check of the writer and his or her media house and let them present their findings
- ▀ Based on this context, have the students assess the story's content and presentation

Discussion:

- ▀ What journalistic purpose or value does the story hold in relation to the concerns of the audience?

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MODULE 2

The Media in Conflict and Violence

MODULE OVERVIEW

In the last Module, we discussed how the media impact communities through their selection and presentation of the news. We likewise discussed factors that the media invariably consider when selecting which stories to convey, as well as factors that restrain or shape their presentation.

In this Module, we highlight two recurring themes in the news — conflict and violence.

Conflict is defined as “a process where two or more actors pursue incompatible goals while undermining the goal-seeking potential of the other” (Sandole, 1993, p. 6).

Conflict is an integral part of life. It exists not only in situations of direct violence such as war, but also in almost every story a journalist covers. It is different from violence, which is defined as a way to resolve conflict through the use of force.

Conflict, therefore, is the cause, and violence is one of various ways to resolve it.

The way the media deliver a story to the public and to the parties involved can influence how their conflict evolves, e.g., escalation or de-escalation; and how the public wants it resolved, whether through violence and war, compromise, conflict transformation, or nonviolent mechanisms

Indeed, the media’s coverage of conflict is as old as media itself. In the Philippines, the evolution of the media as we understand it today is tied to the evolution of conflict.

During the Spanish occupation of the islands, for example, nationalists formed their own local publications to promote revolutionary ideals, giving birth to the term propaganda press. Prior to that, the occupiers exercised control or influence over all periodicals.

All these publications were short lived. But the beginnings of a craft had taken root — a craft that surmounted challenges through the American period and commonwealth, the Japanese occupation, Martial Law, which gave us the Mosquito press, and the People Power revolution of 1986, which cemented the name Radyo Veritas in the minds of a generation.

The craft evolved further during the second People Power revolution of 2001, the first instance when the new media of the time — SMS and email — figured prominently in both the organization of people and the dissemination of information. It

continues to evolve to this day, amid new frontiers like social media and Internet 2.0.

At the outset, the conflicts that media twinned with were actor and structure-oriented.

Hence, coverages were rather simple: the Spaniards and their treatment of the indios versus the prevalent ideals of freedom at that time; the Americans and their prejudiced views and industrial interests versus the Filipino desire for genuine independence and self-rule; the Japanese and their imperial ambitions at that time versus survival; Marcos and his military versus human rights of the Filipino people; and, corruption and bad leadership versus the Filipino desire towards change.

Conflicts, however, are rarely if at all simple. Dimensions of conflict arise not just from among actors or systems but also from conflicting relationships at the horizontal level; among individuals, groups, communities, and populations.

The news media’s approaches to reporting conflict, war, and violence should include and reflect these dimensions. Unfortunately, they do not and conflict reporting continues to be, according to Howard, a “curious blind spot in journalism education and training” (cited in du Toit, 2010, p. 38)

Conventional journalism training does not usually include the study of how best to cover violent conflict, and has sometimes ignored the understanding of violent conflict as a social process.

Professional news reporters, whether they are aware of it or not, should be specialists in conflict because it is an element of every story covered. Consider: change is news. And when there is change, there is often disagreement or conflict. There is conflict among those who welcome the change and those who do not, or those who want more change and those who oppose change (Howard, 2003, p. 6).

Other communication/journalism courses demand that future journalists gain knowledge and expertise in reporting on business, economics, health, sports, and criminality among others, but the study of the dynamics of violence and conflict — its escalation, recurrence, and resolution — is not presently required.

In a constantly changing environment, journalists find themselves ill-equipped in reporting complex issues riddled with conflicting interests. Sometimes, the news media fall into the trap and is accused of being part of the conflict.

CHAPTER 1: DECONSTRUCTING CONFLICT

Intended learning outcomes

At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

- Define conflict;
- Differentiate between conflict and violence;
- Describe the conditions that may give rise to conflict; and
- Categorize the factors that sustain or escalate conflict.

Theory Input

Conflict, in the context of Conflict-Sensitive Journalism, has been defined by Deutsch and Coleman as a situation where two or more people have or think they have incompatible goals and undermine each other's goal-seeking potential (as cited by Byrne & Senehi, 2009, p. 3).

This definition applies to both ends of the macro-micro spectrum, from the class-related conflicts that dominated Marxian thought, and which sees heavy citation among scholars of international studies and international relations to this day, to the dialectic formulations of Hegel and Simmel which form the grand theories of interpersonal conflict management.

Conflict is not synonymous with violence. Conflict is normal and is an agent of change, as posited by Pearson and Lounsbury (2009):

Scholars and practitioners of conflict resolution tend to recognize that not all forms of conflict can be considered negative interaction (Rothman and Olson, 2001). Conflict can be quite constructive in stimulating inter-party communication and problem-solving in a collaborative manner. (p. 72)

Violence, on the other hand, is a strategy characterized by the use of force, employed to resolve conflict. Violence, therefore, is the product of choice. Sometimes, it is the result of official policy of the state and the values it propagates. Says Harry Anastasiou (2009, p. 37):

Employing force or violence in the name of the nation has been historically manifested in a variety of ways. These have included the founding of nation-states (Risorgimento nationalism); the forceful defense of established nation-states from internal and/or external enemies (even Hitler elaborated this argument); the securing of national interests around the globe through conquest and colonization (giving rise to modern imperialism as a by-product of nationalism, not the other way around); the launching of anti-colonial revolutions for the purpose of establishing one's own exclusive, ethno-national state; the pursuit of forceful secession from an existing state for the purpose of establishing one's own ethno-national state (Bosnian Serbs, Turkish Cypriots, Kurds of Turkey); and

the justifications for civil wars based on competing models of national values, identity and interest, again in the name of the nation (Spanish and Greek civil wars). Close scrutiny of political history reveals that, from its very birth to [becoming] fully developed, institutionalized political cultures in the twentieth century and beyond, nationalism has forged a close association between the idea of the nation as a supreme value and the right to employ force or violence as its legitimate means (Alter 1994). This may explain why, in nationalism, actions that are normally viewed as perverse become moral, actions that are burdened with guilt become honorable, and actions that are death-dealing become heroic (Hedges 2002).

The World Health Organization's definition of violence is comprehensive and succinct:

The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation. (WHO, 1996)

In most contexts, conflict will predictably arise when (Howard, 2003, p. 6):

- Resources are scarce and not shared fairly, as in food, housing, jobs, or land.
- There is little or no communication between groups.
- The groups have incorrect ideas and beliefs about each other.
- Unresolved grievances exist from the past.
- Power/Influence is unevenly distributed.

Byrne and Senehi (2009) give further elucidation:

Destructive conflicts tend to expand and escalate as competition, poor communication, hostile attitudes, misjudgment, and misperception take hold so that the parties get stuck in a situation that makes no logical sense (Kriesberg 1998). Deutsch and Coleman (2000) argue that the perception of any act is determined by an individual's image of the act and by that person's perception of the context in which the act occurs. (p. 3)

Conflicts can be categorized into groups for easier comprehension. Conflicts can be data or information related, relationship related, or structure and systems related. These factors may also be value related or interests related.

<p>Data conflict is rooted in lack of information, misunderstanding, or differences over the interpretation or relevance of data.</p>	<p>Relationship conflict is caused by breakdown in interpersonal acceptance, liking, communication, and understanding.</p>	<p>Structural conflict is caused by unequal control, ownership or distribution, power of resources, or environmental or time constraints.</p>	<p>Value conflicts may be caused by differing ideologies, religious beliefs, cultural norms, and ethnicity.</p>	<p>Interest conflict is caused by actual or perceived competition over substantive, procedural, or psychological interests.</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▀ Insufficient data ▀ Misinformation ▀ Different views on what is relevant/important ▀ Different interpretations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▀ Personality differences ▀ Past experiences ▀ Poor communication 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▀ Poor role definitions (lack of a working structure) ▀ Destructive patterns ▀ Time constraints ▀ Geographical/physical relationship ▀ Unequal power/authority ▀ Unequal control of resources 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▀ Differing opinion of what is correct, right, or moral ▀ Differing preferences, likes, and dislikes ▀ Differing notions of what matters most ▀ Differing beliefs and ideology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▀ Motivations, fears, wants, needs, concerns ▀ Hopes, doubts, and expectations

 **Structured Learning Activity**

1. **Mind-mapping** (A diagram which can be used to visually outline information. It is often created around a single word or text, placed in the center, to which associated ideas, words and concepts are added.)
Time: 30 minutes
Materials: None

Instruction:

- ▀ Write the word conflict at the center of the board
- ▀ Ask students for their definition of conflict and write it around it, ask for specific anecdotal examples
- ▀ Group similar ideas
- ▀ Take note of definitions that more closely relate to the concept of violence

Discussion:

- ▀ Conflict exists in both a societal and interpersonal level

 **Structured Learning Activity**

2. **Acting it out** (A diagram which can be used to visually outline information. It is often created around a single word or text, placed in the center, to which associated ideas, words and concepts are added.)
Time: 45 minutes
Materials: None

Instruction:

- ▀ Divide the class into five groups.
- ▀ Make each group create and act out a conflict scenario they have read or seen in the news.
- ▀ Let them act, with the other groups as audience.
- ▀ Continue taking turns until all five groups have presented, or as time permits.

Discussion:

- ▀ What was each conflict about?
- ▀ Who were the conflicting parties?
- ▀ What gave rise to the conflict?
- ▀ How did the conflicting parties undermine each other?
- ▀ What will make the conflict get worse?
- ▀ What will reduce the conflict?
- ▀ Conflict is naturally occurring but violence is not.

CHAPTER 2: CONFLICT TYPES

Intended learning outcomes

At the end of the lesson, the students should be able to:

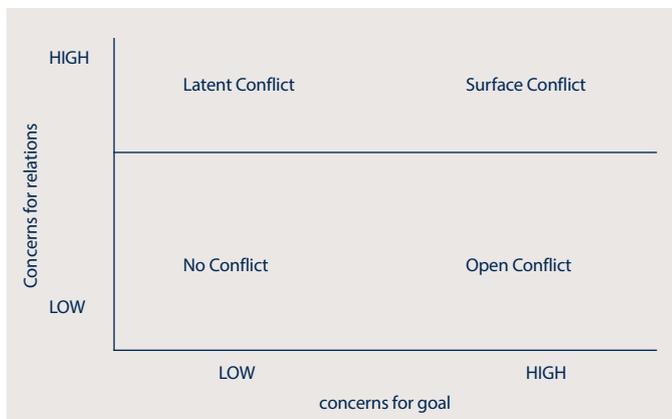
- ▀ Distinguish among the three types of conflict;
- ▀ Outline how concern for goals and relationships affects conflict; and
- ▀ Explain how power is tied to conflict.

Theory Input

There are three types of conflict — Surface Conflict, Latent Conflict, and Open Conflict (Galtung, 1958).

Surface Conflict is one that is episodic and not deeply rooted, but is being directly expressed, hopefully by non-violent means. Latent Conflict, meanwhile, is unexpressed frustration that continues to develop over time. Open Conflict, on the other hand, is a deeply rooted frustration that is currently being expressed.

The type of conflict is determined by three conditions, the first two being the level of importance each of the parties assigns to preserving the quality of their relationship and the level of importance that each party assigns to attaining their goals (Galtung, 1958). It is graphically presented this way:

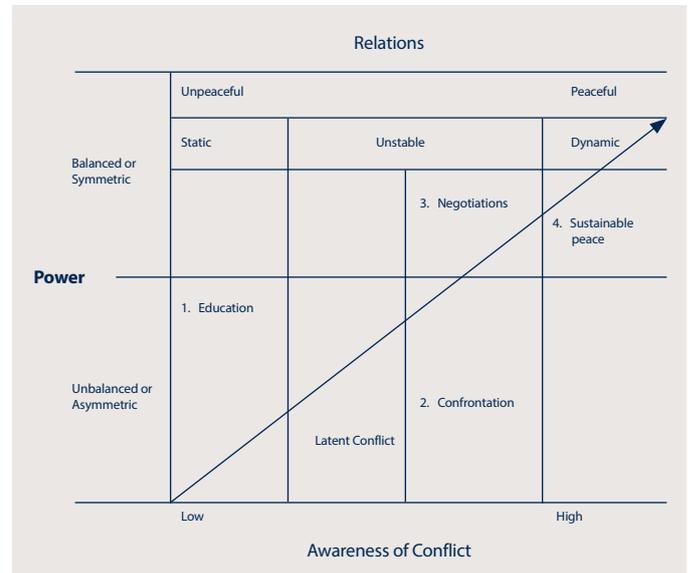


On the last aspect, power, Bryne and Senehi (2009) proffers:

When there is a power asymmetry in a relationship, conflict may escalate as the disempowered party seeks to redress grievances against the more powerful party. Thus, as a function of social conflict, power plays an important role in terms of relations and modes of resolution (Boulding, 1990a). Third parties with an appropriate intervention process can balance the power and even the playing field. (p. 3)

In a similar vein, Pearson and Lounsbury (2009), citing Curle and Lederach, built on the element of power by clarifying that a rebalancing of power “goes beyond merely military or physical

power, and means that all parties come to ‘recognize one another in new ways’. (p.74)



Pearson and Lounsbury (2009) paraphrase the Lederach as follows:

Whichever way, the voice of the weaker party is strengthened relative to the strong; negotiations can emerge if those involved increase the level of awareness of their interdependence through mutual recognition. This means that both sides become convinced they cannot simply impose their will or win victory or eliminate the opponent or its grievances through struggle alone. Finally, if the negotiations lead to restructured relationships that become stabilized, entailing the concept of justice, then sustained peace might be expected. (p.74)

To better understand the two diagrams above, consider the hypothetical scenario of two neighboring villages razed by fire. The government attempts to assist the two groups of residents by giving them land. Unfortunately, the land is enough for only one group.

If both groups in our make-believe scenario are not interested in being relocated for any reason, then there is no conflict. But if both groups are interested (goal), then there is a potential for conflict, the type of which depends upon several conditions.

Even if one party gives in because it values its relationship with the other party, both of them are still, in Galtung’s parlance, in a state of Latent Conflict for so long as the other party remains in a state of need (to be relocated, in our example).

It is important, at this point, to scrutinize the term relationship. Among young people, the word evokes positive images like friendship, kinship, and romantic love. But in Conflict Science,

the term relationship is more technically defined: the way in which two objects, concepts, or people are connected. One such connection is power.

Returning to our example, let us assume that village number two were poorer families who could not compete with the richer families of village number one in terms of securing the land that the government offered for relocation. The residents of village number one win and the residents of village number two lose. However, this is not the end of the dispute.

The disadvantaged party, knowing that they lost because they did not have power, will naturally feel frustrated. The frustration will not be openly expressed. Instead, it will be concealed and will grow in intensity until a triggering event makes it explode. This now is Open Conflict.

But if both groups in our hypothetical scenario are interested in the relocation and they are symmetrically empowered, both can compete on equal footing. This, in Galtung's parlance, is Surface Conflict.

Because the conflict is merely at the surface level, there is room for the conflict to be managed more creatively, leading to better outcomes (like collaborating to build a socialized housing condominium) which can accommodate more families despite limited land size.

From the standpoint of Conflict-Sensitive Journalism, recognizing the type of conflict is of immense value to practitioners because it clarifies the focus of the coverage—the Attitudes (also Sentiment), Behaviors, and Contradictions of all parties (Galtung, 1958).

In a situation of Surface Conflict, where frustration over a need or a goal that is unmet is expressed towards a party or parties, the focus of CSJ would be to uncover and discuss the goal or need and the impact on populations if that goal or need remains unmet.

Equally important is for journalists to focus on the repercussions or internal costs that meeting the need or goal would have for the other party or parties. They should also provide all the stakeholders with a venue to communicate and build trust, which is the cornerstone of collaboration.

This bi-focal approach can influence the Attitudes and Behavior of the parties involved.

The discussion of the goal or need, as well as of the impact upon populations if that goal or need remains unmet, and of the internal costs to the party expected to meet the need or goal, must be thorough and nuanced. Likewise, collaboration among all parties for a mutually beneficial or partially mutually beneficial outcome must be communicated and nuanced. Senehi (2009) writes:

In a peaceful society, all persons have access to processes for developing knowledge, and research goals serve the interests of all groups. When there is peace, all feel their story is told and heard. Because storytelling is accessible, story-based interventions and projects can be a means for facilitating more voices into the public transcript. Storytelling as the spoken narrative of life experience has given a voice of resistance to whole groups otherwise excluded from the "authoritative" discourse of First World journalism, academic, and literature. (p. 204)

Without a bi-focal approach, the conflict evolves into the second type.

Latent Conflict, as previously discussed, involves a long-stranding frustration about a need or goal that is unmet due to the direct or indirect intervention or non-intervention of a party. This frustration is one that has not been previously expressed due to a concern for relationship, in an interpersonal sense, or because of power asymmetry.

In this case, uncovering the need or goal and the impact on a population, if the need or goal were to remain unmet, is still necessary, particularly if the frustration over the unmet need or goal has been unexpressed. Equally important is nuancing the repercussions for the other party or parties meeting the need or goal.

However, if that need or goal has been previously expressed yet ignored, it is the uncovering of the structures and systems that allowed the need or goal to remain unmet and festering — the Contradiction — that now becomes the primary intent of journalistic scrutiny.

The explanation and exploration of these structures must be nuanced to allow better decision making on whether these structures and systems should be changed — a rebalancing of power, so to speak — and, if so, how best to do it. Says Pearson and Lounsbury (2009):

With increased awareness comes overt conflict and confrontation, and then, depending upon the key element of rebalancing power, in the broad sense of that term, the line can be crossed toward negotiation (because of the parties' greater self-assurance), and finally even to peace if relations become stable and predictable though continuing to change. In some sense we might view negotiations as pre-transformation and stable peace as indicative of transformation. Power is important here in that the weaker

party with grievances at first cannot effectively be heard. Through increased awareness and “consciousness raising,” confrontation arises and can be either violent or non-violent. The stronger party thus at least becomes aware of these grievances or demands. Even this first confrontation is a measure of initial empowerment for the weaker party, and the power relationship continues to evolve and might be further transformed either through the struggle or through third party intervention (to take part in the conflict or to mediate it). (p. 74)

Suffice it to say that the mindless repetition of the existence of an unmet goal or need without reference to the structural and systemic conditions that contribute to its remaining unmet only increases the level of frustration of the affected population, which, over time, can evolve into the third type of conflict.

Open Conflict is an overtly, often violently, expressed deeply-rooted frustration over an unmet need or goal, and is directed towards a party or parties.

In Conflict-Sensitive Journalism, strategies in the coverage of Open Conflict include putting more effort in refocusing attention towards the causal factors and “human costs,” instead of providing a simple running tally of actions and counter-actions, which, in turn, only help to worsen the dispute.

Structured Learning Activity

1. Conflict Identification

Time: 30 minutes

Materials: Prepared scenarios written on rolled strips of paper placed in a bowl.

Instruction:

1. Ask the students to form dyads.
2. Have a representative from each dyad pick a piece of paper from the bowl. The scenarios can include:
 - ▀ ASEAN summit ends without discussing South China Sea row
 - ▀ Man held for hunting animals in Mt. Apo protected area
 - ▀ Drought-stricken farmers break into an NFA warehouse, takes grains
 - ▀ Alleged NPA rebels burn Davao packing plant compound
 - ▀ Residents rally against plan to construct coal-fired power plant
 - ▀ Elderly lament low SSS pensions
 - ▀ IPs ask Army generals: restrain troop movements in ancestral lands
 - ▀ Groups sue mining company for digging in protected island

- ▀ Mining company sue NGO execs for libel
 - ▀ Badjao tribe settles in Davao to avoid Army-Abu Sanyaf crossfire
 - ▀ Government demolishes Benguet villages to make way for dam project
 - ▀ Transmission tower bombed, NPA takes credit
3. Ask the pairs to carefully consider the headline they picked, and help them understand what the headlines convey.
 4. Ask each pair to discuss and agree on whether their headline depicts Surface Conflict, Latent Conflict, Open Conflict, or no conflict.
 5. Let them discuss their answer and facilitate to reinforce that understanding.
 6. Provide other examples that the class can openly discuss.

Discussion:

- ▀ Latent conflicts are the most difficult to spot because of its nature.
- ▀ Media is not drawn to latent conflicts because there is little drama or action to report
- ▀ Latent conflict has the potential for most devastation
- ▀ The conflict in Mindanao is almost universally viewed as having stemmed from latent conflict

CHAPTER 3: CONFLICT ESCALATION

Intended learning outcomes

At the end of the lesson, the students should be able to:

- ▀ Demonstrate how conflict escalates;
- ▀ Diagram the different stages of the escalation ladder; and
- ▀ Construct a model interfacing the stages of conflict escalation with the facets of conflict de-escalation intervention.

Theory Input

Conflict escalation is the process by which Latent Conflict grows or develops over time into Open Conflict.

Kriesberg (2003) described it as involving an increase in the intensity of a conflict and in the severity of tactics used in pursuing the initial goal.

Once a conflict is in the escalation phase, identities, grievances, goals, and methods often change in ways that perpetuate the conflict in increasingly destructive fashion. Thus, each side's collective identity is shaped as the opposite of the enemy's identity. Group loyalty is also often demonstrated by antagonism toward the enemy. Additionally, good qualities are increasingly attributed to one's own group, while bad qualities are increasingly attributed to the enemy, sometimes going so far as to dehumanize the enemy. (Escalation Stage section)

Citing Rowman and Littlefield, and Brockner, she added:

The fighting itself generates new grievances among members of each side, as the adversaries inflict injuries on each other. In addition, old dissatisfactions and injustices are aroused and responsibility for them is ascribed to the current enemy. Goals tend to become firmer as a conflict escalates, since making concessions seems more difficult after sacrificing so much in waging the struggle. Goals also sometimes expand to include harming the adversary for the sake of retribution. Furthermore, unresolved old issues are often revived, further increasing the goals under contention. (Escalation Stage section)

As conflicts escalate further, the methods of fighting may lose their practical connection with the goals of each side. A desire for retribution for previous actions, as well as a stronger desire to get the upper hand in the conflict, becomes the goal. Since both sides want the same thing, tides turn and turn again. Kriesberg said:

Once a conflict begins to escalate, many processes contribute to its institutionalization and self-perpetuation. As a conflict persists, members of each side increasingly view members of the other side as enemies with bad qualities, and perhaps as cruel and untrustworthy. Such socialization contributes to a conflict's further intractability. Mutual fear increases, and people on each side are concerned about their vulnerability if they yield. One group may hear another group's call for justice as a cry for revenge. (Institutionalization Stage section)

Moreover, as the fight persists, segments within both sides of the conflict may discover profitability and develop vested interests. A practical example — in the case of armed conflict, which already employ violent tactics — would be military officers who discover that the existence of the conflict results in faster rank promotion, larger intelligence funds, and more profitable relationships with industries involved in the manufacture and distribution of arms.

From the standpoint of Conflict-Sensitive Journalism, uncovering and nuancing conflict-enabling or conflict-sustaining factors such as above is the overarching goal of covering Open Conflict. Conventional news coverage focuses on the “war tally,” but this does not serve to facilitate a better understanding of the conflict or war among people, including those with the decision-making power to end the violence and engage in more creative conflict-resolution schemes.

Unless journalism refines the focus of coverage, it might very well be considered as one of those entities who find profit in the continuation of the violence. War, after all, is a hotbed of stories with blood and gore, stories that have innate production values that, in turn, can be leveraged for better audience engagement and market share.

The escalation of Latent Conflict to Open Conflict, or from Open Conflict to an even more intense state of Open Conflict has several manifestations, including changes cited below (adapted from du Toit, 2014, pp. 10-11):

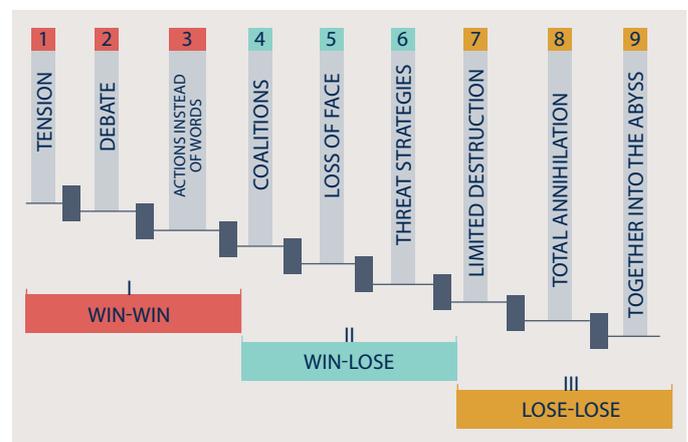
Conflicts often become more difficult to manage and resolve as they escalate. Some of the factors that make conflict more intractable according to Anstey, as cited by du Toit (2014, pp. 10-11), include:

FROM	TO
Limited Issues - Parties make specific demands around one or more clearly defined issues	Issues Proliferation - Parties begin making broader, more complex demands that are harder to meet
Limited investment - A limited amount of human and material resources is invested into the conflict	Increased Investment - More resource is invested; all the more harder to abandon the conflict
Few participants - Only those individuals or groups that are directly concerned with the issues are engaged	More participants - Groups try to win over allies, each with their own agenda or interest
Neutral perceptions - Parties still have neutral and sometimes even positive perceptions of each other	Negative perceptions - Parties fall into stereotypes and come to see each other as enemies
Open communications - Avenues for reasonable communication exist between parties	Poor communications - Communication turns infrequent and are treated with suspicion
Neutral Relationships - The interactions between parties are neutral and sometimes even positive	Hostile relationships - Personal relations between groups and across its memberships decline
Doves as leaders - Groups are led by moderate leaders who are likely to look for peaceful solutions	Hawks as leaders - More militant leaders come to power as groups believe they are tougher

- Parties do not want to lose face. As the conflict escalates, it becomes increasingly difficult for leaders to argue in favor of compromise without being seen as weak. During the course of a conflict, leaders will spend a great deal of time posturing to both their supporters and their opponents so as not to be seen as weak and indecisive.
- Parties may experience tunnel vision. As the conflict escalates, parties become locked into promoting and defending their own positions and become less open to the views of others. Tunnel vision prevents people from seeing conflict from the other's perspective and recognizing that other parties have to satisfy their own needs and interests.
- Groups cohere. As conflict escalates, group cohesion tends to become stronger. Groups apply pressure to their own members to conform to conflict modes of thinking. Anyone advocating a moderate stance can be discredited or branded as a traitor.
- Groups can experience a need for revenge. Suffering caused in conflict often leaves people with a strong desire to see opponents punished. Groups are seldom willing to recognize that harm is experienced by both sides. Groups that have been involved in gross human rights violations may fear reprisal once the conflict comes to an end. Peace can mean facing punishment and retribution. Some may feel it is better to continue fighting.

As conflict escalates, the number of issues involved can spiral. This is especially true when violence is involved. Parties need to find ways of ending armed hostilities first before they can start looking for solutions to the substantive problems that sparked the conflict in the first place.

Friedrich Glasl's model (Glasl, 1997, 1999) offers a better understanding of the process of escalation. He posited a nine-stage Conflict Escalation Ladder that, despite the nomenclature, represents a descent. It is a decline into what he described as "more primitive and more inhuman forms of dispute [which] inevitably leads into regions that evoke great 'inhuman energies' which are not ultimately amenable to human control or restraint." (no page)



It is a descent into destruction and self-destruction; from a state where parties would have been able to achieve a win-win solution to a state where, if no intervention exists, parties are both bound to lose.

Curiously, Glasl's Conflict Escalation Ladder overlaps with a de-escalation strategy forwarded by Ronald J. Fischer (1990), which leverages improved communication, perception, and trust between parties, and, therefore, overlaps with the news media's perceived social role and value. Fischer wrote:

The power of categorization and the push toward stereotyping lead to a skewed picture of positive in-group similarly in contrast to a distant and negative out-group homogeneity. Once formed, cognitive structures (beliefs, expectations, stereotypes, frameworks) have a very powerful influence on how incoming information is perceived, interpreted and assimilated. The phenomenon of ethnocentrism is a concomitant of these processes in which in-groups are seen as legitimately superior and righteous whereas out-groups are targets of derogation and hostility. (p. 240)

Synthesizing both concepts, we plot Glasl and Fischer's models side by side below. Because Fischer's escalation ladder goes down, we begin at the bottom and work our way to the other end. (See table p. 29 and p. 30)

To reiterate, Fischer noted that part and parcel of the escalation and worsening of conflict is the sustained decline in each party's perception of the other. He wrote:

The ultimate influence of perceptual and cognitive processes is seen in the functioning of self-confirming expectations in which biased cognitions help produce skewed behavior that elicits the expected response. Thus, the self-perpetuating nature of social stereotypes produces an insidious dynamic that is extremely difficult to reveal or to counteract. (p. 179)

Incidentally, it is the non-aligned, independent journalist that is relied upon to provide the parties in conflict with a better understanding of each other and their goals or needs. This is a necessity given that the in-group and the out-group would trust no one else once conflict escalation begins. They certainly will not listen to each other. Senehi wrote (2009):

Storytelling, of course, is not inherently good or peaceful. Narratives may intensify social cleavages when they privilege some cultures while silencing others; when they generate or reproduce prejudicial and enemy images of other groups; and when they mask inequalities and injustice, inflame negative emotions, and misrepresent society (destructive storytelling). Or narratives may enhance peace when they involve a dialogue characterized by shared power; when they engender mutual recognition; and when they promote consciousness raising, serve to

resist domination, or teach conflict resolution strategies (constructive storytelling). (p. 203)

Structured Learning Activity

1. The Kidapawan assault revisited

Time: One hour

Materials: News clippings and accompanying photos of the story published by MindaNews

Instruction:

- ▀ Divide the class into three groups
- ▀ Distribute the materials
- ▀ Ask each group to read the materials thoroughly and give them time to discuss the details
- ▀ Assist as necessary
- ▀ After the groups have become familiar with the story, designate the first group as the farmers group, the second group as the elected officials group, and the last group as the law enforcement group
- ▀ Have each group map the conflict from their assigned perspective

Discussion:

- ▀ What was the group's need?
- ▀ What was their frustration?
- ▀ Did the need of one group result in the frustration of another group?
- ▀ What kind of conflict was it?
- ▀ What factors contributed to the escalation of the conflict?
- ▀ What factors would have de-escalated the conflict?

Stages of De-escalation (Fischer)	Stages of Escalation (Glasl)	Conflict attitude	Behavior indicators	Threshold to the next level	Intervention sequence (Fischer)	
					From	And/To
Destruction	Descent into the abyss	Annihilation at any cost	Accept inevitability of own destruction so long as the opponent is also destroyed		Peacekeeping (Control of violence)	Development assistance (Reduce inequities)
	Fragmentation of the enemy	Annihilation of opponent, Survival of the group	Annihilation fantasies Fascination with armaments and annihilation mechanisms	Sacrifice of self-preservation to win the war		Consultation (Conflict analysis)
	Limited destructive blows	Injury to opponent, more than he can injure the group Survival of the group or cause is the most important issue to consider	Belief that any action against the opponent is well deserved View of opponent as not human Dominance of power-thinking	Attacks at core of enemy Effort to shatter enemy		Arbitration (Power mediation, controlling hostilities)
Segregation	Strategies of threats	Control of the opponent	Belief that any action against the opponent is morally justified and necessary for everyone's welfare	Execution of ultimata Attacks on counterparts Sanction potential	Arbitration (Power mediation, controlling hostilities)	Consultation (Improving relationships)
Polarization	Loss of face	Attack on the opponent's fundamental values Exposure of the opponent Protection of own dignity	Identification of opponent as the enemy Perception of the in-group that the opponent is morally corrupt or evil	Ultimatum Strategic threats	Consultation (Improve relationships)	Pure mediation (Settle interests)
	Images and coalitions	Opponent as the problem: We need to win, He needs to lose	Negative perception of the out-group Perception of out-group members as homogeneous: "They are all the same"	Loss of face		

Stages of De-escalation (Fischer)	Stages of Escalation (Glasl)	Conflict attitude	Behavior indicators	Threshold to the next level	Intervention sequence (Fischer)	
					From	And/To
Discussion and Communication	Actions, not words	Objective issues and self-image: We are right, they are wrong	Blocked empathy Mainstreaming of belief that Out-group is "incapable" Increase in In-group conformity pressure	"Deniable punishment behaviour" Covert attacks directly aimed at identity of counterpart	Coalition (assisted communication)	Negotiation (Settle interests)
	Debates and polemics	Objective issues and relative position: We are superior, We need to influence "them"	Strengthening of In-group cohesion Decline in attitude towards Out-group Shift in focus on difference rather than similarity Decline in interest in cooperation and collaboration	Action without consultation		
	Tension/Hardening	Objective issues: Non-negotiable	Awareness of mutual dependence Beginning of In group-Out group formation Suspicious about the other group's hidden motives	Tactical tricks used in the argumentation		

CHAPTER 4: THE MEDIA AND CONFLICT ESCALATION

Intended learning outcomes

At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

- ▀ Discuss media's potential to impact conflict;
- ▀ Tap journalism's unconscious roles in conflict coverage;
- ▀ Assess the process of conflict escalation; and
- ▀ Reconstruct how the media could facilitate a condition where the parties themselves would want to diffuse the tension.

Theory Input

Ross Howard (2003) stressed that professional journalists do not set out to reduce conflict. Indeed, such a direct involvement in conflict outcomes would make journalists feel uncomfortable given the prevalent notion that being independent means not taking sides. Meanwhile, it is widely accepted that journalists are duty-bound to present accurate and impartial news. And this is good enough, because, adds Howard, it is often through good journalism that conflict is reduced.

Good journalism leads to a reduction in conflict because those involved in conflicts — people — are better informed and, thus, better able to make decisions on matters that affect them in all aspects of life, be it socio-political, socio-economic, socio-cultural, security, or safety.

But good journalism, implied Kovach and Rosenstiel (2007), goes beyond giving the audience the Who, What, When, Where, Why, and How. Good journalism, anchored on an obligation to the truth and grounded on a sense of duty to its citizens, facilitates understanding which, in turn, can only be achieved if, among other things, the news media make themselves a platform for criticism and compromise and keeps the news comprehensive and proportional.

Indeed, when journalists allow their medium to become a genuine venue for dialogue and respond doggedly to their duty to keep the news relevant, journalists unconsciously do other things, like facilitating communication, educating, allowing people and groups to know each other better, uncovering power imbalances, and uncovering and encouraging the repair of problematic structures and systems.

All these have a positive impact on conflict, whether journalists intend for it to happen or not.

1. Channeling communication – The news media are often the most important channel of communication that exists between sides in a conflict. Sometimes, the media are used by one side to broadcast intimidating messages. But other times, the parties speak to each other through the media or through specific journalists.

2. Educating – The conflict parties and all related stakeholders need to know about everyone's difficulty in moving towards reconciliation. A journalist that explores these difficulties, may they be politics or powerful interests, can help educate the rest to avoid demands for simplistic and immediate solutions.

3. Confidence-building – Lack of trust is a major factor contributing to conflict. The media can reduce suspicion by digging into hot issues and revealing them so there are no secrets to fear. Good journalism can also present news that shows how resolution is possible by giving examples from other places and by explaining local efforts at reconciliation.

4. Correcting misperceptions – By examining and reporting misperceptions, the media encourage disputing sides to revise their views and move closer to reducing conflict.

5. Making them human – Getting to know all sides, giving them names and faces, is an essential step. This is why negotiators put parties in the same room. Quality journalism also does this by putting real people in the story and describing how issues affect them.

6. Identifying underlying interests – In a conflict, all sides need to understand the bottom-line interests of each other. Quality reporting does this by asking tough questions and seeking the real meaning of what leaders say. Quality reporting also looks beyond the leaders' interests and looks for the larger groups' interest.

7. Venting emotions – Frustrations run high in a conflict situation. In fact, conflicts worsen when parties do not have creative ways of expression. Many disputes can be settled in the media instead of in the street. This way, conflicts can be addressed before they turn violent.

8. Framing the conflict – In a conflict, describing the problem in a different way can reduce tension and launch negotiations. In quality journalism, editors and reporters are always looking for a different angle, an alternative view, or a new insight that will still attract an audience to the story. Good journalism can help reframe conflicts for all sides.

9. Face-saving, consensus-building – When parties try to resolve a conflict they must calm the fears of their supporters. By reporting on what they say, the media allow leaders in a conflict to conduct face-saving and consensus-building.

10. Solution-building – In a conflict, all sides must eventually present specific proposals to respond to grievances. On a daily basis, quality reporting does this by asking the disputing parties for their solutions instead of just repeating their rhetoric of grievances. Quality journalism is a constant process of seeking solutions.

11. Encouraging a balance of power – Conflicting groups, regardless of inequalities, have to believe they will be given attention if they meet the other side in negotiations. Quality journalism encourages negotiation when the reporting is impartial and balanced. It gives attention to all sides. It encourages a balance of power for the purpose of hearing grievances and seeking solutions.

But when the media fail, when they instead trivialize their obligation and duty by giving and framing stories that entertain rather than inform, or producing stories that leverage existing prejudices to satisfy the curiosities of a paying audience, the media have a negative impact on conflict and can destroy the very condition that make de-escalation and resolution possible.

To illustrate, let us go back to Glasl and Fischer. Column A lists Glasl's escalation stages, with the corresponding attitude of the conflicting parties against each other in Column B. Columns C and D, meanwhile, show Fischer's intervention strategies and what conditions are required to make the intervention succeed. Column E presents media strategies for covering conflict. Is the coverage in Column E likely to positively or negatively impact the conflict? (See table p. 33)

Now let's look at the table on page 34. Assume a different media approach to coverage in Column E. Is the coverage in Column E likely to positively or negatively impact the conflict?

 **Structured Learning Activity**

1. Assessing the escalation

Time: take home or over the weekend

Materials: Sealed briefing papers/news clippings on:

- ▀ the 1986 People Power Revolution/Snap Elections
- ▀ the 2008 MOA-AD debacle
- ▀ the 2015 Mamasapano incident
- ▀ the 1994 Rwanda genocide

Instruction:

- ▀ Divide the class into four groups and ask each of them to pick a sealed packet
- ▀ Ask the groups to do additional research on the event
- ▀ Have them plot on manila paper milestones of the event according to Glasl's nine-stage escalation model
- ▀ Have them indicate what were the attitudes and behavior of the conflict parties
- ▀ Make the groups report in class the following day

Discussion:

- ▀ What factors triggered the escalation?

 **Structured Learning Activity**

2. Assessing the coverage

Time: One hour, the following class date

Materials: The previous output on manila paper

Instruction:

- ▀ Have the groups swap output.
- ▀ Provide 20 minutes for in-group discussion.
- ▀ Ask students to build consensus on at what stage could the conflict be deescalated.

Discussion:

- ▀ How could the media facilitate a condition where the parties themselves would want to diffuse the tension?

Stage (COLUMN A)	Conflict Attitudes (COLUMN B)	De-escalation intervention (COLUMN C)	An atmosphere conducive to intervention (COLUMN D)	Media Coverage (COLUMN E)
Tension/Hardening	Objective issues: Non-negotiable	Communication assistance to settle conflicting interests and goals	Clear and open communication	Intensifying tensions by picking up disagreements and ignoring agreements
Debates and polemics	Objective issues and relative position: We are superior, We need to influence "them"			
Actions, not words	Objective issues and self-image: We are right, they are wrong			
Images and coalitions	Opponent is the problem: We need to win, He needs to lose	Improvement of relationships to pave the way for mediation	Address mistrust Reestablishment of relationship	Highlighting the division through screaming headlines
Loss of face	Attack on the opponent's fundamental values Exposure of the opponent Protection of own dignity			
Strategies of threats	Control of the opponent	Control of hostilities to set the stage for arbitration	Repair of distorted perceptions and negative attitudes	Us-versus-Them reporting, providing a pulpit upon which to launch threats
Limited destructive blows	Injury to opponent, more than he can injure the group Survival of the group or cause is the most important issue to consider	Peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance intervention	Controlled hostility Reduced inequity	Reporting the fighting and fighting statistics (who is winning and who is losing)
Fragmentation of the enemy	Annihilation of opponent Survival of the group			
Descent into the abyss	Annihilation at any cost			

Stage (COLUMN A)	Conflict Attitudes (COLUMN B)	De-escalation intervention (COLUMN C)	An atmosphere conducive to intervention (COLUMN D)	Media Coverage (COLUMN E)
Tension/Hardening	Objective issues: Non-negotiable	Communication assistance to settle conflicting interests and goals	Clear and open communication	Channeling communication
Debates and polemics	Objective issues and relative position: We are superior, We need to influence "them"			Educating
Actions, not words	Objective issues and self-image: We are right, they are wrong			Building confidence Correcting misperceptions
Images and coalitions	Opponent is the problem: We need to win, He needs to lose	Improvement of relationships to pave the way for mediation	Address mistrust Reestablishment of relationship	Making them human
Loss of face	Attack on the opponent's fundamental values Exposure of the opponent Protection of own dignity			Identifying underlying interests Framing the conflict
Strategies of threats	Control of the opponent	Control of hostilities to set the stage for arbitration	Repair of distorted perceptions and negative attitudes	Saving face Building consensus
Limited destructive blows	Injury to opponent, more than he can injure the group Survival of the group or cause is the most important issue to consider	Peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance intervention	Controlled hostility Reduced inequity	Making them human
Fragmentation of the enemy	Annihilation of opponent Survival of the group			Building solution
Descent into the abyss	Annihilation at any cost			Encouraging a balance of power

CHAPTER 5: VIOLENCE

Intended learning outcomes

At the end of this lesson, students will be able to:

- ▀ Define violence;
- ▀ Describe the three categories of violence define by Galtung;
- ▀ Categorize the forms of violence by type.

Theory Input

Violence, in the previous lesson, was defined as a conflict resolution strategy characterized by the use of force. With this definition, we argued that violence is the product of choice and values.

Violent physical conflict is easily identified and described by journalists. Individuals or groups in conflict try to hurt each other and there are victims. Galtung (1969) refers to this as Direct Violence. Apart from this, he identified two other forms of violence: Structural Violence and Cultural Violence.

Structural and Cultural Violence also do great harm. But unlike Direct Violence, these two types are more difficult for journalists to see and to explain because they are not manifested physically in the form of force, assault, or the infliction of pain. Rather, they cause damage to the personhood, dignity, sense of worth, or value of the individual.

The social and cultural dimensions of violence are what gives violence its power and meaning. Considering only the physical aspects of violence misses the point and reduces any initiative to address it as a mere literary or artistic exercise (Scheper-Hughes & Bourgois, 2004).

Structural Violence refers to the systematic way in which inequitable social, economic, and political structures repress, harm, or disadvantage individuals and groups. These structures are often deeply anchored in historical unequal power relations, such as the caste system, apartheid, slavery, or imperialism.

It also refers to regulations and laws that marginalize sectors of the population because of race, religion, or social class; or other invisible structures that impede people in their development through unequal access to resources and services like land, education, and health care, and legal standing.

Structural violence comes in many shapes and sizes. Some manifestations we actually encounter in daily life. Examples are:

- ▀ Forms of (economic) exploitation: Extreme poverty and slavery are examples of people not being able to control their own financial means, for the benefit of other individuals or groups.
- ▀ •Racism and sexism: groups are disadvantaged and treated unequally, by law and practices, because of their race or sex.
- ▀ Colonialism: The control of a foreign entity over the resources and decision-making powers of defined territory and its people.

- ▀ Corruption and nepotism: An institutionalized form of power abuse based, where governmental decisions are based on personal ties or personal gain.

Cultural Violence, meanwhile, are “those aspects of culture... that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence” (Galtung 1990, p. 291). As violence, whether direct or structural, is a human phenomenon, people account for it by lending it purpose and meaning. This meaning can usually be found in the arena of culture: in collective attitudes, belief systems, and symbols.

It is important to stress that there are no “violent cultures” as such, but any given culture has aspects that can be used to support and to sustain Direct and Structural Violence. The most obvious aspects are religion and ideology. In history, many of the most heinous atrocities against humanity were committed in the name of Cross or Crescent, a nation, or a race. But expressions of moral and/or biological superiority to justify and legitimize violence can also be found in the arts, language, social discourse, customary practice, and science.

Most of the time, Cultural Violence is so deeply embedded in society, that its members are not even aware of how much it influences their opinion and behavior. Some examples of cultural violence are:

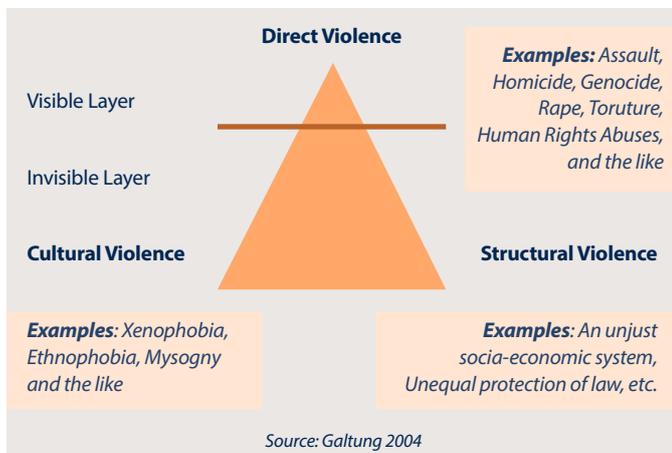
- ▀ Hate speech – Different ethnic or cultural groups openly speak badly of each other. One group blames the other for difficulties or problems it is suffering. Violence is encouraged to eliminate the blamed group.
- ▀ Religious justifications for war – Extreme intolerance of other beliefs promotes conflict.
- ▀ Gender discrimination – To allow practices and laws against women but from which men are exempted is a form of violence.

These kinds of violence are extremely important to identify when reporting and analyzing conflict. Often they are the real cause of direct physical violence. Ending the physical violence will not be enough. It will happen again if the cultural and structural violence is ignored.

It is important to note that violence is not disjointed. Galtung wrote (2004):

The visible effects of direct violence are known: the killed, the wounded, the displaced, the material damage, all increasingly hitting the civilians. But the invisible effects may be even more vicious: direct violence reinforces structural and cultural violence. (Triangle of Violence section, para. 7)

To understand this better, let us look at a visual model of Galtung's three different but interconnected forms of conflict.



Direct, Structural and Cultural Violence intertwine because each is the basis of the others. Assault against a particular race or a particular religion, for example, cannot happen if no irrational fear exists against the targeted group. And that irrational fear will likely not exist if structural mechanisms that promote a better understanding of different races or different religions existed, or if structural mechanisms had eliminated conditions that could trigger fears. Likewise, the existence of Direct Violence prohibits the creation of these structural mechanisms as well as prevents the development of cultural conditions conducive to peace.

It is important for journalists to be able to recognize when a conflict has reached a point where violence becomes likely. By recognizing these signs, journalists are better able to ask the right questions and develop the right stories that raise public awareness about the dangers of a conflict being allowed to escalate. This, in turn, enables the public to encourage intervention before violent outbreaks occur.

Anticipating what might happen places journalists in a position to manage more effectively their approach to stories, rather than get caught by surprise when Direct Violence emerges. The adrenaline rush resulting from this surprise often fuels sensational reporting, which, in turn, worsens the conflict situation.

The signs of violence, as proposed by du Toit (2014), represent components of Structural and Cultural Violence and include:

- ▀ A high level of discontent and frustration on the part of one, some, or all of the groups
- ▀ One or more of the parties is threatened by the demands of another or by the prospects of change
- ▀ There is an absence of trusted forums, procedures, or third parties for negotiation purposes; or one or more parties feel that the systems available for regulating conflict are “rigged” or unfair
- ▀ Systems of social control, e.g., the police force, cannot be trusted

- ▀ Parties cannot see alternatives to violence that might allow them to further or protect their interests
- ▀ Parties believe that violence is ideologically acceptable and, given the circumstances, legitimate
- ▀ There is a track-record of violence in the relation between the parties
- ▀ There is a breakdown of social norms as people struggle to find new ways of dealing with difference or change
- ▀ Individuals do not see themselves as responsible within their group for preventing violence
- ▀ There is evidence that group members have lost the ability to empathize
- ▀ Crowd situations create a feeling of anonymity and decreased responsibility
- ▀ Communication channels in the conflict are poor, allowing for rumors of potential attack and violence and prompting people to misread situations

💡 Structured Learning Activity

1. Finding causal factors

Time: Take home

Materials: Sealed briefing papers/news clippings on:

- ▀ the 1986 People Power Revolution/Snap Elections
- ▀ the 2008 MOA-AD debacle
- ▀ the 2015 Mamasapano incident
- ▀ the 1994 Rwanda genocide

Instruction:

- ▀ Divide the class into four groups and ask each of them to pick a sealed packet
- ▀ Ask the groups to do additional research on the event
- ▀ Have them draw a violence triangle on manila paper
- ▀ Have them list down individual acts of Direct Violence on the top
- ▀ During the next session, have them determine the 1) Structural Violence, and 2) Cultural Violence that, as contributing factors, lead to the Direct Violence

Discussion:

- ▀ Were the causal factors discussed thoroughly in the stories they received/research on?
- ▀ Given the existence of these factors, can the potential for continued Direct Violence be eliminated?
- ▀ What kind of stories would have that impact?

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MODULE 3

Conflict Analysis Tools in Journalism

OVERVIEW

In writing the news, journalists are expected not only to reveal or expose a specific event relevant to the lives of their audiences, but also to explain why the event occurred so that their audiences can have a better understanding of it and act or react appropriately (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001, 2007).

For example, what were farmers in Kidapawan City protesting last April 2016? Why did tension run so high in the first place? And why was the response to their protest so harsh? Or what motivated the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) to occupy Zamboanga City in 2013? What were the factors that led to the military encounter between two warring factions despite an existing ceasefire agreement?

Understandably, explaining complex events demands a lot of time and skill from journalists who are often already very taxed beating the deadline. Thus, more often than not, journalists content themselves with quotes from officials and “experts.”

However, when journalists select their sources out of convenience, because going in-depth takes more time and effort, or when they fail to challenge the veracity of a source’s position or statements out of fear of losing access to that source, the interest of the audience is not served because stories become superficial.

This is especially true when it comes to conflict. For this reason, Conflict-Sensitive Journalism proposes some techniques that journalists can use to their advantage and improve their craft.

In the previous chapter, we explored the concepts of conflict and violence, and examined the relationship and dynamics between these two notions. Building on your students’ previous understanding of conflict theories, the present module focuses on the development of skills in the use of specific in-depth conflict analysis tools to thoroughly understand its root causes and its actors, and to delve deeper into a story.

Originally, these conflict analysis tools were conceived to be used in the field of conflict transformation as an aid to identify entry points for direct transformative action. Peace builders use these tools to understand the relationships between involved actors before designing interventions to constructively influence conflict dynamics.

Of course, designing interventions is not part of journalism, but journalists still need to formulate critical questions to unmask contradictions. These tools are the perfect platform to enable journalists to do just that, and, in the process, learn how to better guide their audiences in understanding a conflict.

Using the CSJ tools will allow journalists to gather a myriad of information, setting them on a path of inquiry. Depending on the type of story, it may or may not be possible to include all the information within one story, but raising the relevant questions to the audience already sheds an important light on the different dimensions of a conflict.

Conflict-Sensitive Journalism is an active approach to journalism and not merely a formula. It requires journalists to be critical and analytic, and to question, re-question, and discover truths behind truths.

Each lesson in this module will focus first on the tools’ technical application for general analysis, before exploring their specific purposes for media practice. The tools and their purposes are the following:

1. The Timeline – Gathering facts, identifying gaps, and understanding an event in its context. Understanding how a story affects the bigger picture. Helpful in finding a story’s relevant frame.
2. The CSJ Triangle – Filling the gaps and identifying the root structural and cultural causes of a conflict. Finding an original and meaningful frame for a story.
3. The Actors’ Map – Identifying the various actors, voices, and perspectives surrounding a particular conflict, especially those that have the potential to impact the conflict’s outcomes.
4. The Onion – Analyzing these voices and uncovering the needs and interests behind them, thus building resilience against propaganda.

Ideally, these tools are to be applied on top of one another for a complete and complex tableau, but the conscientious use of even just one or two of the proposed techniques can have a significant impact on the journalistic quality of the final media output.

CHAPTER 1: Gap analysis and context-building using the Timeline Tool

Intended Learning Outcomes

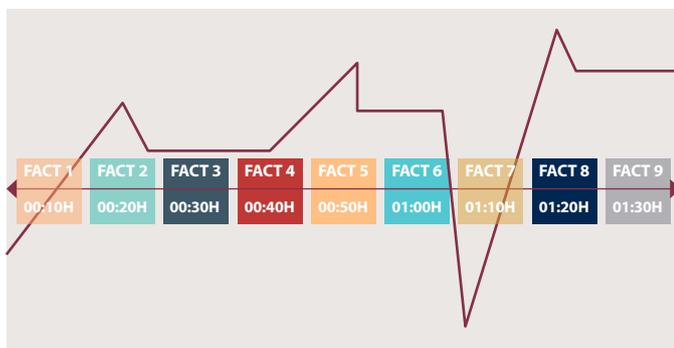
At the end of the lesson, the students should be able to:

- ▶ Operationalize the previously learned concept of process-oriented reporting (as opposed to event-oriented reporting);
- ▶ Break down a news event as a process and from the perspective of causality, and identify gaps that can be explored and explained in written stories; and
- ▶ Reorganize the report of news events in its proper context to enrich the readers' understanding.

Theory Input

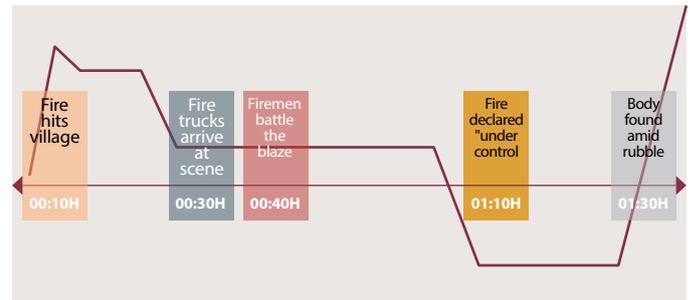
The Timeline is a tool that helps to review and to sort key events in their chronological order of occurrence. By listing the events as they took place in a certain period of time, the Timeline visualizes how these events relate to one another.

Through this we can better understand a singular event in its context, as we can see the incidents leading up to it, as well as its consequences. Especially in the case of a present conflict, the Timeline helps us to grasp the significance of an event in the more complex conflict dynamics.



The figure above is a Timeline template. On a bar, we list events and plot them over time, from the earliest to the latest. Then, when appropriate, we draw a bar representing tension or frustration over the events. The measurement of tension depends on the public's perception gathered by the journalist.

Applied to a given story, the timeline might appear like so:



With these facts, supplemented with data such as the names of the characters involved, a journalist can write a story.

The frame of a story as constructed this way will be episodic. It will be anchored on an event: how a killer fire hit a village 10 minutes past midnight, how it took fire fighters 20 minutes to arrive, and how it took 30 minutes to stop the blaze.

The story will be no different from other stories on fire that the public has read before. Now, imagine how a story like that could possibly improve public discourse and discussion on fires, and contribute to resilience to similar hazards in the future.

It cannot. And because the story, as written, makes no contribution at all to improving the quality of public discourse and discussion, the story fails as a work of quality journalism.

For a story to improve the quality of discourse and discussion, it must make the unknown known. The journalist has to take that essential "next step" of analyzing the gaps in the data, which then leads to raising further questions.

Sometimes, these gaps are just voids in time. Other times, the logic of cause and consequence in the Timeline becomes painfully inconsistent.

For example, why did it take the fire trucks 20 minutes to arrive? Likewise, why did it take them 30 minutes to put out the blaze? And, what can be done to prevent a similar delay from happening again?

These questions, collected, assessed and refined, are one of the journalist's most powerful tools in writing a meaningful story. Answers to these questions can sometimes be more relevant than "Hour-long fire hits village, kills one."

Structured Learning Activity

**Activity 1:
Identifying Gaps and Choosing the Frame of your story**

Time: One hour
Materials: Printout/Projection of an existing timeline from court case

Instruction:

- ▀ Hand out or project a timeline of a pre-selected court case to students, and read together. (5 minutes)
- ▀ Individually or in groups, ask your students to analyze the timeline 's coherence. Ask them: Are the events arranged in a logical order? Do you understand how they are connected and why they happened?
- ▀ Ask them to identify the gaps in the timeline and to note them down as questions. (15 minutes)

Discussion: (30 minutes)

- ▀ Reflection on information in timeline – What are the gaps?
- ▀ Reflection on questions – What are the most relevant questions for further investigation? What could be future leads for your story?
- ▀ Introduce the concept of variable framing.

Theory Input (continued)

Having a different set of data to work with has a huge impact on what story the journalist can now pursue and write.

Instead of writing about an episode of a larger, more complex narrative, the journalist can now write a more comprehensive depiction of the larger issue or controversy. Instead of a fire hitting a village, the reporter can now talk about how susceptible a particular community is to fire because of realities like response time and poor urban planning in economically depressed urban areas.

Choosing an aspect of a story and presenting it in a particular way to an audience is called framing. There are two types of frames: episodic and thematic (see Module 1 for the definitions). An episodic frame is like writing about an event like a fire breaking out and razing a village. A thematic frame is like writing about a process, like how the fire began or how efforts to control the blaze got hampered.

It is important to understand that journalists have the power to frame a story. Just because there is a fire does not mean the reporter has to anchor the story on the fire. He can choose instead to anchor the story on the conditions that made the fire happen and likely to happen again.

David Halberstam, Vietnam War correspondent for the New York Times and Pulitzer Laureate, in a November 1996 interview with Kovach, says this requires some work (as cited by Dean, 2013).

We can make all kinds of stories interesting if we work at it...like the great Jimmy Breslin story: The day that John Kennedy was killed...everyone covered the funeral. He went and found the man who dug Kennedy's grave. Use your imagination, be creative.

Structured Learning Activity

**Activity 2:
Event-oriented vs. Process-oriented reporting**

Time: 15 min
Materials:

Event-based Reporting	Process-based Reporting
Police in Lapu-Lapu City raided a sex den yesterday, arresting a couple believed to be selling the services of prostitutes to the ever-increasing number of tourists in Mactan Island.	Mactan Island's many resorts are bringing tourists into Lapu-Lapu City. But, explains the police chief, it is also setting the stage for another kind of business – brothels.
It is one of many that have begun to open, the chief of police, Supt. Diego Salvador, said, adding that their limited resources make the problem difficult to curb.	Lack of police resources, Supt. Diego Salvador added, is hampering efforts to curb the exploitation. They raided a brothel yesterday and arrested a couple suspected of operating it.

Instruction:

- ▀ Read both examples aloud with your students in plenary.
- ▀ Ask students for initial reactions. How do the two reports differ?

Discussion:

- ▀ Discuss the appeal of events-based journalism (focus on the raid of one specific brothel: quick, sensational) and the benefit of reports-based reporting (focus on the general issue of prostitution in the city: context, broader picture)

Theory Input (Continued)

The Timeline can confirm that most reporting in mainstream media happen in closed space and closed time. In truth, the story can be bigger than what has been reported. Depending on the journalist's drive to ascertain the truth, they could extend the timeline further back to establish context, or further forward to establish consequence.

Returning to our earlier example of the fire, the journalist could have extended the timeline backward to determine if the area was the site of fires before, and whether or not previous incidents contributed to making the area more resilient to fire. And by moving the timeline forward, the journalist could have developed a story idea on what is likely going to happen if the status quo does not change.

Many stories are reported within an arena with closed time and space, which means they are related to and explained by only their immediate actors and the most current happenings. An example of this would be to say that the toppling of the Marcos dictatorship during the People Power Revolution in 1986 was exclusively due to Cardinal Sin's call for people to support the rebellion. While his radio announcement led to thousands of people marching on EDSA, it does not explain their desire for political change. Missing are relevant information regarding the martial law years, such as the people's attitude toward electoral fraud, or the roles of actors like the military and cause-oriented groups.

Therefore, purely **event-oriented reporting** oversimplifies the often more complex issues, which then leads to misunderstandings, the drawing of wrong conclusions, and blaming.

On the other hand, sees an event as one singular incident in a chain of many. The stories about such an event are therefore embedded in their context, within open time and space, taking into account the history of previous events and the circumstances which have led to the current situation.

This type of reporting makes an effort to present the larger picture, which allows the public to not only know THAT the event happened, but to also understand the WHY.



Structured Learning Activity

Activity 3: Events Chain (Example: 1986 People Power Revolution)

Time: 45 minutes

Materials: Manila paper, marker, masking tape

Instruction:

- ▀ Divide the class into groups of four to six students. Each group receives a sheet of Manila paper and a marker.
- ▀ Ask your students to draw a timeline on their paper.
- ▀ Task students to establish in their head the order of events from the People Power Revolution in 1986 (or any other specific chain of events) and to indicate their order on the timeline. Allow 10 minutes for them to work on the task.
- ▀ Put up in front on the walls the working results and allow a 5-minute "Gallery Walk" so students can view the other groups' timelines.
- ▀ Discuss in Plenary for 30 minutes.

Discussion

- ▀ Reflection on activity – How was that exercise for you? What were the easiest and most difficult aspects of it?
- ▀ What are your thoughts after you saw the others' timelines?
- ▀ Reflection on events-based reporting – Would it be possible to write about one isolated event from your timeline without referring to the other events? What would be the quality of such an article?
- ▀ Reflection on the tool – Looking at your own timeline, does it all add up and are the connections between events logical? What information is missing?
- ▀ Reflection on journalistic practice – Having identified the gaps in your timeline, what are the questions you would have to ask to fill in the missing information?

 **Structured Learning Activity**

Activity 4: Output/Assignment

Time: Over the weekend
 Materials: Manila paper, marker, masking tape

Instruction:

- ▀ Ask your students to choose a recent event they know well that involves conflict or violence.
- ▀ They are not required to do in-depth research, but it is helpful if they are well acquainted with the facts.
- ▀ You may also choose to provide some examples, such as the Mamasapano incident and the violent dispersal of Cotabato farmers.
- ▀ Their assignment is to plan their story by using the timeline, and going through the different steps outlined on the right table.
- ▀ Questions in italics are reflection questions to be answered on an additional sheet.

Assessment:

Rubrics related to

- ▀ Logical order of timeline
- ▀ Number of questions identified
- ▀ Quality of questions chosen
- ▀ Relevance of leads identified / appropriateness of frame
- ▀ Understanding of issues through reflection

<p>A. GATHERING OF DATA</p> <p>1. List all the information you have gathered in chronological order in the form of a timeline. For each event, mark the date, the time, and what happened. <i>Analyze where your information comes from. Who said something? How were "facts" established?</i></p>
<p>B. GAP ANALYSIS</p> <p>2. Review the timeline for consistency. Does A lead to B; does B lead to C; does C lead to D? <i>Look at each transition in this sequence, from the earliest to the last event, and ask yourself how an earlier event affected the later ones? What happened in between? What steps do you not understand? What information is missing?</i></p> <p>Note down all the questions you have, no matter how trivial they might seem to you. <i>What personal assumptions are influencing your understanding?</i></p>
<p>C. FRAMING OF THE STORY</p> <p>3. Assess your questions all together and identify the most relevant for further investigation. <i>What are the most interesting points that can be extracted?</i></p> <p>Brainstorm on possible leads for a story. What could be their frame?</p>

CHAPTER 2: Identifying causal factors and achieving depth using the CSJ Triangle

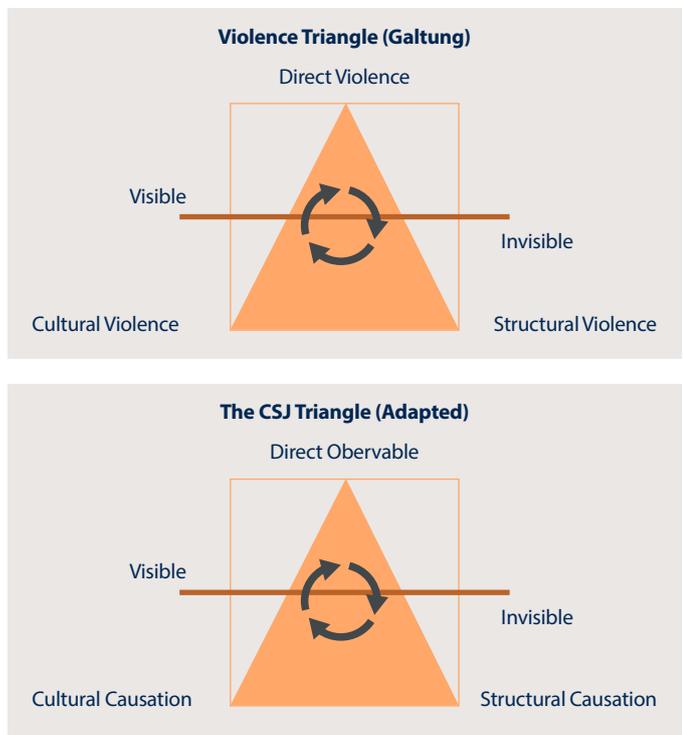
Intended Learning Outcomes

- At the end of the lesson, the students should be able to:
- ▶ Distinguish the three various but inter-related categories of facts —
 - ▶ those that are directly observable, that refer to structure, and that refer to culture;
 - ▶ Form confirmatory and clarification questions that highlight structure and culture-related facts as causal factors of news events to achieve depth in reportage; and
 - ▶ Integrate the Timeline tool to achieve comprehensive reportage of relevantly framed article.

Theory Input

Adapted from Galtung’s concept of the violence triangle, the CSJ triangle looks at news events through three lenses: the directly observable, structural factors that lead to the news event, and the cultural realities that allowed it to happen.

To understand this further, let us first revisit the previous chapter, where we looked into how Galtung characterized violence into three types—Direct, Structural and Cultural—and how it unfolds to two layers, the visible and invisible.



Galtung (1969), in academic language, defined **Direct Violence** as placing a person’s “actual somatic realization below his potential realization” (p. 169). In short, it is physical harm that may or may not necessarily lead to death. And since harm is physical, it is something that can be empirically observed.

For example, in armed conflict, combatants fight using force in an attempt to injure or eliminate their opponents. Their acts, therefore, constitute Direct Violence upon each other.

Structural Violence, a concept he added later, is an “avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs” at the hands of social institutions or systems (Galtung, 1969). He also used the term “social injustice” to refer to this condition.

Meanwhile, because war begins as a decision made by the parties at war — the declaration of which is a legitimate extension of man-made policies within man-made structures and systems — and handed down when they believe the power asymmetry is stacked in their favor, or manageable with the use of specific strategies and tactics, the act of deciding and declaring war is Structural Violence.

From the perspective of civilians, Structural Violence is also committed every time people are displaced during war: families uprooted from their homes and livelihood, their children forced out of school, and then made to endure abhorrent conditions in provisional evacuation camps.

Cultural Violence, which Galtung added to his concept, is defined as any aspect of a culture that can be used to legitimize violence in its direct or structural form; for example, leveraging a belief in the superiority of one’s race to justify the persecution of another (Galtung, 1990, p. 292).

Cultural Violence can be observed whether the armed conflict is interstate, intrastate or extrastate. Interstate conflicts are those that occur between two or more countries. Intrastate conflicts are those between a government and a non-state actor, like the Philippines and the NPA. Extrastate conflicts, meanwhile, are those that occur between a state and a political entity that doesn’t belong to any recognized state, like ISIS.

It can be inferred from the intensity of fighting in war, particularly the length combatants would go to inflict damage on the other. Intensity is a function of conviction, including but not limited to the sense of “noble duty” of every soldier, guerrilla, or fighter to make the ultimate sacrifice to advance the interests of the state, movement, or group; that the cause is just, and, therefore, the cause of the opponent is unjust.

Possessing, promoting, and cultivating a willingness to go to war are aspects of Cultural Violence.

On the part of civilians, when war ‘managers’ decide to make their place the theater of battle despite knowledge of the existence of residents because expedience and victory are more important than humanitarian considerations, this too is Cultural Violence.

Likewise deserving of significant mention is Galtung’s assertion that these different forms of violence reinforce and “cross-breed” each other (1969), and, because of their self-sustaining dynamic, lead the conflict to a spiral progression.

Looking at how conflicts form, evolve, and escalate (as outlined in the previous chapter), it is not difficult to see how this happens. The civilians victimized by structural and cultural violence will inevitably suffer direct violence in the camps over unmet needs. This, in turn, will breed a feeling of resentment that could latently evolve and find other forms of structural or cultural expression, or escalate into direct violence.

Understanding Galtung’s Triangle of Violence, even though it was not originally created for journalism, promotes thoroughness in reportage. At its most basic level, the Triangle tells journalists that the violence they see in armed conflict — basically, the killings and the methods to bring tem about — is not the only story.

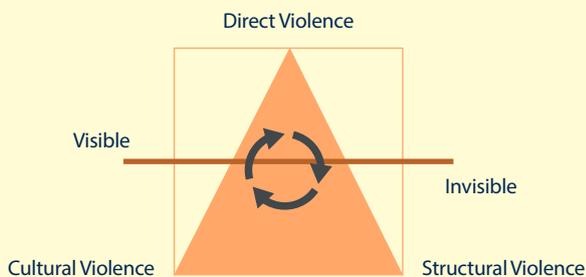
Understanding Galtung’s Triangle of Violence widens a journalist’s view on war itself; that it is a process not an event. And that its process is designed to spiral deeper and deeper because Direct Violence creates Culture which in turn creates Structure, and so on and so forth.

Structured Learning Activity

Activity 1: Reporting Violence

Time: 45-60 mins

Materials: Selected news clippings on the Marawi crisis and/or other relevant media reports of armed conflict, Manila paper, markers



Instruction:

- Divide the class in groups of four to six students. Each group receives a photocopy of the news clippings or a different set of news clippings as the case may be.
- Ask the students to draw Galtung’s Triangle of Violence.
- Using the news clippings as a basis, ask students to identify specific instances of Direct Violence, Cultural Violence, and Structural Violence.
- Make them present their findings.

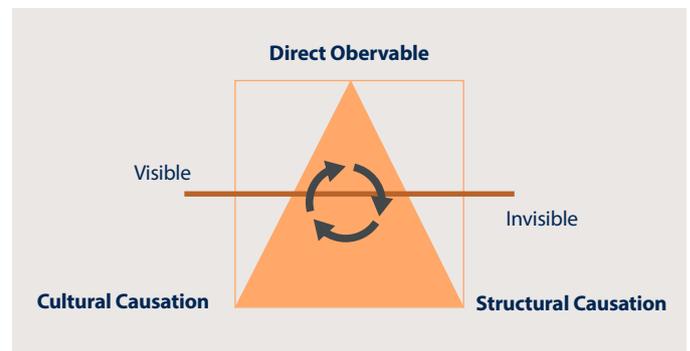
Discussion:

- Does each act of Direct Violence intertwine with certain acts of Cultural and Structural Violence?
- What dynamics are involved?
- How does each one reinforce the other?
- What information will interveners require if they are to work for the cessation of hostilities?
- What information will people need if they are to agree to a cessation of hostilities?
- What information would result in the worsening of the violence?

Theory Input (Continued)

Conflict-Sensitive Journalism is not simply the coverage of violence or armed conflict. The function of CSJ is the high-quality reportage and treatment of all conflicts, as we specifically defined in chapters one and two.

And since not all conflicts involve war, Galtung’s Triangle of Violence, in both its original and present forms, will not suffice as a model; hence, the CSJ Triangle.



The CSJ Triangle merges Galtung's Triangle of Violence with another theoretical model he appropriately called the Triangle of Conflict (Galtung, 1967, p 105). This model posited that conflict is the result of behavior, attitudes, and contradictions/conflict, where behavior is shaped by attitudes, beliefs, assumptions, and contradictions, which in turn is the extant realities salient to the attitudes formed and behavior displayed.

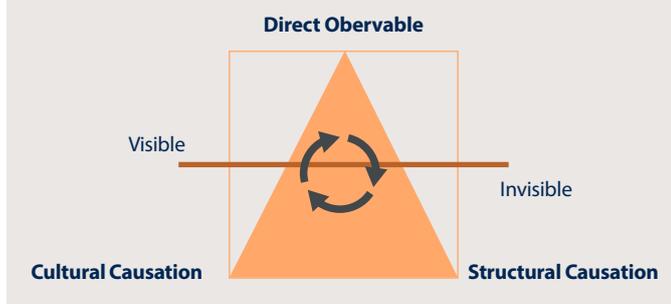
Because its use is one of adaptation, the CSJ Triangle still requires a sound understanding of the concepts of conflict and violence, and their relationship to each other. But its proper application is as rewarding as it is complex.

There are three dimensions to the CSJ Triangle's use: as a sober analysis tool to reach a more comprehensive understanding of a conflict; as a method to invite journalists to a creative process of brainstorming; and, as a method for reflective assessment on the societal relevance of the many possible story frames that can emerge.

As with the Triangle of Violence, using the CSJ Triangle begins with the journalist inquiring within the realm of the visible. Stories for selection can include those with an overtly physical dimension like beating, killing, or torture, rape, and sexual assault. Or they can be totally non-physical, like threats, intimidation, or subtler still, like workers going on a sit-down strike to complain about poor working conditions, or something officious, like the filing of an administrative case.

Consider as an example a city council policy imposing speed limits on motor vehicles, where the element of conflict is not obvious. Imagine that we had done a fair amount of research and came back with these "facts":

- City ordinance proposed to limit vehicle speeds in highways to 30 kph
- Opposition councilors say the proposal is "silly" because slow-moving vehicles only cause more traffic jams
- Opposition cites first-world countries having freeways and autobahns
- City mayor supports proposal



Stories with an overtly visible/physical dimension are easy to spot and often figure very prominently in mainstream media. These aspects are easily encapsulated by the ubiquitous 5Ws and 1H model of conventional news-writing. The ones with fewer observable markers are not as easy but becomes manageable over time.

The appeal here is obvious. Parties — perpetrators and victims, protagonists and antagonists, *bida* and *kontrabida* — can be easily identified, making it easy for the journalist to report. Furthermore, potentially graphic descriptions and possibly gory details promise an entertaining story.

In fact, with the four pieces of information we have made up above, plus a few interviews from prominent sources left and right, we already have a story.

But framing a conflict as a simplistic exchange of contradicting behavior (opinions in the case above) is not sufficient in CSJ, where a higher quality is demanded of stories. In CSJ, stories must expose the cultural and structural causes and/or reinforcing factors behind the already obvious in order to guide readers towards a more nuanced understanding.

Leaving out a lot of details and limiting the discussion to only what is visible forces audiences to react emotionally. Their interest is not served when journalists stay on the surface of a news event for whatever reason: going in-depth takes more time and effort; avoiding stories with prickly subjects to avoid the possibility of libel; sacrificing relevant stories in exchange for entertaining ones (Koop, 2009).

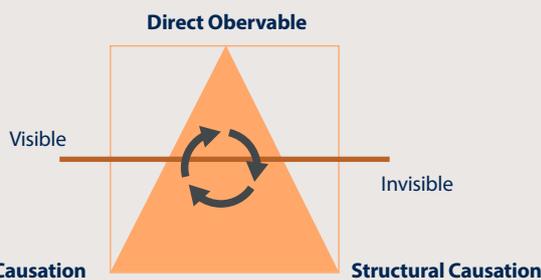
Using the parlance of Galtung's Triangle of Conflict, stories must go beyond describing the involved parties' behaviour, and proceed to exposing their attitudes and beliefs that sustain the conflict, as well as the context or extant realities within which the conflict unfolds.

Therefore, journalists need to go beyond the visible and begin to look at the structural and cultural causes of what is directly observable.

Structural and cultural causes refer to the issues underlying the visible behavior. These are either the underlying conflicts/contradictions and elements of structural violence that are at the root of the open conflict behavior, or the attitudes and cultural justifications that are responsible for the conflict's continuation.

Let us identify possible causes to our previously identified observable facts.

- ▀ City ordinance proposed to limit vehicle speeds in highways to 30 kph
- ▀ Opposition councilors say the proposal is “silly” because slow-moving vehicles only cause more traffic jams
- ▀ Opposition cites first-world countries having freeways and autobahns
- ▀ City mayor supports proposal

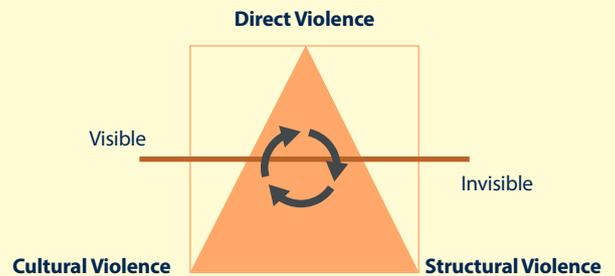


- | | |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▀ Ride fast and free and YOLO attitude among the youth ▀ Ban mentality among legislators ▀ Opposition and administration councilors rarely work together on measures because political polarization is strong ▀ City mayor supports proposal, therefore vice mayor and minority block must oppose | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▀ Average age of city’s workforce is 28-35 years old ▀ Biggest employers are call centers ▀ Dealerships targeting market through cheap down payment schemes on motorcycles and class-one sedans ▀ Surplus vehicles are cheap to acquire due to free market competition ▀ Vehicle culture is developing ▀ Road crashes have increased by an average of 10 percent per month ▀ Road crash fatalities are high |
|--|---|

Looking at the three sets of data, one can sense a shift in the focus of the story. In this case, from a back-and-forth ping-pong game between the administration and opposition sides of the city council, we now have the beginnings of a story on road and public safety and urban development issues.

Structured Learning Activity

Activity 2: Reporting Conflict



Time: 45-60 mins

Material: Selected news clippings that are not about armed conflict, Manila paper, markers

Instruction:

- ▀ Divide the class into groups of four to six students. Each group receives a photocopy of the news clippings, or a different set of news clippings as the case may be.
- ▀ Ask the students to draw the CSJ Triangle.
- ▀ Using the news clippings as a basis, ask students to identify facts that may be construed as Directly Observable and have them list these.
- ▀ Allow them to discuss each point and brainstorm on possible causes.
- ▀ Make them present their findings.

Discussion:

- ▀ Does each fact relate to one or more of the causes?
- ▀ What dynamics are involved?
- ▀ How does each fact strengthen each cause and vice versa?
- ▀ What information will parties/audiences require if they are to participate in discussions and/or engage in problem solving?

Theory Input (Continued)

Returning to our example before the activity, does the journalist have enough data for submission? The obvious answer is no. Our enterprising journalist has managed to accomplish only goal one: attempting to comprehensively understand the conflict.

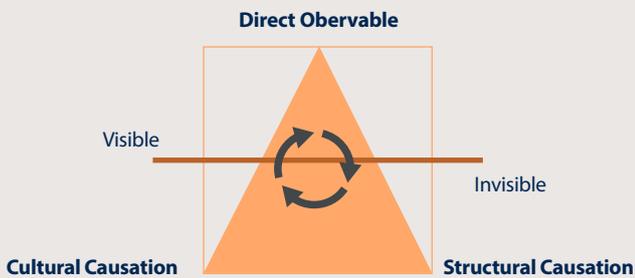
Our journalist cannot yet write a story because the causes are assumptions on his part. While they are informed assumptions, as opposed to something conjured from thin air, they still need to go through process of validation and verification.

As an aside, what is the relevant conflict here? The opposition

versus the administration? Better infrastructure versus non-cost intensive solutions? Urbanization versus effective governance?

The next step is mechanical: transform all assumptions into clarification or confirmatory questions and pursue the answers. Let us assume that all directly observable facts were already verified and confirmed, and focus our work on causes.

- ▀ City ordinance proposed to limit vehicle speeds in highways to 30 kph
- ▀ Opposition councilors say the proposal is “silly” because slow-moving vehicles only cause more traffic jams
- ▀ Opposition cites first-world countries having freeways and autobahns
- ▀ City mayor supports proposal



- ▀ How do people view motor vehicles? What influences their behavior on the road?
- ▀ What do people associate with speed? Is it about getting from point A to point B quickly? Or does going fast mean something else to people?
- ▀ Is legislation the best way, or is education more expedient?
- ▀ Do legislators share this view or give importance to its acceptability among the larger segment of the vehicle-owning public?
- ▀ What of the public utility vehicle-riding public? What are their views on the impact of the proposed measure? What makes them hold that view?
- ▀ How does the internal dynamics of the council affect legislation?
- ▀ What is the average age of the city’s working population?
- ▀ Where does the bracket 28-35 years old belong to? Are they the dominant age bracket among car owners?
- ▀ What are their income sources?
- ▀ Is there an increase in the number of vehicles? What are the specific figures? What is the level of increase, percentage-wise, over the last 10 years?
- ▀ Comparatively, have new roads been opened? Over the last 10 years, what is the level of increase, percentage-wise, in road volume capacity?
- ▀ What limited infrastructure development?
- ▀ Why can’t road-building keep up with vehicle numbers?
- ▀ What about promoting vehicle non-use through creating covered walks?

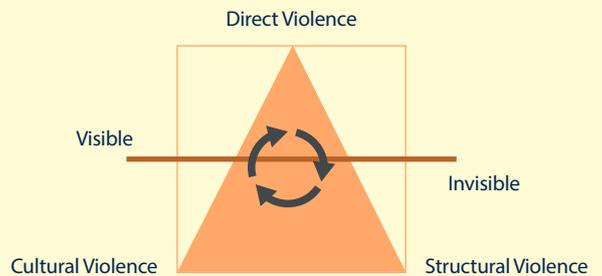
There are guidelines to ensuring the quality of our confirmatory and clarificatory questions: Are question framed to give the best answers? Are the questions framed to obtain answers other than what was expected? Are they specific enough to result in details that are rich and comprehensive? Will the questions lead to action or merely repeat what the audience already knows?

With these in mind, the journalist can now proceed with step three — choosing what avenues to pursue.

Structured Learning Activity

Activity 3A: Reporting Conflict 2

Time: May be a take-home group work or an in-class activity
 Materials:



Instruction:

- ▀ Divide the class into groups of three.
- ▀ Ground the class by saying that each group is to assume the role of members of a news team working for the Daily Reports.
- ▀ An editor has assigned them to cover a recently-discovered murder in a remote community. A fifteen-year-old bride was killed by her husband's family, because she had been sexually abused by a group of young men from the neighborhood
- ▀ At the scene of the crime, the news teams were able to confirm and verify the identity of the girl, the facts and circumstances behind her death, including the sexual abuse, and her personal circumstance.
- ▀ (If assigned as a take-home activity) Using [1] her murder, [2] the sexual assault, and [3] the fact that she was married at 15 as the first data set, make assumptions on cultural and structural causes and develop each into a confirmatory or clarification question.

Discussion:

- ▀ Does each cause relate to one or more of the facts?
- ▀ What information will parties/audiences require if they are to participate in discussions and/or engage in problem solving?
- ▀ Do my questions facilitate this kind of information?

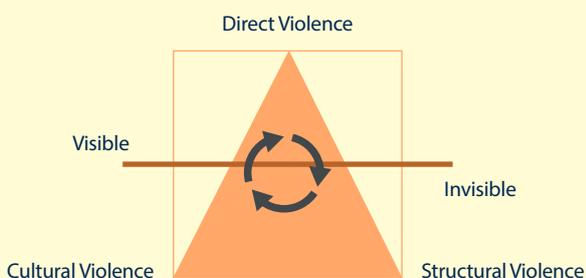


Structured Learning Activity

Activity 3B: Reporting Conflict 2

Time: May be a take-home group work or an in-class activity

Materials:



Instruction:

If given as an in-class activity of one hour:

- ▀ The data set supports the assumptions in the table below. Develop each into a confirmatory or clarification question. See table below.

Discussion:

- ▀ What information will parties/audiences require if they are to participate in discussions and/or engage in problem solving?
- ▀ Do my questions facilitate this kind of information?

Output Assignment

Ask your students to choose a recent event they know well that involves conflict.

Their assignment is to expand their original story by using the CSJ Triangle to go through the different steps outlined here, and to choose an original and relevant frame for their story

A. GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE DIFFERENT DIMENSIONS OF CONFLICT:
1. Look at the level of direct violence, what happened and what can be observed. List as many aspects of directly observable manifestations of conflict as possible.
B. FROM OBSERVATION TO INQUIRY
3. Take each assumption and formulate a set of questions you will need to inquire in order to confirm or refute these assumptions
C. CHOOSING A FRAME
4. Choose a frame for your story from the many options you have. Think about what is most meaningful to the audiences to make your story as relevant as possible. Explain why you chose this frame.

Directly Observable	Cultural	Structural
Killing of the girl	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▀ Religious and cultural justifications – honor killing ▀ Culturally-sanctioned beliefs about the rights and privileges of husbands ▀ Patriarchal attitudes ▀ Normalized use of violence within the family or society to address conflict 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▀ Lack of punishment for perpetrators of violence (impunity) ▀ Limited legislative and policy framework for preventing and responding to violence ▀ Evolutionary factors: negative ratio of men to women in the population ▀ Patriarchic system for maintaining class, gender, racial, and heterosexual privilege, and the status quo of power
Sexual violence against the girl	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▀ Misogynist attitude prevalent in a culture ▀ Fear that speaking out might shame the family ▀ Traditional patriarchal attitudes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▀ Objectification of women through the media (advertisement, pornography, etc.) ▀ Limited economic opportunities (an aggravating factor for men perpetrating violence, and a risk factor for women and girls) ▀ High prevalence of alcohol and drugs
Child Marriage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▀ Acceptance of male superiority ▀ Attitudes and practices that reinforce female subordination and tolerate male violence ▀ Young males are not considered ‘men’ until they are married 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▀ Female poverty and financial dependency ▀ Low levels of education (for boys associated with perpetrating violence in the future, and for girls experiencing violence) ▀ Women’s insecure access to and control over property and land rights

CHAPTER 3: MULTI-PARTY GEOMETRY USING THE ACTORS' MAP

Intended learning outcomes

At the end of the lesson, the students should be able to:

- ▀ Operate round-table geometry as a concept in sourcing;
- ▀ Apply the actors' map as a tool to analyze conflict; and
- ▀ Critique the process of presenting contrasting information.

Theory Input

One-sided reporting is when journalists focus only on the perspective of one party in an issue or controversy and, in so doing, isolate other voices. This has a strong negative influence on how the issue eventually concludes.

Sustained one-sided reporting promotes power imbalance because only one perspective dominates and every other view is muted. This, in turn, has the potential for escalation as one or more parties could seek to unilaterally rebalance that power using violence.

Media houses are acutely aware of this, so much so that one-sided reporting is considered a hallmark of sloppy or poor-quality journalistic work.

Moreover, one-sided reporting opens media houses to lawsuits, as it is easy to accuse a one-sided report of being maliciously written for the purpose of maligning the party being written against, or the opponent of the party being praised, whichever is the case.

Applied to armed conflict, one-sided reporting can have dire consequence. A disenfranchised party, in an attempt to be noticed, might use methods like kidnappings, beheadings, or suicide bombings; methods that, time and time again, have proven effective in getting media attention. Sometimes, the most convenient victims are journalists themselves.



Structured Learning Activity

Activity 1: The feedback loop

Time: 45-60 mins

Materials: News clippings of the Zamboanga siege

Instruction:

- ▀ During the class session prior to giving this activity, divide the class into groups of four students each.
- ▀ Have each group independently research on events leading to the Zamboanga siege, up until the violence erupted.
- ▀ Let the students analyze their group's work and to answer the following questions:
- ▀ Which group was primarily responsible for the Zamboanga siege?
- ▀ Which group was mostly in the news prior to the siege?
- ▀ Have each group report their findings in class. Encourage creative expressions like role playing and/or dramatization.
- ▀ Watch out for consistency/inconsistency in the report of each group. Synthesize during the closing remarks, so that everyone proceeds to the next discussion with a uniform understanding of the facts.

Discussion:

- ▀ Every actor in a conflict wants and deserves to be heard.
- ▀ Leaving an actor and his perspective out of the narrative, in this case the MILF and their position in the final peace negotiations, causes frustration among the disenfranchised.
- ▀ Their expression can be violent, in this case resulting in the MILF attacking the City of Zamboanga.
- ▀ In your community, what other news events got progressively worse because one-sided reporting frustrated the isolated side?

Theory Input (Continued)

Media establishments, in an attempt to stamp out the practice of one-sided reporting, have over the years developed rules like “multi-sourcing” and “triangulation.”

Multi-sourcing requires that stories contain more than one interview. Triangulation, meanwhile, means that if a story quotes an anonymous source, at least three attributable sources must confirm the data provided.

But even these methods do not ensure that a comprehensive and proportional picture is made available to readers. These only insure that more than one identifiable source is interviewed and quoted.

Politicians, too, tried to pitch in at one time by proposing in the Philippine Congress the passage of a ‘right to reply’ law that will compel the media to publish the answers or comments of people who are criticized by news reports and to give their answers the same prominence as the “offending” article.

Authored by lawmakers who were, at one point or another, at the receiving end of critical reports, the bill was opposed by media institutions for potentially violating the no prior restraint rule of the 1987 Constitution.

Fortunately, the bill did not survive in the plenary sessions. Otherwise, media reports will have the potential to degenerate into a shouting match, with the media having lesser space, time, and attention for other more relevant reports.

Moreover, a right to reply law fails to ensure that the perspectives of other actors are represented in the news. Instead, a legislated right to reply, as well as multi-sourcing and triangulation, though well-intentioned, provide a false sense of balance while promoting Two-Party Geometry in reporting.

South African journalist and media trainer Peter du Toit (2012) pointed out that conflicts very rarely involve only two sides. As such, he added, presenting a bipolar picture of a conflict is not only inaccurate, but also means that small but significant stakeholders are neglected. And this can be dangerous because it can “provoke conflict in the future” and “limits the chances of any peaceful dialogue happening between the parties.” (p. 40)

Structured Learning Activity

Activity 2: The Battle of Tardminstan (This activity is used to introduce the succeeding concept)

Time: 45-60 mins

Materials: None

Instruction:

- Pick eight volunteers.
- Divide the volunteers into two groups.
- Assign each group opposite roles — drivers versus government regulators.

Scenario:

- The government has decided that it is time to modernize public transport.
- All jeepneys will be replaced by electric jeepneys equipped with modern gadgets like money-less transactions, security cameras, and other safety systems.
- Each electric jeepney will cost P1.4 million.
- Drivers and operators are opposed to the modernization because many operators do not have P1.4 million to buy the new electric jeepneys.
- Drivers are opposed because it could mean the loss of their livelihood.
- Make the two opposite teams engage in an impromptu debate (10 minutes of planning, three minutes each speaker, Oxford rules).
- The rest of the class becomes the audience.

Discussion:

- Attention is focused not on the debaters but on the “audience.”
- Which camp are they siding with, the government regulators or the drivers?
- Why? Were they convinced by the arguments in the debate, or did they already have pre-formed or preconceived ideas?
- What influenced the formation of their preconceived ideas? Is mainstream media reporting one of those influences?

Theory Input (Continued)

Explained in the context of CSJ, Two-Party Geometry is when stories are expressed in terms of simple binary opposites, like whether or not the government should proceed with the phasing out of jeepneys in favor of modern mass transport systems. Hypothetically, we can represent it this way:



In Two-Party Geometry reporting, journalists seek to explore both ends of the spectrum and “balance” their story by giving voice to the opposing perspectives. However, while journalists are able to get the “other” side, it is painfully obvious that this “other” side being referred to is not the only side out there.

Returning to our example of the phasing out of jeepneys in favor of a mass transport system, Two-Party Geometry reporting would likely render the issue as being only between government regulators (and possibly their supporters) who wish to abolish jeepneys in favor of subways, and drivers and operators (and their supporters) who would lose their means of livelihood if jeepneys were indeed abolished.

The report would be silent on other dimensions, like the adequacy of the existing system versus population and road capacity, safety, and alternative business models that allow displaced drivers to find meaningful work in the new system.

Two-Party Geometry reporting leads to a critical failure in journalism, one where audiences are rendered emotional by the bi-polar discussion of the news, and remain ignorant of the news’ multidimensionality. In the end, they are incapable of meaningfully engaging in nuanced social discourse.

It also leads to what Conflict-Sensitive Journalism calls the **DMA Syndrome — for Dualism, Manichaeism, and Armageddon**.

Dualism describes a state where audiences reduce complex issues to two opposing sides; Manichaeism is when audiences begin to label one side as good and the other evil and gravitate towards one side; and Armageddon is the idea that battles, or their equivalents, decide the victors.

To understand the DMA Syndrome better, we first need to look into how humans perceive.

Volumes of research in the field of Gestalt Psychology, particularly in the concept of Prägnanz and Closure, support the idea that people prefer “organized cognitions” over ambiguous ones and that the human mind will extrapolate data just to make the ambiguous non-ambiguous (Köhler, 1975).

The concept of Prägnanz says that human beings prefer to see or encounter things that are orderly, symmetrical, and simple. Applied to journalism in general, a report that presents conflict via Two-Party Geometry is likely to become salient in the minds of audiences precisely because the bi-polar arrangement of “A” versus “B” is orderly, symmetrical, and simple.

Dualism in the context of CSJ is when the audience sees only two opposing sides involved in the issue reported by the media, and remains unaware and disinterested in discovering other facets of the story.

And when the audience notices elements that do not make immediate and complete sense, they tend to create elements in their heads. They extrapolate from what they think they know to make things more sensible and organized. This is the concept of **Closure**.

In the transport strike example, Dualism is apparent in the reader’s awareness of the story’s two opposing sides — the government, which wants to modernize public transport, and the drivers and operators who want the initiative canceled. Because it makes no sense for people to protest something “noble” like modernizing a service, the human mind simplistically concludes that government regulators are good and, therefore, the drivers and operators are evil.

The opposite can also be true. Readers might think that because it makes no sense for government to pursue an initiative that forces drivers and operators out of work and business, the regulators must be evil and the workers must be good. This is **Manichaeism**.

And pursuant still to the human penchant for the orderly, symmetrical, and simple, what better way to resolve the issue once and for all — to establish one absolute “truth” — than with a grand battle where only one can be victorious? This is **Armageddon**.

In the context of our example, that zero-sum final battle could be a court showdown, street parliamentarianism with demonstrations that could turn violent quickly, or, in the case of armed conflict, more killings and intensified violence.

Structured Learning Activity

Activity 3: Analyzing Geometries

Time: Given out as an assignment of the previous meeting, 45-60 mins in-class process time
 Materials: None

Instruction:

- ▀ Divide the class into four groups.
- ▀ Each group is assigned a current or recent issue being covered and discussed in the media.
- ▀ Provide the table below for them to fill out after doing research on and discussing the issue:

Issue/Topic	Parties involved	Role (Hero or Villain)	Possible outcome, endgame
	1.		
	2.		
	3.		
	4.		

- ▀ Make them report their group’s findings in class

Discussion:

- ▀ Looking at the issue holistically, were the parties identified in the report the only parties involved in the controversy?
- ▀ Are the roles of hero and villain sufficient to characterize the parties mentioned?
- ▀ Shift to a different example, this time involving armed conflict.
- ▀ What is the possible outcome or endgame in an issue of armed conflict reported using the Two-Party Geometry and with the audience trapped in DMA thinking?

Theory Input (Continued)

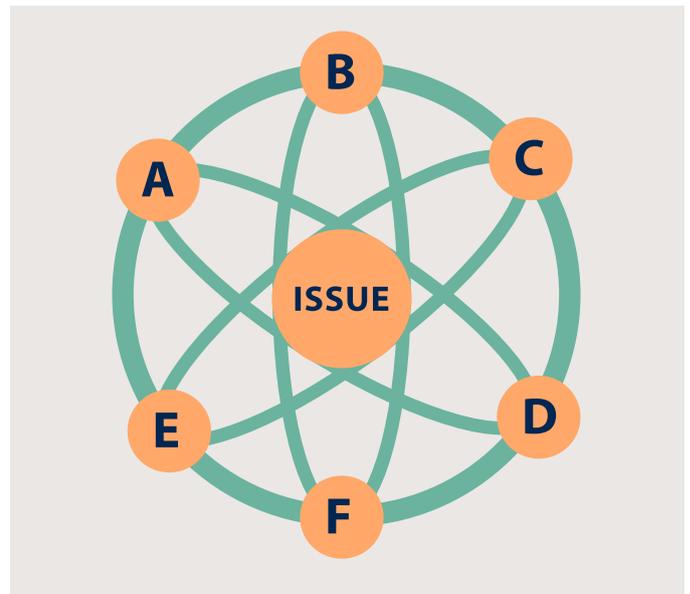
The Actor’s Map is a powerful tool that helps practitioners of CSJ quickly identify voices that need to be given representation in the news to avoid DMA outcomes.

It forces reporting to adopt a Multi-Party Geometry. To best understand it, we need to revisit the diagram from earlier in this discussion.



“A” and “B” in the diagram represent the two opposite perspectives found in conventional news reports. There may be more than one source or interviewee, but each one represents only either one of these opposing views or perspectives.

Multi-Party Geometry may be represented this way:



There are more than two sides being represented in the hypothetical diagram. The actual number of perspectives varies but they all relate to the issue being discussed in the news. Moreover, there are no sharp opposites.

Each perspective may be distinctly different, but they are all inter-related and impact one another. The sources are then able to communicate with each other via this network of connections, and are thus able to fluidly influence each other’s perspective.

By deploying a Multi-Party Geometry in the reportage, journalists using the Actor’s Map are able to achieve two things: 1) provide the audience with more detailed and more nuanced picture; and 2) allow sources to communicate with each other, with the media being a platform for debate, consensus-building, and compromise.

Through a more nuanced understanding of the controversy and its attendant issues, journalists are able to prevent DMA. And by opening channels that allow sources to share their perspectives, journalists provide an opportunity for sources to build confidence and correct their perception of each other, which are vital steps in de-escalation, as discussed in Lesson 2.

Structured Learning Activity

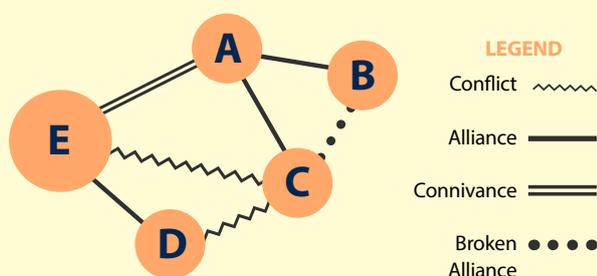
Activity 4: Actor Mapping

Time: 10 minutes

Materials: Manila paper; colored markers

Instruction:

- Divide the class into groups of five. Introduce the exercise by letting them know that they will draw a diagram to represent the actors (persons/perspectives) in a particular conflict scenario, including their power, and the relationships between them.
- Ask the students to describe a scenario that they know or are involved in and map it. Actors will be represented by circles of different sizes, according to their relative power. The lines connecting them will indicate the respective characteristic of their relationship.
- Make them identify and label the issues that determine the type of relationship between actors.
- Construct a simple four or five-party diagram as you speak to illustrate your points. Make sure to include an illustration for each connecting line. Avoid using a specific example in the beginning. You are illustrating a tool and not a context.
- Note to teacher, the Actor's Map can look like this



- The Legend of Relations reflects the types of relationships assessed. Its significations are not fixed
- Ask each group to present the conflict they are trying to map and correct it accordingly. Note that maps are there to represent the conflict as it exists right now, not how the conflict evolved or is evolving.
- Check in with each group and ask about the status of the maps and the way it is able to depict a conflict situation. Ask the groups to reconvene as a class.

Discussion (30min)

- What was the conflict about?
- Who were the parties in direct conflict with each other?
- Who were the parties in the periphery and what were their relationships with the parties directly in conflict?
- Do these relationships have the potential to affect the conflict's unfolding?
- Can we add other parties that have no direct relationship with any of the actors but can nonetheless affect the conflict's outcome?

Theory Input (Continued)

Practitioners of CSJ can utilize the actors' map in analyzing a conflict situation before proceeding to research and write about it. It gives CSJ reporters a solid starting point from which to proceed in information gathering, particularly in source selection. It also helps them to avoid the temptation to frame conflicts in a simplistic Two-Party Geometry and send readers down the path of DMA.

Using the tool, practitioners are able to explore the complexities of conflict and the contradictions in telling the story of conflicts. They also enable the sources, often also directly in conflict with one another, talk to each other. The outcome is a comprehensive report.

Of course, it is impossible for journalists to present all the perspectives involved a conflict, including the contradictions between parties in one story. But the map ensures that the journalist sees all of these from the get-go and can spread out stories exploring one side and then the other over a span of several editions. This, too, is comprehensiveness.

And it is hard work. Working with the map takes more effort than blindly and intuitively pursuing a story while repeating the formal statements given by officials of the political or economic elite, because it demands the identification of additional stakeholders, further issues, and new sources.

Also, journalists might encounter resistance from local authorities who want to promote an official narrative of the conflict that is unchallenged by alternative voices.

But comprehensive reporting is an essential part of seeking the truth behind a story through the pursuit of active accuracy, and of making the story relevant. It is often through the surfacing of previously unheard voices that journalism can empower the weaker parties.

Structured Learning Activity

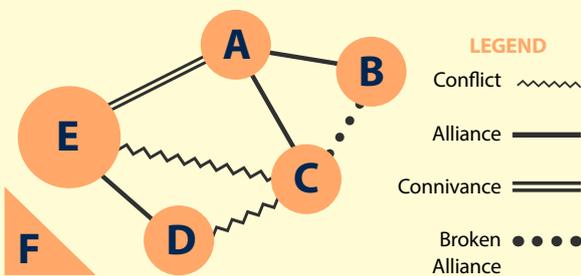
Activity 5: Actor Mapping (continued)

Time: 60 minutes

Materials: The output of SLA 3

Instruction:

- ▀ Ask the students to create an Actors' Map out of the story/stories/issues they worked on in SLA 3. Tell them to make sure that the map should represent the characters in the issue, the power they have over each other, and the nature of their relationships.
- ▀ Let the students discuss. Instruct them to add other characters not mentioned in the reports but who have a relationship with someone who can influence how the conflict unfolds.
- ▀ Following that, let the students identify a character or actor that does not have any relationship with the parties who are in direct conflict, as well as with any of the actors that have relationships with the central characters, but who can nevertheless influence public knowledge and awareness over the issue concerned. Let the students add this character and label him or her or it as F, like so:



Discussion:

- ▀ What questions can we ask each of the actors so that the audience is better informed of the conflict or controversy?
- ▀ Which actor has a positive relationship with the parties in direct conflict, and how can that relationship be leveraged to assure that the conflict is not worsened by the media coverage?
- ▀ What questions can be asked that would make the parties and the audience realize the relationships' potential to affect the conflict's outcome?
- ▀ Which party can credibly provide information to the audience to make the conflict understandable?
- ▀ What questions can be asked so that the audience is informed?

CHAPTER 4: PROPAGANDA RESILIENCY BY PEELING THE ONION

Intended learning outcomes

At the end of the lesson, the students should be able to:

- ▀ Know the difference between positions, interests, and needs, and the conditions that help to surface them;
- ▀ Justify why we resist propaganda;
- ▀ Break down conflict dynamics by exploring the interests and needs of conflicting parties; and
- ▀ Reconstruct stories that shift the focus from the conventional reporting on superficial positions to the more intrinsic interests and needs of a conflict.

Theory Input

The Onion, formally the Positions, Interests, and Needs tool, is a construct in Conflict Analysis that is adopted as an investigative tool in Conflict-Sensitive Journalism.

It got its name from a principle in Peace and Conflict Studies which states that the dynamics of a conflict, like an onion, can be peeled layer upon layer, until everything is exposed.

Using the Onion Model helps us to distinguish between what the different parties say they want, and what they really want, and what they need.

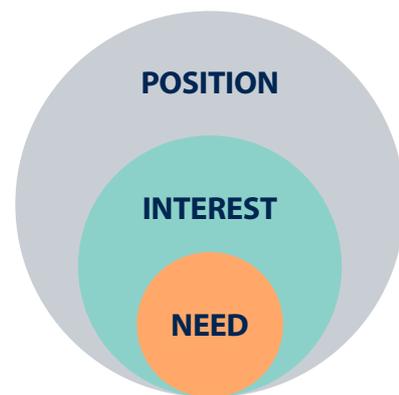
These distinctions are critical for the reporting journalist, given the deluge of easily available statements from official sources during a time of conflict, armed or otherwise. “Official statements,” by their very nature, are an interpretation of facts framed to advance the agenda or “position” of the speaker, while hiding what the speaker’s interests or needs are (because exposing them might not be politically expedient). The model’s purpose is to assist journalists in maintaining a critical eye in such a situation.

The Onion Model proposes three different layers:

- ▀ **Positions** are public stands as manifested in statements, comments, and declarations in which one individual or group announces what they want. In conflict situations, positions are often formulated as demands (what “the other” should do), and contain values couched as a justification or legitimization (why “we” did something or will do something). Positions are normally the most visible or hearable to the public, so they can be compared to the outer coat of the onion.
- ▀ **Interests** are the actual stake the parties have in a conflict. They describe what they really want to achieve and what motivates them in a certain situation. Sometimes they are voluntarily hidden or not even acknowledged by the conflicting parties, for fear of weakening the negotiation position. Frequently, actors may have several subjective

interests, whose relative importance may change over time. The interests of different groups are not always conflicting, but can also be compatible. Therefore, the most constructive solutions to a problem are those that meet the most number of interests of as many involved parties as possible. Because these interests underlie the official positions, they can be compared to the different intermediary layers of the onion.

- ▀ **Needs** are the fundamental requirements that must be fulfilled in order for the conflicting parties to be truly satisfied with the outcome. Therefore, it is crucial that conflicting parties understand their own and each other’s core needs, so that constructive and satisfying outcomes can be achieved. Johan Galtung proposed a four-fold table of basic human needs that includes security, welfare, freedom, and identity. Needs are non-negotiable, but they can be satisfied in different ways. As needs are the source of interests and positions, they can be compared to the core of an onion.



In their book *Working with Conflict*, Fisher et al. (2000) elaborated that people in peaceful and stable situations act on the basis of their actual needs. However, the willingness to disclose and to openly discuss these basic needs demands a high level of trust and good relationships.

In conflict situations these relationships can get tainted, and people could perceive their situation to be volatile or the “other” as dangerous. In that case, they will hesitate to inform the other parties about their needs, as this might reveal their vulnerability.

But by being secretive, the conflicting parties are less likely to grasp each other’s needs through analysis and empathy, and their perceptions get distorted as a result of mistrust and a lack of knowledge.

Because the foundation of their relationship is altered in a conflict, the conflicting parties will tend to rely more on collective and abstract level of interests as the basis of their action. When these interests are challenged by others, people tend to defend their position to the point where maneuvers become less diplomatic and more extreme.

This hardening of standpoints does not only alienate the parties from their real basic needs, but as we have seen in Glasl's model on the escalation of conflicts, it could also lead them away from a war of words and near the outbreak of violence.

In their pursuit of stories, journalists invariably have to deal with sources and obtain data from them. The naive belief is that sources tell the truth. An application of the onion concept, however, would reveal the reality that sources do not really do that. Instead, they give journalists a truth, or at portions thereof, or their interpretation of it. Sources carefully select and frame data.

Sources, therefore, provide a “key message” — a position — that advances their interests, needs, and agenda, whether personal, professional, or other, without necessarily revealing what these interests and needs are.

Theory Input (continued)

Using the Onion tool this way immediately makes us realize that there is, in fact, much more to what sources tell us. That is, if we care to listen to what was unsaid as much as to what was said.

Unfortunately, the media can sometimes be a slave to their own nature. Sometimes, they are attracted to juicy soundbites and graphic visuals or descriptions that they believe will be attractive to audiences.

Unfortunately, this makes journalists susceptible to propaganda, which is typically ordinarily defined as ideas, facts, or allegations that are spread deliberately to further someone's cause or to damage an opposing cause.

Structured Learning Activity

Activity 1: Getting to know the Onion's Layers

Time: 45 minutes

Materials: An audio and hard copy of “Buhay at Bukid” by Buklod; 3 pieces of Manila paper, assorted markers

Instruction:

- ▀ Divide the class into three groups.
- ▀ Let the students draw the onion diagram in the middle of the sheet of Manila paper.
- ▀ Let them listen to the song “Buhay at Bukid” by Buklod.
- ▀ Distribute hard copies of the lyrics (1st stanza to group one, 2nd stanza to group 2, etc.)
- ▀ Let the group discuss what the lyrics mean, and make them put their answers under Position to the left of their drawing. Let them discuss further and, from the Position, make them try to establish what they believe are the Interests and Needs of the people in the song.
- ▀ Have them write their answers to the left of the diagram.

Discussion

- ▀ How is Position different from Interest?
- ▀ How is Interest different from Need?
- ▀ How did the Position try to hide the actual Need?

Structured Learning Activity

Activity 2: Getting to know the Onion's Layers II

Time: Given as group assignment

Materials: Output of the previous SLA; PDF copy of “Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program (CARP): Time to Let Go,” a paper by Raul V. Fabella for the UP School of Economics

Instruction:

- ▀ Give the students, working in the same groups, a hard copy of the PDF file.
- ▀ Instruct them to digest the paper and lift portions from it that address, respond to, or are related to the points the students listed as “Positions” during the previous activity.
- ▀ From the Positions discovered, have the students discuss among themselves to establish what the Interests and Needs of those opposed to the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program are.
- ▀ Let them put the answers on the right portion of the diagram in the paper output of the previous SLA.
- ▀ Make the groups present their diagrams in class the following day.

Discussion:

- ▀ The Positions are oppositional, but are there commonalities in the Interest layer?
- ▀ What about in the Needs layer?
- ▀ If the Needs and Interests are similar, could the discussion over the issue, in the case of the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Program and the desire of poor farmers to have their own land, proceed in a more collaborative manner?

Theory Input (continued)

Presented with the complexity of Positions and the commonality of Interests, audiences are able to understand that the parties in a story are not unidimensional creatures that can be depicted as good or evil or even right or wrong.

By employing the Onion Tool, the media enable audiences to avoid hasty generalizations that tend to demonize one side and canonize the other — the landlords whose voices and perspectives may be contained in the Fabella papers, and the peasants and farmers whose struggle is celebrated in the Buklod song.

While the Onion Tool is definitely a conceptual model for journalists, it is also what it is — a tool. It has a practical purpose for journalists pursuing a story in a manner that is similar to how the CSJ triangle is used.

The Position layer is a given. The Interest and Needs layers, however, are studied assumptions on the part of the journalist. The practical skill involved here is in transforming the assumptions about the sources' Interests and Needs into clarificatory and confirmatory follow-up questions.

Structured Learning Activity

Activity 3: Applying the Onion Tool I

Time: 30 minutes

Materials: Recent newspaper stories on agrarian reform or farmer issues; reporting format/table

Source	Position	Interest	Need
Juan dela Cruz	1. Lorem Ipsum	Lorem Ipsum	Lorem Ipsum
	2. Lorem Ipsum	Lorem Ipsum	Lorem Ipsum
Juan dela Cruz	1. Lorem Ipsum	Lorem Ipsum	Lorem Ipsum
	2. Lorem Ipsum	Lorem Ipsum	Lorem Ipsum

- ▀ Divide the class into four groups.
- ▀ Give them a copy of the report for analysis and allow them 10 minutes to read it.
- ▀ Give them another 10 minutes to discuss the report.
- ▀ Make them determine who the sources in the report are and what Positions they have given relative to the issue? Let them indicate these in the table provided.
- ▀ Make them identify the Interests that their positions advance, and let them write these down in the table.
- ▀ Let them propose at least five clarification/confirmatory questions per position.
- ▀ Make them identify the Needs that their interests satisfy, and let them write these down in the table.
- ▀ Let them propose at least five clarification/confirmatory questions per position.

Discussion

- ▀ How effectively are the clarification/confirmatory questions framed?
- ▀ Will they result in the information that the journalist needs?
- ▀ What other strategies can be employed to secure the needed information?

 **Structured Learning Activity**

Activity 4: Applying the Onion Tool II

Time: 60 minutes

Material: Pieces of Manila paper, assorted markers, the text on page 61 as a handout.

Instruction:

- ▀ Divide the class into groups of 5 members.
- ▀ Provide the groups with the the handout on the ruling on the South Chinese/Western Philippines Sea. (Note: Of course, you can also choose a different example where the positions of at least two stakeholders in a conflict are expressed. This can be interviews or features in written or audio-visual form.)
- ▀ Ask each group to study the case provided and to draw one onion model each for the Positions, Interests, and Needs of China, the Philippines, and the United States. (20 min.)
- ▀ Let three groups briefly present their results. (10 min.)

Discussion: (30 Min)

- ▀ Have you discovered something new through your analysis?
- ▀ What are the biggest differences between the various parties?
- ▀ Which aspects are non-negotiable? Where do you see common interests?
- ▀ What do you consider to be consequences of a hardening of positions?
- ▀ Do you believe that the general public as well as the actors themselves are aware of the Interests and Needs of the various conflicting parties?
- ▀ What could and should be the role of the media on contentious issues?
- ▀ How can media behavior and reporting styles impact the issue?
- ▀ What questions should be asked?

South China Sea: The Positions and the Facts

[Extracted from Yanmei Xie and Tim Johnson of the International Crisis Group on 8 July 2016]

On 12 July, the International Tribunal on the Law of the Sea under the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague delivered new direction to one of Asia's most contentious issues, the South China Sea, where tension has been steadily building up over recent years between six sides — Brunei, China, Malaysia, the Philippines, Vietnam and Taiwan — with competing claims on this strategic body of water.

What's at stake in the South China Sea?

The South China Sea covers an area of some 4 million square kilometres. It has vital trade arteries, with \$5 trillion or about one third of the world's commerce passing through its waters, fisheries that account for 12 per cent of the global catch, and estimated reserves of eleven billion barrels of oil and 190 trillion cubic feet of natural gas.

What is being disputed between China and the Philippines in the South China Sea?

China claims all land features in the South China Sea. The Nine-Dash Line loops down from the coast to take in most of the South China Sea and slices into the Philippines' claimed EEZ. The Philippines claims about 50 land features in the Spratly island chain and the Scarborough Shoal.

What did the Philippines ask the tribunal to rule on?

The Philippines argues that China's Nine-Dash Line claim is contrary to United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), to which both are parties. Second, it argues the features are "rocks" and "low-tide elevations", not "islands". Only islands are entitled to a 200-nautical mile EEZ. Third, the Philippines argues that China has illegally interfered with the Philippines' lawful exercise of sovereign rights and has failed to fulfill its obligations to protect the marine environment.

How has China responded?

China rejected the arbitration and has refused to participate in the proceedings. It has also repeatedly stated it will not accept the tribunal's ruling. In December 2014, China issued a position paper arguing the tribunal does not have jurisdiction over the case. First, China argues that the subject-matter of the arbitration is sovereignty over maritime features, and is thus beyond the scope of UNCLOS. Second, it argues that the subject-matter concerns maritime delimitation, which it has legally excluded from the tribunal's jurisdiction. Third, it says that the two sides agreed to settle their disputes through negotiation, to the exclusion of any

other means.

What are some of the key issues to watch for in the ruling?

The tribunal is expected to rule on the status of Chinese-occupied land features in the Spratly chain. If it determines the features are not natural islands, it would limit the legal rights China can claim around them. Since early 2014, China has reclaimed 3,200 acres of land around seven features, and built airstrips, ports, high-frequency radar facilities, solar arrays, lighthouses and support buildings on them. Particularly important will be the expected tribunal ruling on the status of Itu Aba/Taiping the largest natural land feature in the Spratly chain, which hosts a Taiwanese outpost with about two hundred people. It is claimed by the Philippines, China, Vietnam, and Taiwan. The tribunal has deferred a decision on whether it has jurisdiction to rule on the legality of the Nine-Dash Line until it assesses the nature of China's claimed rights. If it rules on the issue, it could be momentous. An adverse ruling on the line would significantly reduce the area that China can legally claim.

How have relevant and concerned parties responded?

Among the claimants, Vietnam and Malaysia sent observers to the proceedings. In December 2014, Vietnam submitted a "Statement of Interest" to the tribunal supporting the proceedings and the upcoming ruling, stating opposition to China's Nine-Dash Line claim and reaffirming Vietnam's claims. Australia, Indonesia, Japan, Singapore and Thailand also sent observers to the proceedings. The US says the parties are "obligated to respect and abide by" the arbitration ruling. The UK, Japan and Australia similarly called for parties to adhere to the ruling. New Zealand expressed support for the Philippines's rights to seek arbitration. The EU and G7 called for respect for arbitration procedures. Countries that have explicitly endorsed China's position include Sudan, Gambia, Kenya, Russia, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Cambodia. Beijing says the number of countries that support its position is growing, but has declined to provide a specific figure or a list. A few countries, including Fiji, Poland, Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, have denied claims that they side with China.

The full text can be accessed at <http://blog.crisisgroup.org/asia/2016/07/08/south-china-sea-the-positions-and-the-facts/>

CHAPTER 5: INTEGRATION

Intended learning outcomes

At the end of the lesson, the students should be able to:

- ▀ Utilize each of the tools as individual parts of a journalistic exploration process;
- ▀ Expand ordinary deadline stories into exploratory and explanatory reports; and
- ▀ Publish quality, conflict-sensitive stories.

Theory Input

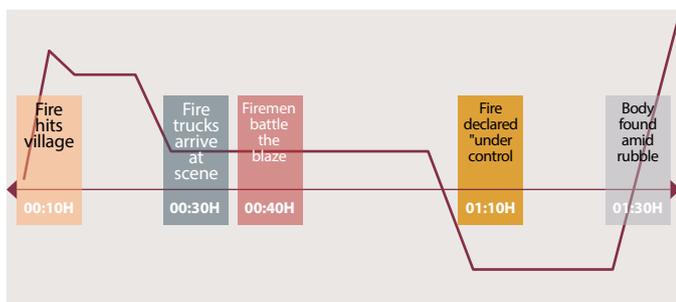
In the previous four lessons, we discussed various tools and how they can be individually employed to help journalists make sure that their reports provide context, are in-depth, facilitate understanding among audiences by exploring and explaining complexities, and are resilient to propaganda.

But the tools are not designed simply as stand-alone conceptual models journalists can use to process information that they obtain. For long-format investigative or “special” reports, or follow-up stories that expand and deepen a previously written “deadline article” for the benefit of an audience that deserves to know more than the basic five Ws and one H, the tools can build upon each other for a more nuanced narrative.

The applications are numerous and we cannot hope to capture all possible uses in this teaching manual. Our intention at this point will only be to demonstrate the how part.

Let us begin with the Timeline tool and the example we used when we introduced the concept — a killer fire hit a village 10 minutes past midnight, firefighters arrived at 12:40 a.m. and neutralized the fire at 1:10 a.m., whereupon a body was found.

Using the Timeline tool, we are able to visualize the narrative thus:



We then proceed to that essential next step: analyzing the gaps in the data. As previously discussed, the gap can sometimes be just voids in time. Why did it take fire trucks 20 minutes to arrive? Why did it take them 30 minutes to extinguish the blaze? Or they could be something else.

Let us then re-introduce the second tool, the CSJ Triangle. Applying it as a graphic representation of the gap in the timeline we choose — the delay in the arrival of the firefighters — that gap becomes the directly observable fact from which we try to determine structural and cultural causalities.

Like the discussion earlier, we begin with carefully studied assumptions and transform each one into confirmatory and clarification questions.

Graphically, we render this as such:

Structured Learning Activity

Activity 1: Trying it out

Time: 60 minutes

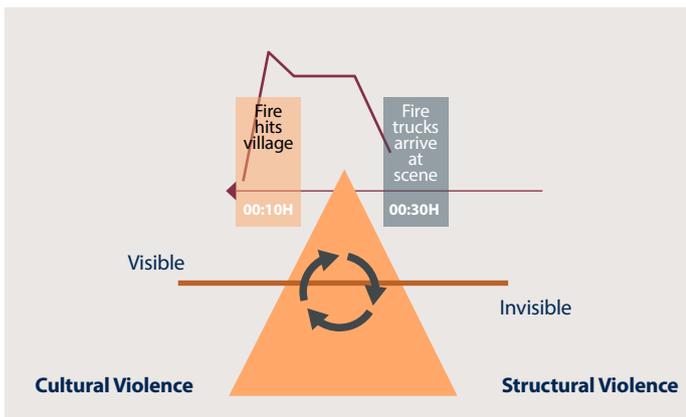
Materials: A deadline story appearing in any local newspaper

Instruction:

- ▀ Divide the class into groups of 5 members each
- ▀ Ask the groups to transform the story into a timeline and analyze for gaps.
- ▀ Let them determine the structural and cultural causalities for the gaps identified.
- ▀ Let them transform their observations into confirmatory/clarificatory questions.
- ▀ Make them report the process and the results to the rest of the class.

Discussion:

- ▀ Does the timeline make sense? Is the flow logical and chronological?
- ▀ What gaps are present? Am I able to explain the gaps in my story?
- ▀ Is there a recurring pattern in the flow of events over time?
- ▀ At what point in the timeline do I base my story’s frame, nutgraf, or lead?
- ▀ Are my questions framed in such a way as to give me the best answers?
- ▀ Are my questions framed in such a way as to obtain answers other than what I expect?
- ▀ Are my questions specific enough to give me details that are rich and comprehensive?
- ▀ Will my questions lead to action or will they desensitize the public?



ASSUMPTIONS	QUESTIONS
Threats of fire not seriously taken	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Other than distribute relief goods, what do barangays do when it comes to fires? Are the barangays part of a prevention system? Is the prevention of fire even a priority in the barangays? wallocated for fire prevention programs, if at all? How do ordinary people try to prevent fires in their homes? The most common cause of fires in residential areas are butane canisters. Why do they remain popular?

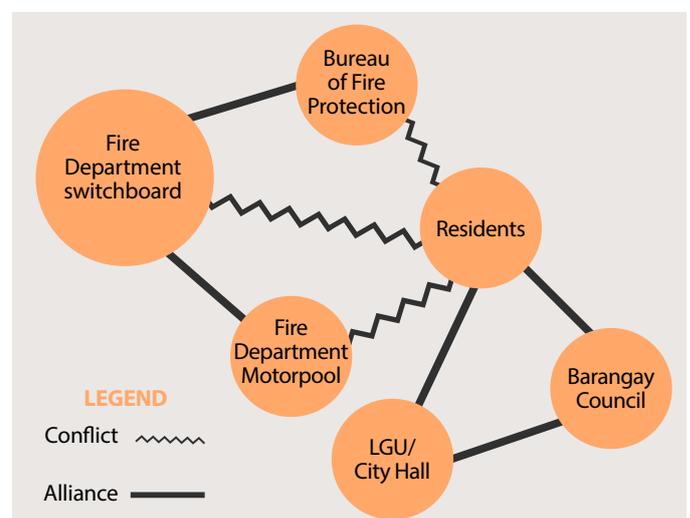
ASSUMPTIONS	QUESTIONS
Outdated reporting/alert system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What technology is used in receiving information about fires? How are fire trucks dispatched? Where are they stationed? How many stations are there? How many communities does one station serve? How many trucks operate per station? What strategies are employed to make sure trucks arrive quickly?
Dilapidated firetrucks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the average age of the trucks used by the fire department? How many are there in every station and, on average, how many trucks are in running condition per station? What is the annual budget for its maintenance? How many years does one truck serve before it is replaced with something newer? How religiously is this schedule followed?
Narrow/obstructed roads	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How many fires happen in Cebu every year and where are they usually located? What is the common denominator of these areas? What is the local government unit doing about narrow and obstructed roads? How strictly are ordinances against obstruction enforced? What challenges to enforcers normally face?

Theory Input (continued)

By the end of the exercise, our intrepid journalist has a handful of questions. Should he or she now begin doing interviews? The prudent answer is not yet. Not until he or she has ascertained that the questions do not simply reflect a two-party geometry.

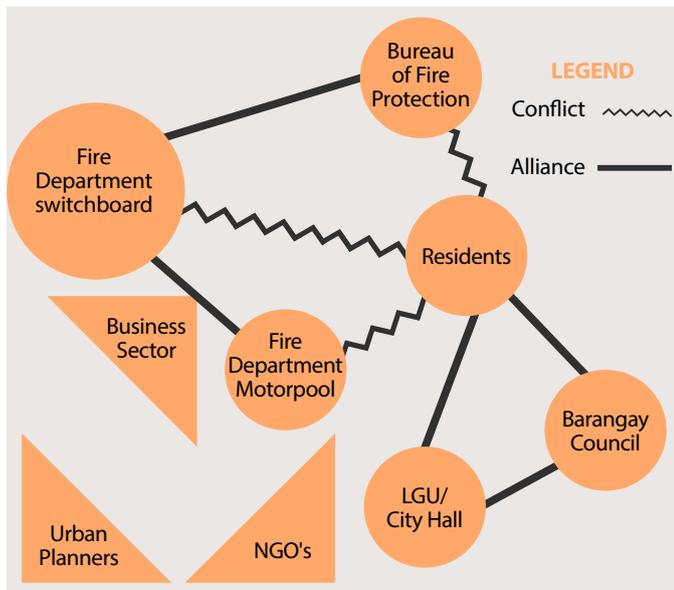
Let us now consider the actor mapping. Based on the questions, the journalist can already identify which sources to approach and what perspectives these sources can potentially bring to the fore. These are the very information needed to draw an actor's map.

Using the example of the fire incident, and the questions developed from our assumptions on structural and cultural causations, our map may look like this:



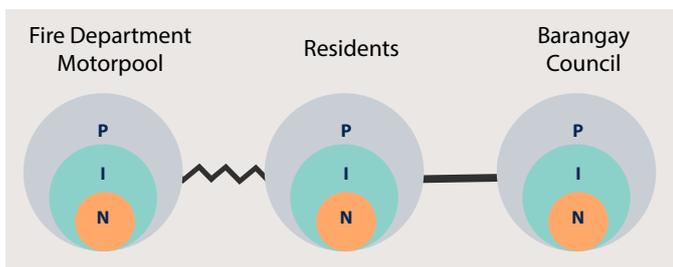
Despite appearances, the map is a two-party take on the situation. Although it involves more than two sources, they tend toward one of two things: the realities in the fire department and the realities in the communities.

It now behooves the journalist to look for other voices that can make the story more nuanced. So, let us try to add voices.



Here, the map becomes more multi-faceted, with more perspectives being represented. Once the reporter pursues interviews with these sources, we can anticipate a richer picture.

But more perspectives also mean more contradictions and competing agendas around which the journalist needs to maneuver. At this point, we apply the Onion tool to discover and to explore the deeper, more real, and sometimes even common interests and universal needs that these stakeholders have.



Being aware that the responses we get from sources are mere positions, journalists will not be as easily swayed when, for example, the fire department motor pool, the office tasked to oversee the maintenance of fire trucks, says that all their vehicles are in perfect service condition. We They can then become more critical in our truth-seeking.

Structured Learning Activity

Activity 2: Putting theory into practice

Time: 60 minutes

Materials: Output from the previous SLA

Instruction:

- Instruct the class to create an Actor's Map from the confirmatory/clarification questions.
- Make them analyze the relationships between parties. Tell them to add other actors into the map.
- Tell them to anticipate the possible responses that can be obtained.
- Guide them in developing follow-up questions.
- Let the students report the process and results in class.

Discussion:

- Are all the important perspectives represented in my story concept?
- Will the students responses result in a solutions-based outcome?
- Will my story stimulate conversation among other actors?
- Will my story spark action at the level of my audience?
- Are my follow-up questions fair and framed to obtain answers other than what I am expecting?
- Are they specific enough to give me details that are rich and comprehensive?
- Will my questions lead to action or will it desensitize the public?

Structured Learning Activity

Activity 3: Putting theory into practice II

Time: Within 72 hours from class session

Materials: Three published stories involving violent conflict

Instruction:

- ▀ Divide the class into three groups.
- ▀ Assign each group one story.
- ▀ Instruct them to render the story into a timeline.
- ▀ From there, let them use all the other tools as they are designed to be used.
- ▀ Make them conduct the interviews and pursue the story.
- ▀ Have them write a group report and present it in class.

Discussion:

- ▀ What was your experience?
- ▀ What is the depth of the story produced?
- ▀ What is the impact of the story on the audience's level of understanding?
- ▀ Did it tend to intensify the violence?
- ▀ Did it make the conflict more understandable? Was the conflict brought closer to being manageable?

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