Obstacles to Peace Journalism in North Cyprus
Metin Ersoy*

Abstract

This paper is an exploratory journey into both the possibilities and difficulties associated with the development of peace journalism and its associated practices in the Northern Cyprus news media. The article also questions whether signs of the peace journalism perspective are already apparent in the Turkish Cypriot media while providing a grid to news publishing practices and principles in North Cyprus news media and the media's contribution (positive/negative) to the ongoing peace process in Cyprus.

Introduction

Peace journalism appears as a counter or alternative approach to generally accepted journalistic practices in the mass communication sector. Nevertheless, peace journalism principles and practices are steadily making headway into both the academic arena and into the practices of a, currently, small group of professional journalists. Peace journalism breaches a number of academic "fields" and draws upon knowledge from social scientists, peace scholars and peace studies, communication scholars and, importantly, from the everyday experiences of professional journalists themselves. A "Peace Journalism Initiative", taken up both within university journalism programs and by the profession as a whole, may make a positive contribution to the promotion of peace and the resolution of conflict without violence.

"Peace" is a problematic concept and "peace journalism" is no less ambiguous, carrying with it all of the conceptual difficulties associated with what peace might mean. There is a potential here for misunderstanding the role of the journalist in the peace journalism process and thus it is worthwhile to focus some attention on the concept of "peace journalism" as it uncovers and reveals the problems associated with the implementation of current mainstream media industry processes and practices. Today, only a few journalists consciously use a peace journalism approach while many others cross between what could be identified as "war" and "peace" oriented journalism without consciously being aware of the contradiction. It is here especially that a "peace journalism" approach to journalism education may be of great long-term benefit.

As peace journalism takes hold in university journalism programs and through interdisciplinary studies in peace and communication, there is the possibility that its underlying philosophical and methodological foundations will influence future journalists. In comparison to traditional journalists, peace journalists have a more complex and ultimately time consuming task. For example, the peace journalist will spend more time in contextualizing news reports and in making room for more points of view in a conflict thus giving more time and space to more and often contradictory sources. Peace journalists always have to be focused, investigative, and process oriented, in order to provide more balanced and historically situated information. More "focused" here points toward the time limits that institutional media industries impose on the production process. Because of these institutional constraints, many journalists make concessions in quality in order to convey their news faster to their audience. This constitutes a major obstacle for peace journalism practices and is rooted in the structures and organizing principles of the media.

Initially, claiming the attention of journalists as a professional body is vital for the growth and development of a peace journalism approach because peace journalism's potential for success is connected to its implementation multi-laterally. Peruse the daily newspapers, watch television or listen to the radio, and it is soon clear that conflict and war are valuable commodities for contemporary journalists. Put simply, conflict and war sell newspapers and increase viewers, readers and listeners. This, of course, is financially lucrative for the media sector. Media institutions have "commercial anxiety" that is why, they often use "conflict and war" oriented news. Journalists are locked into the "race" for being first, being the fastest, getting the unusual angle, and creating the most sensational stories that, in turn, might produce the largest audience. One role for peace journalism scholarship will be to investigate how media, in their current form, produce news about conflict and war for their audiences. Scholars must question conventional journalism news values, norms and practices with the goal of finding avenues for the implementation of new practices based on the values of peace.

What is Peace Journalism?

The concept "Peace journalism" has generated a lively and ultimately healthy debate among peace and communication scholars in recent years. The concerns not only what peace journalism assumptions are, but also how journalists might apply the peace journalism approach to news values. The most prominent peace researcher Johan

Galtung[1] first began using the term 'Peace Journalism' in the 1970s and more recently the concept has been developed further by media professionals, Jake Lynch and Annabel Goldrick. When Johan Galtung first began using the term peace journalism (which he defined in his 1996 book *Peace by Peaceful Means*), he defined it in the following way: peace = non-violence + creativity. For Galtung, peace cannot only mean the reduction of war to a state of non-violence: There must be creativity in the resolution process itself. "Creativity" should not be understood only within a narrow political definition where a conflict is solved the conflict politically. For the media sector "creativity" points toward a more peace oriented rather than conflict oriented information gathering and reporting process.[2]

"Peace" has been defined by some as a situation in which there is no armed conflict. However, the meaning of peace is defined in various ways by different societies and within and among cultures. These 'differences' in approach toward the resolution of conflict and the promotion of peace necessarily means that a creative approach to resolving conflicting interpretations of what peace might ultimately look like, is a necessary correlative to the promotion of a stable and just peace.

Peace Journalism is Healthy Journalism

McGoldrick and Lynch (2000) argue that Galtung compares peace journalism with "healthy journalism" as it embraces concepts of fairness, balance, truth, and humanistic and critical news values. In other words, Johan Galtung sees peace journalism and its news values and practices as a healthy response to conflict, with a special emphasis on regions in the world where conflict and violence have become endemic. Galtung's approach places more responsibility on journalists and carves out a more active role for media as they become more sensitive to their role in either increasing a climate of conflict or, to the contrary, promoting a climate where peaceful resolution to conflict might be possible. There is little doubt that such an emphasis for a peace journalism alternative, as applied to communities in conflict, places an enormous responsibility on those journalists who are themselves engaged in and responding to the conflict in those regions. One of the weighty responsibilities of a peace oriented journalism is the active seeking our and uncovering of possible solution to conflict – especially before the conflict has turned into violence.

A passing overview of the Cypriot media would leave one with little doubt that the underlying values of Cypriot journalism is toward the maintenance and incitement of conflict. The general tendency among both Turkish and Greek Cypriot media is toward accusation, blame, and the creation of suspicion of the "other side". Within a "sports" paradigm, the Cypriot media focus on will "win" in the process toward resolving the "Cyprus Problem". Currently, neither community's media have made a positive contribution toward peace in Cyprus. Against this "self and other" mentality that saturates current journalistic practices in Cyprus, peace journalism argues for a media that accept responsibility for its potential role as a vehicle for contributing toward an understanding that lays the groundwork for the building of a peaceful society. Embracing such a responsibility would necessarily mean providing the two currently divided communities of Cyprus with stories that highlight the similarities, rather than the differences, and encourage cooperation, understanding and trust among the two ethnic groups who inhabit the island.

Peace Journalism is Transparent Journalism

Peace journalist applies conflict resolution technique in the information gathering and news writing process. From a peace journalism perspective, journalists and news editors should accentuate the following criteria when they select events, and then write news articles around them: Fairness, truth and balance. For example, McGoldrick & Lynch (2000) defined peace journalism as a broader, fairer and more accurate way of framing stories, drawing on the insights of conflict analysis and transformation (p. 3). In other words, when journalists write news about conflicting sides in an issue, they should make the conflict transparent and, importantly, they should investigates and report on, the historical and cultural background of events that led to the current conflict from multiple perspectives.

When we recall what we have read, heard, or viewed through the media on the ongoing conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians, it is clear that for the most part, the media primarily focus on how many people died or were injured. According to Lesley Fordred's table comparing old and new media forms,[3] this kind of journalistic understanding of news values fails to focus on the "process" of the Israel – Palestine conflict and opts, instead for the less complex (and consequently less informative) dichotomy of "good/bad" "right/wrong" "them/us", leaving the audience with little contextual material with which to make sense out of the violence. If media can be encouraged to investigate the cultural and historical background of the conflict, they may both serve their institutions and their audiences by promoting both a better understanding of the conflict and a broader set of possible resolutions to it.

This orientation to responsible, empathetic and transparent peace journalism applies beyond the focus of visible wars and also investigates "invisible" conflict/violence. For example, this approach might change the very structure of reporting on human suffering and the difficult conditions of people in hunger, misery, and unimaginable physiological pain, often as a result of or as a reaction to the "visible" violence that most journalists focus upon. In order to engage more effectively and serve the public more responsibly, media should be encouraged to follow "process oriented" news reporting and writing as promoted by peace journalism. The former British Ambassador to Indonesia, Sir Robin Christopher said that: "Journalists have to decide whether they are going to be part of the problem or part of the solution." Also peace journalists believe that journalists should be part of the solution.

Peace journalism promotes the role of journalists as 'part of the solution'. Peace journalism aims to find ways to report on the invisible effects, such as the long-term legacies of conflict like psychological trauma or the likelihood that those affected may be violent in the future. It will try to discover the cause and process of conflict and the effort and initiatives from all sides to encourage peace building. To follow the peace journalism approach, journalists should avoid focusing entirely on what divides the parties involved or certain issues, and on the differences between what they say and want. In order to have a more positive influence on the situation, journalists could ask statements, which may reveal areas of common ground, for example, and lead their reports with suggestions of shared or even compatible goals. (McGoldrick & Lynch 2000, p. 24)

Peace Journalism is Balanced Journalism

Replacing the overused concept of "objectivity" that has been seriously challenged by peace and communication scholars, peace journalism places emphasis on balance in news reporting. Balanced news means giving equal voice to the many sides of a conflict and establishing empathy between them. That means journalists should take the conflict as a problem that requires resolution. Furthermore, while journalists are writing stories, they should make empathy a priority and situate themselves in the perspective of the "other". In this way, media avoid inadvertently promoting conflict or creating the grounds for it and thus may participate in preventing a potential conflict becoming violent.

Peace journalism adopts a "win-win"[4] understanding in the news where for one side to gain a sense of accomplishment in a peace process it is not necessary for the other side to "lose" something. If journalists can grasp and apply the concept of a "win-win" philosophy, they will be participants in the solution whereas if they continue to report and write within a "win-lose" frame, they unavoidably take up positions as part of the problem. In Cyprus, unfortunately, the news is generally of the "win-lose" form where "gain" for one side is "loss" for the other.

Peace Journalism and Conventional Journalism: Exploring the Differences

Peace journalism has a fundamentally different grasp of the role that journalists might play in society when compared to conventional journalism. Lesley Fordred[5] has explained these differences under four categories: the role of the journalist; style; approach to journalism, and approach to the audience. Each of these issues is introduced below.

- The role of the journalist: Fordred argues that conventional journalists are watchdogs, commentators, independent of issues covered and situated as spectators and observers of events that they are not personally involved in. Peace journalists, however, can be conceptualized as enablers and communicators between the conflicting sides. Peace journalists are not independent onlookers of the issues they cover. Instead, Peace journalists are involved in the issues and they participate in seeking solutions to the resolution of conflict.

- Style of Journalism: Contemporary journalistic style can be said to focus on debate, polemics and "difference" while peace journalism, to the contrary, focuses on establishing dialogue between the conflict sides. Peace journalists also accentuate "common ground" in order to highlight possible solutions during conflict processes: Peace journalists participate in the construction of "discussion platforms" for the conflicting sides. Fordred sees this as a transformation from "old" to "new" journalism while many of these "new" journalism perspectives correspond directly to peace journalism in terms of its new journalistic understanding, norms and news values.

■ Approach to Journalism: According to Fordred, conventional journalists seek simplicity in news, they are reactive to violent events, and they produce event-based reporting. Conventional journalists also accentuate the value of "objectivity" and assume that it is actually possible to "just report the facts". Conventional journalist balance reporting understanding is different from peace journalist. Conventional journalists act on the assumption that balanced reporting is reporting that covers "both sides" in equal *quantity* whereas peace journalists reject this notion in favor of reporting which represents *quality* of both sides' stories and perceptions. While conventional journalists reduce news to its simplicity, peace journalists attempt to explore complexity and they developed strategies to understand/uncover the complex issues surrounding conflict. Another important distinction is that peace journalists engage in "process based" reporting within the conflict frame while conventional journalists use "event based" reporting. This means that peace journalists do not only investigate when conflict/violence is present or visible: they continue their investigation after the violence in order to reveal and explain how the aftermath of violence continues to affect the lives of people.

■ Approach to Audience: Finally, but no less important, there are major differences between the conventional and peace journalism "approach to audience". According to conventional journalism violence/conflict genre news is of interest to audiences. Newsrooms set agendas and accentuate the knowledge of those who "know best" such as leaders and experts. Conventional journalists claim that this "is" journalism as though there were only one way to tell a story. However, the peace journalism approach to audiences challenges conventional journalism's construction of the audience and sees audiences as potential "public participants" in problem solving and peace building. Seeing audiences and readers as participants in problem solving is a cornerstone to the peace journalism approach.

Peace journalists work with the assumption that publics should have a role in setting agendas for the peaceful transformation of conflicts and that ordinary people need to be consulted. In other words, the public have a right to participate in democratic processes and furthermore, the public also have the right to speak and be heard.

Israel – Lebanon Conflict

Taking as an example, the reportage of two Turkish Cypriot newspapers – *Kibris* and *Yeniduzen* we can evaluate whether or not the newspapers come close to a peace journalism approach. Both newspapers were evaluated over a 2 month period between July and August 2006 during the height of the recent Israel – Lebanon conflict. The Israel – Lebanon conflict was chosen as an prime example of how important a peace journalism approach to producing and circulating news stories might be in helping to avoid the escalation of violence. With the appropriate methodology and a clearer understanding of the role of journalism in conflict and war situations, Turkish Cypriot journalist could find that peace journalism practices will greatly facilitate their objective of informative and balanced reporting. News reporting on the Israel – Lebanon conflict in Turkish Cypriot newspapers was very high during the period in question. While Turkish Cypriot media produced an abundance of reports related to the Israel – Lebanon conflict, they choose anti-war headlines. For example, the 15th of July 2006 issue of *Kibris* newspaper used the headline: "Israel burns Lebanon". On the 17th of July 2006, *Kibris* newspaper headlined with: "War to become heated in Lebanon". Another headline on the 18th of July 2006 read: "Israel, war with Hizbullah: civilians die" and on the 17th of August 2006 *Kibris* newspaper claimed: "Their lives are overwhelmed like their houses". A *Yeniduzen*'s headline on the 13th of July claimed: "Israel expanded the land operation but there was no urgency for the UN Security Council" and on July 16th the headline read: "Israel determined to enlarge the brutality!". By the 10th of August, *Yeniduzen* was reporting: "Israel bombs raining down on Lebanon!"

The sensationalism of the headlines chosen by journalists and their editors, are important clues for readers about how to think of conflict and what responses might be justified. Turkish Cypriot media appear to be closer to conventional journalism news values rather that peace journalism. Turkish Cypriot media use international news agencies which often act as a resource for news articles. The international news agencies generally use conventional news frames which could partly explain why Turkish Cypriot media produce conventional frames in their own reports. For example, Turkish Cypriot media described the war as only between two sides. This way of presenting highlights "struggle and a "win/lose" mentality.

Another conventional frame which Turkish Cypriot journalists use in news reporting is a "self and other" frame. They situate Israel as the "other" in headlines. As Lynch & McGoldrick (2005) argue, if media consistently produce news with a "self and other" frame, it acts as a step toward the "justification" of violence and violent responses. Rather than accusing one side, media should uncover the common problems on all sides that cause conflict that leads

to violent reactions. *Kibris* and *Yeniduzen*, emphasized the visible effects of war/violence. The focused for example on how many people died, which bridge was destroyed, where the bombs and missiles landed. Media highlight these kinds of question whereas, peace journalism argues for more emphasis on the invisible effects of war on people: the effects that cause long-term pain and suffering in the lives of those living in that region.

Finally, Turkish Cypriot newspapers focused most of their attention on covering elites and their impressions of the conflict. For example, much space and time was given over to leaders as they challenged each other whereas peace journalism encourages giving voice to the public who suffer from violence. Peace journalist does not only concentrate on the suffering of one side in a conflict whereas Turkish Cypriot newspaper research results reveal that both *Kibris* and *Yeniduzen* newspapers concentrated on the suffering of Lebanon's people. This concentration on one side encourages oppositional thinking where "they" are murderers while "we" are always and only victims. An obvious outcome of this type of reporting is that solutions that lead to punishment of "them" will seem reasonable and warranted while the underlying complexities of the conflict will be brushed aside.

Obstacles to Peace Journalism

Some people criticize peace journalism as theoretically and practically insufficient. While this may be partly true in the sense that there are major obstacles to the implementation of peace journalism practices – not least, the journalists propensity for conventional styles of journalism – this does not mean that we need not begin to apply some peace journalism news norms and news values in professional journalism practice. Conventional journalism is insufficient to the task of providing clarity to complex social issues and peace journalism has a potential remedy to this problem. Although there are practical difficulties to achieving a peace journalism option, these are not unsolvable problems. When we consider the peace journalism argument, we should consider the practical difficulties of enacting the method for journalists on the ground. Peace journalism assumptions are not only valuable but also applicable to Greek and Turkish Cypriot media because of news values and news norms – especially as there is lack of political settlement between the two communities and the role of the media is critical to the deepening of understanding and the building of trust. Media workers should begin to make steps to really understand the "other" side and they should explain the "other" side empathetically within the parameters of their own society.

Language use in Newspapers

In order to practicing peace journalism, journalist will need to attach importance to the selection and use of words. Peace journalists must be conscious of their use of words while they write news about both conflict and violence. During a peace negotiations words and particularly terminology, can encourage conflict or provide a positive contribution to the solution of conflict. Concepts such as "our side" "their side", "we won - they lost", "ball is on the other side", "last match", do little to enhance cooperation or point to potential areas of compromise. Conventional journalism generally prefers to use sports journalism metaphors while writing about conflict. Galtung noticed that a great deal of conventional journalism was based on the same assumptions as sports journalism where the focus is on 'winning as the only thing' in a zero-sum game of two parties (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000, p. 10). If journalists evaluate conflict within this frame, obviously one side will be seen as a potential winner while the other side will be perceived as a loser. Peace journalists, on the other hand, will use a "win-win" frame beyond the sports game mentality. "Win-win" is the frame that media can use to communicate the many sides of conflict and assist in finding solutions to problems. Thus, while conventional journalists focus on debate, polemic and difference in the news reporting, peace journalists will attempt to establish a dialogue between all sides. Peace journalists also focus on common ground[6] in order to promote solutions before, during and following conflict process while encouraging discussion platforms for all parties.

Event Based Reporting

The common call of the conventional journalist is "we just report the fact". Even if such a claim were possible, it is an insufficient contribution to a peace process. Media can play a role in the reduction of conflict between parties and as such, have an obligation to pursue "process based reporting" in order to highlight the invisible effects of conflict/violence rather than only visible effects. Peace journalists will apply process based reporting in order to understand the conflict historically and culturally. The Israel – Palestine conflict proved to be a good example of event based reporting rather than process based. Conventional media prefer to accentuate the number of deaths and injuries – which are all far more visible and sensational – than to discuss process and long term (and often invisible) effects of war and violence.

News Framing

As introduced earlier, a major obstacle to peace journalism practice is news framing. Many journalists habitually use the "self and other" frame in conflict news as it proves to be the most practical and least complex frame to use. The basic reason for this kind of framing is the inherent news values of conventional journalism. In the 1980s Todd Gitlin first discussed "news framing" as a concept. Today, news framing has become more important especially in relation to conflict between and within communities. According to peace journalism, media must rethink the ground on which they report and refuse to engage in news production from only one perspective. Peace journalism suggests that journalists look at events from multi perspectives. The ideal way to look multi-perspectively in news is to increase the number and type of news sources. If journalists increase their news sources it will allow them to give voice to all conflict sides and an opportunity to reveal more points of view in conflict processes.

News Sources

In-depth interviews with six national newspapers in North Cyprus revealed that news editors habitually highlight conflict as a product of newsgathering. North Cyprus media tend to use sound bits from the speeches of elites in their news articles. This means giving government administrations, community leaders and elite persons more space and time than is given to the majority of people in society. Thus, using Elite sources is another obstacle to peace journalism practice. Peace journalists struggle to give more time to the voices of the voiceless – seeing them as additional sources of valuable information in the society. Peace journalists give voice to more individuals in order to assist in the building of a more participatory society. If media increase the news sources, the outcome of this news will be more balanced, fair and accurate: representing a broader segment of the thoughts and ideas of the society. Peace journalists must spend more time in news reporting precisely because they must engage more sources. Peace journalists have to be focused, investigative and process based reporters who are aware of and able to negotiate the time limits imposed by the industry. These industrial time limits encourage many otherwise fine journalists to make concessions in quality in order to convey their news faster to readers and audience.

Media and Circulation

Media have commercial interests and these interests play into the construction of their news policies. Peace journalism does not accept this as the last word. While conflict and violence do tend to play into the ratings game it is nevertheless possible to construct stories about conflict and war that compel readers and viewers while providing more detailed and comprehensive accounts that highlight process over event. Nevertheless, the focus on sensationalism and conflict continue to be obstacles to peace journalism practice.

Ownership Structure of Newspapers

Research shows that much of what counts as news has been selected by newspaper owners in Cyprus. Although editors play an active role during the selection process, more often than not, editors follow the policies of the owner of the newspaper. The structure of Cypriot media makes it suitable to direct intervention from newspaper owner. This may well mean that peace journalists will first have to convince their owners before they begin practicing peace journalism. If the newspaper owner's commercial interests appear to be threatened, it will be much more difficult for peace journalism initiatives to gain ground.

Conclusion

Peace journalism appears as a counter or alternative approach to currently accepted journalism practices in the media sector. Peace journalism, as an alternative, is gradually finding acceptance among both scholars and media professionals and many have begun to argue that peace journalism is a promising alternative to conventional journalism in its potential for contributing positively to the end of violence and the beginning of creative solutions in conflict zones around the world. This new journalistic understanding has the potential for being misunderstood due to the concept of "peace" in its title. However, peace journalism is a response to the limitations and inadequacies of conventional or traditional journalism styles.

As a consequence of the growing popularity of peace journalism among academicians and scholars, the project may well find its moorings within the academic community with the result that new journalism graduates will take

the option more seriously in the future. In comparison to journalists whom chose traditional journalism, peace journalists are faced with difficult challenges and exciting possibilities. In all of this, peace journalists will have to dedicate more time, energy and commitment, to news reporting in order to provide publics with the information they need to be participants in the peace process. Peace journalists must be focused, process based reporters who struggle for more balanced and quality news while taking into accounts the time constraints imposed by the media industries. Attracting the attention of journalists is crucial and this may be accomplished both at the level of higher education and at the level of journalists themselves through outreach between communication scholars, researchers, other professional journalists and activists.

It is unlikely that the framing and discourses in Turkish Cypriot newspapers will change soon. The media structures and the current structure of journalism education make it probable that peace journalism has a long way to go. Peace journalism, however, argues that it is not a question of "if" but "when" the peace journalism option will be taken up in practice by journalists who currently engage in conventional journalism practices. In a world that is growing increasingly complex, the reading, viewing and listening publics may well call themselves for media that take more time, respect their audiences and provide the detailed information necessary for participation in promoting peaceful solutions to violent conflicts.

Some journalists argue that no one should "try to teach us our job". Of course, someone already did teach journalists their jobs. It is one of the goals of peace journalism to make this point clear: that there are alternatives and that just because one method was taught at one period in history does not make it good for all time. While we struggle for incremental changes in the practices of journalism, we can also hope that journalists themselves will develop a type of peace journalism that encourages solution-oriented thinking and acting toward difficult social problems, rather than imagining that they can remain distant from the events and not responsible for the consequences of the news that they are reporting.

Metin Ersoy is a Doctoral student in the Faculty of Communication and Media Studies at Eastern Mediterranean University.

End Notes

[1] Johan Galtung, Peace Professor and Director of the TRANSCEND Peace and Development Network. (www.transcend.org)
[2] In the article 2 of the Report of UNESCO on communications tools, we apparently stated that: "Communication tools should be in favor of peace and should be used with mentality for strengthen the peace (Tilic [2001]; p. 196)."
[3] See table to compare old and new media order which developed by Dr Lesley Fordred, Department of Anthropology, University of Cape Town, South Africa.
http://www.transcend.org/pj.shtml?AA_SL_Session=584cb314f7968dccc735fb16a41cbcc3&x=127#_ednref11
[4] Professor Johan Galtung developed a scheme for Peace Journalism.
http://www.transcend.org/pj.shtml?AA_SL_Session=de07081384ba748c54661963c9d9f71a&x=126
[5] Dr. Lesley Fordred, Department of Anthropology, University of Cape Town, South Africa.
[6] See Majid Tehranian ten commandments of peace journalism.
http://home.online.no/~solhanse/horizon5/PeaceJournalism.doc

References

Ersoy, M. (2006). Peace Journalism and Conventional Journalism. *Kibris* Newspaper,
        pp. 20-21.

Ersoy, M. (2006). Peace Journalism for Healthy Journalism. *Kibris* Newspaper,
        p. 13.

Ersoy, M. (2003). *Peace Journalism in Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus News Media*,
         Unpublished MA Thesis: Eastern Mediterranean University.

Galtung, J. (1996). *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace and conflict, development and civilization*.
          London: Sage
Galtung, J. (1998). The Peace Journalism Option. *Conflict & Peace Forums*

Galtung, J. (1998) High Road, Low Road: Charting the course for Peace Journalism, 7(4).

Galtung, J. (2000). The Task of Peace Journalism: *Ethical Perspective* 7, 162-167.

Lynch, J., & Goldrick, A. (2005). *Peace Journalism*, UK: Hawthorn

McGoldrick, A., and Lynch, J. (2000). *Peace Journalism: How To Do It?*

Tehranian, M. (2002). *Peace Journalism: Negotiating Global Media Ethics*
         http://home.online.no/~solhanse/horizon5/PeaceJournalism.doc

Tılıç, L. D. (2001) *2000'ler Türkiye'sinde Gazetecilik ve Medyayı Anlamak* (*Understanding
         Media and Journalism in 2000's Turkey*), Su Publications

Newspapers Issues
Kibris Newspaper, 15th of July, 17th of July, 18th of July 2006 issues.
Yenidüzen Newspaper, 16th of July, 10th of August 2006 issues.

Interview with editors: (Interview dates: 28-29 January 2004)
Turkish News Agecy-Cyprus   : Perihan Aziz
Yenidüzen Newspaper   : Cenk Mutluyakalı
Bayrak Radyo Televizyon Kurumu : Özer Kanlı
Kibris Newspaper   : Ali Baturay
Afrika Newspaper   : Ali Osman
Halkı Sesi Newspaper   : Akay Cemal
Birlik Newspaper   : Adnan Işıman
Vatan Newspaper   : Mehmet Kasımoğlu