The Visual Politics
of War Volume Two

The Visual Politics of War Volume Two:

Truth and Lies of Soft Power

Edited by

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FOREWORD

The flood of images in our mediated visual cultures has arguably reached unprecedented levels. This fact has become a cornerstone of news from conflict zones like the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). The visual landscape has become more hostile, polarized, and indispensable than ever in understanding the dynamics of the politics, societies, and cultures that animate these tensions, project their agonies, and direct the global narrative of the good and the bad.

Our goal is to follow an interdisciplinary approach that bridges the gap between political science, media, and cultural studies as well as anthropology and sociology. This approach will be pursued by giving the meaning of the actual process of the translation and reception of images from and about politics and violence. Our main idea is to respect the three Cs of the matter: (1) the content provided, (2) the contest of the different actors and players involved, and (3) the context of how security, conflicts and displacements, social movements and revolution, aesthetics, art, and global media are linked, characterized, and analysed.

Visualizing, politics, and violence have become synonyms of the current "world media syndrome" that we all face and endure on a daily basis. Apart from the many disturbing implications, such a process of manufacturing consent has brought about the misuse of images that has further augmented the crisis and the overall conflict structure.

In the second volume of this book series, we have aimed to provide sociological and psychological analyses about the power legacies of political violence and suffering through the visualization of uncertain cultures. These studies have used the analyses of the image in order to track the undercurrents of cultural violence in the representational repertoire of modernity in the so-called "East" vs. "West" spheres. In certain cases, the scholars have drawn on postcolonial and "orientalist" theories by comparing the image and the aesthetic in conditions of historical trauma, from enslavement and colonization to ISIL violence and the media, from individual traumas of loss registered in allegory to newsreels and documentaries on the suicide bombing of terror groups.

Hadrian L. Kryśkiewicz's paper "Divi Filius Apollini Dilectus? The Motif of Octavian's Divine Conception as of the Apollonian Propaganda of Place in the Augustan Age (ca. 27 BC–AD 14)" addresses the most personal, drastic, and dramatic palette of visual imagery ever known. There has never been a basis of fully attainable arts and literature to encompass its horrors, though there have been frequent attempts to summon the nature of the conflict in the context of the idealized, inspiring victories of a certain ruler over his enemies.

In Mulatu Alemayehu Moges paper "Exploring the Coverage of Internal Conflict Issues in Ethiopia: Reminisced or Omitted," there is a serious attempt to unveil the various documents emphasizing the internal conflicts prevailing in Ethiopia, especially after the current government came to power in 1991. The paper analyses the coverage of these internal conflicts in the Ethiopian print media while assessing whether internal conflicts were recalled or ignored in newspapers published between 2005 and 2013.

In the paper "Framing Terrorism: ISIL's Video Messages as a Strategy of Fear and Recruitment" by Michael Johann and Michael Oswald, the focus is on particular framing strategies and, within the framing process, the interplay between textual and audio-visual elements. The content analysis finally indicates four major frames: Collective Action, Dissolution of Boundaries, Heroization/Glorification, and Overpowering.

Ritika Pathania, in "The Representation of War and Popular Media," explores the semiotic study of war by examining how war and violence are depicted, documented, and narrated through films, social media, and photography. The research interrogates the politics of representation of Indian forces vis-á-vis the enemy forces through semiotic study by highlighting how the ideas of patriotism and nationalism are incorporated into the spectacle of war as depicted in television reports and war films.

Maria Teresa Nicolás argues that the objective of increasing the practice of peace journalism in conflict coverage must be reflected in how Mexican and Spanish newspapers pay special attention to the various models of "peace journalism," or "constructive conflict coverage." These models suggest alternative ways of conflict reporting in order to contribute to processes of de-escalation, peacebuilding, and reconciliation instead of escalating, exaggerating, or neglecting conflicts. Nicolás, in Peace Journalism in Iberoamérica: Mexican and Spanish Newspaper Coverage of Conflict, hopes to contribute in the application and examination of the

framing theory by encouraging more studies and different hypotheses in order to help influence public opinion and policymaking to encourage the development of peace journalism.

Ralf, Christof and Ute Hilgers-Yilmaz, in their paper titled: "Visual Rhetoric of The Islamic State (IS): Persuasion in the Field of Terror," which aims to discuss the power of the image, by analyzing an iconological-iconographical approach to examine the pictorial world and design of the Islamic State (IS) that includes many symbolic messages into these motifs (crucifixions, destruction of cultural objects) through traditional iconoclastic methods.

Terror organizations deliberately utilize the power of the image. Through examples, the present analysis employs an iconological-iconographical approach to examine the pictorial world and design of the Islamic State (IS), revealing that the IS uses classic, sometimes commercial motifs. These primarily serve to manifest power through mechanisms of fright, superiority, and brutality. Each instance of staged choreography and planimetry functions like a classical battlefield victory image. On social media, other more recent visual worlds predominate, covering topics of freedom, healthcare, and family. In the Western commercial style, they depict "normal" social life within IS-controlled territories while downplaying the regime's violent acts.

"Visual and Multimodal Strategies in War Reporting: A Comparison of Der Spiegel's and CNN's Online Representations of Three Military Conflicts" by Ognyan Seizov offers a comparative visual and multimodal content analysis of the coverage of three concurrent wars around the globe presented in the online editions of Der Spiegel (Germany) and CNN (USA). The findings highlight the continued importance that visuals hold in the news reporting of war.

Fay Anderson, in "Celebrating the Anzac Spirit: The Visual Representation and Censorship of the Australian Soldier," investigates the visual representation of the Australian soldier and the continued suppression of Australian war photography since 1915. The researcher uses archival research and oral history methodology by questioning how Australian military censorship affected the press photographers in two ways: logistically and visually.

César Guimaraes and Katia Hallak Lombardi's "What Remains of War in Photography: *Fait*, *As terras do fim do mundo*, and *To Face*" examines the specific characteristics present in the works of three photographers, each of whom includes traces of war as their central theme: Sophie Ristelhueber's *Fait* (1992), Jo Ractliffe's *As terras do fim do mundo* (2010), and Paola De Pietri's *To Face* (2012). The paper addresses the process of the construction of war photography and then elaborates upon photographic works that broach the subject of war without, however, showing images of combat or action itself.

PEACE JOURNALISM IN IBEROAMERICA: MEXICAN AND SPANISH NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF CONFLICT

MARIA T. NICOLAS-GAVILAN

Abstract

Information is power, and insight gained through media coverage can impact on public discourse and change perceptions. International media always succeeds in drawing attention in times of crisis or conflict. Media is so pervasive that it has the power to set the international agenda on conflicts anywhere in the world. The media have the power to defuse tensions before they even reach a critical point and keep a critical eye on government, opposition, and society. By supplying credible information and reaching a large audience, the media help in managing conflicts and in promoting democratic principles (Kuusik 2010). In the aftermath of a conflict, reconciliation and societal development can also be encouraged (Westphal 2004). Galtung (1998) maintains that there are two ways of covering a conflict: through war journalism, which is oriented towards violence, and through peace journalism[1] which is oriented towards the peaceful transformation of the conflict. In this chapter 607 news pieces were analyzed from five Spanish-language daily papers including three from Mexico (*El Universal*, *El Reforma* and *La Jornada*) and two from Spain (*El Pais* and *ABC*). The conflicts examined were: the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the fight between the Colombian government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (in Spanish: Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia [FARC]), and the Afghanistan conflict. Out

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[1] Johan Galtung is considered the founder of this discipline. In 1959 he founded the Peace Research Institute, five years later the Journal of Peace Research (1964), and, in 2000, the Nordic Institute for Peace Research. During the sixties, he began to show interest in the role that media played in international conflict coverage. As a result he published the famous article "The Structure of Foreign News" in 1965.

of the five newspapers analyzed, four present a tendency towards war journalism. The results indicate considerable differences between the Mexican and Spanish cases, the latter being more politicized and focused on the other's national conflict (Castelló and Dhoest 2013).

Keywords: Peace journalism, war journalism, frame, Mexican newspaper, Spanish newspaper

Introduction

For more than five centuries, strong historical ties have contributed to the creation of diplomatic, commercial, and cultural relations of special relevance between Spain and Latin America. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, Latin America, to the Spaniards, was a place for seeking political asylum or economic improvement. Nevertheless, in the last decades Spain has become a host country for a growing number of Mexican citizens who left their country either to aspire to a higher standard of living or because of socio-political problems. Nowadays, migration movements may be considered one of the most important aspects that maintain the ties between these two lands (Igartua, Cheng, and Muniz 2005).

As Siraj (2008) showed "With the global character of mass media, citizens are becoming more informed and view a conflict from many angles. The literature on war and peace journalism suggests that the portrayal of conflicts by mass media is a major concern to combatants, the public, and media professionals. Media coverage shapes the course of events in war and peace. Conflict reporting aggravates with frequent and furious claims of bias from both sides (Galtung and Vincent 1992; Patel 2004; Lynch 2005). Policy makers, journalists, and social scientists all point to the important role of the press in covering conflicts (Patel 2004). Besides political, ideological and other reasons, war reporting is often sensationalized for the sake of boosting circulations and ratings. Lee et al. (2005) observe that war journalism is characterized by military triumphalist language, an action-oriented focus, and a superficial narrative with little context, background or historical perspective Peace journalism aims at focusing on the structural and cultural causes of violence, rather than a simple dichotomy or differentiation. It explains the violence, frames conflict as involving many parties, and pursues many goals. An explicit aim of peace journalism is to promote peace initiatives, from whatever quarter, and to allow the reader to distinguish between stated positions and real goals (Wolfsfeld 2004; Lynch 2005)".

The aim of the chapter is to measure how peace-building can be enhanced to uncover the causes behind a conflict and the true goals of all participants while making sure to humanize all victims of the conflict. Media and journalism can be of great assistance in conflict management and peace building. However, the power they have is also limited, as they will never be able to eliminate armed conflicts altogether

This research defines the mirror effect as a particular communicative situation in which two symbolic communities take greater interest in each other by finding models or counter models for their own social and political context. This effect increases the newsworthiness of particular topics in the coverage of the others' sociopolitical realities. The processes of news domestication influence the discourses and narratives generated by the other side (Castelló and Dhoest 2013).

Conceptual Ideals

War journalism has four main features: it is oriented to violence and war, highly influenced by propaganda, and focuses on the opinion of the higher spheres, and on zero-sum game, that is, one part wins all and the other part loses all (Galtung 2002). On the other hand, peace journalism is oriented to conflict transformation, to inform with veracity, to care for the opinion of the victims of the conflict, and to understand peace as a solution to conflict where all the involved parties receive some benefits (Kibet 2014).

Peace journalism asserts that a more appropriate standard for good journalism should be a contextualization of the controversy, fairness in reporting, and accuracy of coverage, as well as an uncompromised thoroughness of investigation that allows taking sides on an issue as long as the side taken is presented accurately and the other side is given a fair chance to respond. Hence, the improbable attempt at objectivity is replaced by a balanced and evenhanded account.

In this manner, another possible understanding of what true journalism may be is exposed. However, there are two major concerns: Firstly, peace journalism is incompatible with the true nature of journalism, and, secondly, it is redundant because it really means "healthy" or better journalism. However, one must admit that each of these claims rests on several, and more specific, contentions regarding this new perspective on the role of journalism (Peleg 2007).

The critical sociologist Schudson (1978) claims that "the belief in objectivity is a faith in 'facts', a distrust in 'values', and a commitment to their segregation." However, this idea does not embrace the prevailing ideology of newsgathering and reporting that seeks to provide testimonial accounts of events, and simple reporting of facts with multiple sources and balance of viewpoints. It is rather a kind of journalism that demands that the journalist follow an interpretative approach to highlight peace initiatives and diminish ethnic and religious differences. This type of journalism also avoids subsequent conflicts and focuses its attention on the structure of the societies in conflict. Furthermore, it promotes the resolution of the conflict, reconstitution, and reconciliation (Galtung 1998).

Peace journalism implies that: information gives a detailed and balanced account not only of confrontation and radicalized actors, but also of the causes explaining the conflict. Coverage should also attend to the historical and cultural roots of conflict, give voice to all of the actors, explain how common people suffer implicit violence, inform if there are any actors willing to negotiate and, above all, it should understand peace as a goal and search for possible solutions (Kibet 2014).

Therefore, journalists must present peace proposals from different actors and highlight the positive perspectives. Other practices include taking a preventive stance or proposing, for example, through editorials and columns, an urge for conciliation and to focus attention on shared points of view instead of revenge, to overlook differences and emphasize the invisible effects of violence such as the emotional harm and trauma inflicted on the social structure (Lynch 1999; 2002; Lynch and McGoldrick 2005; McGoldrick 2000; 2007) (Kibet 2014).

This chapter analyzes how the press in Mexico and in Spain reports on the peaceful transformation of conflict, respectively. Grounding the arguments in the theories of national identities and the domestication of the news, the concept of the mirror effect explains the logics of comparison of two different contexts. The combination of a content analysis of five major newspapers with a qualitative discourse approach shows that reporting on political conflicts such as the ones analyzed tends to use "the other's case" as a model to learn from or as a model that should or should not be followed (Castelló and Dhoest 2013).

A crucial term in the analysis of such international news is "domestication of news", as developed by Gurevitch, Levy, and Roeh (1997). These authors reflected primarily on the "domestication of the foreign" – the ap-

proach that explains information about foreign events, including political crises, and conflicts, in a way that is familiar to national audiences (Gurevitch et al. 1991). This is a rather obvious, though solid, starting point, as our interest is not to establish whether domestication operates through particular textual mechanisms, but how, using comparison as our main tool. A prevalent mechanism for domesticating international news is to draw attention to the topics and facts on the specific country's political agenda. Therefore, for example, information on an environmental crisis in a far-off country may be appropriate if "we" are suffering a similar situation nationally (Castelló and Dhoest 2013).

In this study Spain and Mexico use the mirror effect differently. This reflects both the different media models they follow and further regional differences within each country.

The Spanish and Mexican press belong to a Mediterranean or "polarized pluralist model" in which the historical context is one of late democratization. Political parties have a notable influence on media and public opinion, and the state and administration in general play a prominent role. The result of this model is a highly politicized press in which partisan communication strategies and a high level of clientelism lead to a journalistic practice which is a far cry from the liberal model (Castelló and Dhoest 2013), (Hallin and Mancini 2004, 70). However, important nuances are characterized even within different regional contexts with regard to the tone and professional culture of journalists and the nature of politicization.

In order to analyze the media coverage of conflict in Spain and in Mexico in this study the structuring of a theoretical framework anchored on two baselines central to mass communication research is needed. The first baseline uses discourse analysis from critical perspectives (van Dijk 1996), as well as content analysis as a methodological option (Greenberg, Mastro, and Brand 2002; Dixon and Linz 2000; Entman 1992) to enable stereotype analysis of conflict issues. The second baseline centers on news frames analysis based on framing theory (Entman 1993; Reese, Gandy, and Grant 2001; Semetko and Valkenburg 2000) and uses both qualitative and quantitative methodologies in order to value representation of social reality in media discourse (Igartua, Cheng, and Muniz 2005).

The peace journalism theory has developed especially over the last fifteen years.[2] Furthermore, its promoters have done sterling work in teaching and coaching on how to apply peace journalism.[3] (Lee et al. 2006; McGoldrick 2007; Nicolás 2008; 2009; 2012; 2013; Lynch 2011; 2014).

Both academics and professionals of peace journalism agree on non-objectivity as the touchstone of news reporting. They acknowledge, however, that every journalist has a certain background and personal experiences that will affect his/her writing. Peace journalism has provoked a serious debate on the role of journalists in society generally and in conflict situations in particular and how this role would affect the principle of objectivity in news reporting (Bassil, 2014). Therefore it is interesting and necessary to analyze whether or not peace journalism could be supported by the framing theory.

The Framing Theory

The theory of news framing finds strong roots in the principles of the theory of mediation. This theory states that "media" have the role of a mediator between man and society, between the outside world and the audience (Nicolas 2011, 2012). This is why it is important that the mediators between reality and individuals do not simply transmit messages, but consider that media messages are created when making news. As Tuchman (1978, 4) states, the news is: "a product of the informers that act within the institutional processes and accordingly to institutional practices." It is within this process of filtrating reality where the framing theory finds support.

Tuchman (1978) established that "the meaning of the events is given by the journalist through the news, because taken itself an event has no significance . . . it is the imposition of a frame of other ordered events that allows recognition of facts and the attribution of significance."

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[2] Wilhelm Kempf of Konstanz's University (Germany) began to edit an online magazine, *Conflict & Communication Online,* publishing articles regarding peace journalism.
[3] In 1993 Galtung founded the Transcend Peace and Development Network, a non-profit organization that makes and publishes peace studies, including peace journalism, in different parts of the world. In 1996 he created the TRANSCEND Peace University (TPU), a university that offers on-line courses.

Later authors will follow this reasoning, stating that when events are constructed through framing, discourses are structured and so meanings are developed (Gamson 1989; 1992; Gamson et al. 1992).

This chapter focuses on the media frame as elaborated by the journalist, in their mind and as contained in the text, in the news item written or transmitted by radio or TV. These dimensions will be briefly explained. Firstly, the media frame exists in the mind of the journalist as a way of thinking that molds their news coverage and guides their way of understanding and telling the story (Nicolas 2011). For some authors this process is intentional whereas others consider it a subconscious act. Secondly, the media frame is located within the text, in which the narrator delimits a reality in a specific manner by selecting and highlighting. For Entman (1993, 52), to frame implies "selection and highlighting, and use of the highlighted elements to construct an argument about problems and their causation, evaluation and/or solution."

According to Iyengar and Simon (1993, 369), news frames can be classified as predominantly "episodic" or "thematic". Episodic framing focuses on the immediate event with no elaboration given about underlying issues. Thematic framing, on the other hand, gives the big picture, providing expert analysis and information to contextualize the event for the benefit of the public. The frames are more inferential than explicit and they are composed of the following functions: firstly, the definition of the problem, which refers to the specification of what the causal agent is doing and the costs and benefits involved, generally measured by common cultural values; secondly, the diagnosis of the causes, which consists of identifying what happens behind the problem; thirdly, the moral judgement or evaluation that is made about the causal agent and its effects; and lastly, a suggestion or solution to deal with the problem and predict possible remedies (Nicolas 2011).

As Entman (1993) emphasizes, one single piece – article, interview, story – in the newspaper can include more than one of these four functions or none at all.

Lynch (2008) relies on Entman (1993) to affirm that peace journalism is a frame (one could say a thematic frame), since it analyses a conflict and includes: definition of a problem, diagnosis of causes, moral judgement and the suggestion for its resolution (Lynch 2008). For those well acquainted with peace journalism there is an evident parallel between this

frame and what Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) propose in their didactic work as the correct way to cover a conflict.

It can thus far be argued that the principles of thematic news framing are related to the main characteristics of peace journalism which include: a lack of total objectivity; the specification of a particular approach by the journalist; and Entman's (1993) framing attributes – the definition of a problem, the diagnosis of the causes, the moral judgement, and finally the suggestion of a solution (Nicolas 2011, 2012).

The research in this chapter analyzes relevant aspects of the coverage of conflicts in Spanish and Mexican newspapers. The three relevant international conflicts studied include: Israel vs Palestine, Afghanistan, and the conflict between the Colombian governement and the FARC. The study is based on the methods proposed by Galtung (1998) and McGoldrick and Lynch (2000).

The two most relevant research questions in this study relate to the "peace and war journalism frame", meaning which aspect proposed by the peace journalism model is more relevant in terms of frequency; and, the political views of the newspaper and the peace journalism option.

Research Questions

RQ1. Was the coverage of the conflicts more inclined towards war journalism or peace journalism?

RQ2. Which indicators (coding categories) are more frequent in the news coverage in terms of peace/war journalism in the analyzed conflicts? It is important to mention here that in prior investigations certain categories of peace journalism were consistently present in news coverage (Nicolás 2012; 2015). This is because they define what journalists consider "good journalism" in general terms; in any event, the presence or absence of some other categories which are closer to the peace focus should also be taken into account.

RQ3. What is the average appearance of the following categories: context, party/multiparty, victimizing language and objective, non-exaggerated language (good journalism)?

RQ4. Which categories are present in the news in terms of war journalism? Here it is important to specify that political implications have been stated about the possible correlation between the orientation of newspapers

and their style in covering conflicts. Regarding Spanish papers, some authors, such as García (1993) and del Arenal and Aldecoa (1984), believe that left-wing political parties, in their role towards international conflicts, are oriented more towards pacifism than to war and the usage of arms. This investigation will allow us to verify whether this same statement can be applied to newspapers.

RQ5. Regarding Spanish newspapers is there a correlation between left-wing or right-wing newspapers and the orientation they give towards covering the conflicts? On the other hand, in Mexico left-wing is considered somehow revolutionary while the right-wing is pro-state; the same question may be applied.

RQ6. Regarding Mexican newspapers is there a correlation between left-wing or right-wing newspapers and the orientation they give towards covering the conflict? Besides the relevance of knowing how these papers work in their own countries, it is interesting to make a comparison between two different nations on the same subject.

RQ7. Is there a correlation between the analysis results for each country when comparing left-wing and right-wing newspaper coverage?

Method and Preliminary Analysis

In this section we will present the results related to news framing analyses and differences in treatment of news conflict in Spain and in Mexico. The study will perform a content analysis of 607 newspaper stories from five Spanish-language daily newspapers, three from Mexico and two from Spain. This technique allows the processing of a great volume of information through the systematic application of certain criteria previously described which guarantees the veracity of the obtained results. Furthermore, the process permits the comparison and classification of the generated information.

The orientation of the newspapers will be considered to be either right- or left-wing according to the criterion for this classification as specified by Secanella (1985).

The conflicts analysed were chosen because they gain the largest amount of international conflict coverage in Mexico and they involve the participation of more than one nation.

During the research, a questionnaire of diverse categories and values was applied in two different stages. This method, which has been used in other research (Nicolás 2012; 2013), allows the classification of messages according to their meaning, references made, attributions given to certain actors, and the subjective vision to which the news is orientated. All in all, it is in keeping with the principles of the framing theory.

The analysis units are the individual stories in each newspaper. Categories include news stories, feature stories, opinion pieces, and interviews published in August, September, and October of 2009. The selection of news was made from the print version of the Mexican newspapers while news items for the Spanish media were sourced online.

The coders were applied to the questionnaire and the following stages and questions were revised for each news item.

Stage 1

- Analyzed newspaper
- Date of publication
- Headline of the news
- Source (agency, foreign correspondent, local writer)
- Length of the news item; short (10 lines); medium (between 11-25 lines); or long (more than 26 lines)

Stage 2

As described before, the coding categories for news frames based on Galtung (1998) and McGoldrick and Lynch (2000) (Lee and Maslog 2005) (Lee, Maslog and Kim 2006) involve eleven indicators that indicate the presence or absence of peace journalism. These indicators, used to understand which frame dominated in the text, comprised two themes: approach and language. The approach-based criteria included the following questions: (1) focuses on the here and now; (2) reports visible or invisible effects; (3) people- or elite-oriented; (4) presents people as active or passive; (5) gives voice to many parties; (6) dichotomizes between the good and the bad guys; (7) takes sides; (8) differences and agreements; (9) win-win oriented; (10) the language-based criteria focused on language that was victimizing; (11) emotional. Categories are described and coded in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Coding categories for frames

CATEGORY	WAR JOURNALISM	PEACE JOURNALISM	CODING VALUE
No context/Context	1. Focuses mainly on the here and now	1. Reports causes and consequences of the conflict	Either war or peace is considered to be present with a value of 1.
Visual effects/ Non-visual effects	2. Reports mainly on visible effects of war (casualties, dead and wounded, damage to property)	2. Reports also on invisible effects of war (emotional trauma, damage to society, and culture)	Either war or peace is considered to be present with a value of 1.
Elite orientation/People orientation	3. Elite-oriented (focuses on leaders and elites as actors and sources of information)	3. People-oriented (focuses on common people as actors and sources of information)	Either war or peace is considered to be present with a value of 1.
Passive/Active	4. Presents people as passive, merely suffering.	4. Presents people as active, able to change the situation.	Either war or peace is considered to be present with a value of 1.
One-Party/Multiparty	5. One-party orientation	5. Multiparty orientation (gives voice to many parties involved in conflict)	Either war or peace is considered to be present with a value of 1.
Label/Non-label	6. Dichotomizes between the good guys and bad guys, victims and villains	6. Avoids labeling of good guys and bad guys	Either war or peace is considered to be present with a value of 1.

Partisan/ Nonpartisan	7. Partisan (biased for one side in the conflict)	7. Nonpartisan (neutral, not taking sides)	Either war or peace is considered to be present with a value of 1.
Difference/Agree-ment	8. Focuses mainly on differences that led to the conflict	8. Reports the areas of agreement that might lead to a solution to the conflict	Either war or peace is considered to be present with a value of 1.
Win-lose/Win-win	9. Zero-sum orientation (one goal: to win)	9. Win-win orientation (many goals and issues, solution-oriented)	Either war or peace is considered to be present with a value of 1.
Victimize/ Non-victimizing	10. Uses victimizing language (e.g., destitute, devastated, defenseless, pathetic, tragic, demoralized) that tells only what has been done to people	11. Avoids victimizing language, reports what has been done and could be done by people, and how they are coping	Either war or peace is considered to be present with a value of 1.
Emotive/ Moderate	11. Uses emotive words, like genocide, assassination, massacre, systematic (as in systematic raping or forcing people from their homes)	12. Objective and moderate. Avoids emotive words. Reserves the strongest language only for the gravest situation. Does not exaggerate.	Either war or peace is considered to be present with a value of 1

Source: own table based on Galtung (1998) and McGoldrick and Lynch (2000)

Based on the scores, the coder classified the story as war journalism, peace journalism, or neutral. A score of one was recorded each time an indicator was found. When the total score for peace journalism indicators exceeded the total score for war journalism, the story was classified as a peace journalism story. When war journalism indicators exceeded peace journalism indicators, the story was classified as war journalism. When the scores were equal, the story was neutral (Lee, Maslog and Kim 2006).

This research, however, specifically studied which analysis indicators − listed numbers 1 to 11 - were most repeated in the representation of either peace or war journalism, thereby allowing the results to indicate which categories are correctly followed by newspapers and which ones are not.

The number of news items analyzed per conflict in each newspaper is seen in Table 6.2.

A questionnaire form generated by the Google Drive Platform (see Figure 6.3) allowed codifiers to register their findings considering each category as either a peace or war journalism approach.

Once all the 607 news items were analyzed, the results were determined by counting the number of items that presented a tendency towards peace or war journalism.

Different coders applied this code to ascertain if the indicator showed a peace or war journalism trend. In terms of intercoder reliability, a coding of 55 stories produced a Scott's pi value of between .77 and .92.

Peace Journalism in Iberoamerica

Table 6.2 Conflict news in newspapers

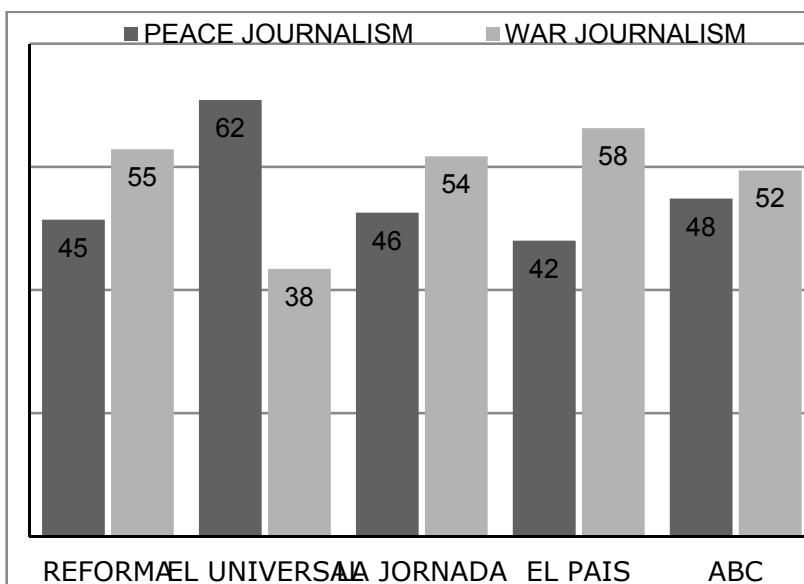| COUNTRY	NEWSPAPER	ISRAEL-PALESTINE	FARC	AFGHANISTAN	TOTAL
México	• **Refroma** **RIGHT WING**	17	50	57	124
México	• **El Universal** **RIGHT WING**	24	39	68	138
México	• **La Jornada** **LEFT WING**	28	46	58	125
Spain	• **El Pais** **LEFT WING**	37	27	93	157
Spain	• **ABC** **RIGHT WING**	8	8	47	63
	TOTAL	114	170	323	607

Source: own table

Findings

The first results show that in a relatively short period of time – sixty one days – there were 607 published news items regarding the studied conflicts – an average of almost ten items a day. The news lengths were as follows: 180 (30%) long; 252 (41%) average, and 175 (29%) short. The majority of the pieces were produced by international news agencies 390 (64%), 135 (21%) were produced by local news agencies, and 81 (13%) were written by foreign correspondents.

RQ1. Was the coverage of the conflicts more inclined towards war journalism or peace journalism?

It can be said that the research shows a clear trend towards war journalism. It was found that seven out of eleven indicators or categories are oriented towards the war journalism framing or approach while 4 indicators follow the approach of peace journalism. In total, it was found that 63.63% of indicators are oriented towards war journalism criteria and 36.36% are oriented towards peace journalism criteria.

In sum, it can be said that four of the five newspapers analyzed have a greater tendency towards war journalism variables as seen in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1 Peace and war journalism in Mexican and Spanish newspapers

Source: own figure

RQ2. Which indicators (coding categories) are more frequent in the news coverage in terms of peace/war journalism in the analyzed conflicts?

The peace journalism categories that were dominant (from greater participation to lower) are: non victimization, moderate and nonpartisan. The war journalism categories that were dominant (from greater participation to lower) are: label, elite-oriented, difference, context, visible effects, passive, and win-lose.

RQ3. What is the average participation of the following categories: context, party/multiparty, victimizing language and objective, non-exaggerated language (good journalism)?

With regard to peace journalism, the figures are the following: the two categories that focus on language have a percentage of 86 and 88% respectively which means that most of the content of the news is happening according to the peace journalism proposal which avoids an emotive and victimizing language while searching for a more objective and moderate writing.

Another category related to peace journalism refers to the possibility of taking sides: 69% of the news is not partisan. It was established that the media does not follow a trend or party when it does not qualify it morally. Nor does it judge, but rather present's facts within a context.

The last category that has a frame according to peace journalism, by a tight margin of difference, gives voice to all actors, or at least to some of them. The percentages reflect that 54% give voice to all actors, while 46% give voice to only one actor.

RQ4. Which categories are present in the news in terms of war journalism?

Regarding the detailed study of each indicator, it was found that seven categories have a frame that reports in terms of war journalism of which three are considered to be more relevant.

The first category here is the labeling of the actors as good guys and bad guys, or differentiating conflict actors as victims and victimizers. The results show that 73% of the news analyzed showed this dichotomy classification. Secondly, there is the information about the conflict solution and steps that should be taken to solve it; journalists can either write about the differences between the parties or give space to the points on which they could agree. Again 72% of the news does not give this space while only 28% do. The third more relevant category centers around whether a piece is oriented towards people or the elites. Here 71% of the news was focused on politicians and only 29% focused on ordinary people.

Other categories show a lower difference, such as the indicators for context and effects. In the first case, the percentage of war journalism pieces is 61% against 39% of peace journalism pieces. In the second case the result was 59% war journalism and 41% peace journalism. Finally, two categories present a tighter difference margin; news that presents people as passive reaches the 56% mark while 44% presents people as active. With regard to the conflict solution, 56% have a win-lose focus, against a 45% with a win-win focus.

RQ5. Regarding Spanish newspapers, is there a correlation between left-wing or right-wing newspapers and the orientation they give towards covering the conflicts?

The results show no correlation between the mentioned variables.

RQ6. Regarding Mexican newspapers is there a correlation between left-wing or right-wing newspapers and the orientation they give towards covering the conflict?

The results show no correlation between the mentioned variables.

RQ7. Is there a correlation between the analysis results for each country when comparing left-wing and right-wing newspapers coverage?

One of the most surprising results of this study is that we cannot find a trend that supports the idea that left-wing or right-wing newspapers are more inclined to peace or war journalism. From all five newspapers analyzed, one right-center (*El Universal*) is the only one that is inclined towards peace journalism, and not in a preponderant manner as only 62% of their pieces report this way (see Figure 6.1).

On the other hand, the other newspapers, two right-wing (*Reforma* and *ABC*) and two left-wing (*La Jornada* and *El País*) have a war journalism focus, although in this case they do not show a marked tendency since all are found within the margin of 54-58%, as Figure 6.1 shows.

Discussion

The obtained results show a tendency towards war journalism over peace journalism. This result is not that surprising because the practice of covering conflicts always tends towards war journalism as Galtung (1965; 1998) declared some decades ago.

The implementation of peace journalism started only 15 years ago and hope is found in the news that includes variables supporting peace journalism.

During this study, it was found that the four categories recognized as aiming towards peace are the same variables known to be part of "good journalism" itself (Galtung 2002). These are: non-victimization, moderation, nonpartisan, partisan, and multiparty orientation. The first two refer to the correct writing of the piece, which is in line with numerous style codes of the most important agencies of the world. With regard to multiparty orientation (giving voice to all actors), it is well known that every journalist should consult all available sources. The fact that newspapers remain neutral (nonpartisan) stands out because this same result has been obtained in previous investigations (Nicolás 2012; 2015). This neutrality may be explained by the objectivity of writers living

outside the countries in conflict. Nevertheless the public (especially in Spain) is genuinely interested in the Israeli Palestine conflict.

Regarding the variables that reflect war journalism more closely, results clearly show the following: label, elite-oriented, difference, context, visible effects, passive, and win-lose.

It was not surprising that categories such as elite-oriented, difference, and win-lose were established in this manner. These three are part of the four main features described by Galtung (2002) as the basis of war journalism. The categories of difference (72%), and elite-oriented (71%) stand out with their higher results amongst the classifications.

The variable that obtained the most points of all was label (73%) because this is the basis of talking about "good" and "bad" guys, and victims and villains in conflict. This is quite interesting if we compare it with the fact that the variable about being partisan is still more oriented towards peace which means that even though the labeling is happening, newspapers are not taking sides but justifying the facts. The answer to the question about how these two variables are different is simple: label refers more to the adjectives used to describe actors while the partisan category refers to the possibility of actually taking sides.

Regarding the research question about the possible correlation between left-wing and right-wing newspapers with one of the kinds of journalism, it was surprising to find that no clear trend was found. From the analyzed media, only one right-center paper from Mexico (*El Universal*) tends towards peace journalism with a percentage of 62 which is not absolutely preponderant.

The present research congratulates this Mexican newspaper for its practice of peace journalism. *El Universal* was committed to giving a voice to the reformers of the 1916 constitution in Mexico besides supporting the process of political, social, and economic reconstruction of the country; these objectives are clearly in line with what Galtung (1998; 2002) proposes as peace journalism ideals.

With regard to the other Mexican newspapers it should be taken into consideration that non-involvement in the conflicts allows the information to flow without an orientation towards right or left wings in politics. It is not really surprising that Mexico is not involved in the Palestine and Iraq conflicts, but their non-involvement with FARC in Colombia is surprising

because it is a closer country and they share the problem regarding drug cartels.

In a prior investigation the paper *La Jornada*, was already categorized as practicing war journalism: "*La Jornada* is characterized by the failure to comply with all indicators that a piece should have to be 100% objective" (Nicolás 2012). While the other newspaper *Reforma*, a news outlet thought to be of a higher standard, tends more towards war journalism, not by much, but this still presents an unexpected result.

It can be said that the Spanish right-wing newspaper *ABC* is the paper with the least difference between peace and war journalism results. This means that their news is almost 50/50% oriented towards each type of journalism with just a 2% difference (war journalism 52% and peace journalism 48%).

On the other hand the left-wing newspaper *El Pais* presents the greater difference with values of 58% (war journalism) against 42% (peace journalism). This means that the suggestion by authors such as García (1993) and del Arenal and Aldecoa (1984) of the possible correlation between parties and journalism is not reflected in the present results.

In summary, there is no correlation between political wings and types of journalism. The study has detected a tendency towards the peace journalism model by the center right-wing newspapers, but further investigations have yet to be made to reach a conclusive answer. Nevertheless results also report that Mexican papers depend much more on agencies than Spanish newspapers which tend to have correspondents.

Conclusions

The overall coverage in both Spanish newspapers tended more towards war journalism than peace journalism. This result is in line with previous studies on war and peace journalism which show, according to Wolfsfeld (2004, 156), that the "default mode of operation for the press is to cover tension, conflict, and violence." Shinar (2004, 85) found that the media prefer to use war frames even while covering peace negotiations. Fawcett (2002, 221) shows that the Irish media find conflict or episodic frames more attractive than conciliation frames.

The present investigation uses a similar research protocol to that in the article "Structure of Foreign News" (Galtung 1965) to analyze the