



How close should we get?

Media and conflict



Made for minds.

COVER PHOTO

© Philippe Brault / Agence VU / laif

A journalist stands in front of road blocks near the city of Zolote, Luhansk region, Eastern Ukraine.

How close should we get?

Media and conflict

Antje Bauer, Editor

Supported by the



Imprint

PUBLISHER
Deutsche Welle
53110 Bonn
Germany

PUBLISHED
March 2021

RESPONSIBLE
Carsten von Nahmen

COLLABORATION
Carolina Machhaus
Loveday Wright
Elena Zondler

EDITOR
Antje Bauer

ADVISORY BOARD
Mona Naggar
Nusrat Sheikh
Cletus Gregor Barié
Sandra van Edig

CO-EDITORS
Deanne Corbett
Alexander Matschke

LAYOUT
Jorge Loureiro



Contents

| | | | |
|--|-----------|---|-----------|
| Editorial | 7 | The power of the past | 62 |
| | | Late hugs from the neighbors | 64 |
| Introduction | 8 | Reweaving memories | 66 |
| The myth of the lone wolf | 10 | 50 years of violence | 67 |
| | | Tool 3: Needs and fears mapping | 68 |
| Reporting on conflict in the Global South | 12 | Coming to terms with the past | 70 |
| Big gombo and Facebook | 14 | Countering the dominant narrative | 72 |
| | | | |
| Fighting for resources | 16 | What to do against hate? | 74 |
| A field of maize, six grazing goats | 18 | Looking away doesn't help | 76 |
| The beauty of collaboration | 20 | "Come to me, you HACK, and I'll show you what a REAL GERMAN is!!!" | 78 |
| Uganda's liberal refugee policy | 21 | | |
| | | | |
| The threat of the other | 22 | When journalists suffer | 80 |
| Between envy and fear | 24 | "I thought I had seen everything" | 82 |
| On recipes and roaming elephants | 26 | Talking about a taboo | 84 |
| Rohingya in Myanmar and Bangladesh | 27 | One of the most dangerous places in the world | 85 |
| Take a closer look! Conflict analysis tools | 28 | When your life feels upside down | 86 |
| Tool 1: The conflict tree | 30 | Interviewing a traumatized person | 89 |
| | | | |
| White and male? | 32 | Should journalists be impartial? | 90 |
| More diversity in newsrooms! | 34 | Two wrongs don't make a right | 92 |
| Between faith and fashion | 36 | A bias towards humanity | 93 |
| Countering discrimination | 37 | | |
| | | | |
| The power of the net | 38 | References | 94 |
| Right or left, with nothing in between | 40 | | |
| Disinformation: Containing the viral spread | 42 | Authors | 96 |
| Tool 2: Conflict mapping | 44 | | |
| Pranks, mocking, and abuse | 46 | | |
| "I would do it all over again" | 48 | | |
| No longer a blind spot | 49 | | |
| | | | |
| Capturing conflict | 50 | | |
| What do I want to achieve with my photographs? | 52 | | |
| What is important when I photograph a conflict? | 54 | | |
| What not to show | 55 | | |
| | | | |
| Static society, shifting identities | 56 | | |
| The misfortune of having a divine body | 58 | | |
| Talking taboos on Sunday mornings | 60 | | |
| "People are slowly accepting the changes" | 61 | | |

Editorial

Conflicts impact us—and we impact them

by **Peter Limbourg**, DW Director General

For years, Gertrudis Nieto grieved in secret for her son, who was killed during a clash with Colombian soldiers. That's because her son had recently joined a paramilitary group. Nieto's neighbors could only see her as the mother of a criminal, and denied her the right to mourn publicly. It was only when a local journalist interviewed Nieto as part of a documentary film about the community's recent history that other people in her village were able to see things from her perspective, and open their hearts. Years after the conflict ended, so did the hostility among neighbors.

Dealing with conflicts is part of the everyday life of journalists the world over. Too often, the media stokes conflict with one-sided or sloppy reporting. Sometimes, it's because they don't see the conflict or don't wish to see it. Other times, the media take sides in a conflict or think they can attract more attention by sensationalizing or simplifying what's happening. On the other hand, the media can also help create understanding, empathy or willingness to compromise—like the journalists featured in this publication. And yet their view of a conflict, and the way they report on it, is always personal, shaped by their own cultural identity.

DW Akademie, Deutsche Welle's center for media development, supports its media partners worldwide in reporting in a more conflict-sensitive manner, countering hate speech, and resisting appropriation—all while navigating an increasingly difficult environment for press freedom. DW Akademie's projects and activities, including this publication, are generously funded by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development.

In dealing with various practical aspects of reporting, Deutsche Welle gives intense consideration to several questions: How are we reporting, and from which perspective? Do we perceive conflicts appropriately? How can international media companies such as DW better reflect global diversity?

The idea for this publication arose from DW and DW Akademie's global experience in the practice of journalism. In this publication, media professionals from all over the world show how, regardless of their working environment, they aim to present conflicts so as to encourage reflection rather than feed the frenzy. Their focus is on analysis, not simply regurgitating outmoded stereotypes.

With this publication we hope to encourage others to follow these examples, adapt them and apply them so that conflicts are no longer merely amplified by the media, but perceived as an opportunity for change.

We, ambivalent partakers

by Antje Bauer

“That doesn’t work for us” is the objection DW Akademie trainers often hear when working with journalists in the Global South to implement best-practice rules for conflict-sensitive reporting. One cannot neutrally present the concerns of the other side, they say. And certainly not the suffering on the other side. Some topics are best left alone.

There are weighty reasons for these objections. In armed conflicts, journalists risk their lives if they show understanding for the opposing side through their reporting. Media professionals are often persecuted when they report on social, economic or political conflicts, when they criticize the powerful or dare to question conventions. Journalists who work under precarious conditions are often subjected to pressure, e.g. in how funding is bestowed or withdrawn, to report in a specific way. So how can conflict-sensitive reporting in the Global South be achieved, despite all the obstacles?

The media in the Global North do not say, “That doesn’t work for us” when it comes to conflict-sensitive reporting, but rather, “We don’t need that. We are already doing everything right.” Really? The debates on discrimination that have sparked both the “Black Lives Matter” and “MeToo” movements highlight the fact that most editorial offices in the Global North are very homogeneous. The majority of editors are still male, white and share a Christian worldview. And this is usually reflected in the reporting. How, for example, is Islam portrayed when the journalists all have a non-Muslim background? Despite a

commitment to professionalism and balanced reporting, it remains an outside view. And what does this homogeneity mean for the values and norms disseminated by international media such as the BBC, CNN or DW?

The question of what a lack of diversity means for reporting, especially for a medium with an international audience, is also being debated by DW’s journalists. DW Akademie, DW’s center for international media development, has carried out training courses on conflict-sensitive reporting in many countries in recent years and has found that while this topic is very important, there is usually a lack of ideas on how to report conflict sensitively under difficult circumstances. All too often, the media are part of the conflicts and not part of their resolution. Consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or not, they exacerbate conflicts.

These experiences and debates are what have given rise to this publication. It is not intended to be just another textbook for conflict-sensitive reporting—there are already quite a few of them, and the suggestions and advice given there are useful. Unfortunately, however, they are often not easy to implement, so included here are some positive examples from around the globe where media companies or individual media activists have found ways to address conflicts without inciting hatred, and to initiate debate without polarizing. The objection “That doesn’t work for us” in the Global South has been countered by media and media makers around the world with examples of how things can work after all, in the hope that they will encourage and inspire new solutions in conflict reporting. At the same time, there is also the matter of sharpening the eye for reporting in the Global North, with all its explicit or implicit bias. There are good arguments against the objection that “We are already doing everything right.” Complementing the reports from around the world are some small tools that invite us to question conflicts and to look at them more analytically.

Relatively little space is given to violent conflict, as a lot of attention is already being paid to war and crisis reporting. We wanted to emphasize that armed conflicts do not arise out of nothing, but usually develop slowly and build up—often invisibly for the media—only becoming violent when they have been ignored by politics and the media for too long. For this reason, the publication focuses primarily on conflicts that are not, not yet, or no longer violent.

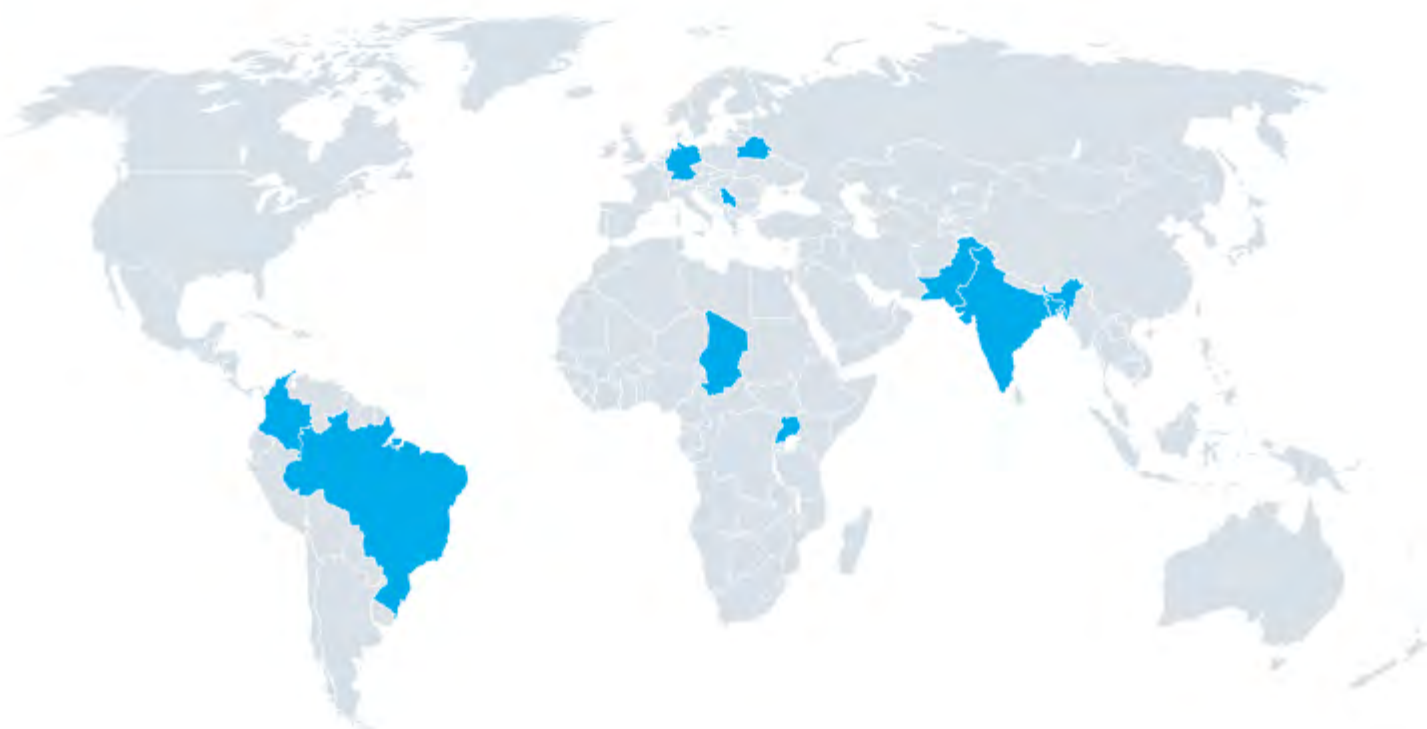
The public generally considers journalists to be unshakeable—but they are not invulnerable. In some regions of the world, they constantly bear witness to the suffering of their fellow human beings. Local journalists in particular are directly affected by the conflicts in their environment. But the realization that journalists are also in need of protection is only slowly penetrating the editorial offices and the consciousness of individual journalists. How can media makers react when they are exposed to hostility,

including online? And what should they do when they cannot let go of the terrible events they have witnessed as crisis reporters? How can journalists who suffer because of those images and experiences best be supported? For us, this too belongs in a publication that deals with media and conflict.

Peace journalism, constructive journalism, solutions-oriented journalism, conflict-sensitive journalism—behind the different approaches there is one question: What is the role of journalists?

We examine this question from different angles.

This publication is intended for media makers of all kinds: professional journalists, citizen journalists, bloggers, YouTubers, lecturers and students of journalism—in short, for anyone who works with media. It is not designed to be compulsory reading. Instead, we hope you will find it pleasurable or at times even inspiring, whether you read it from cover to cover or just dip into a story or two.



The myth of the lone wolf

Why war reporting is a profession like any other

by Bettina Gaus

The image of the war reporter as a lone wolf—male, of course, and good looking—travelling solo around the world in search of the truth, has always been a cliché, far from reality. The so-called “lone” wolves (not always handsome, and often female) in war zones have been “embedded” in organizations long before the term became part of the general political discourse.

Nowadays, the embedding of reporters is usually understood to be an attachment to a military force, which is also misleading. As if aid organizations that facilitate travel and host reporters are impartial and don't pursue their own agenda. Just like any military force that supports journalists, aid groups also want to see their projects in a friendly light, being featured prominently in the media.

There's nothing wrong with that, as long as journalists disclose the circumstances in which they work so that the public knows what to expect. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. Far too often, reporters still pretend to be independent when in fact they are not.

It is very difficult to travel through a war zone alone. But it becomes easier the better one knows a country. A journalist who has been reporting on a place for some time may have enough contacts to work independently in at least some parts of a war zone. A colleague who has just flown in “for the day,” maybe even accompanying a foreign politician, does not know enough and therefore has no opportunity to do so. This is one of the reasons why it is unfortunate and just plain wrong that many media outlets

have cut back on their network of foreign correspondents in order to save costs.

The consequences are dire. There have always been blind spots on the world map, and they are getting bigger every year. Certain countries are never the center of attention regardless of how many people die or are forced to flee their homes. That is largely because there are very few foreign correspondents around to keep the world updated. What does the general public know about the current situation in the Central African Republic, for instance? Or even about Yemen, which the UN regards as the worst humanitarian crisis in the world? Yes, exactly. Not much.

This is not the only problem with war reporting. What applies to any other field of expertise is also true for this profession: The less you know, the worse you act. At the height of the famine in Somalia in the early 1990s, many journalists unfamiliar with such situations handed out sweets to people from their planes. Nice gesture, but misplaced.

Aid workers were appalled. It was hard enough to ensure that the weakest people got the assistance they needed and were not overrun by those who still had some strength left. The message those journalists sent was clear: yes, it does make sense to beg for food and push your way through. The reporters' humane but misplaced gesture made the work of aid organizations infinitely more difficult.

War reporting is a profession like any other. It requires experience. But even if you know exactly what you are doing and





© Judah Passow

go by the book, one problem remains: reporting on a conflict is, by nature, prone to sensationalism. Nobody is interested in a story which can be summarized by the headline “Nothing happened today.” This leads to a distorted picture, particularly when interest in a region or even a whole continent is generally low, as is often the case when a place has little economic or political power.

Sub-Saharan Africa is a good example. This part of the world is generally perceived as war torn and crisis stricken. According to UN statistics, however, this does not apply to roughly 95 per cent of the population. How do you bring facts and perceptions together?

This is difficult, if not impossible. It is condescending and an insult to the victims not to report, for example, on the genocide in Rwanda—or to report less and publish a nice feature about cultural festivities in Tanzania instead. It conveys the message that the victims are not important enough to be at the center of attention!

This dilemma does not only apply to Africa. And it is a dilemma that even the most responsible reporter cannot solve singlehandedly. So, what can war reporters do, wherever they are in the world? They can stress the fact that they are only reporting on a specific area or story—not a whole region or a continent. True, that’s not much. But it would at least be the beginning of a more truthful way to report on conflicts.

Old city of Hebron, Westbank, 1989. Israeli soldiers used to separate the Palestinian locals and the Israeli settlers.





© picture alliance / AP Photo | Jerome Delay



Reporting on conflict in the Global South

Example: Chad

by Antje Bauer

The difficulties journalists in the Global North have in reporting on conflicts in a balanced and responsible manner are luxury problems compared to those of their colleagues in the Global South. While helicopter journalists from the Global North sometimes lack background knowledge, media professionals in the Global South are often unable to report, even if they have the knowledge. They are threatened by the elites and armed organizations, they are subject to corruption and have to show consideration in all directions, and often they cannot rely on facts because there is a lack of money for research and reliable data. Journalists are often arrested, convicted, and sometimes end up paying for their work with their lives.

Éric Topona has experienced such conditions first-hand. The Chadian studied law and then worked in the 2000s as a journalist for the Chadian state broadcaster and in private media. He also wrote articles for the French radio station RFI, for BBC Africa and for Deutsche Welle. In 2011, he became chairman of the Union of Journalists of Chad, the largest association of journalists in the country. He did not report on political issues, but he was critical of the persecution of Chadian journalists and the local media landscape. The fact that his father played a prominent role in an opposition party probably contributed further to his becoming a target of the government. In May 2013, he was arrested and charged with conspiracy and attacking the constitutional order—charges that carry a life sentence. Due to massive pressure from organizations like Reporters Without Borders, the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) and especially from the international media houses he had worked for—including DW—he was released after three months. Soon after, he left his home country in a rather adventurous way, and has been living in Bonn ever since, where he works as an editor for DW and continues to deal journalistically with Chad, his home country.

Witnesses unwanted: After an attack by Boko Haram militants, a Chadian soldier and a woman walk through a village at the shores of Lake Chad.

Big gombo and Facebook

Working as a journalist in Chad

Interview with **Éric Topona Mocnga**, by **Antje Bauer**

Éric, you come from Chad, a country which, according to Reporters without Borders in 2020, had a ranking of 123 out of 180 concerning press freedom. How is that reflected in the concrete working conditions of journalists there?

First of all, censorship. Journalists who work for public media cannot quote people who are critical of the government.

Is that official or unofficial?

It has become official. A short time ago, the director of state TV broadcast a press conference of the opposition parties which the Ministry for Communication did not like, and they dismissed him. There is also self-censorship. The journalists of the public media do not do their job well in order to please their bosses and have better jobs later. The private media are more independent. They cover both the critical voices and the other side.

Besides censorship, what are the main challenges for journalists who want to do their job professionally?

Many journalists in the public as well as in the private sector confuse journalism with political activism. When a journalist in the public media is a member of the ruling party, you will feel this in his way of reporting. He does promotion for them. On the other side, when a private radio station is for example financed by NGOs for human rights, some journalists confuse their work with the human rights associations, and you will notice this as well in the way they report.

Especially in the Global South, people often establish media in pursuit of their own personal interest. Is this true for Chad as well?

Lately, a lot of so-called independent media have popped up which pretend to be independent radio stations or newspapers but in fact they're out to settle a score. So, if two members of the same party have a problem or rivalry with each other, they use these media in order to smear the other in front of the public. When you own a newspaper,



© Sebastian Wellis/OSTKREUZ

Mobile phones for radio reception:
A charging stall in Chad.

you are listened to more because you can tell your journalists, for example, to criticize President Déby or a certain minister, and immediately someone will come and negotiate with you to change your editorial line. There are people who became ministers thanks to their newspapers.

And what does this mean for the working conditions of journalists?

There is a phenomenon that is valid in most African countries, it is called *gombo*. *Gombo* is originally a sticky sauce. No matter where you are in Africa, a journalist doesn't earn much. The minimum wage in Chad, for example, is about 65,000 CFA, or 100 to 110 euros. If a journalist earns, say, 150 euros and has a wife or two—we marry a lot in our country—he cannot live on his salary. When a journalist is going to do a report, you have to give him money, otherwise he won't do his job well. There is a saying in our country: Little *gombo*, little paper. Big *gombo*, big paper. *Gombo* is corruption. Journalists from both public and private media share this common sin of taking money when they report, and this is not only happening in Chad.

Which one of Chad's multiple conflicts is the most complicated to cover?

Politically, journalists are under tremendous pressure. And then there is the question of how to cover the abuses of the security forces. An example: there is a law that penalizes the publication of information critical of the government's actions in the fight against Boko Haram. As soon as a journalist tries to talk about blunders in this context, they immediately point to the law and say: beware,

during this struggle no journalist should undermine the government's efforts to put an end to the terrorists.

There is a very high illiteracy rate in Chad, especially among women—how do people get information?

Mainly through the radio, because of the local languages. Even within Chadian radio, there are about 10 languages—French, Chadian Arabic, literary Arabic, community languages. Private radio stations may not have the same means as the public media, but there are still three major local languages that allow everyone to follow.

Do people believe what they hear on the radio?

Radio is a magical medium. Whatever is said on the radio, people will believe it.

What role does social media play?

Social networks have become indispensable. It's a small elite that dominates Facebook, it's not representative of the whole population, but it's an influential part. And news that can't be broadcasted on mainstream radio is sent by some people, even from the government, to activists or journalists abroad, and we publish it without fear and that forces the government to back down sometimes. So even if social networks are not used by the entire population, they have become an important means of pressure in Chad.

What means of checking information are used in Chad?

Many listen to international radio stations. In Chad, as in many other countries, the French radio station RFI is one



Éric Topona Mocnga

of the most listened to media because it broadcasts 24 hours a day. Then the DW, the BBC, Voice of America...

But what about local news?

Media organizations all have local correspondents who relay the news. When something happens somewhere, local radio stations send their correspondent right away. And there are many human rights associations and they take the news from there. Recently, a sub-prefect killed a cow that accidentally came into the courtyard of his residence. He slaughtered it and the population revolted. Someone who was in that area and had access to the internet sent me the photo and the information. I published it on Facebook and there was an immediate outcry. Using the new technology and cheap Chinese phones, people are able to call, so even if a village is remote, the news is immediately relayed.



Busy exchange between communities:
Ugandan sellers with refugees from South Sudan.



© Anne Ackermann/Agentur FOCUS

Fighting for resources

Example: Uganda

by Antje Bauer

Whether one finds this comforting or depressing—people, individually or in groups, have been arguing since time immemorial. Even the reasons for conflict have not changed much over the years. Often, two or more parties want something, but everyone thinks that only one can have it and the other must go away empty-handed. It can be about land—the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is one example—or about natural resources—just think of the conflicts over the use of the Brazilian rainforest. People can fight over water, over jobs or over access to education and health care. Frequently, apparent conflicts arise that obscure the actual problem. A conflict that appears to be about xenophobia, religion or ethnicity can, in reality, be rooted in the fear over losing one's job.

Media outlets often uncritically adopt a conflict party's view of things and give their users the impression that only one party can win. In this way they exacerbate the conflict. Conflict researchers recommend that in such situations, people should look for win-win solutions that bring improvements to all parties. Such solutions are not obvious, however. They're easier to find if the media report not just on the current conflict, but also on the underlying causes of the conflict and possible solutions. Such solution-oriented reporting often fails because the media makers themselves have too little information and no contacts with the opposing side.

Uganda has one of the most generous refugee policies in the world. The numerous refugees—primarily from South Sudan—are allowed to work and move freely and are allocated a piece of land for their use. But inevitably, conflicts with the local population emerge, as our author Ochan Hannington, a journalist from South Sudan living in Northern Uganda, writes. On the one hand, they're about tangible things such as farmland or firewood. But they're also about mutual misunderstanding due to different languages and a lack of communication, which until recently also affected the local media. In the Cross Border Network, local radio stations from Northern Uganda and Southern Sudan have joined forces and have since been exchanging information and working together. The network's Ugandan coordinator, Jane Angom, describes what has changed as a result.

A field of maize, six grazing goats

Difficult coexistence between refugees and host communities in Uganda

by Ochan Hannington

Fiona Knight, 23, was on her way home one evening last January when suddenly, she became very scared. “My neighbors and I had gone to collect firewood,” she says. “Without warning, some young people from neighboring communities came out of the bush, armed with bows and arrows. They threatened us, and we ran away. But they chased after us together with their dogs. We lost our slippers. And we came back with nothing.”

It was not the first time Knight had been threatened since she and her family of three sought safety in the Rhino refugee settlement in Northern Uganda, after fleeing violent conflict in South Sudan. Over the past few years, hundreds of thousands of South Sudanese refugees have arrived in the country, building huts on government-allocated land. Formerly remote communities soon found themselves next to a refugee settlement that could assume the size of a city within a matter of weeks. Initially, the refugees were well received. But then conflicts between them and the local population arose—mainly over the increasing lack of resources.

Firewood, which is essential for cooking, is one example. Bushland where both refugees and members of nearby communities gather firewood is normally a resource that’s open to all. But in the areas with a high concentration of refugees, vegetation disappeared within the first year. That means refugees like Fiona Knight have to walk further from their settlement to access bushland that is owned by locals.

Some Ugandan villagers would like to sell the firewood, but the refugees can’t



Livestock may cause conflict.

afford to buy it. The solution? “You either sell some of your food rations so you can buy firewood, or you keep it all to sustain you until the next food distribution, and sneak into the bushes in order to find firewood yourself,” says Knight. Meanwhile, attacks on refugees have become more frequent. When young people at a settlement hear that someone from their camp has been attacked by locals, they often go out seeking revenge.

Roaming animals are another reason for quarrels. Some refugees fled along with their goats and cattle. But getting grassland for them to graze is next to impossible, so they release their animals to find food on their own. In Bidibidi, Uganda’s largest refugee settlement, this is the main cause of conflict between refugees and their hosts.

Likicho Ramula lives in a village near Bidibidi. She is standing in her garden of soybeans, uprooting weed. “Last year, I had planted half an acre of maize and groundnuts,” she says. “In April, a number of goats entered the garden and destroyed all my crops.” The 25-year-old mother of three missed out an entire rain and planting season and had to wait months until the second and last planting season came. For the rest of the year, food was scarce. Ramula reported the matter to local authorities, hoping to get some kind of compensation. But all she received was a “sorry” from the animals’ owner. “The authorities only gave the owner of the goats a warning, and they asked me to forgive the man,” she says.

Despite the fact that the refugee settlements are generally located near established villages, even sharing schools, health centers or water points, communication between the two communities is far from easy. And that’s not just because most Ugandans are crop farmers while most South Sudanese raise livestock. They also belong to different ethnic groups, speak different languages and have different cultural backgrounds. And they get their information from different media sources. Community radio stations on both sides of the border between South Sudan and Uganda have often exacerbated the conflicts by broadcasting unverified information. Nearly all broadcast media serving the border populations are small and under-equipped. The media bosses, who are usually businessmen, tend to employ mainly secondary school drop-outs, with no prior skills in journalism. Additionally, the stations lack the capacity to provide timely, fact-checked and balanced information.

In October 2019, five people died during a fight that erupted after some Ugandan radio stations broadcast rumors that refugees had killed a local man who’d been found dead by a riverside. The rumors were never proven. Not long before that incident, the sudden and unexplained death of a local girl led to fierce fighting between refugees and locals in Adjumani district, resulting in a dozen injuries. The fight was initiated by two young men—one refugee, one local—who had been drinking together at a community bar. When they started quarreling, they were quickly joined by their countrymen. “The host community suspected refugees of having murdered the deceased,” recalls Josephine Angucia, spokesperson for the local police. In this case as well, the perpetrators were never found.

In order to overcome the mutual mistrust, “dialogue committees” have recently been put in place. These committees comprise an equal number of people from both communities as well as a few “neutral” people from NGOs that operate within the refugee settlements. All members of the dialogue committees are elected, and the committees act as village courts for minor offenses. Geriga Charles is a member of a dialogue committee and represents the refugees of the Bidibidi settlement. “The committees pass bylaws that govern both refugee and host neighborhoods,” Charles explains. “They catch stray animals, regardless of whether they belong to a refugee or host community. They apprehend the owners and even penalize them.”

On the media side, in 2017, the Cross Border Network (see interview on page 20) was put in place to increase communication and check rumors. “I still recall how anxiety increased throughout the refugee settlements, when we heard on the radio that Salva Kiir had died,” says Knight, referring to the president of South Sudan. “The broadcasting of such false news was frequent when I first came to Northern Uganda. But we have not had such a situation since the start of this year.”



© imago images/Stefan Trappe

The beauty of collaboration

The Cross Border Network in Northern Uganda and South Sudan

Interview with **Jane Okwera Angom**, by **Antje Bauer**

What is the Cross Border Network?

The Cross Border Network was formed in 2017 in Uganda, during a meeting of journalists from Uganda and South Sudan which was supported by DW Akademie. The network includes 22 media houses, 13 of which are from the Ugandan side and the others from the South Sudan side. The vision is to be a professional network that informs and empowers communities across borders for peaceful coexistence.



Jane Okwera Angom

is a Ugandan journalist living in Gulu, Northern Uganda. She is currently the station manager of a local radio station, Speak FM, and the coordinator for the Cross Border Network.

Angom Jane Okwera has a postgraduate diploma in human resource management and a bachelor's degree in education from Makerere University and works as a journalist, teacher, media trainer and consultant.

She is an advocate for the inclusion of gender and equality issues.

What are you doing concretely?

Journalists from different media houses write stories about what is happening with refugees and their predicaments. And then these stories are published on our website, but also shared with the different radio stations for rebroadcast and re-use. When we do such a story, we try to look how the issue of the refugees can best become an issue of interest to both sides. And we then try to find a way to encourage peaceful coexistence and stop conflict.

What does the focus on peaceful coexistence concretely mean for your reporting?

One time as a result of a football match, two youth began to fight. So for us, we simply reported and said, two youth from different communities were watching this match and they ended up fighting. But other media houses mentioned the tribes of each of the youth, and that kind of reporting escalates the conflict because you are actually highlighting the rift further and adding to it.

How important is language when reporting in a conflict situation?

We do have restrictions on what kind of words you can use and what you cannot use because we know certain words will promote conflict and others will not. Like when we are describing the communities, one of the things we are very critical about is to not attribute blame to a given community or one tribe over the other. When we write, we don't want to say that this tribe did this and so this tribe retaliated. So things like retaliation, singling out and attributing blame, we do not encourage.

Has the network had an impact on the journalists themselves? Are they for example meeting more or are they becoming friends—Ugandans and South Sudanese? Or is the connection purely professional?

It has encouraged collaboration, because the journalists are now making more friends. Sometimes a journalist who is closer to a settlement can be asked by a journalist who is in a distant district to follow up on something, and they work on the stories together. So this has encouraged collaboration.

What was new for you personally when the Cross Border Network came up? What surprised you?

What surprised me was the beauty that comes with collaboration. We can do a very good story without necessarily traveling a long distance to the settlements, because we have collaborated with another journalist who is part of the network and we produce a good piece.

And what are the reactions from the Ugandan side?

The impact has also been positive in the sense that in communities in Northern Uganda in West Nile region, specifically, as a result of repeated programming and content, advocating for peaceful coexistence, the community members found local solutions to the challenges and the pressures they were facing. For example, in some settlements, the refugees were given parts of the local land for them to be able to till to address the issue of food crisis.

crossborder.net.org

Uganda's liberal refugee policy

by **Ochan Hannington**

Uganda has been hosting refugees and asylum seekers for decades. The outbreak of civil war in 2013 in neighboring South Sudan caused more than one million South Sudanese to flee their homes. Though a ceasefire was signed in South Sudan between president Salva Kiir and his former vice president Riek Machar in 2018, sporadic violence and attacks continue to prompt some South Sudanese to flee to Uganda. This country hosts the largest number of refugees in Africa and the fourth largest in the world.

With a population of about 43 million, Uganda is now home to 1.4 million refugees, mostly from South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia and Eritrea. This number is still growing. The South Sudanese refugees are largely settled along the impoverished border districts of Northern Uganda.

Uganda is thought to have one of the most liberal refugee policies in the world. Refugees are allowed to work and to start businesses, and they have freedom of movement within the country. In some parts of the country, they are allotted parcels of land by the government, while in others—mainly in the north, host communities allot land to refugees. They may use this land but not own it.

Those living in refugee settlements receive food rations from international agencies and NGOs. But they also tend to build up small businesses, work on the allotted land and raise livestock.

Conflict between members of the host communities and refugees mostly arises from a lack of resources such as water, animal feed and firewood.



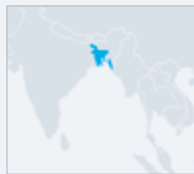
Building a new home in Uganda.

© imago images/Le Pictorium





© picture alliance/NurPhoto | Kazi Salahuddin Razu



The threat of the other

Example: Bangladesh

by Antje Bauer

Mutual suspicion and prejudice often exacerbate conflicts. Suspicions about others may be triggered by different religions, ethnicities or languages or simply by different ways of life, traditions or customs. In such situations, the media often tend to emphasize the differences and portray the other side as foreign and threatening, and in any case as fundamentally different. In this way they stir up feelings of fear and resistance. One example is the Rohingya, who fled their homeland in Myanmar to neighboring Bangladesh. Large sections of the Bangladeshi host society feel threatened by them, since in some places they make up the majority of the population and sometimes compete for jobs. At the same time, many look down on these refugees. Fears over losing work or even losing the homeland as one knew it are often overlaid and reinforced by prejudice and false mutual perceptions. The German journalist Verena Hölzl has frequently visited the border area between Bangladesh and Myanmar and reports on the conflicts between the two sides. The work being done by a local radio station to underscore what the two populations also have in common is described by Andrea Marshall, program director at DW Akademie.

Who outnumbers whom? Refugee camp in the district of Cox's Bazaar.

Between envy and fear

In Bangladesh, tensions between locals and Rohingya refugees are rising

by Verena Hölzl



© Kyodo/MAXPPP

“I was standing in the market and wanted to buy tomatoes,” remembers Mohammed, “when this Bangladeshi journalist approached me. I know him, he works for a local online platform. He said, ‘If you don’t pay me 5,000 taka, a juicy story about you will soon be on our platform.’” Five thousand taka, the equivalent of about 50 euros, is a lot of money in Bangladesh—and even more so for a refugee.

Mohammed, 32, actually has a different name. In 1992 he fled from his homeland Myanmar to neighboring Bangladesh and now works for an NGO in Ukhiya, a small border town. He is one of the few Rohingya with a relatively good income. The Bangladeshi journalist had apparently found out about this and thought he could blackmail Mohammed—after all, Mohammed is a Rohingya refugee, and as such he is not actually allowed to earn money. But the calculation did not work out. Mohammed is well connected in his host country. A phone call from a respected lawyer, a friend of his, was enough to make the journalist reconsider the blackmail.

Mohammed says he knows many refugees who’ve been exposed to blackmail attempts by locals. But unlike him, they don’t all have influential friends. Whether they work as translators, operate tea stalls or sell small items in a kiosk, many are in a position to be blackmailed by locals.

Conflicts between refugees and Bangladeshis are not new. Members of the persecuted Muslim Rohingya minority in Myanmar have been fleeing across the border to Bangladesh for decades. In

Balukhali camp, Cox’s Bazaar.

2017, Myanmar's army launched a brutal crackdown on the Rohingya, and within just a few weeks, there were around 800,000 new arrivals in Bangladesh. In the meantime, 34 refugee camps, a sea of bamboo huts and plastic tarpaulins, cover an area the size of a big city. Forests have been cleared and fields filled with makeshift accommodation for refugees. Many Bangladeshis are now afraid of becoming a minority in their own country.

The social fabric has also changed with the arrival of the many refugees. Because the desperate Rohingya accept any kind of work, wages have fallen dramatically. At the same time, prices are rising, triggered by the humanitarian organizations from all over the world who have come to the city of Cox's Bazaar near the border with Myanmar, to supply the refugees. The better educated local population benefits from the job opportunities offered by the NGOs, but at the same time, the economic situation of many poorer people is worsening. And while the bulky jeeps of development workers have been clogging Ukhiya's roads for almost three years now, many locals in their rickshaw taxis feel they've been left behind. Such sentiment has sparked regular protests against the refugees.

Bangladesh is poor and overpopulated. Last year, a government plan to resettle some of the refugees on an uninhabited island 30 kilometers from the mainland caused consternation among international human rights organizations. The government replied that conditions on the island were better than much of what could be offered to its own population.

Obaida is also convinced that locals are being disadvantaged. An elderly woman, she lives with two of her children in a small stone house near the refugee camps. She sits on her bed and straightens her headscarf. She has infrequent contact with her other children, who live further away. For several months now, telephone and internet services have only been working sporadically. The government has cut off both in the nearby refugee camp, citing security concerns amid an alleged spike in violent crime among criminal refugee gangs and drug smugglers. Obaida says the fact that many locals have found work thanks to the presence of NGOs in the region and that the NGOs are also offering services to the locals has not changed her mind. After all, the refugees have also brought worms and diseases, she says. At least that's what she heard from the neighbors.

In addition to the concrete problems caused by the arrival of the many refugees, rumors and slander—often spread by local media—are poisoning the climate. Local journalist Sharif Azad, for example, is leading a campaign to send the Rohingya back to Myanmar. Last summer he accused an NGO in a Facebook post shared a hundred times over of equipping refugees with weapons. The post featured a photo with pointed instruments. According to his post, the Rohingya were armed and planning an attack on Bangladeshis. The Reuters news agency found out that the alleged weapons were merely picks for weeding.

Mohammed also complains about local reporting. "There is a lot of fake news about us Rohingya," he says. "It is claimed that the refugees are criminals and bring diseases to Bangladesh. But generally, the local journalists can't prove their allegations. Many of them are too lazy to go to the nearby refugee camp and do their own research. They claim to have sources there. But they often just reflect the rumors," Mohammed explains.

Local journalists are poorly paid and usually have no professional training. "They don't know what ethical standards are," says Dil Afrose Jahan, who reported on the refugee crisis as a journalist for the daily newspaper Dhaka Tribune. At the beginning of the crisis, journalists from Bangladesh's capital and from all over the world came to the border region. Today, local journalists are largely on their own. Since most of the reporting is only for online outlets, where it is all about clicks, there is often exaggeration, says Jahan. "Many stories are written luridly to attract the attention of the readers. Fact-checking often plays only a minor role in this."

In 2019, the government started building a fence around the camps. In February, the concrete pillars had already been driven into the ground, the barbed wire partially rolled out. The fence is to prevent the refugees from mingling with the local population. That will mean even less contact between refugees and the local population. And more rumors on both sides.



A demonstration against foreigners in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

“Palonger Hota,” or in English, “The Voice of Palong” is the name of the weekly radio program that DW Akademie’s partners produce and broadcast in the district of Cox’s Bazaar in southwestern Bangladesh. Since the beginning of 2018, it has been broadcast on Radio Naf, the only local community radio station, and is aimed at local Bangladeshis and Rohingya refugees. The refugee camp there is also called Kutupalong after the nearest village—and it is the largest in the world. Around 800,000 Rohingya have arrived there since 2017 after massive persecution in their homeland of Myanmar (see info box). Some 300,000 Rohingya were already living in Kutupalong.

In “The Voice of Palong,” newly arrived fugitives, old-established refugees and locals report together. In the beginning, the aim was to provide Rohingya with vital information, but now the focus is on dialogue and good neighborly relations. After initially showing great willingness to help their persecuted Muslim brothers and sisters, the mood among people in Bangladesh has turned rather against the Rohingya. But through the program, three population groups remain in contact with each other, which otherwise would have no options for organized exchange. The citizen reporters inform on topics from their everyday life, away from the big political issues which citizen radio stations are not allowed to report on anyway. They report on practical life topics, such as health—especially important during the corona pandemic—or nutrition, for example, on hanging vegetable gardens where healthy crops can be grown even when there is a shortage of space. The program talks about the fight for firewood or protection from cyclones, the exchange of cooking recipes, or dangers from roaming elephants. There are also reports on serious human rights issues, such as human trafficking of Rohingya refugees, domestic violence or child marriage.

Many topics center on things each population has in common, for example, preparations for the great Muslim Eid

On recipes and roaming elephants

How Rohingya and Bangladeshis work together on a radio show

by Andrea Marshall



Front page splash:
Newspapers on display in Dhaka.



© Verena Hölzl

celebration at the end of Ramadan. Music, poems and short radio plays are an integral part of the program. No other radio program in the region has such a wide range of topics and formats and is aimed at such a mixed audience. The program follows the concept of constructive journalism and positive psychology: problems are to be addressed, but always discussed together with possible solutions. Self-efficacy and encouragement are conveyed, not despair or persistent misfortune.

Radio is the medium of choice, not only because the language is similar, but also because about 70 percent of Rohingya are illiterate. This is especially true for Rohingya women. The fact that Rohingya women also regularly work

in the “Palonger Hota” citizen reporter team is particularly gratifying, as they need the permission of their families to work outside the house.

Apart from Radio Naf, only the national radio station, Bangladesh Betar, offers programs for Rohingya. In addition, some aid organizations have audio content produced and broadcast in the camp. Nevertheless, a study by the international NGO Internews in 2019 concluded that the Rohingya still do not have enough information about their rights. It is doubtful that they know much about the situation of their local neighbors, meaning there will likely be a long-term need for the broadcast of “Palonger Hota.”

Rohingya in Myanmar and Bangladesh

by Verena Hölzl

The Rohingya are Muslims who have faced decades of persecution in **Myanmar**, which is predominantly Buddhist. Gradually, the Rohingya were deprived of their citizenship in the Southeast Asian country. The minority is accused of originally coming from neighboring Bangladesh and of having illegally immigrated to Myanmar. In 2016 and 2017, the military launched a particularly brutal crackdown on the Rohingya after insurgents carried out attacks on police stations. International courts are investigating allegations of genocide.

Bangladesh has taken in around a million Rohingya since the first expulsions by the Myanmar military in the late 1970s. The population of Bangladesh is 162 million. Almost a quarter of all Bangladeshis live below the poverty line, and the annual gross national income in 2018 was around 1,600 euros. In the past, refugees have been deported to Myanmar in the course of several repatriation campaigns. Currently the government of Bangladesh is again trying to persuade the Rohingya to return to Myanmar. But so far, none of the most recent refugees has accepted this offer, for fear of further persecution.

Take a closer look!

Tools for a different approach to conflict reporting

by Antje Bauer

Conflict reporting is usually predictable. For the viewers, listeners or readers, as well as the reporting journalists. The “personnel” involved in the conflict are often well known, as is what they have to say. The conflict seems to take a predetermined and inevitable course, all too often in the direction of an escalation that leaves reporters and media users alike with a feeling of powerlessness and hopelessness, but also weariness.

This monotonous and predictable reporting mainly stems from the habit of many journalists—or citizen journalists or users of social media—to content themselves with reproducing statements from the conflict parties (politicians, militias, leaders) instead of digging deeper. The result is that in the media, the conflict looks the way its actors present it. The real causes often remain hidden and are not reported about—out of ignorance, and sometimes out of convenience.

Another reason for the repetitive character of conflict reporting is the media’s focus on the conflict actors, who often have no interest in ending the conflict, even if they publicly claim the opposite. What is often missing in reporting are the indirect actors, the winners of the crisis, but also the losers on both sides. And as a rule, the voices of those who come up with ideas for solutions are completely absent. Integrating them all into the reporting would mean making this reporting more lively and multi-faceted and showing the media users that the tableau is not black and white, as claimed, and that there is also room to maneuver and possibly improve the situation.



© imago images/ZUMA Wire

Poverty as a root for conflict:
A deprived households' food for days.

There are a number of analytical tools that make it easier to dissect a conflict, identify the various people involved, and then make the reporting itself more diverse. In this publication, we present three instruments that are easy and quick to implement and are intended to encourage media professionals to adopt new approaches to reporting.

- Tool 1: The conflict tree, follows here.
- Tool 2: Conflict mapping, is presented using Brazil as an example (pp. 44 and 45).
- Tool 3: Needs and fears mapping, is explained using Colombia as an example (p. 68 and 69).



Tool 1: The conflict tree

Example: Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh

by Mona Naggar

The conflict tree enables journalists to visualize and thus analyze the causes and effects of the conflict they wish to cover.

Our example here is the conflict between Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh and members of the host community.

The trunk represents the apparent problems and the issues being discussed by the parties involved.

In our example, the apparent problems are the falling wages, the increasing food prices, the international NGOs and their influence on the job market as well as the increased tensions between refugees and members of the host community. These are just examples—you can find many more of these.

The roots stand for the causes of the conflict. Sometimes they are hidden or not taken into account by the media coverage or in the discourse about the conflict. As long as the roots of the conflict are not resolved, there can be no solution to the conflict. It is much more complicated to tackle the problems based in the roots than to tackle those in the leaves.

In our example, the roots of the conflict are poverty, unemployment, the expulsion of the Rohingya minority from Myanmar, the refusal of the Myanmar government to repatriate them with safety guarantees, the lack of communication between the government and the local citizens, the segregation between the two communities and, last but not least, the crisis of the local media which leads to the spreading of fake news.

The leaves and branches symbolize the effects of the conflict.

In our example, these would be mistrust and fear, the spreading of fake news related to the refugees,

the increased security measures by the Bangladeshi authorities or the extortion of some refugees by some Bangladeshis.

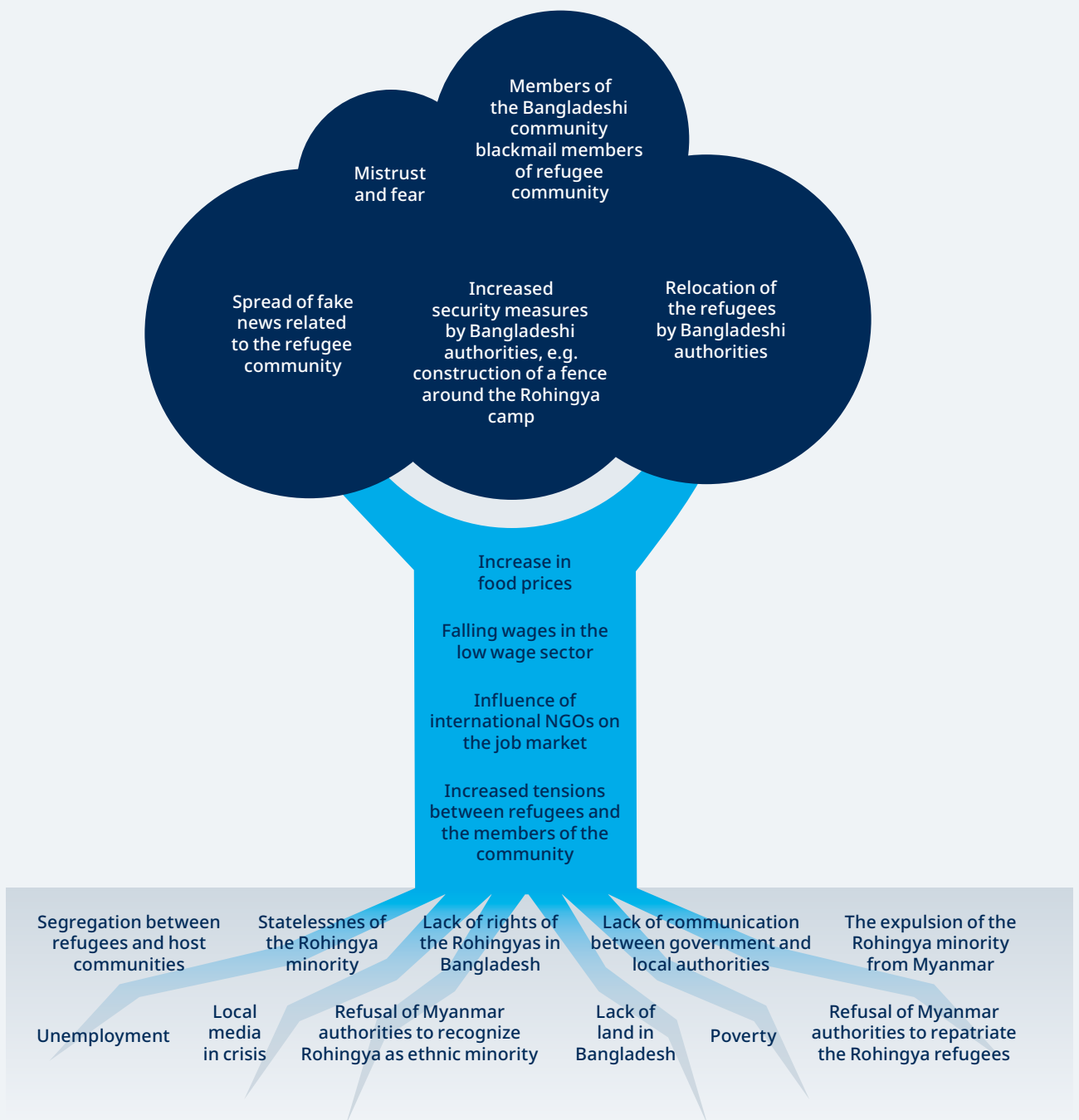
The leaves and branches and, to a certain extent, the trunk, may change over time and should be revised periodically. Some factors may overlap: is an increase in tension an apparent problem in itself or is it an effect of the conflict? Are the increased security measures (such as the construction of a fence) part of the trunk or the leaves?

These overlapping topics are not a problem as this scheme is not mathematical but rather a tool to help us understand the conflict.

This tool helps journalists to:

- Better understand the conflict and to differentiate between causes and symptoms. When reporting on conflicts, journalists often focus on visible and current aspects of a conflict, such as violent clashes or protests. However, these events are often "symptoms." They stand at the end of a chain of a prolonged process which may have received little attention from the media and the public. The conflict tree enables journalists to dig deeper and go beyond the visible parts of the conflict.
- Become aware of the dimensions of the conflict.
- Find ideas for new topics related to the conflict to report about, e.g. how misinformation effects the coexistence between the refugees and the host community or to evaluate the impact of unemployment on the conflict.
- Be able to evaluate the solutions discussed.

The conflict between Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh and members of the host community







© imago images / Christian Ditsch



White and male?

The media makers of the Global North

by Antje Bauer

Prejudice and suspicion towards certain population groups is a global phenomenon — and Germany is no exception. There too, white men with an occidental canon of values are still largely considered the measure of all things. People of a different skin color or religion or gender or those with special needs, on the other hand, are beings who, taken together, make up the majority, but are still perceived as a minority and are usually not given adequate consideration. This tendency towards homogeneity also applies to media makers. For this reason, they do not adequately reflect the diversity of the population, and their narrow view also shapes the worldview of media users. Hadija Haruna-Oelker lives in Germany and describes the complexity of discrimination in the country. German journalist Charlotte Wiedemann, who focuses on African countries and the Middle East, criticizes the occidental view of the Islamic veil. Sheila Mysorekar, journalist and project manager at DW Akademie, introduces the project “New German Media Makers” (Neue Deutsche Medienmacher) in which German journalists with foreign backgrounds have come together to make German reporting more diverse.

Journalists in the German parliament.

More diversity in newsrooms!

Journalists decide whose voices are heard

by Hadija Haruna-Oelker



Who's observing whom? And who determines a picture's meaning?



"Always use the word 'Africa' or 'Darkness' or 'Safari' in your title," writes Kenyan author Binyavanga Wainaina in his 2005 essay, "How to write about Africa." He goes on to describe all the usual clichés found in Western reporting about African countries and their people. "Never have a picture of a well-adjusted African on the cover of your book, unless that African has won the Nobel Prize."

In the years since his essay was published, not much has changed. For many journalists today, Africa is not a continent, but rather one large country. But it's not just Africa that receives such treatment. Journalists are out to create headlines. With every text and every title, they decide which parts of the story to exclude, in order to make room for the most exciting and provocative aspects. With their choice of words and images, they implicitly create context and convey messages.

One example: Over a period of eight months, German reporter Constantin Schreiber traveled throughout Germany, visiting 13 different mosques during Friday prayers. His research formed the basis for a TV documentary as well as the 2017 book "Inside Islam: What is Preached in Germany's Mosques." It paints a picture of mosques as mysterious places, a "threshold that very few Germans cross." He describes worshipers according to their appearance and racializes them. "Some of the visitors are black Africans. They seem poor. Perhaps they're refugees," Schreiber writes. Or: "For the first time, I see some Germans—three young men with blond hair."

Ozan Keskinliç, a researcher on racism and anti-Semitism at the Alice Salomon University in Berlin, is one of the book's critics. He says Schreiber makes crude distinctions between 'good' and 'bad,' 'black' and 'white,' 'German' and 'Muslim' along the lines of culture, religion and ethnic origin that he determines, based on a person's appearance.

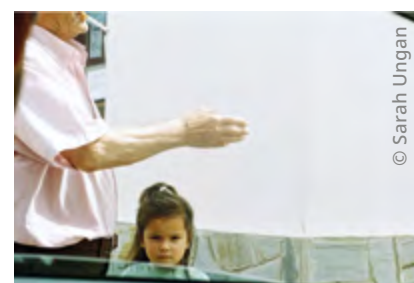
Schreiber is certainly not the only German journalist to fall back on such stereotypes. After his book was published, young Muslims reacted to Schreiber's reporting, rounding out his portrayal with their own stories, posted under the hashtag #meinmoscheereport (my mosque report). They described how, in their everyday experiences and in the media, their forms of expression and the spaces they inhabit—shisha bars, for example—are devalued. How their religion is associated with terrorism, their multilingualism seen as a deficit, and the neighborhoods they live in dismissed as ghettos. When Islam is featured in the media, the magazine titles are on a black background, and the articles peppered with images of veiled women or fanatical crowds of demonstrators in the Islamic world. What we don't see are the everyday images of the lives of Muslims who are part of German society, working as doctors, lawyers, or caregivers.

Through their reporting, people in the media are able to influence what is seen as important and "normal" in society. In their choice of topics, they either knowingly or unknowingly create associations with people or groups with certain characteristics. Take, for example,

editorial decisions to report excessively on suspected criminals with an immigration background. A 2019 study by the Macromedia University in Stuttgart showed that newspaper reports in 2018 listed more than 14 foreign suspects compared to only one German, even though the police had arrested more than twice as many German suspects.

Once a discriminatory stereotype has taken hold, it is very difficult to erase—especially when criticism about one-sided reporting doesn't meet with much of a response in editorial offices. A look at German media houses reveals that only few have a diverse workforce. This does not only refer to employees of varied ethnic backgrounds. Diversity should go beyond someone's immigration status. It can also mean employing journalists who are non-white, disabled, queer, non-Christian, or who have different body types. It means including people from working class families as well as the educated middle class.

Journalist networks such as the "Neuen Deutschen Medienmacher*innen" (see article) or the German media initiative "Leidmedien" (leidmedien.de) are drawing attention to the problem. They're calling on those working in the media to come to terms with their social status and privilege and be aware of the extent to which they use clichés when reporting about their own societies as well as those in other countries. The aim is to have reporting that is free of any discriminatory stereotypes. When journalists are not sensitized to this issue, and if they work in homogeneous newsrooms where the majority have precon-



ceived ideas about certain topics or certain kinds of people, it becomes far too easy to ignore the perspective of those people. The result is an editorial worldview that has little to do with reality. That's also a reason why spokespeople for marginalized groups are often missing from stories and surveys or are rarely called upon to serve as interview partners.

A journalistic understanding that includes diversity doesn't just reflect the perspectives of majorities and minorities, it also recognizes that there are differences within marginalized groups. It doesn't just see that there are differences between men and women, for example, but that there are also differences among women. A poor, black transgender refugee woman with a disability will have a very different experience in Germany than a white, well-off German citizen with no physical limitations. A step to true equality means considering all these various layers of lived reality when reporting. It's demanding, but it would finally break with outdated journalistic practices.

Between faith and fashion

A headscarf can signify more than is depicted by the media

by Charlotte Wiedemann



German boxer Zeina Nasser.

For many years now, there's been an ongoing discussion in Western societies about headscarves. The media play an important role in this debate. Muslim women become recognizable as such via their headscarves, which is why many in the media gravitate towards images of women wearing the hijab. In the media, Muslim women always wear a headscarf —unlike the majority of actual Muslim women living in Germany. Often, the photos show the headscarf-wearing woman with a pram and shopping bags—a mother and a housewife, not a skilled professional. And such photos are routinely used to illustrate articles about the educational deficits of migrants, both male and female.

In this way, a visual cue has taken hold over two or three decades, telling us

that a hijab and intelligence are mutually exclusive. So if a woman in a headscarf goes to an event of some sort, it could easily happen that she is mistaken for hired help and shown to the back entrance. Such disdain often extends to Muslim women in general. Anyone wearing a headscarf is not seen as an individual, rather as one of many followers of Islam's perceived role for women.

Generally, it's assumed that people are multifaceted and can show different sides of themselves whether they're at work or at home with their family. But Muslims seem not to be granted the same consideration. Many journalists ignore the fact that wearing a headscarf or veil has become a symbol of a feminine Muslim globalization. Aside from religious connotations, it can also be a

form of expression that crosses borders to demonstrate self-confidence, inclusion in a community, or to simply be hip and fashionable.

Many media professionals' cultural exposure is limited to their own milieu, and there are often unconscious thought structures at play. In the gaze of Western painters, Oriental women were depicted half-naked and veiled. Now as then, the Muslim woman is not seen as having a life of her own. Rather, she is oppressed and needs to be liberated, whether she wants to be or not. The dominant society's contempt for Muslim women is thus disguised as the desire for progress and enlightenment.

While the media's image of the Muslim woman stagnates, in part under the pressure of Islamophobic voices in Europe, a whole other reality has emerged globally. From Jakarta to Sarajevo, never before have so many Muslim women been active both in society and in the workforce. Women in headscarves are storming universities and risking their lives in the fight for human rights. There's a continually increasing number of Muslim women in the fields of theology and feminism. But barely any ever make an appearance on a Western talkshow.

A new highly educated generation of Muslim women in European countries therefore sees the media less as a partner, and more as an opponent. And yet, what these young women want is actually quite modest: that their clothing and lifestyle be seen as an expression of female self-determination.

Countering discrimination

How a media association is bringing diversity into German newsrooms

by Sheila Mysorekar

German society is changing. To a large extent, it has already become multi-ethnic, multi-faith, and multicultural, especially in cities and among younger people. A quarter of all people in Germany come from immigrant families. But these changes haven't yet arrived on the country's media landscape. The new reality is often distorted, or isn't sufficiently reflected in media coverage. Common stereotypes such as the "misogynistic Muslim" or the "quiet Asian" often go unquestioned, reinforcing discriminatory attitudes towards minorities.

For 10 years now, the New German Media Makers (Neue deutsche Medienmacher or NdM) have been bringing the issue of diversity to German newsrooms. The NdM is an association of journalists with diverse backgrounds. They carry out media projects and offer tips, constructive criticism and food for thought—all with the aim of furthering diversity across the media landscape and in the public debate.

In one of their projects, the organization developed a glossary of helpful terms for reporting on migration in Germany. NdM members also visit editorial offices to offer advice on non-biased terminology. The reactions are mixed. "How was I supposed to know that?" is one of the most common responses when journalists are made aware that their choice of words and photos, or their entire coverage of migration-related issues, is not appropriate.

And yet, all media professionals should know that there is a difference between

xenophobia and racism, or that the words 'colored' and 'black' are not synonyms. That an image of a woman in a headscarf is not the best choice for an article about Islamism. Or that Africa is inhabited by peoples, not tribes.

Another important area is the support of young media professionals. People from ethnic minorities are underrepresented in German media. To counter this, NdM has started a mentoring project. It pairs young would-be journalists from migrant families with experienced journalists, with the aim of making it

easier for them to enter the professional world.

Of course, it's possible for white German journalists to do their job without using biased language or discriminatory images. Nevertheless, editorial offices should become more diverse. This would not only make them more representative of Germany's increasingly multi-ethnic, multi-faith and multicultural society; it would also bring a greater variety in topics and points of view, enriching what is often a one-dimensional media landscape.

The media have a responsibility to help maintain a peaceful society, especially in this time of social change when radical right-wing opinions are gaining ground. Journalism has to reflect change, pick up on current debates and report on them in a neutral, impartial manner—without reinforcing prejudices.

Neue deutsche Medienmacher*innen:
neuemedienmacher.de





The power of the net

Examples from Brazil and Serbia

by Antje Bauer

“Alternative facts” have become the epitome of the infinite possibilities found on the internet and online media to mislead users since Donald Trump’s inauguration. For many users, opinions and beliefs are truer than proven facts. Politicians use their powers of persuasion and manipulation to bind their followers and find new ones. One example is the propaganda machinery of Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro, which contributed to his election victory in 2018 and helped cover up the government’s failure to combat the coronavirus pandemic in 2020. Our author Philipp Lichterbeck, who lives in Brazil, explains this. We also look at how NGOs and journalists are joining forces to combat the rampant spread of mis- and disinformation with fact-checking platforms so that facts and opinions can once again be separated.

The web not only enables the rapid spread of information, disinformation and misinformation, but also the spread of hatred. This hatred pours out in all directions: Creators against others, users against journalists and creators, users against other users... Often resentment is stirred and used to target those who are regarded as weaker, for example, women or minorities. Both media professionals and users are often at a loss as to how they should react and how they can put a stop to this. Self-censorship? Hitting back? Ignoring the perpetrators? In Serbia, a group of YouTubers has created two videos in which they decided to poke fun at some popular YouTubers’ toxic masculinity, desire for admiration and use of hate speech — sparking a huge debate. Our author Jovana Gligorijević reports on the Serbian YouTube scene and how these debates play out.

Unclear image:
Reflection of a giant puppet of Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro.

Right or left, with nothing in between

How fake news has contributed to political polarization in Brazil

by Philipp Lichterbeck



In the middle of the coronavirus crisis, my friend Carolina A. sent me a message on WhatsApp: “Citizens being beaten. No one can go out on the streets anymore. Persecution. Prison.” Carolina A. had read the text on the Facebook profile of a follower of Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro. The 41-year-old, who does not want her full name to be published, decided to forward it. When asked, she says she believed that it was true. “The coronavirus crisis is being misused for political ends,” she states. The governors of Brazil have imposed “dictatorial” quarantine measures and are harassing citizens and destroying the economy. But their real goal, she says, is to hurt President Bolsonaro.

Carolina A. is one of almost 58 million Brazilians who voted for Bolsonaro in the 2018 elections. So far, she has not regretted her vote. “Bolsonaro was elected to end the rampant corruption,” she says. But he is under constant fire from the old elites, the left and the media. The arrival of coronavirus—the risk from which she thinks is being exaggerated—is a welcome opportunity for her to help sow chaos.

Carolina A. gets her information primarily from right-wing Facebook profiles. There, texts, memes and videos are shared in which the president is seen as Brazil’s savior, while his opponents are portrayed as cunning “communists.” It is a mix of facts, half-truths, conspiracy theories, defamation and lies. Carolina A. hardly uses the traditional media, i.e. newspapers, television and radio. She says that they suppress the truth and distort reality. As “evidence,” she cites right-wing news sites with names like “Renova Mídia” (Renew

the media), “Jornal da Cidade” (Newspaper of the City). They claim, for example, that Adélio Bispo, who attacked Jair Bolsonaro with a knife in 2018, had connections with the left-wing MP Jean Wyllys. For Carolina A., it is therefore clear that the attack was a conspiracy. “But the normal media doesn’t report it,” she says. “They’re suppressing the truth.” But in fact, according to Brazil’s federal police, there is nothing to suggest a connection between Bispo and Wyllys.

About 30 percent of Brazilians support Jair Bolsonaro unconditionally. It doesn’t matter to them whether he insults gay people or plays down COVID-19 as a “little flu.” Carolina A. also fervently supports him, because she believes he is the only politician who is not corrupt. And yet she is a rather atypical Bolsonaro supporter. The two are worlds apart. Bolsonaro built his political career on insulting gay people, Black people, women and the poor, and glorifying the military dictatorship that ruled Brazil between 1964 and 1985. Carolina A. is a Black woman and single mother from the poor periphery of Rio de Janeiro, who earns her living as a real estate agent. But she shares Bolsonaro’s conservative agenda, such as the ban on abortion and his call for tougher punishment of criminals.

A deep rift runs through Brazil. People are either for or against Bolsonaro—there is nothing in between. On the opposite side of the political spectrum to Carolina A. is Lanna Carmo. The 30-year-old lawyer from Rio de Janeiro thinks Jair Bolsonaro is shameless and stupid. She is ashamed of his presidency, and thinks he is endangering Brazil’s democracy.

© imago images / ZUMA Wire



Even in favelas like this one in São Paulo, President Bolsonaro finds followers.

Carmo's main source of information is Twitter, because that's where a lot of information first appears, she says. She follows more than 500 accounts, including journalists, newspapers and bloggers, but also constitutional judges and left-wing politicians. "I'd follow Bolsonaro to keep up, too," she says. "But his tweets make me furious."

The most important weapon in the war of information is, hardly surprisingly, social media. WhatsApp plays the biggest role in this, followed by television, YouTube and Facebook. The enormous importance of WhatsApp for public discourse first became clear during the 2018 elections. Both presidential candidates, Fernando Haddad and Jair Bolsonaro, had masses of election advertising sent out via the app during their campaigns. However, it was the Bolsonaro camp that massively expanded this form of advertising—and in so doing also violated Brazil's electoral laws. Private campaign

financing is prohibited in Brazil, yet several entrepreneurs paid for the sending of millions of pro-Bolsonaro messages. Most of the messages were lies, half-truths or taken out of context. Brazil's congress therefore launched an inquiry at the end of 2019. An interim report stated that fake news "certainly influenced voters in their voting decision."

Today, fake news is part of everyday life in the political debate in Brazil. It comes from the most diverse sources. It's private individuals who receive and share the videos, photos, audios and texts on YouTube, Facebook and Twitter or via WhatsApp. But it's often professional bloggers and influencers, right- and left-wing news sites, politicians, celebrities and journalists who invent and publish fake news or rumors.

In most cases, fake news is aimed at a target group that is receptive to the news in question. Lanna Carmo, for example,

would never believe that the coronavirus is a Chinese plot against the West, but Carolina A. does. However, people with less firm opinions are also susceptible. According to official sources, 85 percent of the inquiries about the coronavirus that Brazil's health ministry receives from citizens are based on fake news and rumors. Fake news doesn't just spread quickly, it's also very difficult to contain and correct once it spreads.

After the elections, the parliamentary investigative committee uncovered the existence of a so-called "hate cabinet," which initiates virtual attacks on political opponents. According to witnesses, it is located directly in the presidential palace. Thousands of trollbots are reportedly used in the attacks, says Bot Sentinel, a platform that searches for robots on Twitter. And the head of the hate cabinet? None other than the president's son, Carlos Bolsonaro.

Disinformation: Containing the viral spread

Fact-checking in Brazil

by Philipp Lichterbeck

The photo shows an empty coffin and is said to have been taken during the coronavirus pandemic at the end of April in the Brazilian city of Manaus. Within a few hours, it spread via Brazil's social networks and was shared around 12,000 times on Facebook alone. The message behind it: empty coffins are being buried in order to exaggerate the corona crisis.

In particular, supporters of Brazil's President Jair Bolsonaro ensured the photo's continued spread. Member of Parliament Carla Zambelli repeated the accusation on the radio. But it was classic fake news. The photo was actually taken in 2017 in São Paulo, as the three major Brazilian fact-checking platforms quickly proved.

One of them is Comprova, an association of journalists from two dozen of the country's largest newspapers, magazines, TV and radio stations. Comprova was founded before the 2018 elections on the initiative of First Draft, a non-profit organization that was created at Harvard University. Its goal: to provide journalists around the world with guidelines for tracking down fake news.

The idea behind Comprova is simple. At least two journalists from two different media sources check questionable information on the internet for its truthfulness. The results are published on a website as well as in social networks and are free for further distribution. Each investigation is accompanied by a detailed explanation of the procedure and an explanation of the context.



© picture alliance/ASSOCIATED PRESS | Silvia Izquierdo



Mural in Rio de Janeiro.

With the coronavirus crisis, the distribution of fake news in Brazil increased by leaps and bounds. Whereas Comprova examined only 14 questionable reports in September 2019, in April 2020 there were almost twice as many. All were found to be false or misleading.

By 2015, Aos Fatos, a fact-checking platform run by a dozen young journalists, had already gone online. It is financed through grants, donations and partnerships with other media. This also includes a cooperation with Facebook within the framework of its third-party fact-checker program. Aos Fatos helps track down dubious stories on Facebook.

The third major Brazilian fact-checking platform, Agência Lupa, also participates in the program. It is the first news agency to specialize in fact-checking. It sells the results of its investigations to other media, for which it also takes on specific assignments. Like Aos Fatos, the agency belongs to the International Fact-Checking Network (IFCN), which has introduced strict standards for the investigation of information.

In the election year 2018, Agência Lupa checked 634 news items. The organization was able to show that only 30 of 110 statements made by the presidential candidate Jair Bolsonaro were true; 35 were untrue.

In recent years, some newspapers, TV channels and radio stations have also reacted to the increasing distribution of fake news. They introduced fact-checking sections, some in cooperation with the platforms described above.

Tool 2: Conflict mapping

Example: Brazil

by Mona Naggar

This analysis tool can be used to identify the different actors or stakeholders involved in a specific conflict and to analyze the roles they play in it. By actors, we mean all parties engaged in the conflict (directly or indirectly) or affected by it, be it political parties or personalities, local authorities, armed forces, members of the communities, individuals or national or international institutions.

Our example is the spreading of misinformation in Brazil, related to COVID-19 (more recently), but also to the general elections in 2018.

For the first step, you should write down on cards all the different actors present in the conflict. The size of the actors' cards should correspond to their importance in the conflict.

In our example, the actors are Brazilian President Bolsonaro (who won support by the spreading of misinformation), his son Carlos, the different social media tools, the consumers of the misinformation, the state institutions, the evangelical churches, the health organizations and so on.

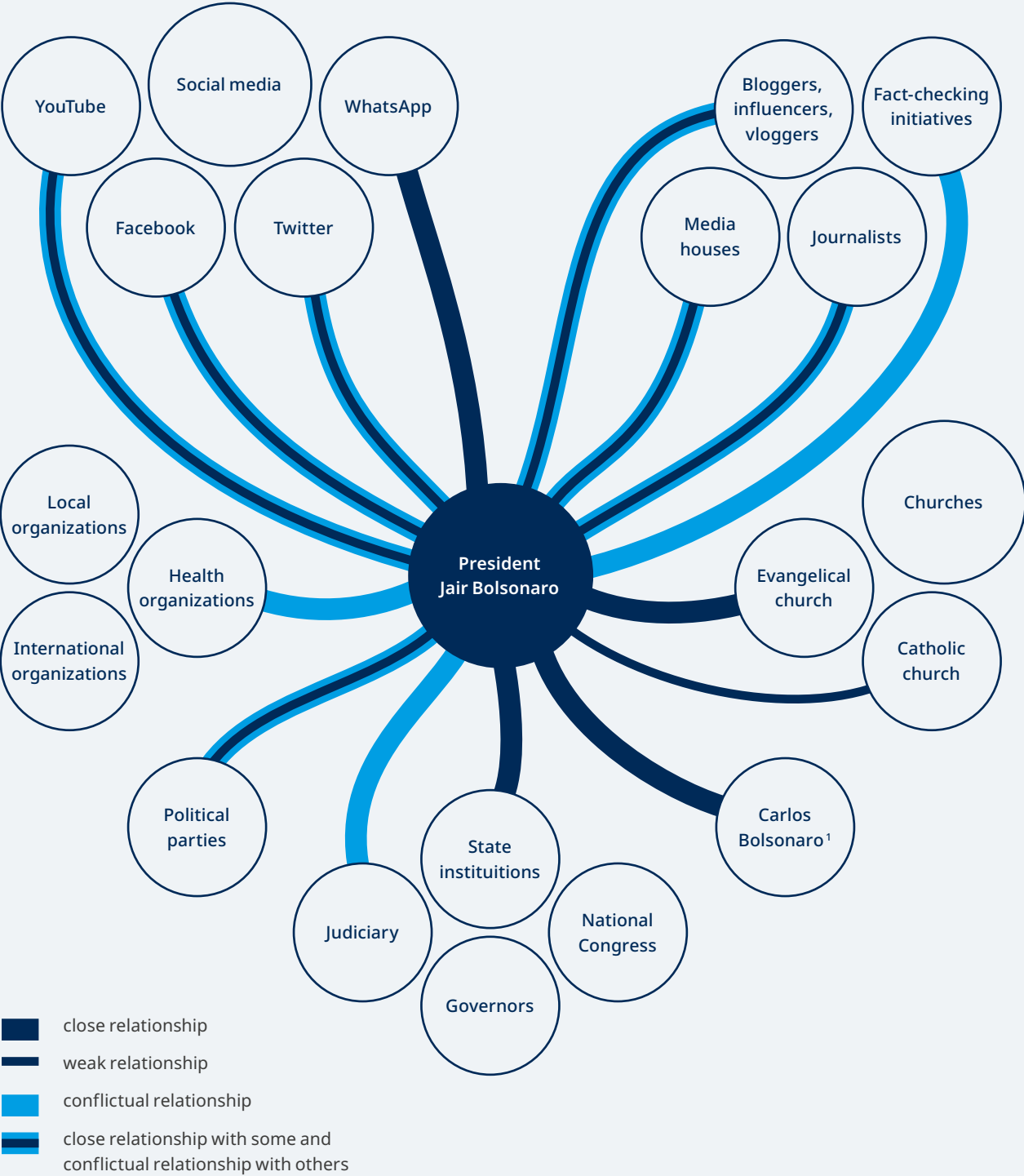
For the second step, draw lines between the different actors in order to visualize their relationships. Thick lines mean strong relationship, thin lines mean weak relationships, jagged lines stand for conflictive relations.

In our example, there are strong relations between Jair Bolsonaro and his son, the state institutions (after the elections) and the evangelical churches. But relations with fact-checking initiatives and with some journalists and bloggers are conflictive.

This tool helps to:

- Visualize the actors present on the spot
- Analyze the relationships between the actors in order to better understand the conflict
- Find new potential or relevant angles to report about, e.g. the role of social media in the spreading of misinformation in Brazil or what local organizations do in the context of the coronavirus pandemic.

Misinformation in Brazil



¹son of President Jair Bolsonaro



Pranks, mocking, and abuse

Discussions about the toxic content of Serbian YouTube videos

by Jovana Gligorijević

To fully understand the turmoil that broke out in autumn 2019, you need to take a close look at the Serbian YouTube scene. You'll come across a YouTuber named Ur Ke, who used to go out on the street in search of people holding food. He would suddenly approach them and punch popcorn boxes, ice cream cones or burgers out of their hands, film their reactions, and then post the videos on YouTube. After he received some criticism by other creators, another YouTuber named Cone reacted by creating videos in which he shared food with passers-by on the same street where the original video was filmed, explaining that he did this to prove that the YouTube scene in Serbia is not as bad as one might think. While Ur Ke's videos are examples of so-called "surprise" videos, Cone's answer to the criticism can be filed under "reaction" videos—the main categories for the most popular YouTube content in Serbia.

Surprise videos are mainly pranks, clips filmed on the streets while mocking or even abusing strangers.

When it comes to reactions, there is an enormous amount of sexism, misogyny and online abuse ("slut shaming") of female creators. For example, two adult male YouTubers would post videos showing them commenting on female creators, saying which ones they would have sex with, while comparing others they do not find attractive to various animals. Most of the female YouTubers shown in these clips are minors.

Though the creators who produce shocking, insulting content are in the minority,



© DW/M. Erdelji

they have more subscribers than the majority of those who provide decent content. The better side of Serbian YouTube is made up of smaller channels that publish entertaining or educational content about gaming, DIY (Do It Yourself), “surviving” school, etc. Regarding popularity, the Serbian YouTube situation is very similar to that of traditional media in Serbia. On the one hand, there are independent media houses and

investigative networks that offer good quality journalism but that struggle financially and have less of an impact on the audience. On the other, there are tabloids that, according to the Press Council, a self-regulation body for media ethics, breach the Serbian Ethical Code of Journalism on average more than 300 times per day.

Alarmed by the enormous amount of abusive content on the Serbian YouTube scene, a group of eight YouTubers, with support from DW Akademie, decided to launch a project named “Clickbait.” They composed and recorded two songs, together with video clips for the songs. The first song with the same name as the whole project, “Clickbait,” premiered in April 2019 and was highly acclaimed among the audience and media, with 2.8 million views and 76,000 likes. The main issue the song addressed was, as its name says, the excessive use of clickbait content. In internet slang, clickbait is content whose main purpose is to attract attention and encourage visitors to click on a link, without any concern whether the content itself may hurt feelings, be abusive or unethical in any way.

Six months later, in October 2019, the group of YouTubers launched a second video called “Drama”. The song was about the situation on the YouTube scene where creators intentionally caused drama and feuds among each other. The title was almost prophetic, considering the drama that followed after “Drama” reached third place in YouTube trending in Serbia.

One of the most popular and probably most toxic (judging by the amount of abusive content he produces) YouTubers in Serbia, Baka Prase, 23 years old, 1.75 million subscribers, made a reaction video, insulting every YouTuber who participated in the video. Baka Prase accused “Clickbait” YouTubers of “national betrayal” since they cooperated with the German organization DW Akademie. It’s become a common insult in Serbia in the past 30 years, often made by nationalists to anyone who

cooperates or works for Western organizations. The worst part were the rape threats he made against two female YouTubers, explicitly threatening one of them that he would rape her.

The reason for Baka Prase’s actions lies in the constant war among Serbian creators, caused by the fact that they work in a small market with tough competition. The main factor in almost every feud is money, either through monetization via views on the platform, or through sponsorships. Baka Prase is always number one on trending and he has a long history of attacks on anyone who could be a possible competitor. Since 2011 when he started his YouTube career, he’s made enough money to buy two Porsches and an apartment in the most exclusive and expensive location in the Serbian capital, Belgrade.

As “Drama” continued to move up in YouTube trending, hitting number one, he continued to post insulting videos on a daily basis. He then caused a backlash against “Drama” by encouraging creators who are friendly with him to publish their own videos. Baka’s friends chose the strategy of insults, bullying, and encouraging subscribers to dislike or report the “Drama” video so it would stop trending. In the end, “Drama” was a success, because online bullying has become a highly covered topic in schools, media and in the YouTube community. Almost all the YouTubers who were part of the “Clickbait” project were invited to speak at the public events—all except the girls who took part in the videos. They decided to opt out of the project because they could not handle the pressure and sexism.

Baka Prase decided to tone down his attacks a bit. But he came under fire from the media once more at the beginning of the coronavirus crisis, when he started selling face masks with his logo that were not protective at all.



Stirring up a heated debate:
The creators of *Drama*.

“I would do it all over again”

A YouTuber on his sense of responsibility

Interview with **Darko Radovac**, by **Jovana Gligorijević**



© DW/M. Erdeji

Darko Radovac

a.k.a. “Dex,” started his YouTube career as a part of the Yasserstain channel, dedicated to entertaining and educational videos. Later on, he decided to pursue a music career and launched his own channel, Dex Lik.

What motivated you to take part in “Clickbait” and cooperate with DW Akademie?

My personal motive for participating in that project was my own sense of responsibility as a YouTuber. I knew that we might not bring about some great change, but I have always believed that it’s worth at least trying. And I believe we did make a difference: traditional media began to report about profanities and other controversial content on the Serbian YouTube scene. The fact that the problem exists reached more people. For many parents in Serbia, that was the first time they really heard and saw the kind of content to which their children are constantly exposed.

But then, the backlash happened. How did you feel during that time? Did you feel hurt at some point?

During the scandal, I really didn’t feel hurt, unlike some of my colleagues. Some of the tabloids that always endorsed Baka Prase because of the clicks he brings them spread some horrible lies about me. But I really didn’t let that hit me personally. If we had real rule of law here in Serbia, I could sue them and win a lot of money, but that’s not how things work here, so I just decided to let it go.

To be honest, no one targeted me personally, they focused on girls and on one colleague who is a bit older than the rest of us, so they engaged in ageism against him. In general, I wasn’t afraid, since I’ve been fighting these kinds of people my entire life.

Now, in the aftermath, knowing how you and many other creators who never collaborated with DW Akademie were targeted, what is your view on the whole event? Would you do it all over again if you knew what was going to happen?

From the bottom of my heart, yes, I would do it all over again. Also, I would take part in any other project that sends an ethical and positive message or healthy criticism. I would do it again because of us, as a team. We spent so much time together and created so many memories that we will probably stay a team forever.

But, on the other hand, I have definitely learned that I cannot and should not feel responsible for all the things that are wrong with the YouTube scene or society in general. I’ve been thinking about it a lot during the coronavirus crisis. It also taught me that people often show a lack of responsibility and a lack of empathy, too. I’ve realized that I can’t, and I don’t have to, correct every injustice in this society.

No longer a blind spot

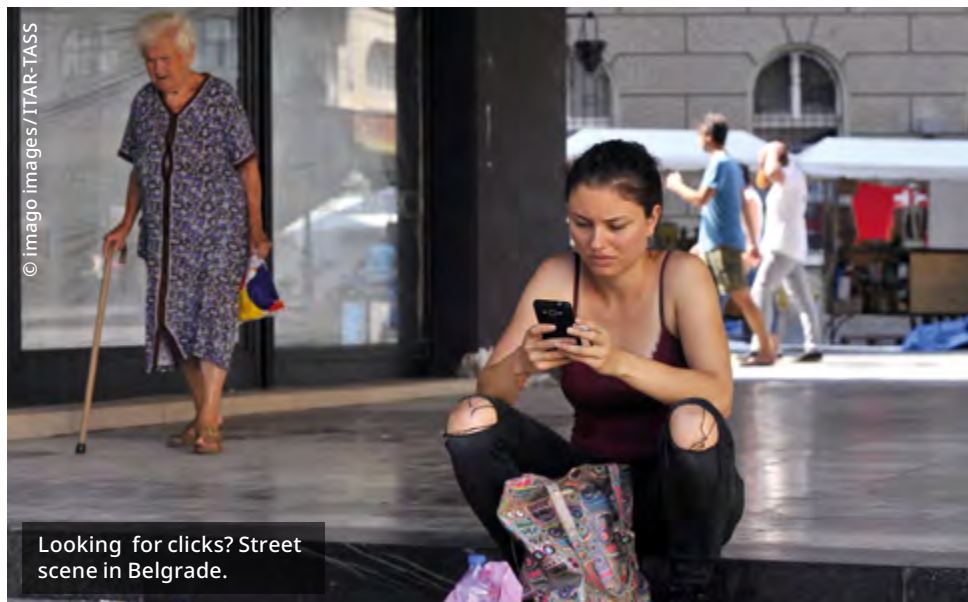
How the project “Clickbait” highlights the language of many YouTubers in Serbia

by Klaus Dahmann

Radio, TV and print media are playing an increasingly minor role in the lives of many children and teens. Instead, they spend the majority of their “media time” on the internet and social networks, especially since smartphones are almost always at hand. Though this trend can be observed everywhere on the globe, it is particularly pronounced in Serbia and the Western Balkans. Most traditional media there still come across as old-fashioned, revolving mainly around post-war topics such as the status of Kosovo, territorial disputes in Bosnia and Herzegovina or the supposed choice of political orientation towards the European Union or Russia—passé for many young people. They’ve been searching for modern and appealing media content for their age group—(often) in vain. But now, they can find what they’re looking for on YouTube, Instagram, and more recently, TikTok.

A close look behind the influencer scene in the Western Balkans, reveals a world in which hate speech, sexism and cyber bullying have been at the fore for many years now. Control mechanisms, such as those enforced by the EU or the United States, do not work because government agencies pay as little attention to this parallel universe as do civil society, traditional media and even the majority of sponsors. In the vast majority of cases, social media can continue to operate without sanctions.

In 2019, people in the YouTube scene who wished to make a clear statement against such behavior began to raise their voices. In response, DW Akademie brought eight such YouTubers together. They first



Looking for clicks? Street scene in Belgrade.

produced the (self-)ironic music video “Klikbejt” (“Clickbait”), in which they sang not only about the convulsive hunt for clicks, but also about fraudulent lottery games, hate speech and discrimination. In their second rap, “Drama,” they criticized, among other things, toxic masculinity, the glorification of consumption and author’s rights violations, as well as the fact that YouTubers often incite their followers against other YouTubers.

In Serbia, as a result of the second video, the world of YouTube and Instagram is no longer a “blind spot.” Discussions about ethics in social networks have reached government agencies and even marketing agencies and sponsors via traditional media and civil society organizations. The rap videos are used in Media and Information Literacy training for children, young people and teachers.



Capturing conflict

Photography and its effect

by Antje Bauer

Is it true that a picture is worth a thousand words, as the saying goes? Not always, but very often. We live in a visual age. Pictures—whether moving or still—can do a lot of good, but also a lot of harm. There are those images that evoke pity in the viewer—like that of the naked child fleeing towards the photographer after a napalm attack in Vietnam in 1972. There are those that are intended to mislead, like the countless manipulated images taken out of context, which are often used, especially in armed conflicts, to demonstrate supposed victories or defeats. And there are pictures that demoralize, brutalize and traumatize the viewer. Especially in conflicts, therefore, pictures have a special significance. They can intensify conflicts, but they can also stimulate reflection and compassion. Photojournalists and cameramen therefore bear as much responsibility as writers. We asked Judah Passow what he aims for with his pictures and what he does not depict and why. Passow is a photographer based in London who has intensively followed the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in his photography and has won the World Press Photo Award four times.



© Judah Passow

An Israeli patrol, ready to search the house of a Palestinian Fatah member.

What do I want to achieve with my photographs?

by Judah Passow

For my photographs to have meaning, to have a voice that speaks with power and authenticity, I must first understand the issues driving the conflict I'm covering. This understanding will allow me to interpret the conflict with intelligence and sensitivity by seeing beyond the surface of the moment and recognizing the full, nuanced range of emotions fueling the story. This means doing research before I start photographing, and then constantly talking to people on the ground once I start working, so that I can make decisions based on up-to-date information.

The photograph of the seven-year-old Indian boy breaking stones in a quarry outside of New Delhi is from a story about a particularly vicious social conflict. It's about impoverished families in India who sell their children into bonded labor as a way of raising money. The practice is both illegal and widespread. The children work for years at menial jobs in dangerous conditions to pay back their employer the money their parents received. Some children grow into adulthood trapped in this system. Others wait patiently for the right moment and then try to escape. It's a brutal, medieval practice which India hasn't had much success in ending.

For several weeks before leaving on this magazine assignment, I read as much as I could find around the bonded labor issue. There were several detailed reports on the subject prepared by charities and NGOs which gave me a clear sense of the kinds of photographs I was looking for, and where I needed to go to find them. From some of these organizations, I received the names of people in New Delhi who were involved in the movement to stamp out

this practice. By contacting them, I was able to arrange background briefings with local social workers, and visits to the homes of families who had sold their children, as well as the quarries, factories and markets where these children were working.

Another critically important element in photographing any type of conflict is trust. The kind of intimacy that gives a photograph its real power can only come once a certain level of trust has been developed between the photographer and the people being photographed. That trust has to be earned, and it is largely a function of the amount of time you spend getting to know each other. Time, to use a darkroom analogy, is the developer that gradually draws out and reveals the mutual empathy and respect that form the bond on which trust is based. This developing process can take days or even weeks, depending on the complexity of the story and the degree of hostility you initially encounter. But once that trust has been established, you find that people take you into their confidence and into their lives. At this point, you discover that your photographs begin to take on depth, drama, and emotional tones.

These kinds of experiences can't possibly leave you unaffected. Your own emotional response to a situation is an essential component in a photograph of any importance. Photographer Bruce Davidson once observed about his own work: "My pictures aren't so much about telling a story, as they are about my relationship to the story."



© Judah Passow





© Judah Passow

What is important when I photograph a conflict?

by Judah Passow

My photographs look at conflict from the inside. It's important for me to understand what the consequences of a conflict are for those people whom history seems to be treating with indifference. My intention has always been to take photographs which make it clear that neither side in a conflict has a monopoly on suffering, that every conflict by its very nature reaches a point where all it is achieving is inflicting pain on everyone involved.

The photograph of the Kurdish refugee (above) is an example of what I want to achieve with my work. Taken during the first Gulf War in 1991, this man fled from his home in Iraq as Saddam Hussein's army pushed north to attack the country's Kurdish population. He walked over the Zagros mountains into Turkey where he joined 200,000 other Iraqi Kurds at a refugee camp in Ishikveren. I photographed him minutes after he arrived at the camp. Exhausted by the journey, wearing a dirt-caked sheepskin coat, he bends down to bring his parched lips to the tap on a portable water tank for a drink. He's been reduced to humiliating animal-like behavior in order to survive. This photograph addresses an aspect of the story about the Gulf War that I personally found most compelling: how the conflict de-humanizes the voiceless.

Phillip Graham, when he was publisher of the Washington Post, famously said that "journalism is the rough draft of history." Those of us, photographers and writers, who gather news for a living, regard Graham's observation as the guiding principle by which we pursue our craft. We are witnesses. We provide the hard documentary evidence which future generations will use to judge the accomplishments and failings of our turbulent times. We are driven by the hope that we will all ultimately learn from our mistakes, and that our children will not be condemned to repeat them. It's the photojournalist's responsibility to show what those mistakes are, and who is accountable for them, so that no one can defend their ignorance by saying "I didn't know."

Conflict zones are places where the young are robbed of their childhood and the elderly stripped of their dignity. Where people glorify their past, curse their present, and have difficulty imagining a future. Photographing in these fraught situations demands that a photographer bring passion and commitment to using the camera as a tool for asking often uncomfortable questions in the search for truth.

What not to show

by Judah Passow

Sometimes what you don't show in a photograph can actually have more impact than what you do. Photojournalism can be used to deliver both art and information, and covering a conflict presents us with both an opportunity and a challenge in this regard.

The photograph (below) of a Palestinian woman crossing the Awali River bridge into Southern Lebanon as she flees the fighting in Beirut, is a case in point. The Lebanese capital was a particularly fierce battleground in 1983, pounded by air strikes, artillery exchanges, tank battles and intense street fighting that made life there a nightmare. Two kinds of people lived in the city—those that could get out, and those that couldn't. This image is a way of addressing one of the central consequences of that brutal conflict—people fleeing their homes in the war-torn city—in a dignified and creative way. In marked contrast to those one-dimensional photographs of bodies lying in the street and buildings reduced to rubble, this image draws together elements of journalistic information, formal rules

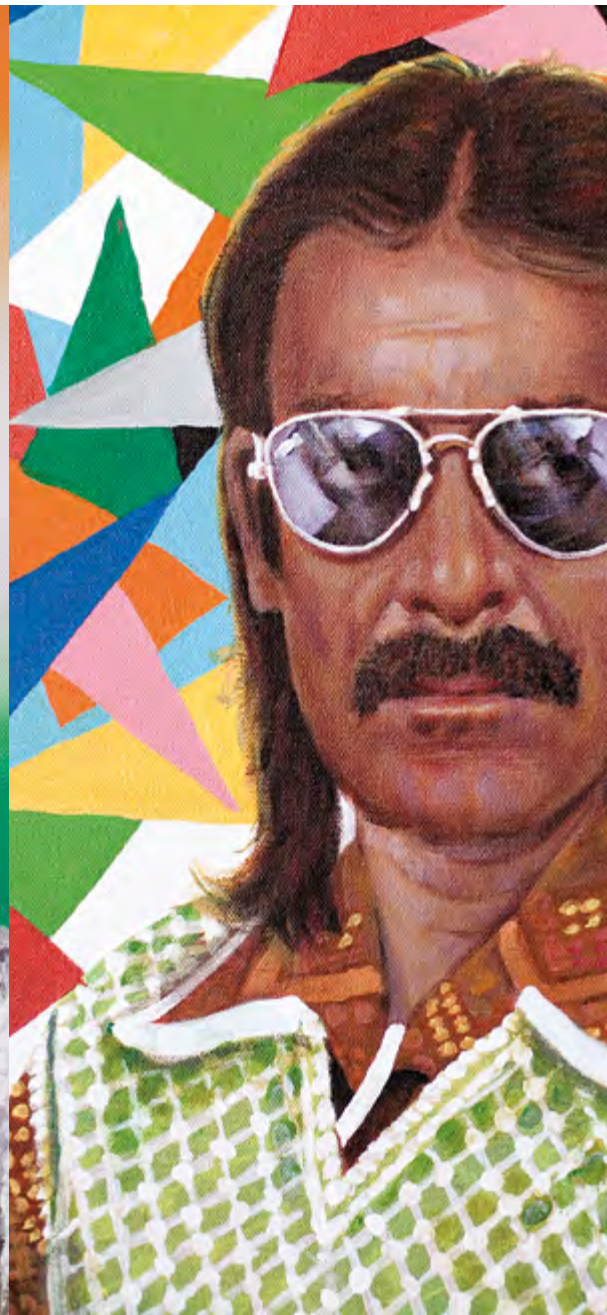
of photographic composition, and emotional subtlety to make a nuanced statement about the consequences of conflict, without showing blood.

In our world of 24-hour news cycles and media-driven desensitized emotions, much of the photography of the death and destruction in conflict zones tends to appeal mostly to the voyeuristic. These photographs have limited journalistic value beyond their statement of fact, and in many cases raise serious ethical questions about personal dignity and emotional sensitivity. By making a conscious decision not to focus on the raw barbarism that drives many conflicts, and look instead for ways to frame a more sophisticated photograph, we can help re-sensitize society and perhaps curb its appetite for brutality.

Photojournalism has been described as the photography of ideas. The real challenge in photographing conflict lies in being able to capture the idea of the cruelty, the tragedy, and the futility of violence.



© Judah Passow





Static society, shifting identities

Taboos and the power of Bollywood

by Antje Bauer

Conflicts often smolder in secret. Those affected are too isolated to raise their voices, mainstream society does not want to hear about it, and often these groups are persecuted. The media frequently functions as the mouthpiece of the majority opinion, thereby cementing discrimination against these groups or individuals. But discrimination has its price. It is paid by the people living in conflict with more powerful social groups or with the state. These people are often denied the right to human dignity, which is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But mainstream society also pays a price: the anger of discriminated groups can be discharged into violence, as could be seen in the protests against police violence in the USA in 2020. A society that tries to turn a blind eye to change becomes unmoving and refuses to change.

India is a country that attaches great importance to conventions. It is very difficult to be different to what mainstream society expects. But in recent years many taboos have been broken; people are increasingly talking about sensitive issues. On the one hand, this is thanks to the many brave individuals who have defied conventions and norms. On the other hand, some media outlets have also found formats to make sensitive issues accessible to a wider public without stirring outrage. Our author Vinamrata Chaturvedi reports on the struggle of individuals against discriminatory social conventions, for example, in relation to homosexuality or physical disabilities, and on a TV show with a touch of Bollywood that is creating change.

© Olivier Culmann / Tendance floue / Agentur Focus

The pictures on pages 56 to 59 are taken from the work *The Others* by French photographer Olivier Culmann. In a series of self-portraits, Culmann reflects on individual identity building, as well as on codes of staged photography in India.

The misfortune of having a divine body

In India, discrimination has many different names and faces

by Vinamrata Chaturvedi



As a young man in Delhi in the early 1990s, Sharif D. Rangnekar couldn't understand why he felt aroused when he watched videos of the male singer Jermaine Jackson. Although this was an era of change in India, homosexuality was still a taboo that nearly nobody spoke about. Nor would this change for years to come. People were convinced that homosexual men could turn straight men gay. Religious leaders called gay marriage "unnatural" and asked their followers to boycott the LGBT community. After the Supreme Court's verdict in 2013 which made same-sex relations an offense, the popular yoga guru Ramdev invited gay people to his ashram, promising to "cure" them from what he considered to be a disease. "That's how I grew up—with so much conflict in my mind and the outside world," says Rangnekar, today a 50-year-old communication consultant who published his memoirs in 2019 under the title: "Straight to Normal: My life as a gay man."

Rangnekar did not want to remain silent and started writing articles on LGBT issues for the leading English dailies "The Times of India" and "Hindustan Times." English-language newspapers were read by the urban, educated population and they would from time to time bring up topics considered taboo by society. Non-English publications whose readers belonged to the broad majority of the population refrained at that time altogether from publishing articles on sensitive topics like homosexuality, pollution or the wage gap. Writing about those topics was risky. "I used a pseudonym—Bharat I. Sharma," Rangnekar explains. "I wanted to raise my voice while protecting my family."



© Olivier Culmann/Tendance floue/
Agentur Focus

In 2009, things began to change. The Delhi High Court delivered a judgment legalizing consensual homosexual activities between adults. After that, Rangnekar started to write articles under his own name. But though the editors were supportive about raising these issues, the reactions of readers were not all positive. In 2015, after publishing an article for the website Scroll on the referendum about same-sex marriage in Ireland, readers threatened to kill him and demanded he leave the country. A short time later, in September 2018, India's Supreme Court overturned its 2013 ruling, and decriminalized sexual relations between gay people.

Homosexuality is not the only long-standing issue that's been difficult to address in India. Indian society is extremely complex, but at the same time reluctant to question traditional social concepts. Discrimination against people with special needs, for example, is still largely unquestioned.

Sameer Chaturvedi has been living with cerebral palsy for 34 years. His life has not been easy. When he was a child, his friends used to mimic the way he walked and make fun of him. Later, during a job interview, he was forced to stand up from his chair to show how much he could move. But despite his special needs, he managed to enroll in Jawaharlal Nehru University to study sociology, where he is now researching disability and publishing articles on the topic.

He criticizes the stereotypes about disabled people. In Indian mythology, for instance, evil people usually have some kind of disability. Take, for instance, the visually impaired King Dhritarashtra from the Indian epic of Mahabharata and the hunchbacked woman Manthara from Ramayana. On the other hand, mainstream media often portray disabled people as heroes or models of resilience to be followed. In reality shows like Indian Idol, disabled people are pitied and presented as particularly nice people. Disabled people never seem to be normal people with disparate characteristics. This is why when Prime Minister Narendra Modi used the Hindi word *divyang* for disabled persons, Chaturvedi criticized him strongly in articles for various media platforms. *Divyang* means "divine body." Though readers and relatives took issue with him for speaking out against the PM and the system, Chaturvedi defended himself, saying "We need empathy, not sympathy."

While it's often the actions of courageous individuals like Chaturvedi that end up changing public opinion, in some cases international attention has triggered a debate in India. This was the case following the 2012 Delhi gang rape. The worldwide media coverage of this crime led to a broad public debate on violence against women and legal amendments for faster trials and tougher sentences for the perpetrators of sexual assault against

women. This encouraged many women who until then had silently accepted violence from their husband and their families. Vandana Yadav, a young woman from Kanpur city, was one of them. After being beaten and threatened by her violent husband, she decided to file a case against him and request a divorce. "Girls are raised to compromise in their married life," she says. "I chose to live with self-respect."

This new development was reflected in the media as well. News websites for women were established to address the issue of gender inequality. Oddnari, one of the first Hindi websites dedicated to gender-centric issues, started campaigns for women's legal rights and a more prominent place of women in economy and politics.

But old habits die hard. The first Bollywood film on homophobia, titled "Shubh Mangal Zyada Savdhan," was released in February 2020. After watching it, Rangnekar was critical of the way the film treated the topic of homosexuality as a joke instead of addressing it as a real issue. But many filmgoers enjoyed it. Manju Taneja, a South Delhi woman around the same age as Rangnekar, watched it together with her family. She thoroughly enjoyed the funny scenes. But when asked about how she would react if her son were gay and chose a man as a partner, Taneja was adamant. She said: "I wouldn't allow my son to do that, and if he did, I would ask him to leave the house."

Talking taboos on Sunday mornings

How the Indian show “Zindagi Live” attracted its audience by mixing serious topics with Bollywood flair

by Vinamrata Chaturvedi

“Why do you want people to get stressed out on a Sunday morning by watching a show about India’s conflicts and problems?” That’s how a few journalists reacted in the editorial meeting when their colleagues presented the idea of “Zindagi Live.” The show was supposed to sensitize viewers to the complex social issues in their country without stirring up hatred. But once “Zindagi Live” started being broadcasted, it developed a dynamic of its own.

The show began in 2007 in the channel IBN-7 (later relaunched as News18 India) and continued successfully for six years. It was the first show of its kind on Indian television. “Zindagi Live” was supposed to be hosted by a famous Bollywood actress, but after some unsuccessful rehearsals, the job was given to famous journalist Richa Anirudh, who dealt with sensitive issues such as female fetocide, Hindu-Muslim riots, and homosexuality—topics which no one had thought of talking about on a TV show before.

“Zindagi” means life, and the show was based on real-life stories of people who had suffered because of taboos, or experienced tragedies and overcome them. The show was centered on the protagonists and their families and friends. It included activists, experts, and sometimes Bollywood celebrities. It presented background reporting on the issue and on-location shooting of the protagonists at their homes. Not only the experts, but also the spectators in the studio were invited to share their thoughts. To keep the show light, Bollywood and Indian folk songs were sometimes played in the background.



Guests at the “Zindagi Live” studio.

In its very first year, “Zindagi Live” won the Best Talk Show award given by Indiantelevision.com, and it continued to win many awards in the years that followed. Eventually, other shows with similar concepts were created, such as “Satyamev Jayate,” hosted by Bollywood star Amir Khan. The success of the shows was based on their mix of reality TV, songs and popular celebrity guests who kept the audience engaged.

“People are slowly accepting the changes”

The Zindagi Live host on the power of words

Interview with **Richa Anirudh**, by **Vinamrata Chaturvedi**



© Network18

How did the idea for “Zindagi Live” come up?

TV channels with varied content were at a peak in India in the mid-2000s. People were expecting more than just the news from a channel. One of my editors wanted to make a show which could bring newsy content and awareness with a flavor of “The Oprah Winfrey Show.” That’s when the concept for “Zindagi Live” was created. It was the most expensive show at that time in the TV news media.

What were the challenges?

I went to meet an alcoholic woman, and she yelled at me because in Indian society, women are not expected to be drinkers. I was patient and ultimately convinced her to talk about alcoholism. On the show, she said, “Yes, I have been an alcoholic for 20 years, and this has affected my family.” Her words had the power to address the issue. In 2007, we couldn’t find lesbian couples as women were reluctant to speak about LGBT issues, so we made the show without them. However, in 2010, we found lesbian couples and mothers of homosexual children and made another show. For an episode on domestic violence, the male victim refused to talk. “I am a man,” he said. “How can I admit to the world that my wife beats me every day?”

Is it easier now to find people who are prepared to participate?

Due to education and the internet, people are slowly but surely accepting the changes. In 2007, we would never have been able to make a show about a live-in relationship where couples live together without getting married, because it was a taboo. Young people working in Delhi and Mumbai were reluctant to speak as their hometowns were small cities. However, today it is much easier to make such a show.

How did the public react to “Zindagi Live”?

The viewership was average in the beginning, and it gained momentum when we addressed different conflicts. We received emails from people who told us how they dealt with issues like domestic violence

just by watching my show. They liked the idea of increasing awareness about the issue without stirring up hatred. “Zindagi Live” became the flagship program of the channel IBN-7.

Did you ever feel an issue was too sensitive to be discussed?

An episode on the demolition of the Ayodhya Mosque was made, and we edited out many parts of the discussion between the leaders of the Hindu and Muslim community as those could have led to riots. We can address issues like religion without deepening the divide if we talk about people’s problems. The show opened the window for discussion in society and made people aware of the taboos.



© Richa Anirudh

Richa Anirudh

is best known for hosting the TV show “Zindagi Live,” broadcast first on IBN-7, then on News18 India. Today, she is the producer and anchor of the YouTube show “Zindagi with Richa” which follows the same concept. And she presents a show called “Big Heroes” where she interviews unsung heroes of the society. Richa has received various prestigious prizes and awards for her work.



Marching toward the future — but which one? These Colombians support the peace agreement between their government and the FARC guerilla.



© Martin Specht / Agentur Focus

The power of the past

Examples from Colombia and Belarus

by Antje Bauer

When is the right moment to deal with the political conflicts of your own country's recent past? Do these old conflicts gain new life when they are addressed, rekindling political polarization? And how does a society cope when perpetrators and victims live together side by side without coming to terms with the past and without justice being given to the victims? The media play an important role here. Do they ignore these questions or tackle them? And if so, do they do so neutrally, or do they take sides? And whose side do they take?

The armed conflict in Colombia may have lost intensity, but it is not over. The wounds of the past still hurt. There are different approaches to coming to terms with what has happened and seeing former enemies as fellow human beings. Our author Margarita Isaza describes how a media project in Medellín, supported by DW Akademie, helped open up a dialog about the past and encouraged hostile neighbors to begin speaking to each other again.

In many countries, especially less democratic ones, history is not analyzed critically. Rather, a certain interpretation of this history is decreed from above—often legitimizing today's ruling parties. Media that unquestioningly adopt such interpretations make themselves the henchmen of politics. By contrast, media that openly question these unscientific narratives often find themselves exposed to the reprisals of the powerful. So what to do?

The example of Belarus shows how an autocratic ruler can wield a historical narrative for his own purposes. When in the 20th century National Socialist Germany occupied Belarus—then part of the Soviet Union—they proceeded to exterminate the local Jews. The fact that a part of the Belarusian population collaborated with the Germans is concealed today in order to portray the Belarusians as a people of victorious resistance against the Nazis. This narrative insults the victims a second time and is used primarily to disqualify the opposition. The Belarusian magazine ARCHE counters this narrative by publishing scientific articles, some of which were first published abroad. Kyryl Savin asked the editor-in-chief of ARCHE, Valeriy Bulgakov, how such a thing is possible in a repressive state.

Late hugs from the neighbors

How a film project reunited a village in Colombia

by Margarita Isaza Velásquez

The village of Sonsón, with some 30,000 inhabitants, can be reached from Medellín by a winding road that passes through cornfields, avocado plantations, valleys of different shades and high mountains of the Andes. Like so many settlements in this western part of Colombia, it experienced the onslaught of war at the end of the 20th century: the armed groups of the FARC, the ELN, the United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia and the army troops often clashed over control of the prosperous territory, coca crops, communication routes to the center and south of the country, and perhaps also to gain some support among the inhabitants of that area.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the situation in the eastern region of Antioquia, where Sonsón is located, became more acute. The entrances and exits of Sonsón were constantly besieged with illegal requisitions and checkpoints that sometimes ended in the kidnapping of citizens and the murder of peasants and public officials. Men and women were found dead on the side of the roads, hundreds of families from rural areas fled to Medellín, and there was a general atmosphere of anxiety. This was the situation in 2002, when Gertrudis Nieto lost her fourth child, Jesús Amado.

The 19-year-old boy was unemployed and saw no prospects for his future in Sonsón, so he accepted an offer from a local commander, who promised he would earn money to support his family as a “soldier”—albeit illegally. He left home one morning and his mother, Gertrudis, learned that he was encamped with an armed group, made up of about 100 teens and young adults from the region,

in a recreation center at the entrance to the village. She says the camp was operating “in full view of the authorities who were patrolling the area.”

On the night of June 13, 2002, the rumble heard by the people of Sonsón made it clear that something was going on in the paramilitary camp. The next day it emerged that 18 boys who were training to be paramilitaries had died in an alleged battle with the official army, from which not a single soldier was injured. Some people from the area say that there was collusion and collaboration between the armed groups initially, but that the pact was broken, and a confrontation took place in the form of an ambush.

Gertrudis, a housewife, who also had a job preparing lunches in the restaurant of a community association, buried her son amid hostility from neighbors and acquaintances. They said she had no right to mourn Jesús Amado, nor to consider herself a “victim of the conflict,” because he had been a paramilitary. But she, then 44 years old, repeated a phrase that became a mantra: “No one bears a child only to go to war.”

So she approached the women in Sonsón who belonged to two civil initiatives: the Association of Victims for Peace and Hope and the Association of Women Weavers for Memory. Both groups were formed around the year 2000, to reclaim the memories and dignity of their members’ loved ones, to ask for justice and truth in the cases still hidden from other Colombians, and to weave back the ties between neighbors that had been strained and broken by war.



learned about Gertrudis' story and approached her to tell it as part of an effort to construct a historical record based on peoples' memories.

Gertrudis told the Sonsón TV journalists about her son Jesús Amado, and that story became the thread of the documentary "Luces y sombras: Reconstrucción de memoria sobre La Pinera" (Lights and Shadows: Reconstruction

After the report aired, there was for the first time a public act of commemoration for Jesús Amado and the 17 other young people who'd died that night in 2002. At the university there was a mass attended by the inhabitants of the village and the women of the Association of Victims, who, with posters, textiles and small wooden crosses, remembered the young men who may have died as paramilitaries, but who were nonetheless sons, brothers and fathers of the inhabitants of their region. "Beloved, my son, you were invited to take a bad step. You accepted it. But God loved you so much that he took you away from me and carried you in his arms. Likewise, forgiveness, Lord, forgiveness, for all those who have caused so much harm in our homes and hearts," wrote Gertrudis with red marker on a poster displayed at the commemoration.

The report, now available on YouTube, continued to be aired on local television, and some victims' groups and citizens from other villages also showed it to create understanding about how poor peasants ended up being recruited, either voluntarily or forcibly.

After the broadcast of the documentary "Lights and Shadows," 14 years after losing her son, Gertrudis began to receive the hugs and condolences that her neighbors in the village once denied her. "A colleague from the association who had once quarreled with me came up to me and said: 'Forgive me, I didn't know how things had happened, and I know that you have suffered a lot too,'" says Gertrudis.

Today, Gertrudis is a strong, compassionate woman who still works cleaning houses or cooking in small restaurants. She keeps photos of her son on her cell phone. And she remains an active member of Sonsón's Association of Victims for Peace and Hope, as well as the Association of Women Weavers for Memory, which continues to hold memorials for murdered and disappeared family members in the region, so that memory will be a form of justice.



Gertrudis Nieto at the tomb of her son.

Little by little, Gertrudis found friends there who understood her pain and who did not ask her how her son had died. Yet she remained silent because she thought that the memory of Jesús Amado could hurt the mothers of those who had been killed by paramilitaries. Years went by, and on one afternoon during a workshop she felt it was time to tell the story she had been silent about for so long.

Journalists from the community channel Sonsón TV, accompanied by advisors from Hacemos Memoria, a project run by the University of Antioquia and DW Akademie (see article next page),

of the memory about La Pinera), which was broadcast in the village in 2016. "Here, a story was told that only few knew about—something we had not wanted to talk about among ourselves," said John Dairo García, a journalist with the community channel who was part of the filmmaking team. The TV report may have reopened old wounds, but other Sonsón residents recognized the pain caused by the war and stopped judging Gertrudis for having mourned her son. "We knew that this had happened, but we had never dug deeper to learn more about what happened," said Carlos Mario Otálvaro, a Sonsón resident, when he saw the documentary.



Needlework for remembrance.



"We were innocently in prison."

Reweaving memories

The victims of Columbia's many armed conflicts tell their stories

by Matthias Kopp

What happens to memory in a war zone? Who remembers the victims when one violent conflict follows another? And what about those who turn from victims into perpetrators?

When DW Akademie started its work in Colombia in 2006, these questions began to crystallize in the circuit of victims' organizations, human rights defenders and academics, and became the subject of public debate.

Initial journalistic trainings with young citizen journalists from community media outlets made it clear that reporting or even talking about the conflict was a very delicate issue. Some of them came from recently pacified warzones. The question arose: how can you understand the political logic of the present if you are unable to review the past?

In 2014, DW Akademie began to work with a group of journalists and academics at Universidad de Antioquia in Medellín, the country's second-largest public university. In the following year, this group constituted itself formally as "Hacemos Memoria" ("We Make Memory"). Directed by journalism professor Patricia Nieto and with the support of DW Akademie, "Hacemos Memoria" (hacemosmemoria.org) decided that it was time for journalists not only to write about the sufferings of the victims but also to help the eyewitnesses of the different conflicts to write down their own experiences. The journalist's interest was not merely theoretical, as journalists in Colombia have been victimized in many ways themselves, and many were traumatized as war reporters. Even the

university campus where "Hacemos Memoria" was established had become part of the warzone, and teachers and students were killed. Clearly, in the middle of such a polarized society, constructing some kind of consensus about the past would be no easy task.

Not only was the city of Medellín hit hard by armed violence, but also most of the rural communities surrounding the city. "Hacemos Memoria" went into zones where the conflict had already ended and organized training programs for local victim organizations and community media. Instructed by professional journalists, these rural working groups, composed of community journalists, social workers, village poets and youth activists discussed the violent history of their communities and created narratives about truth and reconciliation. Stories formerly untold were broadcast by community radio and TV stations. Each of these training programs lasted between two and three years. In some cases however, the efforts had to be abandoned due to security concerns. Within a short time, the course began attracting not only journalists but also other professionals from a wide range of fields, such as psychologists, sociologists and public administration clerks.

Talking about Colombia's bitter past has become somewhat more normal. But the task is still enormous. Over 9 million people have been officially registered as victims of the armed conflict. And their stories are still waiting to be told.

50 years of violence

Armed groups, drug cartels and paramilitaries characterize Colombia's recent history

by Margarita Isaza Velásquez

Violence is a constant companion in Colombia's recent history. In more than 50 years of conflict between the Colombian state and various armed organizations, more than 200,000 people have died and almost 8 million Colombians have become internally displaced, out of a population of 50 million.

The armed struggle has been aggravated by the violence of the drug cartels. Sometimes the armed groups fought the cartels, sometimes they collaborated with them. Nearly 30,000 people were kidnapped and disappeared without a trace.

In 2016, then President Juan Manuel Santos signed a peace agreement with the largest guerrilla group, the FARC-EP. The FARC then began to lay down their arms. But in a referendum held shortly afterwards, more than half of Colombians rejected the peace agreement because there was no consensus in the society on how this issue should be dealt with. It lost legitimacy, as did the accompanying measures for the social reintegration of the combatants.

The ELN guerrilla group and the FARC dissidents who did not join the demobilization process are now continuing the armed struggle. The violence also emanates from new criminal gangs, some of which are recruited from former paramilitaries. All these groups are largely financed by the drug trade. Colombia is one of the countries with the highest production of cocaine worldwide.

Environmental or human rights activists are exposed to a considerable threat. According to the Indepaz peace research institute, 971 Colombians have been killed between the signing of the 2016 peace agreement and July 2020; all of them were active in social or environmental issues at the community level and were therefore in the path of armed gangs.



Strong opposition:
A demonstration against the 2016
peace agreement in Bogotá.

Tool 3: Needs and fears mapping

Example: Colombia

by Mona Naggar

This conflict analysis tool focuses on the needs, interests and fears of the actors involved in the conflict. All these factors influence the course of the conflict.

Our example here is the social divide in Colombian society after decades of armed conflict between armed groups like the FARC, local militias supported by the government, government forces and victims of the different sides. And in some way the journalists are concerned as well.

The interests are what the actors want to achieve in the conflict. Sometimes they are hidden or can change in the course of a conflict.

The interest of the relatives of the victims is vindicating the memories and dignity of family members. They ask for justice, and they might also look for revenge or reparations and return of stolen property, especially land.

The journalists want to cover relevant topics, become known, and give a voice to the voiceless. They might also have a personal interest in defending a specific case.

The needs are essential for everyone and are not negotiable. The peace researcher Johan Galtung defines four needs: security, welfare, freedom and identity. A conflict cannot be solved if the actors' needs are not acknowledged and satisfied.

In our example, the relatives of the victims and the survivors need assurance that the same events will not be repeated. They need their grief to be publicly recognized, and feel that they are understood.

The needs of the journalists are to earn money and perhaps in some cases to come to terms with a personal story.

It is important to evaluate the fears of the actors as well, as they may influence the behavior of the actor.

In our example, the relatives of the victims fear that their tragedy will be overheard or forgotten. They are afraid that the same thing might happen again to them or that the other side(s) will disrespect them.

Journalists may fear that their topic is not deemed to be interesting or that they will face accusations of being biased.

This tool digs deeper, it goes beyond what the conflict parties say in public. It enables the journalists to:

- better understand the conflict and the motivations of the different sides involved
- identify differences and commonalities
- integrate these findings into the coverage or to choose specific angles. In our example this might mean reporting on how the relatives of victims who belong to different political sides have become closer to each other thanks to certain initiatives, or how neighbors have begun to accept the grievances of the other side.

It's best to start with conflict mapping and the identification of the actors, then move on to the needs, interests and fears mapping of the actors. Fill in the table for interests, needs and fears for each conflict side, as you can see in the table.

| PARTY | INTERESTS | NEEDS | FEARS |
|--|---|---|--|
| Relatives of the victims | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Speaking out Vindicating memories and dignity of family members Asking for justice Revenge Reweaving neighborhood ties | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assurance that this will not happen again Recognition in their identity To have public support for the grieving of the loss of the family member To find inner peace To be understood | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not being heard, being forgotten Opening old wounds Being doubted by the relatives of the victims of the other side |
| Rural communities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Speaking out Social stability Forgetting what happened | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reweaving neighborhood ties Getting back to safety and security within the community | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil unrest |
| Local victim organizations e.g. Association of Victims for Peace and Hope | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recognizing the memories of all victims of the war in Colombia Reconciliation Strengthening civil society To be accepted by different parties as a serious mediator | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recognition of its goals Working without pressure and fear To get funding | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> One side demonizes the other side Blurred lines between good and evil Lack of trust between the activists and members of the initiatives Lack of funding Not being taken seriously |
| Journalists | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Covering relevant topics Reaching out Giving a voice to the voiceless Becoming known (Defending a specific case for personal reasons?) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Earning money Dealing with their own personal stories | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of interest from the audience Being accused of being biased |
| Community media | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Covering relevant topics Reaching their target group Reaching a common view about the past? Strengthening civil society | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gaining recognition from the audience and local NGOs | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of interest from the audience Getting attacked by local authorities, politicians, and especially by violent groups |
| Academics | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Collecting testimonies of people involved in the war Reconstruction of the historical memory of the town Scientific analysis of the past Exchanging experiences with other local and international institutions which deal with the past | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gaining recognition | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of support from local residents Lack of support from local NGOs Lack of recognition by other researchers |



Coming to terms with the past

How the Belarusian regime uses World War II to discredit the opposition today

Interview with Valeriy Bulgakov, by Kyril Savin

In your magazine ARCHE you focus on the critical reappraisal of the history of the Second World War. Why?

We are in a post-colonial situation in which our society wants to learn more about its own history. The academic institutions are controlled by the state and do not impart this knowledge. The National Academy of Sciences of Belarus has a department for the history of the Great Patriotic War with eight employees. Their research topic is the Second World War. But the very name of the department is propagandistic and ideological. The myth of the Great Patriotic War and of victory in this war is an integral part of the official historical narrative. And the political leadership of the Republic of Belarus adheres to the maxim: "He who controls the past determines the present." According to this narrative, the current role of President Alexander Lukashenko as the king of Belarus is the logical consequence of the most important events of the recent past: the victory over Nazi Germany, perestroika, and the Lukashenko era. A critical analysis of our own history is therefore not on the agenda for political and ideological reasons.

Western publications often deal with the collaboration of the local population with the Nazis and the role of the Belarusians during the Holocaust. How do you treat this in ARCHE?

We are not afraid of such complex issues. The national historical mythology portrays the Belarusians exclusively as victims of the Nazi occupation. But the facts often look different. Neither Belarusians, nor Ukrainians or Poles initiated the Holocaust, but they were often accomplices. And we see it as our duty to familiarize



When the past goes unquestioned: Belarusian Soldiers commemorate the 75th anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany.



© imago images/ITAR-TASS

readers with such critical publications. The historian Leonid Rein—he teaches as a professor at the University of Haifa and comes from Gomel in Belarus—published a book in 2011 called “The Kings and the Pawns.” In it he examines various aspects of the occupation of Belarus. One section deals with the 30th Waffen Grenadier Division of the SS, which comprised some 10,000 Belarusians and was transferred to France in 1944 to fight French partisans. It is interesting for us to publish such research results because they are not very well known in Belarus.

Do you trigger public discussions in the country by publishing such stories? Or among professional historians at least? Does it present a challenge for official historiography?

It’s an interesting situation. On the one hand, we live in a very authoritarian system, and on the other hand, in 2018 in the State Museum of the Great Patriotic War, we presented a book by the German researcher Christian Ganzer, who is extremely critical of official historiography here. Unlike propaganda, scientific publications are very difficult to question. That is why we do not have tough ideological battles with state ideologists.

On the other hand, publications about the collaboration of Belarusians with the Nazis can cause criticism from nationalist forces, such as the Belarusian People’s Front.

The strongest criticism of our publications comes mainly from representatives of the Belarusian diaspora abroad. These are people who left their homeland in 1944 and 1945. In order to integrate themselves into Western society,

they often rewrote their biographies and concealed their deeds during the war. Therefore, the truth about the war, about collaboration and about the Holocaust is very painful for the Belarusian diaspora in the West. Belarusian nationalism, on the other hand, was and is extremely weak, which is why there are practically no negative reactions from the right.

The whole world recently celebrated the 75th anniversary of the end of the war in Europe. Why do you think that people should still remember and talk about this war?

Take recent events. On May 9, 2020, in the middle of the coronavirus epidemic, Lukashenko held a Victory Day parade in Minsk, on the 75th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War. This government does not see it as a victory of the Soviet Union, but rather a victory of Belarus over fascism. The state declares itself the heir of the victors and equates the opposition with the traitors and collaborators who worked for the Germans during the war. And the media also spread this narrative. Civil society is trying to counteract this narrative, and such commemoration days are well suited to sparking public debate on the subject.



Countering the dominant narrative

by Kyryl Savin

ARCHE is a bimonthly journal of literature and social policy published in Belarus, in Belarusian. Educated, independent thinkers form the bulk of its readership. The magazine was founded in 1998 and today has a print run of about 1,000 copies as well as a website (arche.by). Valeriy Bulgakov, our interview partner, has been editor-in-chief since its foundation. ARCHE also publishes books in partnership with Belarusian and foreign (Polish, Lithuanian and Russian) publishers.

Whereas state media and state-funded research in Belarus propagate a narrative of recent Belarusian history that benefits the autocratic regime, ARCHE stands for a critical approach. In addition to articles by Belarusian authors, the magazine also features works by foreign historians and political figures that counteract the official narrative. The focus is

on the history of Belarus and the national narrative in relation to the Second World War, the dark Stalinist era and the Holocaust—topics that have been widely discussed in Belarus recently.

Time and again the magazine has come under the government's scrutiny. In 2012 Bulgakov was arrested on suspicion of extremism and ARCHE's accounts were frozen. After his release, Bulgakov fled abroad. In 2013, after the proceedings were dropped and the accounts released, Bulgakov returned to Belarus and resumed his position as editor-in-chief.

In 2017, ARCHE succeeded in being reintegrated into the state newspaper distribution system—an important success in a country where the distribution of newspapers and magazines to kiosks and subscribers is entirely in state hands.



Valeriy Bulgakov

was born in 1974 in the Belarusian capital Minsk. He studied Belarusian Philology at the Belarusian State University in Minsk. He is the former deputy editor-in-chief of the magazine "Fragments." He has served as editor-in-chief and publisher of the magazine ARCHE since 1998.



© imago images/ITAR-TASS

Neglected past:
Ghetto victim commemoration in Minsk.



What to do against hate?

When media makers become targets

by Antje Bauer

Journalists increasingly find themselves on the receiving end of hate mail and wonder how they should deal with it. Ignore it? Get angry? Press charges? The German journalist and author Hasnain Kazim was tired of silently accepting e-mails from readers who insulted him because of his Indo-Pakistani background. He decided to answer them. He published these email exchanges in a partly funny and partly frightening book. Frightening because it shows an ugly face of Germans, a face of open racism, hatred, islamophobia and ignorance. Funny because of the humor and (self-) irony which Kazim displays and because of the sometimes entertaining dialog which emerges out of an initially aggressive email by a reader. We are printing an excerpt from it. Kazim also explains his limits of what's bearable, and how to behave when those limits are breached.



© imago images/Christian Mang

Increasing attacks against journalists:
Right-wing protesters in 2018 in Berlin.

Looking away doesn't help

Journalists should never be silent in the face of hate

by Hasnain Kazim

Journalists have been criticized since journalists have been around, and that's a good thing. They report for the public and they claim to depict truth, so accordingly, the public should be critical. Is what they are reporting true? Are they being factual? Is the analysis and the commentary well founded? Factual, knowledgeable and even sharp criticism is part of what it means to have press freedom and freedom of speech.

And yet, something has changed over the past two decades. Firstly, there's the issue of quantity. Up until a few years ago, the public largely expressed their criticism of articles, journalistic content and authors by writing a letter. Doing so meant first thinking about, organizing and formulating what you wanted to say, addressing an envelope, and affixing a stamp. Then there was a trip to the mailbox or the post office. There weren't all that many people willing to make the effort.

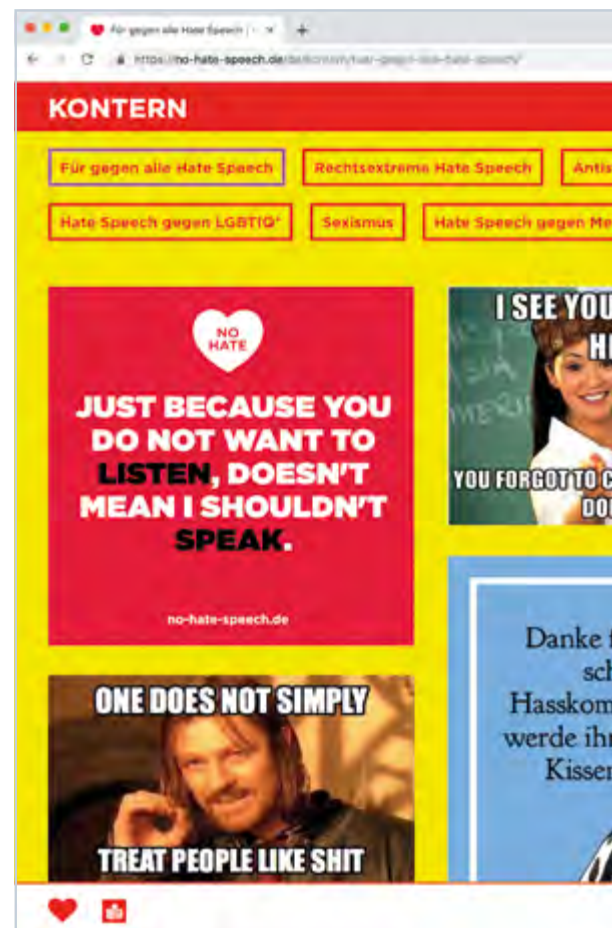
Today, people are much quicker to write their opinion and send their criticism, and that, too, is a good thing. Email and the internet have democratized the expression of opinion. But online communication has also made it easier for people to give their anger free rein. And the quality of criticism has also changed. Hate speech and verbal aggression have increased massively in recent years. It's become a proper flood, and the wave is getting bigger and bigger. Verbal assaults, insults and threats in emails, on internet forums and chat programs and especially on so-called social media have long become commonplace for journalists.

When it comes to certain topics—in Germany, for example, immigration, refugees, Islam, integration, climate change and e-mobility just to name a few—it's a given that the authors of articles will be inundated with messages. When the mails are angry, the senders still largely choose to remain anonymous. But the number of people that include their names, and sometimes even their full addresses and phone numbers, is growing. These days, people stand by their hatred. Unfortunately, it's become socially acceptable.

It's my impression that most editorial offices around the world are overwhelmed by the situation. They don't know how to deal with it, if and how they should defend themselves, and how they can protect the affected journalists from attacks.

Apparently, the fear of losing readers, listeners and viewers in what is already a difficult market outweighs the need to tell them clearly that insults and threats are unacceptable, that they will be blocked from writing comments and that legal action will be taken against them if necessary. In a civilized society, it's not okay to say whatever you want, and that has nothing to do with "infringing upon freedom of speech."

"We have to take the concerns and needs of these people seriously," a colleague told me in December 2015, when we had an especially high influx of hate mail because of the refugee issue. "We have to meet them on equal terms!" he said, and "Don't forget that they are also our subscribers!" These kinds of arguments left me speechless. Just that day,



Screenshot from no-hate-speech.de

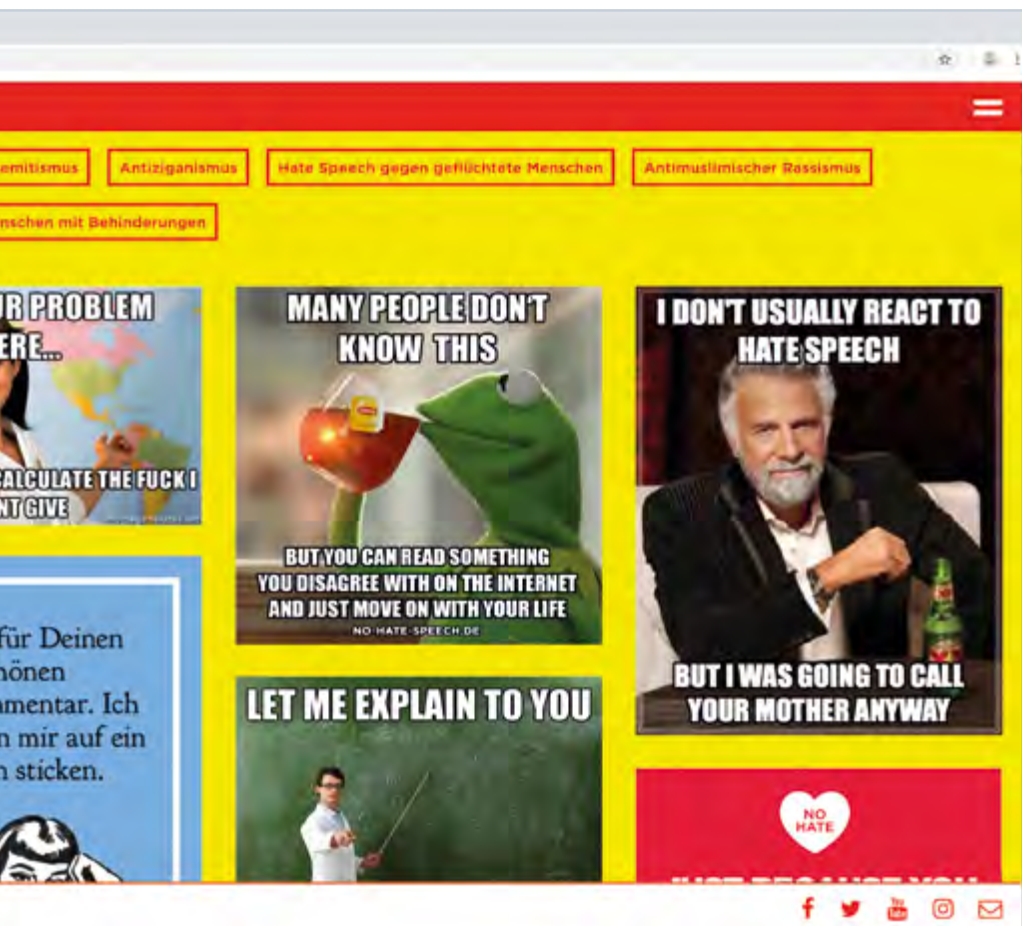
after the argument with my colleague, I received the following message from an anonymous reader: “We Germans should continue the work with you Muslims that we started with the Jews!” The words of my colleague were still echoing in my head. Should I really have to take the “concerns and needs” of such people seriously? Meet them “on equal terms?” Accept their verbal assaults, because they are likely subscribers?

who wasn’t sufficiently “integrated” in Germany, then I promised to work harder at this, together with my four wives. My primary purpose was not to make fun of these people, but rather to hold up a mirror to them with my exaggerated confirmation of their prejudice.

In 2017, the idea was born to publish such dialogues in the form of a book. In May 2018, “Post from Karlheinz: Angry mails from real Germans—and how I answered them” was published.

At the end of 2017, after two years, I stopped answering all the messages. Being on the receiving end of all that abuse was taking too much of a toll. However, I still do respond to plenty of people, including those who’ve decided to target me with their hatred. In about a third of cases, they reconsider their choice of words, or tell you the real reason for their anger, or even apologize. The number of hate mails I receive has also declined noticeably, now that the writers know they’ll get an answer from me. Even if the majority remain proud of their racist, misanthropic statements and are celebrated on the internet and embraced instead of made to feel part of a fringe group, the confrontation and interaction is worth it. It may be time consuming and sap you of strength, but it is urgently needed.

Editorial offices must develop guidelines for dealing with hate mail. Whom should we answer? What should we write to these people? How do we make it clear that a line has been crossed, that it’s unacceptable and that there will be consequences? And what consequences will there actually be? One thing needs to be clear: we should never be silent in the face of hate, insults and threats. Rather, we must stand up to such behavior. And not on “equal terms,” or by taking their “concerns and needs” seriously, or accepting their anger as “opinion.” We can respond by criticizing their statements and picking apart the content. That requires courage, but if we don’t summon it, attacks like these will only multiply and become even more commonplace than they are now.



This bothered me so much that I decided to start answering all, really all, of the letters I received beginning from January 1, 2016. For me, it was about finding a way to deal with all of this hate. And so, I wrote back! And I met them on equal terms. If someone was complaining about the “Islamification of Germany” then I responded saying that I was seeking the office of caliph, in order to turn Germany into a caliphate. If someone accused me of being a “foreigner”

“Come to me, you HACK, and I’ll show you what a REAL GERMAN is!!!”

Excerpts from Mail from Karlheinz

by Hasnain Kazim



“Mail from Karlheinz. Angry mails from real Germans and how I answer them”

The garden gnome:
For some Germans a traditional piece of German culture, for others a symbol of narrow-mindedness.

Karlheinz S. sent me the following message, along with his full address, on November 29, 2016 at 14:03:

Mr. Kazim, you are a MUCKRAKER who only THINKS AND WRITES ANTI-GERMAN things!!! I have never read anything sensible from you, never! You have real nerve, as a FOREIGNER to lecture us Germans in your arrogant tone. Come to me, you HACK, and I'll show you what a REAL GERMAN is!!!

My response on the same day at 17:25:

*Dear Mr. S.,
Many thanks for your message! I'd be very happy to accept your offer to come and visit you. I happen to be vacationing with my family (grandparents, parents, siblings, three wives (the fourth couldn't come as she's in hospital giving birth to our sixth child) eight children, 34 cousins and their 22 children) in your area, I would like to suggest Sunday, December 4, so we could celebrate Advent with you. We are all looking forward to learning from you about what it means to be a "real German"!
Warm regards,
Hasnain Kazim*

Karlheinz S. writes on November 30, 2016 at 7:00:

Is that supposed to be some kind of joke?

My response at 11:45:

*Dear Mr. S.,
No, not at all, we are really in your area and very happy about your invitation! One small question though: As the whole family is coming, where could we park our buses? We're traveling with*

two large coaches and I'm worried that we might not find a parking spot in XXX, as it seems to be a rather small town.

Also, since we don't wish to be too much of a bother for you and your wife: tea and cookies are perfectly fine. We will bring cake, as well as three goats which we could slaughter in your garden. Do you happen to have a fire pit where we could grill them afterwards? Wives 1 and 2 are excellent at grilling, you'll be amazed!

*Warm regards and see you soon!
Hasnain Kazim*

Karlheinz S. writes at 13:07:

That was a joke!!!! And anyways, we're not at home on Sunday!

My response at 19:50:

*Dear Mr. S.,
Please don't worry. We'll just come by and ring the bell, then we can take it from there. It doesn't matter if you're not home. We have a large tent with us. We could put it up in your garden and while we're celebrating, we'll think of you and of Germany, and of course Advent. If you come home in the evening, you could just join the party!
Warm regards,
Hasnain Kazim
PS: Could you perhaps, before you leave your house, put out the garden hose, so that we can clean your garden after the Islamic slaughter?*

Karlheinz S. writes on December 1, 2016 at 10:00:

I know you don't mean all of that. Very funny. I like your sense of humor.

My response on the same day at 14:06:

*Mr. S.,
Since when do we Muslims have a sense of humor? You know yourself that we lack this trait! Why are you taking back your invitation, after writing to me that I should come visit you so I could learn what a REAL GERMAN is. Say what you like — we're coming! And we're looking forward to it!
Warm regards,
Hasnain Kazim
PS: Have you remembered about the garden hose? I don't want any trouble with my wives if we can't grill! And driving home with a hungry family? No fun!*

Karlheinz S. writes at 15:15:

*Dear Mr. Kazim,
I would like to apologize to you for my first mail!! I wasn't serious about you coming to visit me, and yes, I am often irritated by you! But I reacted rashly and I didn't mean it that way! Despite this, I wish you a nice Advent.*

My response at 16:00:

Karlheinz, we're coming. Whether you want us or not! So get the garden hose ready!

++++

Lothar L. sent me the following message on October 15, 2017:

You are on Angela Merkel's payroll, controlled by the government and the BND (Federal Intelligence Service)!!!! You would never write anything critical about Germany!!!!!!!!!!!!

My response on November 1, 2017:

*Dear Mr. L.,
Many thanks for your message dated October 15, 2017! Please excuse the late reply, but the BND had to first check your identity. Mrs. Merkel has now given me the green light to respond to you. The answer is: Your accusations are not helpful.
With kind regards,
Hasnain Kazim
– BND Media Liaison –*

He answered me on November 2, 2017:

*LYING PRESS, SHUT YOUR MOUTH!!!!!!!!!!
I KNOW THAT YOU ARE BEING PAID BY MERKEL AND THE BND!!!!!!!!!!*

I wrote to him on November 4, 2017:

*Dear Mr. L.,
Many thanks for your message dated November 2, 2017.
I have just checked my bank balance and concluded that I have not had any payments from the BND. I will send the BND an invoice, and name you as a witness to the fact that the BND owes me money.
As you have written to me, secure in the knowledge that I am being controlled by Mrs. Merkel and the BND, I am assuming that you will not have any problem with me passing your name, your email address and your IP address to the BND.
With kind regards,
Hasnain Kazim
– Federal Chancellor's Office –*

Since I didn't receive an answer, I wrote to him on November 14, 2017:

*Hallo Mr. L.,
Clearly, you've been left speechless. But seriously, have you ever read anything I've written? Do you even read a respectable newspaper or online news site? Do you watch or listen to the news at all? Or do you just talk about the "state-controlled media" and accuse journalists of being on Merkel or someone else's payroll?
We journalists take a critical approach to all manner of topics. We disagree with each other, we discuss and we have different opinions. But there's one thing that we're certainly not, and that's "state-controlled media," paid by a government or intelligence agency. So please stop spreading this nonsense and instead educate yourself before you sit at your computer again to spew out such stupidity.
Regards,
Hasnain Kazim*

He wrote to me on November 9, 2017:

I READ THAT YOU HAVE RECEIVED A PRIZE FROM CNN! SO THE USA IS PAYING YOU!!!! THAT IS PROOF ENOUGH!!!!!!!!!! STATE-CONTROLLED MEDIA!!!!

Lothar L. didn't write back.

Kazim, Hasnain. 2018. Post von Karlheinz. München, Penguin Verlag.

My response on November 10, 2017:

*Dear Mr. L.,
Many thanks for your message dated November 9, 2017.
May I offer my respect and acknowledgement for the clever conclusion you have drawn. You are completely correct, the CIA is paying me. That's why I hadn't noticed that the BND hasn't paid anything yet. You got me! But please, please don't tell the BND that when you report me to them, ok? They don't know that I'm working as a double agent. And just so I can save you more detective work: I also work for Mossad, the KGB, and the Taliban — whoever pays the most.
With kind regards,
Hasnain Kazim
– Speaker, The White House –*





© imago images/ZUMA Press



When journalists suffer

Dealing with trauma

by Antje Bauer

Part of the cliché of the journalist, especially the conflict reporter, is that they're tough cookies, as Bettina Gaus explains in the opening chapter. Even the journalists themselves—especially the male ones—often believe this cliché. They buy into the lie that real men don't cry. The truth is that journalists who continually report about disturbing events, violence and death often suffer psychological damage. It can be mild or severe, temporary or permanent. Only rarely do journalists have someone they can talk about this with, and even more rarely do they receive support to help them process what they have experienced. A Pakistani journalist working in one of the most dangerous areas in the world for journalists—the Pakistan-Afghan border area—opened up to our author Zehra Abid, who lives in Karachi, and told us how the terrible events he reported on have affected him.

While traumatized journalists are often left alone, there are also places in Pakistan where they can get advice—Zehra Abid also reports on this.

The Lebanese communications trainer Khaled Nasser, who has specialized in trauma counselling, explains how trauma arises, how to recognize it—in oneself or in others—and how to deal with it. He offers advice on how journalists should deal with sources who have experienced trauma.

Funeral prayers after a suicide bomb attack in Quetta, Pakistan. Among the victims were many journalists.

“I thought I had seen everything”

A journalist’s struggle to cope with the effects of terrorist attacks

by Zehra Abid

Everyone in Pakistan knows where they were on December 16, 2014 when they heard the news. Journalist Umar Khan’s* story goes like this: It was his day off, and he was having a lazy morning when his editor called him and said there was an important story to cover. The Army Public School in Peshawar was under attack.

Bomb blasts and terrorist attacks had become a routine matter by then, particularly in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (K-P), a region that borders Afghanistan and where the impact of the US-led ‘War on Terror’ has been felt most keenly. Since 2001, an estimated 80,000 people have

been killed in incidents of terrorism by different armed groups that have left no province of the country untouched.

Khan is a quiet man who comes across as someone who keeps to himself. In his late thirties now, he wears a thin mustache and glasses so thick that one can tell he wouldn’t be able to see without them. On that December day in 2014, he reminded his editor it was his only day off that week. He was told it didn’t matter. He had to go.

Khan had been covering unrest in Peshawar since the mid-2000s, when the capital and main urban center in K-P had

become a hotbed of militancy. He had reported on the blast in a central market in 2004 where the intensity of the explosives was so high that some people are still listed as missing. And he was there on that Sunday morning in 2013 when two suicide bombers attacked All Saints Church during mass, leaving more than 100 people dead. He thought he had seen everything. But after all those years of covering conflict, nothing could prepare him for what he saw on the day the Army Public School was attacked.

“When I reached the hospital, the press was everywhere, and so were devastated parents looking for their children. Then I saw around 20 children in their uniforms lying on the floor. A teacher’s body was lying in the middle. It was as if I were in a classroom of dead students.”

The attack left more than 144 school children dead. In the months afterward, Khan diligently visited families affected by the massacre, profiling one child after another and publishing daily stories on parents crushed by trauma. The



*Name has been changed to protect privacy

emotional impact of it all has been more than he can express. Even today, he still sometimes struggles to walk into their homes when he follows up on that attack.

Khan has witnessed extreme violence, seen hundreds of dead bodies, some still identifiable as people, others not. During some of the city's most difficult times he covered more than three terrorist attacks in the space of a week. Despite this, there has never been so much as a conversation around mental health in the newsroom.

"Who thinks about trauma here?" he asks.

In the years after 9/11, when terror attacks became nearly daily events in Pakistan, journalists there have been forced to operate like fearless heroes, live reporting terrorist attacks without any protective gear, while being made to zoom into suffering and bring out footage of wailing mothers, orphaned children and streets covered in blood. Pakistani television channels, competing with each other for exclusive content, would do whatever it takes. At times, this has meant showing the decapitated heads of suicide bombers on live television.

In a city like Peshawar, people have strong community ties, they know each other well. There came a time when everyone was affected by violence, whether it was losing someone they loved or at least knew closely, or walking around a city where sites of suicide attacks had become landmarks.

But while the changes in society as a result of the attacks were apparent, the toll it was taking on reporters was never recognized. "This is what made it most difficult for us, that none of these emotional challenges were ever acknowledged," he says. But Khan also adds it would have been unrealistic to expect editors to account for the trauma he was going through. The editorial staff were in the same boat, day after day producing pages with stories of mass violence, while struggling to make each incident matter to readers who were watching their country crumble.

"Before this conflict started, people in the newsroom would laugh and make jokes. But afterwards, it was a different place. There was an air of constant strain and stress in the newsroom. Nobody was in a normal situation."

Besides the constant reporting on militancy, Khan found himself emotionally battered by stories of daily crime. "I used to do a television show on crime

"It's impossible to see so many things in a day and not get affected," he says. "Many people here suffer from depression, but they won't admit it. If you do say it out loud, people just think you're crazy."

Khan believes journalists have a dire need for psychological counselling, but points towards the lack of mental health practitioners in Peshawar. "It's not just that therapy is unaffordable for people,



stories and every other day there were stories about women being killed over family honor, women who were the victims of acid attacks, women being raped and sexually abused. Once there was a story of a woman who was thrown off the fourth floor by her husband after having been beaten badly. I don't know how to get that out of my mind; it's been years, but I still think about her."

In his 15 years of reporting, Khan has never had the opportunity to seek psychological help and so he has learned to deal with it in the best way he knows how: with a ready supply of antidepressants prescribed by a doctor friend. It has allowed him to get through the day, but repressed trauma has a way of showing up in the body. Khan talks about getting panic attacks and has had consistently high blood pressure, ranging on hypertension, for at least eight years.

but also that there are too many people in need and too few practitioners. Even if you go see someone, they won't have more than five or 10 minutes to give you before writing up a prescription," he says. "What I really want is to be admitted to the hospital for a month."

He mentions this several times during our conversation. He is not completely certain about how this desired hospitalization will help, but in his eyes, "there is no other way to be okay." The emotional turmoil has settled in too deep and he desperately wants to escape it. The pressure has been far too much for far too long.

"I no longer want to do this," he says. "I will leave soon. Enough of journalism."

But for all his colleagues covering traumatizing events, the challenge will remain.

Talking about a taboo

Pakistan's Wellbeing Centers offer care for traumatized journalists

by Zehra Abid

When Mahim Maher visits newsrooms to inform staff about free psychological counselling offered to journalists, she's often initially met with deadly silence. Maher leads the program of the Wellbeing Centers funded by DW Akademie, which in partnership with a training institute in Pakistan, the Centre for Excellence in Journalism in Karachi, provides trauma counselling around the country. "People don't want to admit they are struggling, even though you can see it in their faces," she says. It wasn't until she would talk about her own struggles with mental health that people would loosen up a bit and get comfortable with the conversation. "It was a huge price to pay because they now go around saying I'm a crazy lady," she says in reference to the taboo that persists around mental health. "No one

would really ask questions in these sessions, but mercifully people would privately make appointments afterwards."

Since the Wellbeing Center started in Karachi in 2018, over 90 journalists have made use of the services, according to the Centre for Excellence in Journalism. A Wellbeing Center has now also been established in conflict-ridden Quetta in partnership with the NGO Individual-land, while online counselling is offered across Pakistan, with journalists from Zhob in Balochistan to Khyber Agency accessing the services. These include 50-minute psychological counselling sessions which are strictly confidential. The program coordinator who schedules the appointments and the psychologist are the only people who know who has sought treatment.

"Depression, anxiety, issues around self-esteem and confidence are very common in journalists, much of which is aggravated by erratic work hours, the constant expectation to be on top of the news and the insecurity of jobs and salaries," says Asha Bedar, a clinical psychologist who has been with the center since its inception. "Constantly reporting on human rights abuses, violence and traumatic events also takes its toll. For some, these stressors contribute to physical health problems."

There are times when people need medication in addition to counselling. In such cases, the center refers journalists to a psychiatrist who consults free of charge. However, the service has its limitations. For one, there are just too many people in need of counselling to make space for everyone, leading to long waiting times. This gap in demand and supply is true for Pakistan as a whole. In this country of an estimated 220 million people, the doctor-to-patient ratio is among the lowest in the world and an estimated 50 million people suffer from common mental health disorders.

While the centers were closed due to COVID-19 in 2020, online counselling continued. But access from home is neither as comfortable nor easy for everyone, says Bedar. COVID-19 has exacerbated mental health concerns for journalists globally and Pakistan is no different. Bedar adds that journalists are struggling not only because of the content of stories, but also because every interaction adds to their exposure, increasing the risk that they themselves will become a part of the story.



One of the most dangerous places in the world

Journalists in Pakistan are caught up among military, mullahs and militants

by Zehra Abid

Years of oppression and censorship mean Pakistani journalists have rarely had an easy time doing their jobs. But since the start of the US-led war on terror increased tensions in the border areas between Afghanistan and Pakistan, journalists have faced even greater difficulties. Caught between the pressures of reporting independently on security forces and their role in the conflict, the religious right and extremist groups such as al Qaeda and the Pakistani Taliban—who would make frequent calls to newsrooms to claim attacks—journalists learned to self-censor and walk an invisible tightrope to survive. Anything could be life-threatening: questioning the country's blasphemy laws under which a death sentence may be imposed, saying something that could be interpreted as “hurting the sentiments of Muslims,” independently reporting on military operations or drone strikes, or referring to militants in a way that offends them.

It comes as little surprise, then, that in 2017 and 2018 consecutively, Pakistan was named among the most dangerous places in the world for journalists. Attacks against journalists included murders, abductions, physical attacks and arrests. While journalists all over Pakistan have found themselves stuck in this conundrum, in conflict-ridden areas of Balochistan and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa close to the Afghan border they have faced multiple layers of challenges.

Journalist Saher Baloch says that reporters' safety has never been a consideration. During the time she worked for the country's top news publications in Karachi, covering bomb blasts



... pollution:
Journalists face a lot of human suffering when doing their work.

and reporting on very sensitive human rights issues, she never received first aid training. That only changed when she recently started working with the BBC. The journalist Umar Khan points towards the discrimination journalists face based on which part of the country they work in. “Once there was an attack in Karachi and there were immediate conversations about getting a bulletproof jacket for the crime reporter, but no one really thought about that for us in Peshawar,” he says. In areas of Balochistan with a high frequency of militant attacks, people often do not even get paid, says Shehzad Baloch, who reported from Quetta for 10 years. Shehzad has seen colleagues killed and injured in various attacks. “I was completely shocked one day when I visited

a colleague who had been injured in a bomb blast. His main concern then was that he may not receive his salary since he was unable to go to work.”

Saher Baloch says she has also survived challenging circumstances but is only now beginning to process her experience. Ten years ago, when Karachi was the site of routine targeted killings, bomb blasts and gang violence, Baloch was a health reporter. She reported diligently, following up stories day after day, but it's only now that signs of the emotional pressure she was under are emerging. Baloch talks about the recurrent nightmares she gets. “It's been 10 years now and it has taken me all this time to understand the impact of the trauma I experienced then.”

When your life feels upside down

How to recognize trauma symptoms and how to deal with them

by Khaled Nasser

Definition

Trauma is defined as a terror-inducing, life-changing accident or series of accidents that lead to a destabilized nervous system and eventually to mental disorder. Trauma can come from a single acute attack or an extended period of highly stressful events. A person may be subjected to a traumatizing event (e.g. a journalist is imprisoned and tortured) or may observe trauma in action (e.g. a journalist reports a massacre).

That said, not every terrifying accident is a trauma, and not every trauma leads

to trauma disorder. Field reporters covering wars and social tensions and being exposed to pain and torture may not necessarily endure persistent mental disorders.

The Trauma Experience

Psychologically, trauma is experienced at three levels:

1. **the event,**
2. **the memory of the event, and**
3. **the emotions accompanying the memory**

1. **The event:** A traumatizing event is usually described by trauma survivors as a state of being stuck (feeling defenseless and frozen) under a sudden, unexpected aggression (verbal, physical, sexual offense), threatening the identity of the person, their pride and their dignity.
2. **The memory:** We often try to suppress memories of trauma, in the hope of forgetting or avoiding echoes, but they can return through unwelcomed flashbacks, daydreams or nightmares, or be triggered by situations and sensations—including unrelated but similar sights, smells, or tactile experiences. For example, a journalist who witnessed a mass shooting near a coffee shop could be triggered by the smell of coffee his wife is preparing at home.
3. **Emotional reactions:** At the emotional level, those memories are accompanied by an overwhelming flood of body reactions, leading potentially to episodes of panic attacks. To a great extent, those emotions are somatic memories, meaning that you actually feel the event in your body. For instance, a journalist who's arrested and abused while handcuffed, may feel pain around his wrists.



The pictures on pages 86–89 show women in a Tanzanian refugee camp. They suffered gender-based violence in their home country Burundi.

Trauma Symptoms

A traumatic event is a life-altering event. A media professional suffering from trauma disorder is likely to experience life as being out of sync from the moment of the event onward. He or she will feel out of rhythm, in a semi-constant state of disarray.

At the root of this mental disorder is what we call “hypervigilance.” A traumatized brain gets stuck into an auto-pilot survival mode of extreme alertness. It is endlessly anxious about potential attacks the future could bring. This persistent hypervigilance tires the person physiologically, causing sleep and attention difficulties and psycho-somatic disorders such as irritable bowel syndrome, heart problems, back problems, etc.

Depending on the nature of the trauma, this continuous overload of stress may also manifest itself at four key levels, especially if it is never addressed:

1. Emotional Dysregulation

Journalists with trauma may swing between a freeze mode (feeling numb, unable to feel happiness or sadness) and a flooding mode (bursting out of control with anger episodes). In addition, the constant saturation of stress makes the person edgy, authority defiant and hypersensitive. People suffering from trauma will find themselves unable to tolerate excess sound, touch, smell or light.

2. Social Withdrawal

Hypervigilance means that the person affected might face difficulties in trusting others, he might suspect people of watching and conspiring against him, in addition to deep feelings of loneliness.

3. Identity Crisis

Persons with trauma disorder lose the meaning of life, the purpose of working and pursuing life plans. They question their self-worth and doubt their capacity to face the future. As a consequence, they lose interest

in activities such as daily routines, hobbies, exercise, and self-development, and often immerse in negative addictions, such as substance abuse, sexual addiction and eating problems.

4. Dissociative Disorders

The trauma breaks the person internally into conflicting parts. For instance, one internal voice calls for impulsive actions, while another calls for caution. Persistent self-blame and lack of self-acceptance can lead to forms of escapism, such as excessive video gaming. Such activities are basically ways to dissociate from real life and live a virtual one.

Of course, some people suffer from trauma stress but do not experience all of these symptoms. The manifestation of symptoms will entirely depend on the nature of the traumatic event on the one hand, and the character, experience and background of the media professional on the other.



© Peter Marlow/Magnum Photos/Agentur Focus

Recovery

The way to recovery mostly focuses on reducing the emotional impact of the trauma. We cannot go back in time to change the event itself, and we will never be able to forget or suppress it. But we can work on remembering the event without the overwhelming negativity. This memory reprocessing work is recommended in coordination with a trauma therapist.

Reducing hypervigilance is another important condition that the person with trauma needs to work on in parallel with, or without, therapy.

Healing from hypervigilance, to a great extent, works on re-establishing the rhythm of life through simple baby steps that one can take slowly to restore a sense of normalcy:

1. Reconnecting with society

Developing safe relationships, starting with close family members and/or friends, establishing collective rou-

tines and rituals. By building social support, the person avoids spending time alone and getting consumed by negative thoughts.

2. Reconnecting with oneself

Learning to love and accept oneself with all the flaws and missteps and learning to accept negative emotions.

3. Reconnecting with one's body

Establishing a routine of rhythmic physical activities, such as exercising, playing sports, martial arts, singing, dancing. Rhythms are predictable, and the person with trauma finds comfort in predictability.

4. Reconnecting spiritually

Spirituality in any form or belief system, and its practices (praying, yoga, group rituals, etc.) connect the person to a wider universe, a wider historical context (fate) and help the affected person build acceptance and surrender to life changes.

We learn that we cannot avoid accidents, but that we can manage them and build resiliency.

5. Reconnecting with the present

Being mindful of one's senses, finding pleasure in tasting, cooking good food, hugging and touching loved ones, or being present in nature, for example by enjoying gardening or hiking.

6. Reconnecting with the future

A person in shock, overwhelmed with fear, doesn't dare to dream. To break with this cycle, a journalist is advised to plan for a satisfying project. This could be an investigative piece, a social project, or any project deemed important to the life of the journalist or a given community.

Conclusion

Dealing with trauma is important for the survival of the affected person as an individual and for the wellbeing of the community. We often tend to emphasize and glorify strength and to deny ourselves the right to be weak following a traumatic event. But the reality is that the road to recovery starts with the acknowledgment of the seismic impact of trauma.

What we think of as strength is often nothing but emotional denial. So the appeal to the traumatized person is: Find the courage to be weak.



© Peter Marlow/Magnum Photos/Agentur Focus

Interviewing a traumatized person

What to do and what to avoid

by Khaled Nasser

If you wish to conduct an interview with a traumatized person, you need to proceed delicately. As a journalist, your responsibility is to avoid triggering or re-traumatizing your interviewee as you ask them to relay the information you want.

The following are brief points to consider before, during and after the meeting:

1. **Avoid labeling**
Not every person that went through hardships is necessarily traumatized. Refrain from labeling people as traumatized.
2. **Avoid threatening environments**
Let them select a safe, comfortable place that does not trigger memories and allow them the option of being accompanied by a supportive person during the interview.
3. **Avoid over-convergence**
Balance between showing genuine validation and excess of sympathy or pity. The latter hurts people's pride.
4. **Avoid pushing for details about the trauma**
Let the interviewed person lead the conversation. Give them the full authority to reveal or refrain from disclosing hurtful information.
5. **Avoid dramatizing**
There is no need to try and elicit tears or emotional content.
6. **Avoid letting the interview partner feel abused**
Try to build connection and trust by setting clear expectations about the outcomes of the report (in terms of objectives, content, dates of publication, identification of names etc.). Keeping in contact with your interviewees, checking on them and getting their feedback on the report, is always recommended.



© Peter Marlow/Magnum Photos/Agentur Focus



Should journalists be impartial?

Pros and cons

by Antje Bauer

Journalists should be impartial and neutral, according to the textbooks. But is that even possible? Journalists are people with opinions, feelings and values. They have a gender, a skin color, an age and belong to a specific cultural group. Whether they like it or not, all this is incorporated into their reporting, especially when it comes to (armed) conflicts. The debate about bias resulting from the identity of journalists is in full swing in the media worldwide, especially against the background of Black Lives Matter movement.

But parallel to the question of whether journalists can be impartial, a second question arises: Should they even try? Should they, for example, let all parties to a conflict have an equal say in order to live up to this maxim? Or do they thereby reinforce the prevailing imbalance, because one party to the conflict almost always has more opportunities to make its view of things public? Should everyone have an equal say—even those who would deny human rights? Should journalists stand up for values—and if so, which ones? Where are the dividing lines between activism and journalism and how clear are they?

Magda Abu-Fadil, who has worked for Lebanese and international media, and Zaina Erhaim, who worked as a journalist in Syria, reflect on these questions, to which there are no clear-cut answers.

Which side are you on? Reporting on clashes between Palestinians and Israeli soldiers in the West Bank.

Two wrongs don't make a right

Truth is our most important weapon when covering conflicts

by Magda Abu-Fadil



Magda Abu-Fadil

is director of Media Unlimited and a veteran foreign correspondent/editor at Agence France-Presse, United Press International and Defense News, among others. She was director of journalism programs at two American universities in Lebanon, trains journalists worldwide, develops media curricula, consults on media literacy, publishes extensively and blogs.

I've lived and worked in countries where the media are stifled and bent to the wills of despicable rulers whose creed is akin to George Orwell's "1984."

But I don't believe the public is better served when journalists cross the line from reporting to activism by publicly taking sides in conflict situations, which may endanger them and their media organizations, and undermine their credibility.

Christiane Amanpour, chief international correspondent and anchor at CNN, was unequivocal on this during remarks she made while accepting a

Committee to Protect Journalists award in 2016 ([youtube.com/watch?v=tnu-rD-WkNEc](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tnu-rD-WkNEc)). She appealed to "protect journalism itself, to recommit to robust fact-based reporting, without fear and without favors on the issues."

Amanpour is no stranger to controversy, having covered conflicts worldwide. "I believe in being truthful, not neutral," she said. "I believe we must stop banalizing the truth. We have to be prepared to fight especially hard right now for the truth because this is a world where the Oxford English dictionary announced just last week its word for 2016, and that is 'post-truth.'"

I agree.

Truth is the weapon members of the media deploy when covering conflicts. Ultimately, it will alienate one or more parties in war zones, a risk journalists have learned to accept as par for the course.

"We are journalists, not activists," Rima Maktabi, the UK bureau chief of Al Arabiya satellite news channel, told a politician in her native Lebanon who tried to extract an opinion from her during coverage of the October 17, 2019 "revolution" that would have made her appear to favor one faction in the conflict over another.

Her statement reinforced my belief that journalists covering conflicts in their backyards should not cross the line from sympathy to active support of causes.

For American-Lebanese journalist/author Sulome Anderson, we should be compassionate towards victimized people. "Let

yourself care about their plight and show them compassion—but draw strong boundaries around what is yours to carry and what isn't," she said, adding that journalists risk losing perspective if they're too engrossed in the story.

I don't advocate detached coverage of conflicts. Such issues are too complex for simplistic formulaic journalism. They require deft handling and solid understanding of the context in which they exist.

But if journalists aim to score activist points by drowning each other out with their personal involvement in conflict situations, the cacophony becomes deafening, and everyone loses sight of what the real story is.

It also defeats the purpose of disseminating untainted solid news, which the audience needs.

Journalists, as a result of their tilt to activism, are often seen as promoting disinformation. But in this age of dis-, mis- and mal-information, to actually do so would mean digging their own figurative and literal graves.

A bias towards humanity

Journalists should get closer to marginalized groups

by Zaina Erhaim

Impartiality is defined as “not taking sides.” But in dictatorships as in conflicts, journalists reporting fairly and accurately are in fact taking a side and are targeted by regimes and warlords alike for challenging their propaganda. Powerful leaders always have their own well-funded publications, public relations companies and propagandists who over-report their points of view, while the people they repress have no one but independent journalists to amplify their voices. Besides bearing witness to what is happening to powerless civilians, journalists should also get closer to marginalized groups, such as women or members of the LGBTQ+ community. Such groups need a platform to be able to hold the powerful to account. By giving a voice to the voiceless, journalists are fair, ethical, and closer to the truth.

In Syria, for example, I used to report on the women leading the uprising and the human rights defenders being arrested and tortured to death. As a result, I was put on the regime’s “wanted” list and had to leave government-controlled areas.

When opposition forces and Islamists started to commit crimes, I also reported that, which landed me on their lists, eventually forcing me to leave their areas, too.

Being a passionate journalist requires acknowledging and overcoming your internal biases, prejudices and political views and standing for human rights against whoever is violating them. This, for me, is the safe bias.

After I was kidnapped in a pro-regime town in Idlib province, I wrote about the leader of a militia who saved my life and protected me from being deported to Damascus, which would have meant a death sentence. For my friends, I was “personalizing the enemy.” But as a journalist, it is my job to help break the circle of hate and to humanize those being used as tools of war.

This year, the New York Times demonstrated its bias toward peace, when its senior editor James Bennet had to resign amid the backlash over a controversial op-ed by a Republican senator titled “Send in the Troops,” which called for the US president to use military forces to quell unrest sparked by the death of George Floyd. If Arab media followed this example, we would see many empty newsrooms and blank news bulletins and much less conflict.



Zaina Erhaim

is currently working with the Institute of War and Peace Reporting (IWPR). She was named the Journalist of the Year by Reporters without Borders in 2015 and was among the Unsung Heroes of 2016 by Reuters Thomson. She graduated from Damascus University’s Media School and has an MA in International Journalism from City University of London. She fled Syria in 2016 and is now a refugee in the UK.

References

Digging deeper by using new tools — A non-representative list of helpful links

Constructive journalism

Brochure on constructive journalism (German project)

<http://www.culture-counts.de/projects/promoting-constructive-journalism>

Several publications on peace journalism, definition of peace journalism (US project)

<https://www.park.edu/academics/center-global-peace-journalism>

Book on war journalism in Arab countries

<https://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2018/journalism-in-times-of-war/index.html>

More positive examples for conflict-sensitive reporting

Mashallah News is an independent online publishing platform for stories from the Middle East. Their focus is on urban issues, culture and society. The editors want their audience to develop a continuous engagement with the diversity of lived realities, perspectives, beliefs and actions. Mashallah News is currently based in Beirut, Bangalore and Tbilisi (in English)

<https://www.mashallahnews.com>

This website publishes reports from several countries in the Sahel region. It has a conflict-sensitive approach (in French)

<https://paxsahel.com>

Website publishing conflict-sensitive reports from the highly disputed city of Kirkuk in Northern Iraq (in Arabic, English, Kurdish, Turkish)

<https://kirkuknow.com/en>

Some examples of fact-checking tools

Latin America

A Bolivian website which fact-checks articles (national and international) on important topics, including an explanation of its methodology

<https://boliviaverifica.bo>

Chequeado is an Argentinian platform which fact-checks statements made by all types of public figures (in Spanish)

<https://www.chequeabolivia.bo>

News on social media and investigates the origin of mis- and disinformation (in Spanish)

<https://colombiacheck.com> analyzes

Website on misinformation, how it works and how to identify it

<https://firstdraftnews.org/project/comprova>

USA

Washington Post Fact Checker checks the veracity of statements and reporting by politicians and media in the United States

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker>

FactCheck.org has the same goal

<https://www.factcheck.org>

Asia

South Asia Check fact-checks statements by politicians

<https://southasiacheck.org>

Africa

Fact-checking for Burkina Faso (in French)

<https://www.facebook.com/Fasocheck>

Namibian fact-checking group

<https://namibiafactcheck.org.na>

Fact-checking website for Libya

<https://tscly.org>

Other useful tools/websites

Legal Agenda explains laws and judicial procedures, mainly, but not exclusively, in Lebanon
<https://legal-agenda.com/en>

Democracy Reporting International promotes political participation of citizens, accountability of state bodies and the development of democratic institutions worldwide. It explains how politics works and thus strengthens the media's ability to report on these topics
<https://democracy-reporting.org>

Individualland Pakistan offers a series of publications on conflict journalism, analysis of media etc., mainly in Pakistan
<https://individualland.com/3-publications.htm>

Theory: Conflict analysis and conflict-sensitive reporting

New York Times — Ethical Journalism: A Handbook of Values and Practices for the News and Editorial Departments
<https://www.nytimes.com/editorial-standards/ethical-journalism.html#>

Berghof Foundation: Trends and Causes of Armed Conflict
https://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Handbook/Articles/smith_handbook.pdf

SDC (Swiss): Conflict Analysis Tools
<https://css.ethz.ch/content/dam/ethz/special-interest/gess/cis/center-for-securities-studies/pdfs/Conflict-Analysis-Tools.pdf>

International Media Support: Conflict-Sensitive Journalism
<https://www.mediasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/ims-csj-handbook-2004.pdf>

Dart Center for Journalism and Trauma: Journalists and Safety Training: Experiences and Opinions
https://dartcenter.org/sites/default/files/journalists_and_safety_training_-_experiences_and_opinions_.pdf

Institute for War and Peace Reporting: Reporting for Change: A handbook for local journalists in crisis areas
<https://iwpr.net/printed-materials/reporting-change-handbook>

Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation:
 Gender and Conflict Sensitive Journalism
<https://kvinnaillkvinna.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/4-Handbook-gender-and-conflict-sensitive-journalism.pdf>

Reporting the World: Peace Journalism
https://www.transcend.org/tri/downloads/McGoldrick_Lynch_Peace-Journalism.pdf

Search for Common Ground:
 Radio Talk Shows for Peacebuilding
https://www.sfcg.org/programmes/rfpa/pdf/Talkshows_EN_color.pdf

Sol Plaatje Institute for Media Leadership:
 Conflict-Sensitive Reporting: A toolbox for journalists
https://internews.org/sites/default/files/resources/Conflict-SensitiveReporting-Peter_du_Toit_2012-03.pdf

UNESCO:
 Conflict-Sensitive Reporting: State of the art
<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000186986>

forumZFD/Forum Civil Peace Service: Conflict-Sensitive Journalism Teaching Guide — Philosophy and Practice
http://konfliktbearbeitung.net/sites/default/files/csj_-_first_edition_-_low_reso.pdf

Authors



© Mahrukh Saleem

Zehra Abid

is an independent journalist based in Karachi, where she has worked as an editor and reporter for 10 years. Her work has appeared in Al Jazeera America, Al Jazeera English, The Express Tribune, TRT World and the Diplomat, among other publications. She tweets at @ZehraAbid.



© private

Antje Bauer

has been working as a reporter and editor for German, French and Italian media, specializing mainly on Mediterranean countries and the Middle East. She has been co-editor-in-chief for the German edition of Le Monde diplomatique for four years. Since 2011, she's been working as a journalism trainer and project manager, mainly for the MENA department of DW Akademie.



© private

Vinamrata Chaturvedi

is pursuing an MA in Business and Economic Reporting from New York University. Aspiring to become a market reporter in the niche area of cryptocurrency and blockchain, she also likes to write about people and social developments. In India, she broke a story about a gang rape during the Jaat riots in 2016 while working with Navbharat Times, a leading Hindi daily from Times of India Group.



© DW/P. Böll

Klaus Dahmann

is DW Akademie's Program Director Western Balkans. For more than 20 years, he has worked as a journalist and editor. With DW Akademie, he has trained journalists and media managers in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the Southern Caucasus. Since 2014, he has focused on media development in the Western Balkans.



© Nora Mbagathi

Bettina Gaus

reported from 1989 to 1996 out of Nairobi on Africa topics for the German daily, Die Tageszeitung (taz), German public radio stations and news agencies. From 1996 to 1999, Gaus headed the parliamentary office of the taz. Since then she has been the newspaper's political correspondent.



© Media Center Belgrade

Jovana Gligorijević

is a journalist and editor at the Serbian weekly, Vreme, and website Vugl.rs. Since 2014, she has been a media trainer in areas of media information literacy, engaging content and web journalism. She has won several awards for her reporting on the treatment of rape victims in the Serbian judicial system, sexual war crimes and LGBT rights. She lives in Belgrade.



© private

Ochan Hannington

is a South Sudanese freelance journalist. For the past six years, he's been based in Uganda's capital, Kampala, contributing mainly to the Peace News Network. He is a part time publishing editor at the Cross Border Network as well as a filmmaker of short documentaries. He previously worked as the South Sudan correspondent for Voice of America as well as Theniles.org. But in 2014, after repeated death threats from members of the South Sudan National Security Service, he fled from his home in Yei province to Uganda.



© Katarina Ivanisevic

Hadija Harina-Oelker

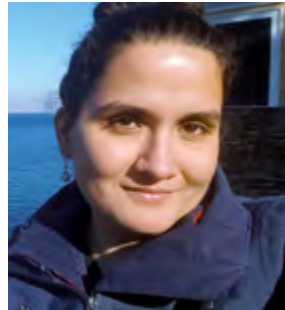
is a political scientist living and working as an author, editor and presenter in Frankfurt am Main. Her work focuses on youth and social issues, migration and racism research. She is a laureate of the KAUSA Media Prize 2012 "Macht sie sichtbar – Bildungswege von Migrantinnen und Migranten" (Make them visible— Educational pathways of migrants), sponsored by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research. She is also active in the Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland (ISD) (Initiative for Black People in Germany) and the journalists' association Neue deutsche Medienmacher*innen (NDM).



© Pyae Sone Win

Verena Hölzl

is a freelance journalist based in Bangkok. For the last five years, she has reported from Myanmar for DW, Die Tageszeitung, Neue Zürcher Zeitung (NZZ), Al Jazeera, The New Humanitarian and Time, among others, and travels regularly to Bangladesh.



© private

Margarita Isaza Velásquez

is a Colombian journalist living in Medellín. She is a proofreader in academic environments and teaches Spanish and narrative journalism at the University of Antioquia/Colombia. She has written articles for various media in Colombia, Argentina and Guatemala, and has been included in books such as: *Memorias: 12 historias que nos deja la guerra* (2017), *Vidas sin coca* (2018), and *Diálogos con la ausencia* (2019).



© Peter Rigaud

Hasnain Kazim

was born in the German city of Oldenburg and is the son of Indian-Pakistani immigrants. He became a naturalized German citizen at the age of 16. He worked for the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* and *Spiegel Online* from 2004 to 2019, mainly as a foreign correspondent in Islamabad, Istanbul and Vienna. He has received several awards for his work, including the CNN Journalist Award in 2009. He is currently a freelance author and lives in Vienna.



© private

Matthias Kopp

is a TV journalist and since 2014 has been DW Akademie's Program Director Colombia. From 2015 to 2019 he managed a project in Medellín that focused on conflict-sensitive journalism and remembrance, and that brought together journalists, local media, civic initiatives and victims' associations as a way to come to terms with the country's conflict-ridden past. He is based in Medellín and currently heads the DW Akademie project Alliance for Human Rights and Environmental Protection in the Amazon Region.



© Florian Kopp

Philipp Lichterbeck

is a freelance journalist and reporter focusing on Brazil and Latin America. For the past seven years, he has divided his time between Rio de Janeiro, Santo Domingo and Frankfurt. He reports regularly for the Berlin daily Tagesspiegel, the Swiss weekly WOZ and the Wiener Zeitung.



© Boris Geilert

Andrea Marshall

is a senior reporter and editor for German radio stations and a trainer for journalists from Asia and Africa. Since April 2018, she has been working as a project manager at DW Akademie for South and Southeast Asia and is currently DW Akademie's program director, Displacement and Dialogue South Asia.



© Brigitta Leber

Sheila Mysorekar

is chairperson of the association Neue deutsche Medienmacher*innen (New German Media Makers), an organization of journalists and media professionals with diverse backgrounds. She is an Indo-German Rhinelander and lives in Cologne. She worked as a journalist in Jamaica, India, the USA and many Latin American countries. She is a project manager at DW Akademie specializing in the area of flight and migration in Africa.



© private

Mona Naggat

has worked for several years as a freelance journalist for a number of German public radio stations. Since 2011, she has been working for DW Akademie as a project manager and trainer for journalism, conflict-sensitive journalism and media literacy—mainly in the Middle East and North Africa. She lives in Beirut and has been DW Akademie's Program Director Lebanon since late 2020.



© Yasmine Dabbous

Khaled Nasser

is a family communication consultant who specializes in trauma management, parenting and couples' therapy. Nasser practices at his private clinic in Beirut. He also provides trauma therapy and training sessions to refugee communities and journalists exposed to toxic stress and conflicts in the Middle East. Nasser is a lecturer in communication at the Lebanese American University (LAU) and the American University of Beirut (AUB).



© DW/E. Senftleben

Dr. Kyril Savin

has been DW Akademie's Program Director Ukraine since June 2015. Previously, he served as the Ukrainian office director for the Heinrich Böll Foundation. Savin studied international relations at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv.



© private

Judah Passow


has been working on assignments for American and European magazines and newspapers since 1978. Based in London, his work has been published extensively by all of the leading British newspapers and their associated magazines. Abroad, he has contributed regularly to (among others) Time, Newsweek and The New York Times in the US, Der Spiegel and Die Zeit in Germany. A winner of four World Press Photo awards for his coverage of conflict in the Middle East, his photographs have been widely exhibited in galleries and museums in Europe and America.





© Anette Daugardt


Charlotte Wiedemann


is a senior reporter and author focused mainly on the Islamic world. She has 20 years of experience in the training of journalists and has dealt with Eurocentrism in the media in her books, including "Vom Versuch, nicht weiß zu schreiben" ("On the Attempt not to Write White"). She is committed to ensuring that practicing Muslim women also have access to media professions.

 DWAkademie

 @dw_akademie

 DWAkademie

 dw.com/newsletter-registration

 dw.com/mediadev

DW Akademie is Deutsche Welle's center for international media development, journalism training and knowledge transfer. Our projects strengthen the human right to freedom of expression and unhindered access to information. DW Akademie empowers people worldwide to make independent decisions based on reliable facts and constructive dialogue.

DW Akademie is a strategic partner of the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. We also receive funding from the Federal Foreign Office and the European Union and are active in approximately 50 developing countries and emerging economies.



Made for minds.