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Journalism Education

Journalism Education is the journal of the Association for Journalism Education a body representing educators in HE in the UK and Ireland. The aim of the journal is to promote and develop analysis and understanding of journalism education and of journalism, particularly when that is related to journalism education.

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Introduction to the special edition on journalism education and the safety of journalists

Roy Krøvel,

Professor of Journalism, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences

The authors of this collection of articles met in Oslo last year at the annual conference on journalism, war and conflict to reflect on the role of journalism education in improving the safety of journalists¹.

Journalists around the world are being murdered at a staggering rate. Over the last ten years, more than 800 journalists have been killed, according to Unesco. Many more are suffering abuse, threats or are being silenced in other ways. The many safety problems faced by journalists is a serious problem for journalists and the media. Perhaps of equal importance, it is a serious problem for the societies where these journalists live and work. Unsafe working conditions for journalists limits free speech, makes transparency impossible and undermines participation and democracy.

Increasingly, international bodies such as the United Nations are becoming aware of the importance of protecting journalists from violence. In 2013, the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution that proclaimed 2 November as the 'International Day to End Impunity for Crimes against Journalists' (IDEI). Unesco followed up by, among other things, developing an academic research agenda on the topic of safety of journalists. Among the recommendations is to provide safety education and training for journalists and to strengthen media education research.

Most journalists being killed live and work in countries in Latin America, Africa or Asia. They are typically working for local newspapers being published in regions troubled by long lasting violent conflicts. This section therefore focuses on journalism education and safety of journalists in regions of the world that are experiencing violent conflict. Additionally, it contains articles on safety training of European journalists covering international conflicts and journalism students doing fieldwork in conflictive and dangerous environments.

The articles raise a number of issues related to safety education and training for journalists. Several articles investigate the role of international NGOs providing safety training in Asia or Africa. Others underline the need for deep knowledge of local contexts and underlying causes of the conflicts. Many deal with the responsibility of universities and journalism education to provide research-based safety education appropriate for local contexts. The authors share the view that much more research is needed in order to provide students with the education necessary to improve the safety of journalists around the world.

1 The annual conference is co-sponsored by The National Commission for UNESCO (Norway).

Articles

All papers in the Articles section are peer reviewed and discuss the latest research in journalism and journalism education. These are intended to inform, educate and spark debate and discussion. Please join in this debate by going to www.journalism-education.org to have your say and find out what others think.

Freedom of expression and threats to journalists' safety: an analysis of conflict reporting in journalism education in Pakistan

Dr. Sadia Jamil

Introduction

The threat of violence against journalists in Pakistan is very real. Pakistan is a front line state in the war on terror and media workers and news reporters reporting from the front line therefore face huge risks.

According to a United Nation's estimate, at least 71 journalists and media workers have lost their lives since 2001 while pursuing their duties in Pakistan. Consequently, the country has been named as one of the deadliest places for working journalists in the world, suggesting the necessity of regular evaluation of threats to journalists' safety in the country (www.IFJ.org).

Ironically, it is not just journalists' lives that are at risk in Pakistan. The country's educational institutions are also the target of terrorist attacks. In spite of increasing threats to journalists' safety and educational institutions, the role of academia in promoting journalists' safety education is not well-investigated and distinct in Pakistan. Therefore, drawing on the new institutionalism theory, this study explores the diverse

threats that affect journalists' routine work and their freedom of expression focussing on Pakistan. The study aims to investigate whether Pakistani journalists receive safety training and education to carry out their routine work.

Background of the study

The issue of journalists' safety appears to be growing worse with an increasing number of journalists' killings, kidnapping and imprisonment worldwide. The situation of Pakistan is noteworthy in terms of freedom of expression and threats to journalists' safety. The country has a reputation for having a fearless and vocal media. Despite this, or possibly because of it, it is one of the most dangerous countries in the world for journalists, assessed by the extent and severity of threats and other abuse they face (See Amnesty International, IFJ, RSF etc). Statistics gathered by international organisations monitoring press freedom and violence against journalists in Pakistan reveal that threats to their lives and abuses by military, intelligence agencies and militant organisations have "remained high" in the recent years (Freedom House 2015, 2016; Committee to Protect Journalists 2016) In this scenario, I believe that working journalists and journalism students in the country need to be made well aware of the nature of the threats that they may confront, and how to protect themselves in conflict and non-conflict situations. However, it is not known to what extent working journalists in Pakistan are receiving regular safety training, whether journalists' safety education is being given to journalism students at university level, and whether there is an awareness of awareness of the nature and type of safety threats that can affect journalists' routine work amongst the journalism academics and journalists' safety trainers.

Literature review and theory

New Institutionalism theory

Drawing on the new institutionalism theory, this study investigates the diverse threats that affect journalists' work (agency/or action) and their right to freedom of expression, and the role (agency/action) of Pakistan's universities in promoting conflict reporting and peace journalism education in the country. The new institutionalism theory has been used in many domains such as sociology, political science, organisational studies, journalism and economics with certain distinctions (Powell, 2007). This study uses 'sociological institutionalism' because the theory recognises the influence of the institutional environment on actors' agencies - either individuals or organisations (Scott, 1995). Thus, this study considers 'journalists' and 'Pakistan's universities' as 'actors' that are embedded in a specific cultural setting and can be influenced by the institutional environment within which they operate.

Journalism safety groups and measures of journalists' safety

It is widely accepted that journalism serves as a political, social and economic institution (Cook, 2006; Sparrow, 1999, 2006). This implies that the media and individual journalists need to be free and safe to perform their diversified roles in any society. However, there are incidents and threats that affect journalists' abilities to perform their routine work and to exercise their right to freedom of expression (UNESCO, 2013b). At present, over a dozen international organisations are working to end impunity for crimes against journalists, among them the United Nations, which is actively engaged in the problem. Some of international organisations (such as the Committee to Protect Journalists¹, Reporters Without Borders², Freedom

1 Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) is a New York based organisation that started to compile data of journalists' deaths in 1992. CPJ's methodology focuses on impunity and journalists' killings rather than any other kinds of threats to their safety. The organisation has developed a set of terminologies to classify the abuses and attacks on journalists such as murders, threats and physical torture. It compiles a file every year that indicates the number of physical attacks, cases of censorship, harassments, intimidations, imprisonment, missing or kidnapping relating to journalists. The most important aspect of CPJ's assessment is whether the journalist's death was work-related. For this purpose, the organisation uses themes of 'motive confirmed' and 'motive un-confirmed' to classify the death. Journalists' deaths are not all work-related, and it is imperative to assess whether it was a 'personal dispute' that killed them, or if it was a journalist's political affiliation which caused his or her death. In countries like Pakistan, it is difficult to evaluate the motives of journalists' killings clearly because of their political and sectarian affiliations (Jamil, 2014). Therefore, CPJ's criteria of assessing the nature and motive of a journalist's death appear as highly important.

2 Reporters Without Borders (RSF) is a non-profit and Paris-based organisation. The organisation evaluates press freedom in all five continents of the world. The organisation measures the level of violence and abuses against journalists working for both traditional (print and broadcast) and new (online) media.

House³ and UNESCO⁴) have well-developed indicators to assess the level of journalists' safety in different regions of the world. The review of journalists' safety indicators suggest that the international organisations focus on indicators relating to the psychological, legal, digital and financial protections of journalists. This study seeks to identify threats to journalists' safety, more broadly exploring the diverse types of threats to them such as physical, psychological, legal, financial, social, emotional, gender-specific, digital, topic-specific and public risks within the context of Pakistan. In addition to the investigation of diverse safety risks to journalists, this study analyses whether Pakistan's universities are providing the required education and training to produce 'well-aware and well-trained' journalism professionals who can practise peace journalism with the objective of fostering societal peace.

Conflict reporting and peace journalism education in Pakistan

In journalism studies, several scholars have investigated and theorized conflict and war reporting (Hallin, 1989; Herman and Chomsky 1988; Knightley 2002; Lasswell, 1927; Lynch 2014; Taylor 1992; Thussu and Freedman 2003). Most of the literature on conflict reporting has identified a variety of issues such as national security and interest; professional, individual and gender-based constraints; social, political and economic factors influencing the news content and war reporting. The growing interest of scholars for analysing war and conflict journalism is probably because journalism is predominantly conflict-oriented in many countries of the world – especially in the countries suffering from war or internal conflicts such as Pakistan (Rehman and Ejaz, 2015). Galtung (1998) has put forward a very explicit model describing four key orientations of war journalism: war and violence, propaganda, and Lynch (2014). elites' efforts for peace-making and victory. He argues that "today's media report on conflict that is war-oriented" and he encourages on an alternative style to report which is "peace-oriented rather than war-oriented" (Galtung 2007, p.8).

In the past two decades or so, 'peace journalism' has emerged as an alternative approach to conflict reporting and that is usually oriented towards truth-seeking, peace and conflict resolution. Lynch and McGoldrick (2005, p.6) define peace journalism as "a set of choices of what to report and how to report it – which creates and opportunities for readers and audiences to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict." Shinar (2007, p.200) identifies five aspects of peace journalism: It "explores backgrounds and contexts of conflict formation; gives voice to the views of all rival parties; airs creative ideas from any sources for conflict resolution; exposes lies, cover-up attempts and culprits on all sides; pays attention to peace stories and post-war developments".

The scope of peace journalism widens in conflict-ridden countries such as Pakistan. The country has been confronting the challenges of internal and external conflicts since its inception: the India-Pakistan conflict, the Taliban conflict, the Baluchistan conflict, Karachi's ethnic conflict, and sectarian and political conflicts

3 Freedom House is a US based non-profit organisation that has been evaluating press freedom since 1980. Initially, in 1978, the organisation began with publishing a global survey of freedom known as 'Freedom in the World'. Freedom House's press freedom indicators evaluates broader threats to journalists' safety such as killing, kidnapping, harassment, physical violence, financial risks, political and legal pressures. Thus, the organisation attempts to assess the financial, legal, physical and psychological protections of journalists (see Freedom House's methodology, 2015).

4 The UN's 'Plan of Action on Safety of Journalists' has been endorsed by the UN's Chief Executive Board in 2012, which aims to promote safe journalism through mobilizing different stakeholders including UN agencies, governments, governmental bodies, NGOs, media organisations and workers, civil society members and academics. The national level indicators that evaluate the state of safety issues and collaboration among all stakeholders within a country have been developed from some general indicators of UN's Media Development Indicators (MDI), which are: "Journalists and associated media personnel are not subject to threats, harassment or surveillance; journalists and associated media personnel are not physically attacked, unlawfully detained or killed as a result of pursuing their legitimate activities; media organisations are not forced to close down as a result of pursuing their legitimate activities, or threatened with closure; crimes against journalists are prosecuted and there is no climate of impunity; media organisations have policies for protecting the health and safety of their staff and free lancers; measures of social protection are available to all staff, including temporary and freelance employees; journalists do not routinely self-censor because of fear of punishment, harassment or attack; and confidentiality of sources is protected in law and respected in practice" (UNESCO 2013a: 5-6).

At a national level, UN's indicators assess the actions of four groups of actors whose actions can impact on the level of journalists' safety including (i) UN and other intergovernmental bodies functioning directly in a country; (ii) state and political actors; (iii) civil society and academia; (iv) the media and intermediaries. In each category, indicators covers a variety of actions such as: "monitoring safety issues (information collection), promoting norms on safety (which includes the publishing of information, amongst other steps), co-ordination with other actors, training and capacity building programmes, as well as other activities" (UNESCO 2013a: 7).

At an international level, the United Nations has devised three major indicators, including: (i) "United Nations organisations promote journalists' safety issues at the international level, (ii) international and regional intergovernmental organisations promote journalists' safety issues at the international level, and (iii) international non-governmental organisations promote journalists' safety issues at the international level." As with the indicators for journalists' safety at the national level, the emphasis in these international level indicators is on the physical and psychological safety of journalists, and the related issue of impunity that protects those who commit crimes against journalists from being punished (UNESCO 2013b: 1).

(Jamil, 2014). Therefore, the role of Pakistan's media is crucial in representing these conflicts and in fostering social cohesion and peace in the country. According to a recent study on 'peace journalism and conflict reporting in Pakistan', journalists believe that media foster peace.

Results show that 70.07% respondents were found agreed while 63.58% strongly agree with the notion that journalism can build peace in the country and peace journalism was considered to conceal the conflict.Media plays a central role in the promotion of peace, therefore it is the prime duty of reporters and editors to adopt a balanced stance during conflict and take on board all stakeholders. Peace journalism helps bridge the gap between enemies, so peace building practitioners require understanding of the process of advocacy (Jan and Khan, 2011, pp. 311-324).

Pakistan is a conflict-ridden country where journalists need to play their role in peace-making and conflict resolution despite challenges of war, internal conflict and the high level of violence against them. Interestingly, Pakistani journalists and media professionals do seem to agree about the significance of peace journalism (Jan and Khan, 2011). Nevertheless, the question is whether Pakistan's universities are giving quality education and training about conflict reporting and peace journalism to its journalism students who understand the process of advocacy and who can contribute their journalistic skills in peacemaking attempts. Therefore, this study explores these aspects of journalism education within Pakistan.

Methodology

This study has used the quantitative method of survey and the qualitative method of interviews in order to investigate three research questions, namely: (i) What are the threats that most affect journalists' routine work and freedom of expression in Pakistan? (ii) Do Pakistani journalists receive regular safety training to carry out their routine work? (iii) What is the role of Pakistan's universities in promoting conflict reporting and peace journalism education in the country? A total of 75 male and female journalists⁵ from five ethnicities (Sindhi, Punjabi, Pashtu, Baluchi and Urdu-speaking) and of religious sects (Shia and Sunni) has taken part in the survey. While the selected journalists in this study are from the most well-known newspapers and television news channels in Karachi (a total of 22 media organisations), they do have work experience in more than one city of Pakistan and 17 of them have worked in the country's conflict areas, including Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), North Waziristan and Baluchistan Province. To ensure the diversity of feedback, journalists of diverse beats (such as politics, crime, judiciary, defence, sports, business, social and religious affairs, health and education) have been selected for the survey.

The survey questionnaire is based on nine types of safety risks, namely: (i) physical risks,⁶ (ii) psychological risks⁷, (iii) financial risks⁸, (iv) legal risks⁹, (v) social and emotional risks¹⁰, (vi) gender-specific risks¹¹, (vii) digital risks¹², (viii) topic-specific risks and (ix) public risks.¹³ In each risk category, journalists were surveyed about whether they have faced safety threats from or because of sources, including government, military, local intelligence agencies, political parties, religious or militant organisations, pressure groups, public and their media organisations.

Moreover, twelve public and private sector universities have been selected in order to review the curricula

5 The concept of the 'journalist' in this study: 'Journalists' as the subject of this study were considered to be individuals who were employed by Pakistan's mainstream newspapers and television news channels; and who were engaged in the jobs of reporting, news gathering, news monitoring, news anchoring, editing, news and current affairs programmes' production and administrative jobs (such as director and controller of news).

6 Physical risks here refer to the risks of killing, kidnapping, detention, imprisonment, physical or sexual assault, rape, injury and any sort of physical attack that may lead to physical disability and harm.

7 Psychological risks here refer to stress and pressure that may affect a journalist's ability to perform his/her job freely and safely.

8 Financial risks mean the threats of job insecurity, pay-scale disparity and forced job terminations.

9 Legal risks include the existence of impunity for crimes against journalists; unfair trial against journalists; manipulation and abuse of laws against journalists and the existence of stringent media laws.

10 Social and emotional risks include the risks of anxiety, fear, depression, and lower self-esteem that mainly arise from the country's social context or a journalist's surrounding environment (for example, the workplace environment and the socio-political environment).

11 Gender-specific risks refer to those threats that a journalist may encounter by virtue of his/or her gender such as sexual assault, rape, gender harassment, discrimination and black-mailing.

12 Digital risks refer to online threats that are caused because of hacking, abusive or threatening e-mails or mobile messages and abusive comments on social media.

13 Public risks refer to the threats that are caused because of violent, unethical and abusive attitudes of the local public towards journalists, such as verbal abuse and physical harm or attack.

of conflict reporting and peace journalism. They are the University of Karachi, Sindh University of Jamshoro, the University of Peshawar, the University of Baluchistan, Punjab University, Bahahuddin Zakiria University in Multan, the Federal Urdu University, Jinnah University for Women (private), the Institute of Business Administration (private), IQRA University (private), ZABIST University (private) and the International Islamic University in Islamabad.

Ten journalism and media academics have also been interviewed to address the role of Pakistan’s universities in promoting conflict reporting and peace journalism education. The names of interviewees have been replaced with numbers (1-10) in order to ensure their confidentiality. The collected data has been analysed thematically using the research question themes, namely: *threats affecting journalists’ work and their freedom of expression; the level of journalists’ safety training; and the role of academia in promoting conflict reporting and peace journalism education*

Findings and analysis

Threats affecting journalists’ work and their freedom of expression

The thematic analysis of collected data suggests that the Pakistani journalists face physical, psychological, financial, topic-specific, emotional and social risks most while performing their routine jobs, whereby almost **97%** (73 out of 75) male and female journalists have confronted **financial threats** of job insecurity, forced job termination and low pay-scale; **92%** (69 out of 75) male and female journalists have faced **physical threats** of killing, physical torture, injury and attack; almost **87%** (65 out of 75) male and female journalists have experienced the **psychological risks** of organisational pressure, government pressure to censor news content and imprisonment, political threats, government/or military surveillance and threatening phone calls; nearly **85%** (64 out of 75) of male and female journalists have faced **social and emotional risks** (such as depression, offence, fear, anxiety and lower self-esteem) due to the fearful environment of Pakistan, their financial constraints, the insulting behaviour of media owners (within organisations) and the local public (during rallies), and **84%** (63 out of 75) journalists have sustained **topic-specific risks**, mostly while working on religious, political, ethnic, some social issues (such as honour killing) and defence issues.

Moreover, **68%** (51 out 75) journalists have experienced **public risks** because of abusive language and physical attacks by the public during rallies, political events and in general. Not so many journalists have faced **legal and digital risks** while at work and only 28 % (21 out of 75) of them have experienced such threats. Noticeably, all female journalists (13 out of 75) and three male journalists (out of 75) have confronted **gender-specific risks** of harassment, discrimination and blackmail. The table below sums up the various types of threats that affect journalists’ work and their freedom of expression in Pakistan.

Threats to journalists’ safety in Pakistan.

Physical risks	Psychological risks	Financial risks	Legal risks	Social and emotional risks	Gender-specific risks	Digital risks	Topic-specific risks	Public risks
92%	87%	97%	28%	85%	21%	28%	84%	68%
69 out of 75 journalists	65 out of 75 journalists	73 out of 75 journalists	21 out of 75 journalists	64 out of 75 journalists	16 out of 75 journalists	21 out of 75 journalists	63 out of 75 journalists	51 out of 75 journalists

The Pakistani journalists working in the conflict areas of Baluchistan, Khyber Pakhtunistan and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) are no doubt performing a very risky job. The most obvious physical risk in the conflict areas is that they are in danger of being killed in the crossfire of two opposing forces or terrorists groups. Journalists also face other physical risks, such as assault, detention, rape and sexual harassment in areas where law and order has broken down. However, physical risks are not merely a challenge for the Pakistani journalists, but also for international journalists working in the country. It is worthwhile mentioning here the murder of Wall Street Journal reporter Daniel Pearl who was kidnapped and later assassinated in 2002 in the Southern port city of Karachi. In the same year, four local people were sentenced for the assassination of Daniel Pearl, when Pakistan’s government came under immense international pressure. A report by Amnesty International (2014) highlights the level of journalists’ safety working for foreign media in Pakistan. The report reveals:

In recent years, all foreigners based in Pakistan, including journalists, have had their travel through the country drastically curtailed by the authorities' often ad hoc application of travel and visa restrictions. Some journalists are restricted to one or more cities and all are excluded from carrying out unauthorised travel to dangerous and politically sensitive areas like Baluchistan, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (henceforth 'the Tribal Areas') and interior Sindh. The authorities have increasingly required foreign journalists to apply for No Objection Certificates (NOCs) before visiting these areas. (Ibid. 23)

The issue is not just confined to threats to journalists' physical safety. However, this physical threat is aggravated because of the climate of impunity for crime against them. Daniel Pearl's or Wali Khan Baber's (GEO News' correspondent) murder cases are just two prominent examples of solved cases. At present, there are still a number of unresolved cases of violence against journalists that call upon Pakistan's government and judiciary both to perform their respective roles to ensure a safe environment for journalists and media workers (ibid.)

In addition, feedback from surveyed journalists in this study also reveal that they do face physical risks (of kidnapping, killing, imprisonment, detention and attack) and psychological threats (of pressure and stress) by government and intelligence agency sources themselves. The study suggests that government's and intelligence agencies' surveillance not only affect information gathering process but also compel journalists to restrict their on-duty activities, which ultimately affect the quality of news content. Not surprisingly, this study confirms other sources of *physical and psychological risks* to journalists, including from political parties, religious organisations, ethnic and sectarian groups, criminals, terrorists and the public.

Furthermore, the findings reveal that Pakistani female journalists face further physical threats and they are targeted just for being a journalist, as well as for being female, and they experience gender harassment, physical injury and the public's verbal abuse while at work. Responses from female journalists reveal that they receive threatening messages and calls by political elements, religious fanatics, criminals and the public. Some of the surveyed female journalists view the mind-set of the public and Pakistan's culture as the main reasons for the psychological pressure on them. Hence, Pakistani journalists are victim of *physical and psychological risks* in either conflict or *non-conflict* situations, and this is for a range of diverse reasons, including the country's growing religious extremism, conservatism, terrorism, gender disparity and volatile political situation.

When responding about other types of threats, journalists have shared some striking facts. For example, as aforementioned, almost all of the surveyed journalists (97%) have highlighted *financial risks* (of low or unequal pay-scales and forced job terminations) imposed on them by their owners. International organisations (such as Freedom House, Reporters Without Borders and UNESCO) do assess the financial protection of journalists but these organisations must consider the role of media owners in posing threats to journalists' financial well-being, which is actually imperative to discourage corruption and to enhance the quality of journalism in the country.

Pakistani journalists do experience *social and emotional risks* (of anxiety, fear, depression, and lower self-esteem). The survey results suggests a number of reasons that cause *social and emotional risks* to journalists, namely: media owners' insulting behaviour and constant pressure; the public's attitude, conservatism and religious extremism (that cause fear while working on social and religious issues), political parties' pressure and terrorism. Surprisingly, none of the international organisations assessing journalists' safety level worldwide consider the ways any country's culture and socio-political structure pose threats to journalists, and the sources and reasons of *emotional risks* to them. I think the evaluation of *social and emotional risks* is as equally essential in assessing risk because a journalist with good emotional health (without fear, anxiety, pressure and depression) is in a better position to investigate and report reality and truth.

Many of the surveyed journalists in this study (84%), reveal that they experience *topic-specific risks*, especially while working on defence, political, religious, ethnic and some social (such as honour killing) issues. Journalists suggest that they mostly receive *topic-specific threats* from intelligence agencies, political parties, religious organisations, ethnic groups and the public. Interestingly, this study reveals the public as a higher source of risk to journalists' safety compared to *legal and digital risks*.

Drawing on sociological institutionalism, this study validates the impact of Pakistan's unsafe environment on journalists' work and their right to freedom of expression. Sociological institutionalism recognises the influence of the environment on actors' actions through coercive (political/or institutional pressures), regulative (laws and regulations) and mimetic forces (Scott, 1995). However, in the case of Pakistan, many threats to journalists' safety arise because of other factors that foster conflict situations and violence against them including: corruption, terrorism, religious extremism, conservatism, government's and intelligence agencies' autocratic attitude, impunity, organised crimes, gender harassment, poverty, the public's attitude

The level of journalists' safety training

Unfortunately, despite severe safety threats, the majority of the journalists surveyed in this study (78% – 57 out of 75) have not received safety training either by any governmental body, local university, their media organisation or the journalist's union. Journalists' feedback suggests that Pakistan's government, universities, media organisations and journalists' unions have a very limited role in establishing journalists' conflict reporting guidelines and in providing them with regular safety trainings and instruments (such as bullet-proof jackets). However, some surveyed journalists have received safety trainings (18% - 13 out of 75) and they appreciate big media groups' (such as Geo Television Network, Lakson Group, SAAMA Television News Channel and ARY Digital Network) initiatives to enhance journalists' awareness about the risks of conflict reporting and the ways they can protect themselves while at work. The majority of journalists (67 out of 75) have urged their media organisations, journalists' unions and the government to allocate funds for safety training and protection (including the provision of bullet-proof jackets and life insurance).

The role of academia in promoting conflict reporting and peace journalism education

However, journalists' safety training is not merely the responsibility of media organizations and local journalists unions. The role of academia is crucial in fostering safe journalism and producing well-aware journalism professionals who can work effectively in conflict and non-conflict circumstances in Pakistan. According to a journalism academic from a public-sector university in Pakistan, "universities are the first training place for journalism professionals; however, journalism education is not up to international standard here because of a lack of resources and unrevised curriculum" (Interviewee Number Seven). Pakistan's education system is in such a bad state that it is totally ill-equipped to fulfil its essential functions of broadening intellectual spheres and social development. Eventually, this builds a situation where instead of serving as a counterbalance to extremism, Pakistan's universities become part of the problem by failing to prepare the journalism students to become productive members of civil society.

Interviewees' feedback suggests that most journalism departments in Pakistan's universities tend to focus on teaching techniques and ethical standards of reporting that are used in normal socio-political and economic conditions. According to Interviewee Number Six:

We teach our students 'who says what' type of journalism. Most of the news in the Pakistani media is not based on facts [but] rather on statements by politicians, government and military officials. Is this journalism? No! A three-hour written examination on the theory and ethics of journalism is not enough to teach reporting on conflict. Students must understand the practical challenges that they may confront due to Pakistan's socio-political context while working as a journalist, and cultural hindrances and safety risks.

Journalism becomes more challenging when peace is disrupted by conflict, violence and catastrophe. There is no doubt that many young journalists are venturing out into the field without a proper understanding of conflict reporting and risks to their safety in Pakistan. In conflict or crises situation, the journalist is required to go beyond routine journalism, to work as a crucial information link for the public and to act as a peace-maker through producing conflict resolving content. In Pakistan, conflict (either political or ethnic or religious) places enormous pressure on local journalists, who are not adequately equipped, both in terms of technology and expertise, to handle such difficult situations. Regardless of the increasing frequency of conflict or war coverage, there is a scarcity of instructional material in journalism curricula about how to report a conflict or crises. Another journalism academic at a local public-sector university in Pakistan suggests:

In Pakistan, in the majority of cases, there is a disconnection between the market and academia. There are many reasons for it, one being the lack of communication between the two. There is no platform or mechanism for frequent interaction between universities and industry to create a synergy in what is taught and what is being practised — or what needs to be practised. Second, the universities with the traditional annual system of examination have put in place a cumbersome system for designing new courses. More importantly, teachers have a very little say in the design and evaluation of the courses they teach. In short, there is a gap between the theory and practice of journalism. The Higher Education Commission (HEC) has designed courses that can address many of the questions, but it has no power (as far as I know) to make them compulsory for universities. It is left to the universities to adopt (or reject) these courses. I would suggest that Pakistan's HEC should have a 'board' for every discipline that critically evaluates courses offered by universities (Interviewee Number Four).

Apart from the weak role of the Higher Education Commission, interviewees' response demonstrates the

many loop-holes in the tertiary-level education of journalism in the country including: ill-equipped public-sector universities (in terms of technology and expertise); a lack of communication between the media industry and universities; the apathetic attitude of journalism schools towards curriculum revision, a similar attitude towards introducing innovative pedagogical models and teaching techniques or towards including peace journalism and conflict reporting education, and an unwillingness to promote local-context research within this field. And while Pakistan's private universities are better resourced, they do not seem to be embracing peace journalism education.

Recommendations

Given the fact that Pakistan is a part of the war on terror and the country has been prone to various sorts of conflicts, there is a need for some essential new initiatives by academia in the country. Namely, journalists' safety and peace journalism education should be a compulsory part of the curriculum at tertiary level; awareness of 'contextual journalists' safety education' should be promoted amongst journalism academics; the ethics of conflict and war reporting should be taught to journalism students; internship should be a mandatory part of all journalism degree programmes; quality research should be done within this field; and collaboration with international universities should be encouraged to introduce effective instructive techniques. Ultimately, these initiatives will help to buttress the role of academia in encountering the problem of journalists' safety through producing well - aware journalism professionals who can report on conflict objectively and ethically, while simultaneously safeguarding themselves from possible foreseen risks.

Conclusion

This article has addressed the level of journalists' safety in Pakistan, revealing the diverse threats to journalists' safety and their right to freedom of expression in the country. Freedom of expression is an individual right, for which no one should be attacked or killed. However, in this study, journalists' feedback reveals that not only their lives but their right to freedom of expression is at risk because of the prevailing unsafe environment in Pakistan. The study suggests journalism is a dangerous profession in Pakistan because of *physical, psychological, financial, social, emotional and topic-specific risks*, which constrain journalists' right to freedom of expression and affect them most while doing their routine jobs. Despite the unsafe environment and constant threats, this study indicates that only 18% of surveyed journalists have received safety training to protect themselves in conflict and non-conflict situations. The following questions need to be addressed when analysing issues around journalists' safety training in Pakistan, namely: who are the trainers? Are trainers themselves trained for journalists' safety training, bearing in mind the local safety circumstances? What is the role of local and international NGO's in promoting journalists' safety education either at university or media organisational level? Further research on these aspects is crucial for the better training of journalists.

This study reveals that the education of conflict reporting and peace journalism is not the major part of journalism curricula in Pakistan's public and private sector universities. The curriculum in most of the universities do not reflect distinctively the local aspects of journalism teaching and approaches, which is important for enabling journalists to understand the context within which they perform their work. As highlighted by Abit and Kenneth in their article, the case of Kosovo is quite similar to Pakistan – where journalism education lacks local teaching approaches. Therefore, in this article, I emphasize certain initiatives such as: the inclusion of journalists' safety and peace journalism modules in curriculum; collaboration with international universities for innovative pedagogical models; regular curriculum revision and local-context teaching and research within this field. Others have underlined the need for a few more significant initiatives that I think are crucial as far as journalists' safety education is concerned, such as: enhancing journalists' awareness of their rights and physical and psychological safety; protection of their equipment, and legal protection while covering war or conflict.

Thus, universities' initiatives for the promotion of safe journalism in Pakistan should not merely be an effort to end impunity for crimes against journalists. It must be recognised as a big step towards a progressive Pakistan where journalists can practise their right of freedom of expression freely and can protect themselves from possible foreseen risks; so that the broader objectives of informed citizenry, women's empowerment, gender equality, economic development, justice, rule of law and democratic governance can

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Adoptability and acceptability of peace journalism among Afghan photojournalists: Lessons for peace journalism training in conflict-affected countries

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Abstract

In this article, I seek to inform Peace Journalism (PJ) education and training in conflict-affected countries in particular. Based on a case study of the professional experiences of Afghan photojournalists, I offer insights into the acceptability and adoptability of PJ practice by journalists from conflict-affected countries. I present six key findings of a larger study on Afghan photojournalists in this article and discuss the lessons they hold for PJ training in conflict-affected countries. In sections 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, I provide some important theoretical, contextual and methodological background. In section 6, I discuss three professional adversities faced by Afghan photojournalists and evaluate the obstacles that implementation of PJ faces as a result of them. In section 7, I describe one professional motivator for Afghan photojournalists and discuss the opportunity it presents for PJ adoption. In

section 8, I describe two other constraints faced by Afghan photojournalists related specifically to donor-funded media development in post-2001 Afghanistan and discuss their implications for PJ training. Finally in section 9, while noting the limitations of the current study, I offer two ways forward for PJ training in conflict-affected countries like Afghanistan.

Journalism training in conflict-affected countries

Training in PJ is often offered as “continuing professional development as a form of donor aid” in conflict-affected countries (Lynch, 2015b, p.194). As such, PJ has a responsibility to engage with the emerging cognizance among scholars that donor-funded journalism training in conflict-affected countries often do not take into account the socio-cultural, political-economic and professional realities of the particular conflict-affected society where they are offered (Betz, 2015, pp. 219-232; Relly et al., 2015, pp. 471-497; Relly and Zanger, 2016, pp.1-23).

Though the question of the influence of sociological realities of a country on journalists is not new in academic discussion of PJ¹, scholars writing about the rationale for offering PJ training in conflict-affected countries however have maintained² that PJ is more readily acceptable to journalists in societies “that have experienced the ravages of violent conflict” (Hackett, 2006, p.11). Little to no concrete sociological evidence³ has been offered to support these observations and instead the consensus sometimes has been that this question is “effectively settled” (Lynch, 2015a, p. 25) by content analysis studies that show elements of PJ exist in manifest news content in different countries. More recently, the case for identifying “ideational distinctions, beyond the level of manifest content, in the representation of conflicts and match them to those in the PJ model” (Lynch, 2015b, p. 194) has been made by Nohrstedt & Ottosen (2015, pp. 225-6). The current article is inspired by this proposal but applies it in the context of training journalists in PJ in conflict-affected countries, rather than the representations they produce.

PJ and sociological particularities of journalistic profession

Sociological studies of journalism have long noted that journalism as a form of cultural production varies according to its socio-cultural context. Studies have been undertaken by both qualitative methods based on participant observation (e.g. Pedelty, 1995) and interviews with journalists (e.g. Rantanen, 2004, pp. 302-314) as well as more quantitatively oriented survey and questionnaire-based studies (e.g. Fahmy, 2005) utilizing theoretical frameworks such as the hierarchy of influence model (Shoemaker and Reese, 2014) to understand the sociological particularities of journalistic practice.

In the particular context of developing, transitional or conflict-affected countries, journalism has been shown to be affected by the particular history of where it is practiced (e.g. Coman, 2004; Shafer & Freedman, 2003; Skjerdal, 2012) as well as cultural specificities (e.g. Ibrahim, 2003), religious factors (e.g. Pin-tak, 2014) and national affiliations (e.g. Nossek, 2004). Comparative studies of journalistic self-perception

1 For example, see Tehranian (2002, p. 60); Blasi, 2009, Rodney-Gumede (2016)

2 See the continuity of this argument from Lynch and McGoldrick (2005, p. 223) and McGoldrick (2006, p. 4) to Lynch and Galtung (2010: p. 195) and Hackett (2011, p. 45).

3 Important exceptions are Onadipe and Lord's study (1999 quoted in McGoldrick, 2006) and Weighton (2015). For a discussion of the latter, see Mitra (2016a, p. 12).

have also found significant differences in how Western and non-Western journalists approach their own work ethically, epistemologically and institutionally in diverse socio-cultural contexts (e.g. Reich and Hantzsch, 2013).⁴

Studies of journalistic perception and practice where Western and non-Western news personnel work side by side (e.g. Bunce, 2010, 2015; Khan, 2011; Murrell, 2010, 2015; Palmer & Fontan, 2007; Palmer, 2016) have also shown that not only do such groups approach and assess their work differently but that there are significant tensions between them which stem from both differences in material employment conditions as well as socio-culturally constituted perceptions regarding the profession (e.g. Bunce, 2010, p. 527; Khan, 2011, pp. 92-3; Palmer, 2016, p.3). Most relevantly for the current discussion, tensions between local journalistic production and international 'liberal democratic' models of journalism introduced by media development initiatives in conflict-affected countries has been noted in studies on Iraqi journalists (Relly et al., 2015) and in Afghanistan (Relly & Zanger, 2016).

Considering this body of evidence that journalism is a practice which is multifarious, striated by differences, and affected by tensions generated by forces and factors within and without the profession, I have argued elsewhere that PJ needs to firstly inform itself of such differences and secondly to locate both the obstacles and opportunities that such differences in journalistic practice might present for PJ in different socio-cultural contexts (Mitra, 2016a: pp. 1-17).

In light of Relly et al.'s (2015) and Relly and Zanger's recent studies (2016) on tensions generated by donor-funded journalistic training in conflict-affected countries⁵, understanding the sociological particularities of such countries is especially important since PJ training has been and is offered as part of donor aid in such countries. Such training initiatives can benefit from a sociological understanding to see if PJ's existing norms and values fit with the local journalists and also how it can be made to fit better. As such, I offer here the case study of the practice of photojournalism in Afghanistan in relation to the socio-cultural and political-economic context of Afghanistan as a conflict-affected country.

Case study of photojournalism in Afghanistan: An example in extremis

As a case study, photojournalism in Afghanistan serves as an example in extremis of sociological particularities of journalistic practice – both in its socio-cultural factors as well as its political-economic situation as a conflict-affected society. Below are three salient points regarding post-2001 Afghanistan, which are important context for the current discussion.

Firstly, Afghanistan is a society where photography over the last century, (Dupree, 2002; Edwards, 2006; 2013), under the Taliban (Murray, 2012; Rawan, 2002) has been and is even now (Smith, 2011, p. 30) marginalized because of socio-cultural and religious reasons. Afghan society, with its continuing 'traditional cultural patterns' has long had a fraught relationship with images (Dupree, 2002, p. 978-979). Historically, the region has been described by historians as having "a lean visual culture" (Edwards, 2006, p. 113). The suspicion of photography in Afghanistan which has been traced by historians as far back as the 19th century (Edwards, 2006, pp. 113-114), has not disappeared entirely today. A study on Afghan media workers from 2011, found that visual news producers had a heightened threat perception because their profession conflicted with widely held "Afghan's religious beliefs and views" (Smith, 2011, p. 30).

Secondly, Afghanistan remains one of the most dangerous places in the world to be a journalist (CPJ Global Impunity Index, 2016). The latest report (available at the time of writing) by Afghan Journalist Safety Committee (AJSC, 2017, p. 2) on threats faced by Afghan journalists in 2016 notes "that violence has not only become heavier qualitatively, but the number of instances of violence against journalists has witnessed a 38 percent increase relative to 2015". The report also mentioned the sources of the total "73 cases of intimidation and violence" it recorded in the latter half of 2016. "Government officials have been responsible for 50 % of cases of violence against journalists in 2016 whereas Taliban have the responsibility for 20 % and unknown individuals have been responsible for 14 % of cases of violence against journalists", says the report (2017, p. 2). This constant threat of violence and intimidation is also part of the social situation under which Afghan photojournalists work.

Thirdly, Afghanistan's media sector since the US and NATO invasion in early 2000s has seen a proliferation of journalism training initiatives as part of the international community's reconstruction efforts in the country (Davin et al., 2010, pp. 29-30). One report published in 2012 noted that "hundreds of millions of dollars" have been spent just in media development and journalistic capacity building programmes by international and regional donor governments, NGOs and other actors (Cary, 2012, pp. 24-26). Media de-

⁴ The list of studies I mention here is only suggestive. For fuller reviews of relevant literature, see Reilly et al. (2015, pp. 474-476) and Mitra (2016a, pp. 3-5).

⁵ See Relly & Zanger (2016: pp.5-7) for a discussion of the problem.

velopment efforts in Afghanistan “has involved a complex web of vertical and horizontal relationships among media players, including donors, NGOs and international organizations. These actors, along with the numerous independent Afghan journalists ready to get on board, have proved critical in shaping the media environment” in Afghanistan today⁶ says Beikart (2015, p. 29). As such, the media system in post-2001 Afghanistan was described by Brown (2013) as a ‘patrons-based system’ dependent on foreign donors and aid agencies primarily, but also the Afghan government and other politically powerful Afghans such as warlords. Relly and Zanger (2016) have recently described this dependence as ‘capture’ of the Afghan news media by foreign donors and these other domestic agents. They concluded that the problems in Afghan news media can be attributed, *inter alia*, to “imported journalism values...layered upon previous and continued institutional arrangements and where violence and instability continue unabated” (Relly & Zanger, 2016, p. 1).

Theoretical framework

In seeking to understand the acceptability and adoptability of PJ training by Afghan photojournalists in terms of their socio-cultural, political-economic and professional context, I use a theoretical framework which merges different ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ constraints and obstacles experienced by these photojournalists but at the same time keeps in view their professional motivations. In brief, I study the ‘myths’, ‘frames’, ‘flaks’ and ‘rewards’ which influence photojournalistic work in Afghanistan as a holistic way “to test the applicability and acceptability of PJ’s norms and prescriptions for working journalists” (Mitra, 2016a, p. 5). This framework broadens the understanding of what PJ scholars have called the ‘feedback loop’ of journalists (Lynch, 2004, pp. 263–264; Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005, p. xix; Lynch and Galtung, 2010, p. 29). I have argued and discussed in detail elsewhere why this particular theoretical framework can be effective (Mitra, 2016a, pp. 1-17).

Using this theoretical framework, in this discussion below, I contextualize the experiences of the Afghan photojournalists at a ‘meso-level’ under the following categories⁷:

the commonly held beliefs and assumptions in society influencing Afghan photojournalists, i.e. ‘myths’ (Mitra, 2016a, p. 9),

the punitive and restrictive factors constraining them i.e. ‘flaks’ (Mitra, 2016a, pp. 7-8),

the control, exchange and manipulation of ‘informational frameworks’ which are prevalent among these photojournalists’ routine work i.e. ‘frames’ (Mitra, 2016a, pp. 8-9),

as well as the professional rewards and motivations for these photojournalists (Mitra, 2016a, p. 7)

Participant details and method

I conducted open-ended, semi-structured interviews with 20 current or previous Afghan photojournalists in Kabul, Afghanistan between September and October in 2014. Of the total number, 17 were men and three were women. Participants were mostly recruited with the help of the Kabul-based civil society organization, Afghan Journalist Safety Committee. Independent contact with a photography training centre in Kabul to recruit participants as well as snowball sampling were also used to reach respondents. As part of the ethical guidelines⁸ to be followed in the study, the respondents and the organizations they worked for will not be named. The photojournalists are referred to as ‘respondents’ followed by the numerals 1 to 20 in a randomly assigned but consistent order. All other information which can lead to their identity being known is removed. Following the interviews, the transcripts were thematically analyzed both inductively and deductively (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Guest et al., 2011) to produce the findings I present below.

⁶ See Relly & Zanger (2016, pp. 2-4) for a summary of media development in post-2001 Afghanistan. See Brown (2013, 177-189) for a more in-depth description of the same.

⁷ Each of these categories are in turn derived from theoretical frameworks which have been influential within the discipline of media and communication studies. For a full discussion on the development of this framework, see Mitra, 2016a, pp. 1-17

⁸ This study was approved under the Tri-council Policy Statement 2: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (December, 2010) of Canada from the Non-Medical Research Ethics Board of the University of Western Ontario under file no. 105378.

Adoptability of PJ among Afghan photojournalists

In this section, I contextualize three key findings of my study, each of which relate to the meso-level categories of myths, flaks and frames respectively, to identify the lessons it holds for adoptability of PJ in Afghanistan for Afghan photojournalists.

Most mentioned social 'Myth': Distrust of photography

Among other socio-cultural factors which belong to the level of societal 'myths' (e.g. gender constraints for women photojournalists to work in the profession), the socio-cultural factor most mentioned by the respondents was distrust of photographic images and photographers in Afghan society. 18 of the 20 respondents discussed this as an impediment in the work they do. The distrust of photography was most often mentioned in terms of societal rules against photographing women for public circulation. The societal taboo surrounding women having their photographs taken and published was described by Respondent 17,

"...here in Afghanistan, the women, they don't want to be in the picture. When they don't want to show their faces, how can they be in picture? Some women, they are wearing the burqa, still they are saying if our relative[s] see our picture, in the TV or in the newspaper, 'they [will ask] me why... you are in the newspaper?' So they don't have any answer for that. It's kind of...like shame for that woman. 'Do you know why your picture is there?' and she [would] have no answer for that."

This taboo against photographing women in Afghan society puts photojournalists' livelihoods and lives at risk. As Respondent 6 said,

"sometimes...when we take pictures of women, we face different clashes, even from police officers, asking why you are taking picture of wom[e]n, it's not allowed and this kind of thing...mostly we avoid taking pictures of women...because of the cultural problem. Because two or three times, I went to jail. I mean jail for many hours, because people attack[ed] me [for] taking pictures. Even the woman in burqa, you know their face was not in view but they attack[ed]...me and in one case, they wanted to break my camera...."

Being a woman was also not advantageous for the female respondents when it came to overcoming the difficulty of taking photographs of women. Female respondents 7 and 20 mentioned facing problems while photographing women while female respondent 4 said that even for a woman photographer,

"things are very sensitive when it comes to women and photographing women. And you have to use sometimes your judgement, when to stop, forget it, or when it's time to go".

The suspicion of photography, however, was noted by the respondents as not limited only to photographing Afghan women. Several respondents also mentioned a more general distrust of photography which included photographing men. Respondent 18 recounted an experience when in

"Helmand, there was [an] elder[s'] gathering, they were gathered with the ISAF [International Security Assistance Force], with the Brits, [to] discuss about some problem [in] the villages. When I tr[ie]d to take [a] picture, (gestures of gun cocking), 'no, don't!' ...[I said] 'but you are man, not woman'. 'No'. None of them [agreed]."

This finding points to how, as PJ traverses cultural boundaries, it faces particular socio-cultural constraints which its current definition of emphasizing 'people oriented coverage' (especially the particular emphasis on showing 'women'⁹ within it, in this case), cannot adequately answer.

Most-mentioned 'Flak': threat, intimidation and violence

Among other 'flak' faced by Afghan photojournalists (such as censorship through legal and extra-legal means), 17 of the respondents mentioned that they faced threats and intimidation, as well as violence, from Afghan military and intelligence personnel, in addition to the police and powerful officials from the Afghan government, not to mention the Taliban insurgents. The Taliban insurgents' role in affecting photographers in Afghanistan was not limited only to the physical threat they posed with the regular attacks and bomb blasts they perpetrated. The threat they posed was more direct in areas of the country where their influence was stronger than the Afghan national government's. Respondent 16 had had to abandon the house he had built in a province in the south of the country and move to Kabul because he was

"being warned by my relatives, they live in -----[Southern Afghan province], and they are all Talibs,

9 Cf. "especially women" under "people-oriented coverage" in War Journalism/Peace Journalism Table; Lynch & Galtung, 2010, p. 13. This understanding in turn can be traced back to Hoijer, Nohrstedt & Ottosen's (2002) discussion of women (along with children and aged) as "better victims than others" in the "discourse of global compassion" (p. 13) which subsequently has been mentioned and studied specifically for the analysis of news images by Ottosen (2007, pp. 1-18; see especially pp. 9-14). The 'essentialism' implied in depicting women as symbols of 'peace' has been recently, and nuancedly, explored by Orgeret (2016, pp. 207-223) who shows how naïve depictions of women as "peaceful and caretakers, often smiling" in newspaper coverage cannot be simplistically "seen as positive in the light of peace journalism" (2016, p. 220).

they are extremists. Since I have shaved my beard, I am wearing jeans, I wear [western] shirt[s], they consider me a kafer (infidel), non-Muslim ... I am being warned because I am doing such work. And they don't want me to work with, you know, do photography...."

But it was not only the Taliban insurgents which was the source of threat for Afghan photographers. Respondent 16 went on to mention the threat posed by Afghan military forces while Respondent 9 mentioned:

"I have been beaten, I have been injured. Police fired at me during my job".

Afghan government officials were also likely to be the source of such threats. Respondent 10 described his experience of having to move to Kabul which had parallels to the experience of respondent 16. However, the source of threat was not the Taliban, but:

"the Chief of Police, Provincial Governor, Prosecutor... I made a [news] report and the Chief of Police was dismissed next day. How can I live there any more? There's no protection for journalists... I don't feel very secure in my town so I decided to come to Kabul, because in Kabul, they are not [as] much strong as [in] [province to the west of Kabul]...."

Heightened threat of violence and lack of security is true for photographers working in conflict-ridden areas across the world given the nature of their job (Allan, 2011; Allan and Sreedharan, 2016). What made the situation described by Afghan photographers different from other conflict photographers, however, is the diversity of the sources of threat and the varied manifestations that such threats take, making the work of a photographer in Afghanistan not only sometimes dangerous, but dangerous all the time, everywhere. Respondent 6 said that while for conflict photographers elsewhere,

"[t]here is a war and you know that's the frontline and I cannot go there, [but for Afghan photojournalists] here the frontlines disappear, it happens every minute".

While PJ's norms pay attention to 'flaks' such as censorship, the more direct and more deadly forms of 'flak', intimidation, physical threats and harassment common in a conflict-affected country needs to be acknowledged as part of the extraneous factors which affect journalists' day to day work.

Most mentioned frames: elite actors and leaders, negative news, violence and military personnel

The photographers mentioned routinely taking photos of political leaders and actors, and military personnel, as well as war and violence. Four respondents mentioned that the news images of Afghanistan they took tended to be of political leaders and actors. For example, Respondent 2, who also worked as a photo-editor, mentioned that government officials, events at the presidential palace in Kabul and images of government of Afghanistan ministry offices as often being subjects of the images he produces.

Three respondents described routinely taking 'negative' images of Afghanistan, for example, Respondent 14 who said that,

"as far as the news agencies are concerned, they want news pictures and war and such things. So we can't just send them positive pictures, we should send them negative pictures."

The most mentioned visual frame, discussed by 17 respondents, were news photographs depicting events of violence, the most common form of which, at the time of the study, were suicide attacks carried out regularly by the Taliban. Respondent 13 noted that,

"mostly [I] like to show violent stories of Afghanistan to international people... [they] want to know about breaking news... like I mean suicide attack."

Covering "demonstrations or a suicide explosion" was so routine for Respondent 9 that he considered himself specialized in images from such events.

Closely related to the prevalence of violence in images taken by the Afghan photojournalists, was the focus on military personnel in images, mentioned by four respondents, for example, Respondent 11 who described the images he took for his international news agency after a suicide attack happens:

"When I arrive and I [see] that ok, the bodies are already out so don't go really close to do it, you know, because there is no necess[ity]. So I take the whole scene, wide shot of the whole scene. And the detail, what's the police doing, what's the army doing, the US army is doing?"

Taken together, the responses show a high degree of adherence to war journalism frames in the photos routinely taken by Afghan photojournalists such as focus on 'elites', negative news, violence and military personnel (cf. Lynch & Galtung, 2010, pp. 12-14).

However, 12 of the respondents also noted that these kind of images were produced by them largely because of international demand for these subjects which dictated their work. The international demand which dictated their choice of images influenced them through the international client news organizations

they supplied images to (five respondents), the editors they worked for (10 respondents), personnel of the regional image processing desks of news agencies they sent images to (three respondents), as well as international colleagues they worked with (five respondents). Photojournalistic work is affected by visual gatekeeping norms and routines¹⁰ which in turn are affected by extraneous influences including, but not limited to, perceived demand from audiences. How imbalances are created in news coverage through and within the gatekeeping process though noted (e.g. Lynch, 2015b, p. 194) has so far not adequately been addressed within PJ (Mitra, 2016b) nor has the question of how local journalists whose work is dictated by foreign news organizations (and thus, foreign editors and audiences) can intervene in biased news coverage. This is especially pertinent in the case of local journalists in conflict-affected countries because such local journalists are increasingly being hired by global news organizations as a form of cost-cutting¹¹.

Acceptability of PJ among Afghan photojournalists

The most widely discussed motivation among the Afghan photojournalists were financial in nature, in other words, finding and keeping a regular source of income in a country where income sources are few and far between. However, there was one other motivator mentioned by the respondents which showed the possibility of acceptability of PJ among this group of professionals.

Motivator: The wish to depict positive, peaceful Afghanistan

Though they mentioned routinely taking photographs which adhered to War Journalism frames, 17 of the photojournalists mentioned that they would prefer to portray the more 'peaceful' or 'positive' side of Afghan society. Some of them expressed this wish as a reaction to the international demands for negative and violent images of Afghanistan. For example, Respondent 20 said:

"For the past few years, all foreigners have seen is war in Afghanistan, suicide attacks, violence. They have a bad image in their mind of Afghanistan. But [I] think that besides that we should promote those pictures which show the beauty of Afghanistan, the development of Afghanistan...[I] think that [I would] prefer to show the beauty of Afghanistan than war or violence, because [I] think that it is enough [of] showing such things."

For some others, this wish was also part of what they perceived was their professional role as photojournalists. For example, Respondent 14 said that the motivation to show positive sides of Afghanistan means that:

"we don't want to change reality, reality is still there, but besides the negativity, besides the negative things in our society, we have positive things as well so we want to show them as well."

Besides expressing their intention, 13 respondents said that they actively tried to influence or have successfully influenced image-choices. Among these, Respondents 3 and 19 mentioned one such concrete example each of personal intervention in image choices while Respondents 11 and 13 noted three examples each of such instances. Respondent 16 noted two such examples, saying that:

I went myself, [this was my own] idea, this is not my agency['s] idea... my agencies have never asked me to take such pictures or work on such stories or feature stories, but it is my own creativity that I have worked on such positive features, that I have taken some pictures".

These findings show that in spite of the high degree of international influences through organizational demands and journalistic routines on the Afghan photojournalists, their motivations as Afghans do play a part in their professional life. Moreover, such factors do not only exist as a separate force to their professional norms, perceptions and routines but are actively negotiated by the Afghan photojournalists as both reactions against as well as extension of journalistic professional norms. Furthermore, these responses by the Afghan photojournalists show concurrence with PJ norms and point to the opportunities for acceptance of PJ among Afghan photojournalists.

However, given the constraints to adopting PJ norms that I note in the previous section, I posit that, in order to be effective, PJ training provided in conflict-affected countries cannot stay oblivious to the lived realities of the media professionals it aims to address. While the motivation among the Afghan photojournalists to show peaceful, positive sides of Afghan society supports the observation that journalists from 'war victim

¹⁰ See Shoemaker & Vos (2009, pp. 47-8) for a discussion on visual gatekeeping. See Bissell (2000); Fahmy (2005) for examples of studies of visual gatekeeping.

¹¹ Bunce (2015, pp. 46-7) says "one of the most striking trends in foreign news production over the last 20 years is the increased centrality and importance of local 'foreign correspondents': journalists who report on their home country for global news outlets". See also, Hamilton and Jenner (2004) and Paterson (2011).

societies' might indeed be amenable to PJ (Hackett, 2011, p. 45) the responses regarding their routine work, the lack of security they face as well as the socio-cultural distrust directed towards them show that PJ cannot be automatically thought as "most likely to take root" (Hackett, 2006, p. 11) in conflict-affected societies. The need to identify, learn from, and adapt PJ to the myths, frames, flaks as well as motivations which make up the feedback loop of journalists in a conflict-affected country is paramount. But the feedback loop in a conflict-affected country is also potentially affected by donor-funded journalism training. This factor needs also be considered critically by PJ.

Afghan photojournalists' views on journalistic training and capacity development in post-2001 Afghanistan: implications for PJ

As I have mentioned above, the media sector in Afghanistan is heavily dependent on foreign sources of funds, be it from foreign government-run aid agencies, international community organizations or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) engaged in development work in the country (Brown, 2013; Relly & Zanger, 2016). Given the utter decimation of photography as a practice and profession between 1996-2001 (Rawan, 2002), photojournalistic training has been an important part of journalistic capacity building projects, most notably but not only, by the training center and international NGO called 'Aina' (Cary, 2012; Murray, 2012).

Photojournalistic training in Afghanistan was noted by the respondents of this study as especially dependent on such foreign 'patrons'. Donor-aided photojournalism training has played both a positive and negative role in Afghanistan, according to the respondents. The positive role of internationally-funded initiatives in re-establishing photography and photojournalism as a profession was noted by 18 respondents. Briefly, they noted that international donor funds had not only made training in photojournalism and photography possible, but also that such funds and international attention on Afghanistan have created photojournalistic jobs for Afghans. They also noted the support for photographic projects and exhibitions that Afghan photographers received from international donors and other foreign sources.

But 16 of the respondents also felt that the quality, extent, level as well as access to photography training available in Afghanistan was inadequate at the time of the study. Respondent 10 thought that as a whole the international community has failed to provide opportunities for comprehensive training for Afghan journalists while Respondent 12 said that, in his experience, donor funding for photography training was not transparently or equitably distributed. Respondent 1 pointed out the problems caused for aspiring photographers by sporadic funding and short-term goals of training programmes dictated by the structure of donor-funded projects,

"Here in Afghanistan, unfortunately, they are not working as a process, [t]hey are working just as a project. They are coming and they are looking just for their own ends. And if they are giving training, they are giving...training only in what they want. They are not [paying attention to] the realities.... They just give [the trainees] a camera and [say], "take photo from there and there" and just give them [an] idea but [do] not [teach them]... important and professional things. They are not working [closely] with these trainees. Because they are coming like a project."

Seen in this light, PJ training in developing countries provided with the help of Western donors should not only engage in the 'critical pedagogy' that Lynch (2008, p. 301; 2015, p. 29) had called for in this context, but such critical approach should also be self-reflective about its own position within donor-funded media development initiatives especially because as Relly & Zanger (2016, p. 18) noted in the case of Afghanistan, "[d]onor and foreign government" control on the news media in the country "also have certain hallmarks, specifically the necessity of following certain ideologies...."

Furthermore, respondents in this study felt that short-term photojournalistic training needed to be supplemented or replaced with long term, merit-based formal education for photojournalists¹². For example, Respondent 2 said that to have:

"complete photographer[s] or photojournalists in Afghanistan", [it should be like i]n other countries, [where] there's a specific faculty or university for photography and photojournalism. But here we only have ten days' training, fifteen days' training.... It's useful. But not so complete. I attend[ed] many workshops. Sometimes, the workshop [taught me] something I need, sometimes the workshop [taught] me something I don't need.... For five workshop[s], two workshops... [were] useful for me. So it's the same issue... it is not academic, step by step, semester by semester."

¹² The existing facilities at Kabul University were widely noted by the photojournalists as inadequate and ineffective.

This observation by six of the respondents supports the argument made by Nohrstedt and Ottosen (2015, p. 221) that PJ education and training across the world should have “a joint approach together with universities, colleges, training institutes, NGOs” as well as international community organizations. Wider collaboration has so far not been the case in Afghanistan where PJ training is offered not as part of formal university education for journalists but through local chapters of international NGOs such as Institute for War and Peace Reporting13 (IWPR) and Mediothek Afghanistan (Lynch, 2015c, pp. 10-11).

Two lessons for PJ training in conflict-affected countries

As a qualitative research project and a case study, the discussion I present above is not generalizable and cannot offer concrete solutions for PJ training in all conflict-affected countries. Indeed, I argue against such generalizations and instead would like to emphasize the need to be flexible and adaptive to particular political-economic and socio-cultural situations in such countries by understanding the particular myths, flaks, frames and rewards that are part of journalistic work there.

However, the findings and discussion I present is strengthened by the parallels they have with the discussion of other countries and contexts included in this special issue. Hoxha and Andresen demonstrate with the case of Kosovo that training journalists in conflict-affected contexts bring special challenges. In addition, Garrido, Jamil, as well as Pate et al., all point to the need for journalism training and education to be informed by the local context in which journalists function. More specifically, Jamil and Pate et al. both discuss the lack of PJ education within university curricula in Pakistan and West Africa respectively. In the light of the discussion above but also supported by these observations in the other contributions in this special issue, I offer two ways forward for future PJ training and education in conflict-affected countries.

First of all, PJ training has to devise strategies to address the socio-cultural, political, economic as well as practice-related constraints faced by journalists in conflict-affected societies and bring its universal normative goals and frameworks into critical contact with these on-the-ground realities. Such socio-political particularities – as my case study and that of the other authors in this special issue suggest – will vary geoculturally and so PJ training has to be just as flexible. And finally, based on the need voiced by the Afghan photojournalists I interviewed as well as the shortcomings in training identified by Jamil and Pate et al. in their respective studies, PJ may serve better and be better served by becoming part of the curricula of publicly funded, merit-based, university and college programmes rather than offering training in PJ through short-term, donor-funded project30s in conflict-affected countries. This shift will provide both the space for critical pedagogy that Lynch had called for, while making sure that PJ will not be complicit in any potential foreign donors’ ‘capture’ of news media (Relly & Zanger, 2016) in such countries.

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Status of training and research in reporting conflict, peace journalism and safety education in English speaking West Africa: the cases of Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone

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Introduction

Journalism and mass communication are popular programmes with a high rate of applicants in tertiary institutions in the fifteen West African countries in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

In these countries, universities, polytechnics and journalism institutions are either introducing or strengthening their teaching and research activities in the discipline. They have been mainstreaming emerging issues in theory, methodology, technology, as well as contextual circumstances. The fifteen countries have a combined population of 400 million. They are multicultural, diverse, conflict prone and economically disadvantaged.

However, the increasing interest accorded to the training and safety of journalists across the region hardly translates into their total safety and protection. Progressively, they continue to experience personal and professional threats in reporting many of the violent conflicts and terror attacks that frequently erupt in their countries especially in the last fifteen years (Pate, 2017). Worrying, too, these countries have remained highly prone to recurrent conflicts and violent extremism as socio-economic and political conditions get increasingly desperate.

Journalists have been accused that through poor professional judgement and insensitivity in reporting local conflicts, they have unwittingly become part of the problem as instigators (Zebulon, 2017). However, whatever their role in past and present conflicts in the region, society expects them to deliver credible information in the midst of violent situations. Yet, often, their personal and institutional safety remained largely compromised. They have suffered multiple personal and institutional losses caused by attacks and threats to

their safety. They have overstretched their capacities at great personal and institutional risks to report. Often, they do so with low specialised knowledge and high personal risks because their training hardly prepares them for the realities of reporting conflicts and protecting themselves in volatile environments. In the words of Zelizer (2009), “contemporary journalists have been under siege from numerous quarters”. Arguably, in West Africa, the numerous professional hazards encountered by journalists can be partly linked to professional deficiencies in reporting conflicts and violent terror, building peace through journalism and ensuring their safety against internal and external threats. Indeed, as argued by Mardaras, Gonzalez and Penin (2016), “there are three factors that primarily condition the work of journalists in the field: professional working conditions, journalists’ training and their professional experience, and safety training and equipment.” Indeed, Carlsson and Poyhtari (2017), Cottle (2017) and Abu-Fadil (2017) have all justified the strengthening of the teaching of safety education and related dimensions of conflict and peace journalism in the curriculum of universities for a critical body of knowledge and safer professional environment as an integral part of promoting the freedom of expression within and outside national boundaries.

Accordingly, this paper examines the teaching of conflict-sensitive reporting, safety education and peace journalism in the curricula of institutions offering mass communication/journalism programmes in three English speaking countries of West Africa: Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone. It assesses the status of research and teaching of reporting of conflicts, peace journalism and professional safety in institutions of the selected countries. Contextually, all of them have similar educational systems, common historical backgrounds, and not so different socio-political and economic structures. Equally, the three have histories of military dictatorships; civil wars in Sierra Leone and Nigeria and especially for Nigeria, increasing cases of terrorism, ethno-religious conflicts and political disputations.

Context

The West African sub-region has fifteen countries of unequal sizes and populations. The countries differ in social, economic and political orientations; but, all of them are united as members of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Some of them speak English with main orientation towards the Anglo-American educational system; majority are francophone with heavy leaning towards the French system of education and few others have Spanish and Lusophony orientations. Each of the countries has, at least, one university and polytechnic like The Gambia which has one university and Nigeria that has over a hundred. The countries are diverse, heterogeneous and have varying economic strengths that translate into entrenched fundamental, in many cases, contradictory structural, institutional, psychological and cultural features. Such influences, have invariably, continued to affect the politics, economics and social systems of individual countries with attendant consequences that have variously ignited violent conflicts, extreme terror or simmering battles.

The fortunes of journalism in the region are mixed. In many ways, the social environment has made the practice difficult despite being key in the lives of the people and the development of the nations. The media environment is heavily hamstrung by obstacles and operational challenges like poverty, low capacity, and threats to freedom of expression as well as impunity and weak institutional safety mechanisms for journalists. For instance, between 2013 and 2017, The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) reported the killing of 262 journalists (with 42 from Africa); Reporters without Borders (RWB) reported the killing of 301 (57 from Africa); and International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) reported the killing of 507 (74 from Africa) (www.ifj.org, www.cpj.org, and www.rsf.org). These figures, though they vary, are however distressing as they present an alarming seriousness regarding the dangers confronting journalists in Africa in the form of intimidation, persecution, arrests, imprisonment and impunity.

Journalism training in English Speaking West Africa

Journalism in West Africa, particularly in Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone dates back to the mid-19th century, and was practiced by individuals who had no formal journalism training, though possessed a general liberal education. These pioneers endured numerous professional challenges under different colonial and post-colonial military/civilian dictatorships; many were killed, jailed, maimed and rendered jobless; the majority were threatened and subjected to severe personal and institutional stresses. They operated under climates of dictatorships, wars, insurgencies, natural disasters and harsh economic conditions (Akinfeleye, 1988).

Formal professional training in journalism in the three countries began in the 1950s when Cecil King established the branches of his Daily Mirror Group of London in Ghana and Nigeria to publish the *Daily*

Graphic in Accra and *Daily Times* in Lagos (Boafo, 1992). The company used its technical and financial resources to train journalists of all ranking. That continued up to the time when the Ghana Institute of Journalism was established in 1959 to offer “formal and systematic training in journalism” and foster “development of a patriotic cadre of journalists to play an active role in the emancipation of the African continent” (Boafo, 1992).

Ghana, with a population of 27.5 million started journalism training in a university setting when an American modelled School of Communication Studies was established at the University of Ghana, Legon, to offer postgraduate programmes in 1973. That arrangement lasted into the late 1990s, when additional institutions came on board. As at 2016, the country has 63 universities/colleges and polytechnics. Of the number, 13 offer courses in mass communication/ journalism programmes.

In Nigeria, where the population exceeds 180 million, formal mass communication/journalism training assumed prominence after the country’s independence in 1960. Oso (2012) noted that like the situation in Britain, early Nigerian journalists and broadcasters acquired professional training on the job. Strict local journalism training began in 1954 with a two-week “vocation course” in journalism conducted by the colonial government for working journalists at the University of Ibadan (Akinfeleye, 1988). From 1962 to 1980, three universities, two polytechnics and three monotechnics offered journalism education at the degree and diploma levels as well as offered on the job enhancement trainings.

As at 2015, Nigeria has 127 universities. Of the number, 73 offer journalism and mass communication courses (NUC, 2016). In addition, there are 31 polytechnics and monotechnics offering mass communication/journalism programmes among the seventy polytechnics offering diplomas in the country (Abubakar and Dauda, 2016). On the industrial side, the media sector has been expanding in all respects. By 2013, the country has 282 registered newspapers and magazine companies; 350 television and radio stations, 33 Multichannel Multipoint Distribution Services (MMDS) and 13 Direct-To-Home service providers (DTH) (Abubakar and Dauda, 2016). With the current digitisation trend, the broadcast sector is expected to expand further. The distribution of these media organisations coupled with the frequent outburst of conflict in the country justify the need to specially train and equip journalists on conflict reporting and safety procedures.

Sierra Leone, with a population of seven million has five universities and two polytechnics. Of the number, two offer journalism/ mass communication degree and diploma programmes as well as refresher courses for practicing journalists. The mass communication degree programmes in the two universities at Freetown and Makeni are relatively young compared to the programmes in Ghana and Nigeria. The course was first introduced in 1993 at the Fourah Bay College, the premier University of Sierra Leone and later followed by that of the University of Makeni in 2013 (Koroma, 2016).

Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone were former British colonies with common educational systems largely transplanted from Britain in structure, philosophy and curricula. However, the mass communication/journalism curricula was one of the few exceptions that largely emanated from America rather than Britain. Oso (2012) saw that as “ironical in the sense that the mass media (newspapers, broadcasting and films) were British transplants. The difference in the case of mass communication education was because the British had no model to offer”. Simply, the American media training model offered a ready opportunity in the absence of a more promising option from the British system. To date, the American model has remained the most significant influence on media education in English speaking West Africa.

The American functionalist model focused on skills empowerment, promoted market based communication and linked the role of the media to general development and regime survival. Journalists were taught to understand their roles as facilitators in national modernisation and growth (Pate, 2010). In the late 60s, 70s and 80s, not much was anticipated on the role of the media in violent conflicts or terrorism to seriously provide for the training of media professionals on their expected roles in conflict resolution and peace building processes. Howard (2009) pointed out that conflict is a “curious blind spot” in journalism training and education. This is correctly reflective of the situation in the West African region considering the low attention accorded to the complexities and the structural, institutional, psychological and cultural factors underpinning diverse and multicultural settings in the journalism training. In the words of the IFJ President, Jim Boumelha, “journalism students must understand the risks they confront when they work” (Abu-Fadl, 2017).

Howard (2009) further argues that “traditional journalism skills development has not included study of how best to cover violent conflict, and has ignored any understanding of violent conflict as a social process.” He stressed that while other areas such as business, sports, music, etc. had commanded attention, the dynamics of violent conflict, its instigation, development and resolution, were poorly understood and inefficiently handled and reported by most journalists. That put many of them in disadvantaged positions where

they “find themselves ill-equipped to address” conflict issues. With better understanding of conflict, causes, manifestations and dynamics as well as impact and resolution strategies, journalists can more confidently report on the subject without compromising their principles (Howard, 2009). One way of achieving that is by employing Galtung’s idea of peace journalism, which according to Shinar (2007) “is a normative mode of responsible and conscientious media coverage of conflict that aims at contributing to peace making, peacekeeping and changing the attitudes of media owners, advertisers, professionals and audiences towards war and peace.” A reporting technique that Howard (2009) sees working consciously for peace and engages reporters in the roles of advocacy.

Galtung proposed peace journalism in the 1970s as a “broader, fairer and more accurate way of framing stories, drawing on the insights of conflict analysis and transformation” (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000). According to Ozohu-Suleiman (2016), there is a general agreement across peace journalism literature that words such as “barbaric”, “brutal”, “cruel”, “defenceless”, “destitute”, “devastated”, “extremist”, “fanatic”, “fundamentalist” “pathetic”, “terrorist”, “tragedy” and “vicious” are capable of enflaming and encouraging conflict when used by the media in describing a conflict situation especially in volatile communities. Also, imprecise usage of terms such as “assassinate”, “decimate”, “genocide”, “massacre”, “systematic” or “organised” should be avoided in their different tenses if the media is to promote the cause of peace in reporting conflicts.

But all of that can only be possible, if, in the words of Mardaras, Gonzalez and Penin (2016), sufficient safety training and equipment are provided for journalists to guarantee their physical and emotional integrity. The scholars noted UNESCO’s position that civil society organisations and the universities are “important actors as regards journalists’ safety” (UNESCO, 2015; being actors who “build knowledge and capacity” (UNESCO, 2015).

Methodology

In writing this paper, existing frameworks from regulatory agencies as well as the curricula of mass communication/journalism programmes in selected Universities and Polytechnics in Nigeria, Ghana and Sierra Leone were reviewed to find out the national provisions and directions on contents, philosophies and teaching of mass communication/journalism courses in the three countries. The curricula in selected universities were analysed to find out specific courses and framework on teaching of reporting of conflicts, peace journalism and safety of journalists. In Ghana, the review covered the curricula of two leading journalism training institutions (University of Ghana and the Ghana Institute of Journalism); in Sierra Leone, the two Universities in the country offering mass communication were considered while for Nigeria which has the largest number of universities and polytechnics offering journalism and mass communication programmes in West Africa, the curricula of three universities and two polytechnics were sampled and analysed. Furthermore, ten academics and five professionals in the industry were interviewed for their opinions on the subject of study.

Findings

This section presents the findings of the study. It gives the context, the existence of mass communication/journalism training in specific countries, and the extent to which the various programmes teach conflict reporting, peace journalism and safety of journalists. The section concludes by noting the challenges associated with the teaching of the courses and the recommendations for the mainstreaming and strengthening of courses on reporting of conflicts, peace journalism and safety education.

Nigeria

In Nigeria, there are two coordinating agencies, the National Universities Commission (NUC) and the National Board for Technical Education (NBTE) that regulate the content and curricula of all higher institutions in the country. These agencies provide Bench Mark Academic Standards (BMAS) that all institutions, irrespective of ownership and size must observe, even though, each institution operates its individual academic programmes. The various curricula are defined in the specifications provided by the NUC and NBTE.

The BMAS for mass communication including journalism focuses primarily on producing professionals

equipped with skills and only a little on the knowledge of the multicultural environments in which they operate. Specifically, the BMAS has not directly provided for the teaching of conflict reporting, peace journalism or safety education except that individual institutions are encouraged to conceive and mainstream courses on choice. Perhaps, the closest to the subject of conflict, peace and safety in journalism are topics on press freedom and free press operations and crisis communications. However, there are seven universities that have individually developed their own courses on conflict reporting in which they also teach aspects of peace journalism. They have developed specific courses on conflict reporting with detailed contents as approved by their Senates. The institutions are: University of Maiduguri, Bayero University, Kano, University of Jos, American University of Nigeria, Yola (Private), Ajayi Crowther University, Oyo (Private) and Delta State University, Abraka. The first four universities listed are located in places with histories of violent ethno-religious and political conflicts while the Delta University is located in the heartland of the Niger-Delta where oil induced conflicts and militancy have been on the rise. The universities teach the courses over one semester each with credit load of two.

The courses are called various names but basically the focus is on equipping the students to appreciate and be able to research, cover and report conflicts and related issues professionally. For instance, the University of Maiduguri course content on reporting conflicts and diversity is: ‘‘designed to raise the capacity of students in handling issues of diversity and conflict in the context of multicultural and federal Nigeria and indeed, Africa. Issues to be treated include: Definition of concepts, diversity, pluralism and federalism in Nigeria, challenges of diverse communities; conflict, causes and nature of conflict, communications and conflict, covering diversity and reporting conflict; challenges of reporting conflict in Nigeria; peace journalism; etc’ (Pate, 2015).

In most other Universities, reporting of conflict is taught as a topic over two to four hours in courses like Specialised Reporting, Media and Society and Crisis Communication in Public Relations. It is important to state that there is a first year compulsory general study (GST) course on ‘‘Conflicts in Nigeria’’ for all students in Nigerian Universities. But important as this may sound, the course is grossly deficient for journalism students because the curriculum is basically introductory and hardly focused to satisfy the needs of a journalism student. More so, as the course is often taught by political scientists or sociologists whose interests may not coincide with the requirements in a journalism programme.

Similarly, the national curriculum for mass communication/journalism in the polytechnics did not make a specific provision or demand on the institutions to teach courses in reporting of conflicts, peace journalism or safety education. The emphasis is on press freedom, specialised reporting and news reporting. By implication, the teaching of the courses on conflict, peace journalism and safety education depends on the ingenuity of individual instructors because the national framework did not provide for that as a course or courses. However, the polytechnic curriculum has a recommendation that individual institutions can, depending on their contextual need, introduce and teach additional courses in their areas of operations. Currently, just about five polytechnics indicated in their brochures that they have courses that relate to the reporting of conflicts. Even at that, what they teach are introductory concepts and issues with little attention to the context and deep analysis of the issues.

Basically, the teaching of conflict reporting in the sampled universities focus on concepts, basic techniques, and approaches in conflict sensitive reporting and peace journalism. The universities teach the course in one semester (12 weeks), hardly sufficient to practically build the skills of the students. In fact, currently, no university in the country is offering a graded course in peace journalism or safety education. In most cases, the subjects are treated under courses like media and society or specialised reporting. However, many departments like the University of Nigeria, Nsukka, University of Ibadan, University of Lagos and a lot more have reported that they have supervised postgraduate theses that focused on the reportage of various conflicts in the country. Most often, such studies use content analysis to establish the quantity and quality of reportage with less regards to the socio-political and economic contexts that could explicitly explain and clarify the role of the media.

Safety education for journalists is invisible in the national or institutional curricula for training of media professionals in the country. Issues of safety come up only when topics on press freedom and rights of journalists are discussed. In all the Universities sampled, none reported having or teaching the subject as a course. This is indeed a critical gap considering that in Nigeria cases of impunity, attacks and maltreatment of journalists are rampant. Journalists are exposed and suffer personal, psychological, physical, economic, gender, rights and many other forms of threats. Media institutions flagrantly and commonly fail to provide basic safety nets, welfare schemes and fail in fulfilling their financial obligations to staff (Oso.). The case in Nigeria may be similar to the findings by Lohner and Banjac (2016) who investigated safety challenges

However, the situation in Nigeria is ameliorated by the involvement of local and international civil society organizations in the media sector. Many of them like the Media Rights Agenda, Institute of Media and Society, International Press Institute and the Nigerian Union of Journalists are engaged in episodic capacity building activities.

Ghana

In Ghana, 13 universities/colleges and polytechnic offer undergraduate and postgraduate degree programmes in mass communication/journalism. But none of the Institutions teach specific courses on reporting of conflicts, peace journalism or safety education. The curriculum at University of Ghana's School of Communication which offers postgraduate studies only does not include subjects of conflict, peace journalism or safety education. Rather, they are tangentially embedded in courses like development communication and media and society. However, the Ghana Institute of Journalism (GIJ) has planned to introduce a course on conflict-sensitive reporting, though it is yet to take off. The major sources of training in the subjects are mostly outside the university settings. Practicing journalists have been receiving series of short term training and retraining on aspects of the subject organised by public and mostly international civil society organisations. For instance, civil society groups like the Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) in collaboration with The African Peace-building Network (APN) organised a two-day regional training (March 30th-31st 2016) at the University of Ghana dubbed "Improving Media Coverage of Conflict and Peace-building in West Africa." Journalists working in broadcast, print, and online media from the Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, and Sierra Leone attended. Another training of such nature entitled "Peace Journalism Training" was organised by the same organisations on April 6, 2016 where 16 participants from The Gambia, Senegal, Mali, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ghana and Nigeria who also formed themselves into a Network of Peace Building Journalists in West Africa attended. Equally, the Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA) has been organising series of trainings for journalists in Ghana on Conflict-Sensitive Reporting with one held in June 2016.

Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone, with a population of seven million has five universities and two polytechnics. Of the institutions, two universities offer mass communication/journalism undergraduate programmes. The country experienced a violent civil war (1991-2002) that killed 70,000 people and displaced 2.6 million (UNDP, 2006). Perhaps, because of the recent war experiences, the two universities offering mass communication/journalism in Freetown and Makeni have specific courses on conflict sensitive reporting and peace journalism but nothing on safety education. Just like the case in Nigeria, the conflict sensitive reporting and peace journalism are taught in one course over a semester.

Additional sources of trainings

The institutions are basically focused on training upcoming journalists with little attention on strengthening the capacities of those in practice in peace journalism and basic professional safety education. It is important to note that there are several other agencies, in and out of the school system, that have been supplementing the efforts of mass communication/journalism departments in promoting conflict sensitive reporting, peace journalism and professional safety education across the three countries. Some of such sources are:

Centres for Conflict Studies: Many of the universities in the three countries and few of the Polytechnics and Colleges have centres for conflict studies. In some, they run programmes and undertake researches that relate to media and conflict, peace journalism but hardly on safety.

Special Interventions: Many agencies (Civil Society Organizations, the UN system, Donor organisations,

etc) have been involved in short term capacity building and skills enhancement activities at several levels for on the job Journalists. They focus on different aspects of conflict reporting, peace journalism and safety education

Researches: Numerous researches/studies have been done or are ongoing by scholars, agencies and interested bodies with focus on the subject of conflict and media and peace journalism across the three countries. Such efforts have produced a growing body of literature on the subject.

Challenges

Findings in this study are similar to findings from other parts of the world on the limitations and state of peace journalism education and safety training for journalists in the universities. For instance, Sadia Jamil (2016) found that in Pakistan “despite severe safety threats, the majority of surveyed journalists in this study (78% – 57 out of 75) have not received safety training either by any governmental body, local university, their media organisations and journalists’ unions. Journalists’ feedback suggests that Pakistan’s government, universities, media organisations and journalists’ unions have very limited role to establish journalists’ conflict reporting guidelines and to provide them regular safety trainings and instruments (such as bullet-proof jackets)”. The report is similar in Kosovo (Hoxha and Andrses, 2016),; Afghanistan (Mitra, 2016) and Abu-Fadl (2017) in Jordan. The Spanish model seems to be unique in which the military is the major trainer of journalists in conflict reporting and safety education (Mardaras, Gonzalez and Penin, 2016).

From these findings, it is evident that there are issues that need to be addressed to significantly mainstream and continuously improve the capacity of the institutions in teaching and research in conflict sensitive reporting, peace journalism and safety education. Some of the issues can be addressed internally while others are beyond the institutions and the media sector. First, it is important to stress that the West African region is riddled with numerous conflicts. By implication, the nature of the context (characterised by high poverty, elite misdirection, violent terror, etc) affect the subject of media and conflict and safety of journalists. This is further compounded by the absence of nationally defined frameworks on the training of media professionals in aspects of conflict handling, peace journalism and safety education across the three countries.

Such absence has impacted on the human and material resources available to respond to the glaring demand for increased capacity in conflict sensitive reporting and improved knowledge of safety for journalists. The situation in the region resembles what Mitra (2016) observed with regards to the teaching of peace journalism in Afghanistan. Based on his findings, he advised like in our case that: “peace journalism training has to devise strategies to address the socio-cultural, political, economic as well as practice-related constraints faced by journalists in conflict-affected societies and bring its universal normative goals and frameworks into critical contact with these existing factors. Beyond the specific case study..., such socio-political particularities will vary geo-culturally and so peace journalism training has to be just as flexible... and be part of the curriculum of publicly funded, merit-based, formal education programs rather than short-term, donor-funded journalistic training and capacity-building projects in conflict affected countries”.

Conclusion

From the study in the three countries, it has emerged that few institutions teach reporting of conflicts, peace journalism and safety education in English speaking West Africa. This tendency is not reflective of the reality in the sampled countries where journalists are increasingly involved in handling local conflicts, terror attacks and dangerous operational environments particularly because of the increasing volatility in the region. In some of the institutions, conflict reporting is taught as a topic over two to four hours in courses like specialised reporting, media and society and crisis communication. However, many institutions are increasingly mainstreaming the teaching of such courses in their curricula because of the rise in the demand for the courses occasioned by the rate of violence in their countries and efforts of international agencies like UNESCO. The study also found that conflict reporting courses are called various names in the institutions but basically they focus on equipping students to appreciate and be able to research, cover and use conflict sensitive reporting techniques. Current evidence suggests that the course(s) are being taught on few campuses at the postgraduate level even though students have been submitting dissertations on mostly aspects, nature and directions of conflict reporting.

Recommendations

Based on the findings and the identified challenges, one may wish to recommend the following options to mainstream and improve the teaching of relevant courses in media and conflict, peace journalism and safety education in English speaking West African institutions. Some of the recommendations are that:

Individual countries in West Africa should encourage and support institutions offering Mass Communication/Journalism to mainstream courses on peace journalism, conflict-sensitive reporting and safety education;

National regulatory agencies like the National Universities Commission in Nigeria and Tertiary Institutions Commission in Sierra Leone should develop frameworks for teaching of the courses and the domestication of the UNESCO modules on the subjects;

Institutions should liaise with relevant local and international agencies like UNESCO and sister institutions to support research and development of contextually relevant literature in the countries through collaborative engagements;

Institutions are encouraged to develop broad based course contents that expand the horizons of students in history, theories and practice of multiculturalism, etc.

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Training journalists in times of transition: the case of Kosovo

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Abstract:

With Kosovo as its case, this article explores the context and challenges of journalism education in transition societies. Journalists in Kosovo have lived through constant changes from authoritarian to democracy. In this struggle, journalism education has never been stable and steady. The past conflict events of the destruction of Yugoslavia haunts present day journalism in challenging human rights, ethics and even business model of Kosovar media. The traumatic past, conflict and ethnic animosity is still present in the public discourse among Kosovar journalists due to political resistance of the leadership of the entire region to take steps towards recognizing conflicting past and the atrocities that happened. Over the last decade, new journalism schools have been founded both in public and private sector which reflects significant increase in quality reporting. By utilizing previous research, including data from the Worlds of Journalism Study (WJS) in Kosovo, the article discusses the aspect of transitional journalism in Kosovo, which focuses on transitional justice and looks at the problems from a human rights ap-

proach, including the education of journalists in the field of human rights but instead of learning from top down approach. The data in the article show journalistic roles shifting from traditional watchdog to activist role which challenges journalistic professionalism at a time when journalism education in higher education is in its infancy. The article exposes the need for practical, tailored training about the realities of political pressure, history and the transition. As one of the significant gaps in the teaching journalism in Kosovo is in relation to dealing with the past, a lack of taught courses for journalists entering the media market is seen as a weakness of the education system in Kosovo along with other structural problems in the media. Technology, globalization, rapid development of social media leave much to be desired in the journalism education in Kosovo.

Introduction: The emergence of transitional journalism in the Balkans

Journalists and media institutions in Kosovo have undergone multiple transitions over the last decades; from an authoritarian regime, through war, into a post-war democracy and later into a present transitional stage.

Throughout this time, the international community has been present with media assistance, including numerous training courses for journalists (Rhodes 2007, Andresen 2015). Yet, after years of attempts to practice perceived western standards, journalists in the region are increasingly applying what can be framed as a democracy fighter-activist role where the journalists are struggling to understand their roles in the intersection of journalistic professional cultures, political and historical influences; dealing with aspects of the troubled past plays a key role here (Andresen, Hoxha & Godole, 2017). Data from the Worlds of Journalism Study (WJS) in Kosovo reveals, on the basis of a survey of over 200 journalists, that Kosovar journalists experience a gap between their personal ideal perceptions of roles, ethics and working conditions, and the realities they face every day (Hoxha, Andresen & Dobrunaj, 2017). The WJS survey also identifies restrictions on autonomy, ethical dilemmas and political pressure. More significantly, it also uncovers how journalists and editors are in a process of redefining their roles; from professional idealists to democracy fighter-activists, who aim to put central topics on the public agenda. This stage can be framed as transitional journalism.

In his introduction to the book *European Journalism Education* (Terzis, 2010), Hugh Stephenson reflects on the massive change in journalism education in Europe. He lists factors like technology and change in media readership, but the first change he brings up is the political context, especially in Eastern Europe (Stephenson, 2010). In a few decades, journalists educated in the higher education system are not entering

the media world as agents of the state, but rather men and women seeking employment in post-communist, highly transitional societies. Kosovo is one of these societies. There has so far been no academic study of the state of journalism education in Kosovo. This article seeks to first conceptualize the context of Kosovo as a transitional society, setting the stage for journalism education in the country. Secondly, it outlines aspects of current journalism education in Kosovo, including Kosovar journalist's background. Thirdly, we bring recommendations to the higher education in Kosovo as to how to work further in the journalism education.

Kosovo as a transitional society

The Western Balkans has developed through major changes in recent history and the media has transformed along with political system drastically to the extent that it is still unable to find a decent path to development. Western Balkans has emerged from a communist past and that plays a very important role on today's media model and how journalism develops overall (Andresen et.al., 2017). As such, in post-conflict situations, journalists find it difficult to maintain their independency and neutrality. Similarly, in post-conflict Germany after 1945, journalism focused on its role to de-nazify German society and in the same way, the media in Kosovo took a stand on anti-communism. Post-conflict environments are exposed to dealing with its past through transitional justice and transitional institutional reform as part of "lustration" of institutions and society but the role of media has never been looked upon from this angle. Transitional justice mechanisms do look at the media as partners in reforms and necessary public engagements but don't see a crucial role in the process as media are not part of the state institutions (Hoxha, 2014). Despite this, in many cases, public televisions and radios are state funded or publicly funded and therefore are in a way part of the institutional framework.

Changing roles of media in transitional societies

The concept of transitional journalism has its roots in a history of constant transitions in the Balkans. Media in the region was in part developed under as a state media model in Yugoslavia, with limited press freedom. After the start of breakup of the federation, the media mostly focused on ethnic reporting and reporting about "the other" (Jusic, 2009; Luci & Markovic, 2009). In the words of Dejan Anastasijevic, a former journalist during the 1990s "most media in the former Yugoslavia report on The Hague trials as sports matches, favoring "our boys" over prosecutors and jeering at the "monsters" from another ethnic group"¹. With the changes in former Yugoslavia and opening up of society came the challenges as well, as Splichal rightly notes, "the freedom of the press increasingly became a freedom wielded by the owners of the means of communication rather than by the citizens. Profitable information was the most important" (1994: 4). The media in Kosovo was a promoter of, for example, Albanian culture, language and politics and was never detached from it. (Andresen, 2015) This is also the case in the broader Balkan region, where media fought for a political cause. The cause shifted away from nationalism until the establishment of Yugoslavia, when the idea of 'unity and brotherhood' across ethnic lines was one of the Yugoslav media's roles in society, given and controlled by the Communist regime (Robinson, 1977). However, the loyalty to ethnic nationalism was an additional parallel force that grew during the break-up of Yugoslavia, giving journalists a double sense of duty. In Kosovo, the Yugoslav identity was fragile and the different national identities came to life quickly as Yugoslavia dissolved during the 1980s. The national identity was always deeper than the Yugoslav identity, although journalists accepted the official socialist line. This has been confirmed in this paper by interviews with experienced journalists in Kosovo that worked in the Yugoslav media during the 1980s. The escalation of ethnic and national conflicts in the Balkans during the 1990s led to a shift from media as a promoter of unity and brotherhood into media as active tool of ethnic hatred and war. This was a significant shift and from the 1990s until today is what most journalists interviewed for this research project relate to when referring to media's negative role in Kosovo. Their personal experience with media was one of media as a promoter of ethnic conflicts. Media was used as tools both for the Serbian regime as well as a counter-reaction tool by the Kosovar Albanians. Media shifted from promoting unity to being tools of separation. This is thoroughly documented in studies of how media in the region was used as propaganda instruments in Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia (Thompson, 1999; Kurspahic, 2003). In Kosovo in the late 1990s, media's role shifted to an even more active one; being a tool in war.

¹ <https://www.ictj.org/debate/article/what-justice> (Accessed on 09/05/2017)

In other conflicts such as in Afghanistan, Saumava Mitra's (2017) work on peace journalism and photo-journalists finds that: "Foreign patronage has played both a positive role as well as negative roles according to the respondents." Although, only working with photojournalists, she finds that peace journalism sponsored by the foreign organizations "has to devise strategies to address the socio-cultural, political, economic as well as practice-related constraints faced by journalists in conflict-affected societies and bring its universal normative goals and frameworks into critical contact with these existing factors." (Mitra, 2017). Furthermore, the importance of journalism education has been looked upon by Sadia Jamil where she finds that: "The role of academia is very crucial in fostering safe journalism and producing well-aware journalism professionals who can work effectively in conflict and non-conflict circumstances in Pakistan. According to a journalism academic from a public-sector university in Pakistan, "universities are the first training place for journalism professionals." (Jamil, 2017) Although looking at it in Pakistan, where cultural context and circumstances are different from Kosovo, the argument that academia is the first line of education provider is applicable in our research as well. In the cases of Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, Umaru A. Pate, Lai Oso and Abubakar Jibril argue that peace journalism and safety education should be taught as part of education curricula as a response to: "personal and professional threats in reporting many of the violent conflicts and terror attacks that frequently erupt in their countries especially in the last fifteen years" (2017). Mariateresa Garrido Villareal makes the claim that International Humanitarian Law has to be taught at schools for journalists in order to ensure that journalists know their rights and have more instruments to their protection. In her research, she concludes that: "Media personnel are considered as civilians during armed conflicts and they are entitled to receive a special protection. However, given the fact that they can be identified as combatants and lose the protection, it is essential that journalists gain the necessary legal knowledge to better protect themselves when covering wars." (2017). Similarly, we have noticed that the relations to human rights is present in Balkans as well but rather from the top down approach teaching journalists general Human Rights Law instead of focusing bottom-up from examples of Freedom of Expression or human rights cases that relate to their work.

In the current transitions, the Balkans media today stands between 'polarized pluralist journalism' of the Mediterranean and 'democratic corporatist journalism'. This can be determined by studying the current state of the media system. Hallin and Mancini (2004, 2012), argue that to study media system, one needs to look at the structure of media market, political parallelism, professionalization of journalist as well as external interference. The challenges faced by professionalization of journalists in the region take root in the 'current technological, economic, and cultural changes within the context of larger media systems' Role perception depends on 'individual training, socialization, institutional demands, or personal job motivations' (Donsbach, 2008). In these transitional times, the role of the development of journalism must be addressed, and a key aspect is the training of journalists.

Methodology

This paper uses a combination of methods to obtain the contextual data as well as the current analysis of journalism education in Kosovo. Data from the authors' previous research has been utilized. Andresen's PhD dissertation about the development of journalism in Kosovo (Andresen, 2015) as well as the authors' study in the Worlds of Journalism Study (Hoxha, Andresen and Hoxha-Dobrunaj, 2016) provides vital data. In the Worlds of Journalism study project in Kosovo, 206 journalists were surveyed through 'one to one' survey data gathering about their perception of journalism's roles in society, trust, influences on their work and ethical considerations and the implications of education of journalists in the conflict and post-conflict environment. This survey reveals the current status of journalism in Kosovo, according to the journalists and editors from the cognitive perspective where journalists are asked to rate themselves. As a complementary method for this paper, a follow up desk-based research evaluation on the current curriculums of the public and private education institutions was conducted in order to assess what is being taught and towards what field of studies these programmes are oriented. We examined the curriculums from the "Hasan Prishtina2" University of Prishtina, the only public university, in addition to and AAB3 University and UBT4 as private education institutions providing courses on communication and thus related to journalism. In particular, the case of the former KIJAC (Kosovo Institute of journalism and Communication) was used as an example of an 'international intervention' educational institution set up to increase the quality of journalism in the

2 <http://filologjia.uni-pr.edu/Departamentet/Departamenti08.aspx> (Accessed on 09/05/2017)

3 <https://aab-edu.net/en/faculties/mass-communication/> (Accessed on 09/05/2017)

4 <http://www.ubt-uni.net/?cid=1,395> (Accessed on 09/05/2017)

country. Additionally, four follow-up interviews were conducted with professionals lecturing and working in teaching positions in the above mentioned institutions to provide insight information and commentary on the findings. The interviews were focused also around the questions of subjects are being taught normatively and how these subjects are being taught in classes. The authors wish to emphasize that the interviews are not sufficient for the purpose of fully evaluating the actual teaching, but nevertheless they indicate teaching subjects and quality offered in classes of these education institutions.

Previous training and education of journalists in Kosovo

Background from practice

As a point of departure, we want to lay out some of the background that journalists entering the field of journalists in Kosovo have shared. The following was assessed in Andresen's study of journalism development a few years ago (Andresen, 2015). First, many journalists in Kosovo have gained journalism practice during the war in Kosovo. What effect has this experience had on the journalists? In conflict areas, journalists frequently find themselves as members of multiple professional and social communities. Studies of journalists in Ethiopia (Skjerdal, 2012) and Israel (Zandberg & Neider, 2005) reveal how reporters are drawn between a professional cause, such as reporting facts, and one or more political cause, which might be reporting in line with a political or ethnic group. In Kosovo, journalists experienced these shifts strongly when fixers travelled with international reporters during the 1997-1999 armed conflicts. During this period, local journalism shifted from political reporting to eyewitness reporting. Several journalists and editors confirm that the dramatic events changed the reporting in Kosovo. Formerly, the local journalists felt they were under political control, not only by the Serbian authorities but also under heavy political pressure from Albanian politicians. The escalation of violence in Kosovo from 1997 brought a new kind of journalism which the newsrooms had not practiced before. The Editor-in-Chief of the newspaper *Koha Ditore* remembers: "It was the first time that the journalism [here] was like that. The practice of journalism here until then was controlled then and all the journalists were influenced under the parties or under the higher authorities. This was the first time that we were doing something [on our own] and we were refusing to listen to anybody telling us how we do it (personal interview, in Andresen, 2015)".

The emergency reporting during the war (1997-1999) made the journalists also conscious of a cause, or a purpose, of their reporting, but the main issue was to still bring news about the war to their audience. By travelling with international reporters, they were able to fill a need for information as to where the fighting took place and where the roadblocks were located. As the editor of *Koha Ditore* recognized, the combination of a cause and the reporting of events and facts transformed local journalists into eyewitness reporters. However, they had to do this under cover of being translators and drivers for the international reporters. Their own functions of being reporters for local Kosovar media had to remain a secret at the Serbian checkpoints. A RTK journalist recollects the security challenges: "The situation was very hard and it was much easier to say that you were just a translator for security reasons. If you said that you were a journalist and you were with a foreign journalist, then it was dangerous for both to travel around Kosovo. That's why we used foreign journalists to prevent something from happening to us. So, we preferred to say [to the Serbian police officers] that we were just translators (RTK journalist, personal interview, in Andresen, 2015)".

Education and background

The majority of young journalists in Kosovo have attended university besides working full-time as journalists, trying either to make up for lost education, or to get a degree (Andresen, 2015). A journalism job is not a secure one in Kosovo, and they feel they need an education. This means that the majority work in the newsroom during the day and studies at night. The result of the unfinished and unstructured education is that journalists in the newsroom will have a formal degree, something that many pursued in order to be more prepared for a difficult job market also outside the media. The combination of a full-time job in the newsrooms and being a full-time student is not uncommon.

Eight of the 50 journalists interviewed in Andresen's study (2015) studied journalism at the 'Faik Konica' journalism school in Prishtina, a small private vocational school with many students, but little equipment. Also, several of the leading Kosovar editors and journalists had been instructors there. Journalists in the newsrooms having attended this school said they got a good theoretical foundation, but no practical experience. However, they claimed the school prepared them for the practical work in the newsrooms.

Most of the journalists started in the profession after the war in 1999. However, a significant number of

the young Kosovar Albanian journalists started working in journalism during the 1990s, during the war, and have thus experience from both war reporting and post-war journalism. They learned reporting ‘on the job’, being recruited into for example, *Koha Ditore*, where they were socialized into an environment where the job was twofold. Job number one was to give the Kosovar Albanian population information about the escalating fighting between UÇK5 (in Albanian: *Ushtria Çlirimtare e Kosovës*) and the Serbian forces. The documentation of the establishment of the armed Albanian resistance was important, but the most significant reporting became the documentation of the crimes against Albanian civilians. The second task was to follow Albanian politics at that time. There was a deep split between LDK (in Albanian: *Lidhja Demokratike e Kosovës*), with Ibrahim Rugova at the helm, who opposed armed resistance, and other political parties like LPK (in Albanian: *Lëvizja Popullore e Kosovës*), which UÇK to a large part was associated with (Bieber & Daskalovski, 2003; Clark, 2000; Malcolm 2002). The young journalists had a steep learning curve in covering a conflict which they were a part of. Journalists tell of dramatic moments when they travelled into the fighting areas, fearing being stopped at Serbian checkpoints.

Living through war has also given the journalists in newsrooms an unstructured and coincidental kind of training. Many of the journalists strongly maintain that their best war-time journalism training happened via their ‘on the job’ experience. Others worked as fixers and stringers for foreign news agencies such as RAI, CNN and BBC, and have expressed that working alongside international journalists was been the best learning experience for them (Andresen, 2015). In sum, the journalists in the four newsrooms had an unstructured background, characterized by the uncertainties of living through wars and conflicts. Their emotional and traumatic experiences from living under threats were present, although not easy to detect. Their background from living through war became visible when mapping their education and training that happened in an unstructured way where opportunism was a key factor. The journalists took opportunities of education as well as journalism practice.

Contextualizing the training of journalists in a transitional society

The impact of international media support in Kosovo

During the early 2000s the international community offered a wide range of short-term training courses for journalists in Kosovo as a remedy for the absence of journalism education (Rhodes, 2007; Andresen, 2015). In assessing the impact from the journalism training part of international media support on the development of journalism in Kosovo, we will partly draw on Silvio Waisbord’s understanding of how professional journalism should be measured by the extent to which it develops as a profession that can resist influence from external powers. “Professionalism refers to the ability of a field of practice to set boundaries and avoid intrusion from external factors” (Waisbord, 2013: 11). Furthermore, “...professionalism represents the refusal to comply with rules dictated by political and economic actors, thereby abdicating control over a distinctive rationality.” (158). Thus, professionalism must also be seen as the ability to develop ideology and techniques of the profession. How has the training contributed to this? There are several conclusions to be drawn from the strategies, international and local evaluations of the international journalism training courses.

There are some good results from the training. A positive sign of influence that can be linked to the training seminars in Kosovar newsrooms is the individual awareness of professional journalism. In Andresen (2015) journalists and editors expressed the kind of news they wanted to practice; they had a genuine desire to practice independent news production, to set the news agenda and not simply follow the politicians. However, the journalists often failed in daily life to practice their desires because of several factors such pressure and self-censorship. Furthermore, another important effect, especially during the early training, according to the interviews with editors and journalists, was a reduction of hate speech in the media. There were serious examples of hate speech that even led to the closure of a newspaper, *Dita*, in 2000 (Hoxha, 2007). Training, combined with OSCE establishing regulations against it was a crucial step against attacks on identified people in some parts of the Kosovo Albanian press.

5 Also known as KLA (Kosovo Liberation Army).

The training courses also raised the level of professional reporting techniques for many journalists. The informants said they learned various methods of reporting in early training seminars. The ability to produce a story from idea to published text improved after the trainings. However, the technical part of the training is at the same time part of the criticism against the international media support. The journalists' and editors' feeling was that the international community was very good at supporting the local media with technical equipment (especially RTK) and the technical side of reporting.

The international trainers failed to a large degree to address professionalization of journalism as a counter-strike to media patrimonialism (Waisbord, 2013). The historically close ties between media and politicians dominate media history in Kosovo. The 'old' mindset of political discourse is present in the newsrooms and, according to editors, the international trainers could and should have addressed this in the training. However, they failed to address this question, partly because they had no strategy to systematically influence this discourse. This can be blamed on both lack of historical-political knowledge and apprehension to deal with the complicated political discourse, which is much more complex than a question of conflict between Albanians and Serbs (Di Lellio, 2006; Bieber & Daskalovski, 2003; Duijzings, 2000; Andresen, 2015).

Through a study of media support strategies, international evaluations and local evaluations by the recipients of the training, it can be concluded that professionalisation of journalists has only to a limited degree been shaped by the journalism training offered by the international community in Kosovo (Andresen, 2015). The positive outcome of the training linked to professionalization was that the journalists attending the training became conscious about the potential of professional journalism and learned various reporting techniques. Second, the focus on reducing hate speech in Kosovar media also bore results. Furthermore, the international community's support and donations contributed to upgrading technical equipment. Thus, professionalism has developed on some levels.

However, on a more fundamental level of development of journalists, it seems evident that the international journalism training courses offered after the war failed for the following reasons: first, the training failed to address the significance of the historical-political context and its effect on journalism in Kosovo. Thus, the training did not adequately deal in depth with the historical links between politics and the media (Waisbord, 2013). Too much focus was put upon importing western journalism philosophies and reporting techniques without addressing the deeper challenges the media faced. Second, the training missed the opportunity to take advantage of the already professional aspirations and practice that several of the journalists and editors had attained through the 1990s, especially during the 1998-1999 war when working as fixers for international reporters. Third, the trainers did not seem to be sensitive to the risky environment of reporting in Kosovo after the war. The pressure from politicians, possible threats, self-censorship, low payments and risks of losing their jobs were issues that were not amply addressed in the training.

These risk factors made it difficult to practice the lessons learned in the training when the trainees returned to their newsrooms. Furthermore, the chaotic disorganization of the training in the first years also reduced the potential of impacting the training on the professional level of journalism in Kosovo. There was little coordination between the trainers; the selection of trainees was to a large degree coincidental and very often young and inexperienced journalists attended the trainings.

They had little chance or motivation to change the practice of their newsrooms to which they returned. The journalists and editors admitted that their motivation for the training was at times low, and that their input was lower than it could have been. They also took some of the blame for the failures of the training sessions. When they felt that the training courses were not what they had expected, or even irrelevant, their motivation sank and they attended the trainings often only out of duty. Finally, it is significant to note that the training sessions that the journalists said had worked best were either in-house training, where the trainers visited the newsrooms or the training programmes where the journalists were able to learn in a newsroom abroad.

Findings: Assessing today's journalism in transitional Kosovo

The triangulation of data from previous research of one of the authors for his doctoral research of the newsrooms of Kosovar media, the data gathered from the Worlds of Journalism Study (WJS) and the analysis of curriculums of education institutions in Kosovo along with the interviews with journalism teaching instructors in Kosovo suggest that one of the crucial developments is that Kosovo is developing its own

model of media that is based primarily in the western model of pluralism but with the local hint of both influences from the past as well as from the journalism education that is currently being done in both public and private schools. The education touches upon the issues of human rights and freedoms in relation to Kosovo situation specifically from where the ethics derives into the curriculums that are being taught at schools but to some extent that teaching fades away once journalists are on the job.

Media model and journalist co-habitat with politics

Kosovar journalists struggle in their working environment in many levels but one of the more important struggles is the demand for change in last few decades. Although many of working journalists are too young to remember last changes of the 1990s, the profession of journalists has never caught on as a well-respected position in society mainly because of cultural reasons of being part of politics but lately also because of many journalists switching sides adhering to political parties and public relations positions and above all mostly because of historic reasons of journalists cohabiting with politics under the rule of communist Yugoslavia and party/state media model that engulfed journalistic pieces being cleared by the more senior members of the party appointed in the editorial rooms for example in the case of Rilindja⁶ but also throughout the so called 'parallel system' where news outlets such as 'Bujku⁷' was based upon the model of cohabitating with party politics. In mid 1990s, with the establishment of Koha Ditore, journalists started slowly finding themselves into new territories with more pluralist media and after the major changes in 1999 in post-conflict Kosovo, media emerged in a new pluralistic environment.

In post-conflict Kosovo, a challenge for the Kosovar society was to establish politically independent media and the international community (namely OSCE) established the first public broadcaster channel, RTK which was publicly funded until 2009 and after that it continued as state funded broadcaster where its budget is allocated by the National Assembly of Kosovo. This is very important to the journalists and influences as journalists in Kosovo perceive their role as activist and agenda setter with around 74.9% of respondents saying that it is extremely and very important to educate the audience and 38.2% of journalists declaring that they have to set the political agenda. Furthermore, one of the important findings which corresponds with interviews as well is the low degree of trust of journalists in the political elite and high prioritization of journalists to play an adversary role on the government. Only 2.1% of journalist declared that they completely trust or had a great deal of trust in politicians in general with 74.5% claiming that it is extremely important or very important to serve as an adversary to the government (WJS).

Kosovar journalists are looking at the 'Euro-American' model of journalism by claiming that it is very important to report things as they are but also take things in hands by themselves in lack of trust in politicians (Andresen et.al., 2017). Struggling to adapt to changes in the media model and the role they have in society, journalists adapt to the market needs along with their perception of what is important to report. Kosovo is creating its media model that stands between independent and pluralist media that checks and balances between politics, media and society.

Journalists and human rights

In post-conflict Kosovo, human rights trainings poured in from top down approach throughout all institutions, schools and even primary schools but always explained through a vertical impose of such values. One of the interviewees for this article recalls that while working for an international organization to provide trainings and advice for Kosovar media, they encountered situations where human rights programmes suggested by the organization for the local media was received with skepticism by journalists claiming that they do not have minority communities and hence they did not need human rights programmes in their air time. The highlight on minority rights was always part of the training and education programmes for journalists so it became a key word for the approach. Even today, human rights is synonymous with minority rights in the eyes of journalists. A lecturer at one of the private universities claims that most students are not very interested in the subjects of human rights because it is not attractive enough and is so overly covered by the demands of international organizations such as UN and OSCE in Kosovo. Another lecturer claims similarly but adds that the influence of oral traditions in Kosovar society is far more important than literacy and critical discourse and this is what influences journalistic outcome in the media. Both informants in this argument

⁶ Rilindja as main newspaper in Kosovo until 1990s when it was closed down

⁷ A LDK/QIK founded newspaper called Bujku (The Farmer) which later was used as political media outlet.

have a deeper knowledge of Kosovar journalist education system.

As previously noted, Most Kosovar journalists have gone through trainings sponsored by international organizations. In the judgement of the IMC8 in 2004, it was demanded that the RTK spends 250 thousand euros training journalists in the aftermath of bad reporting on the events which caused violence. The OSCE report claims that: “the media, specifically the broadcasting sector, displayed unacceptable levels of emotion, bias, carelessness, and falsely applied “patriotic” zeal. (OSCE, 2004)” Ever since 2004, journalists are constantly invited in trainings organized by the IREX, OSCE, UN, EU and other organizations but often without a proper needs assessment and a bottom approach. One of the interviewed lecturers confirms the criticisms (in Andresen, 2015) that these trainings had little success because of overloading such trainings with irrelevant curricular cases and little practical and local knowledge.

Journalism curriculums and ethics

The curriculums of journalism education in Kosovo are struggling to adopt needs and change in accordance with the new political and technological demand. Several reasons are serving as a barrier to this change and one of them is that teaching plans must be accredited every three years and new subjects cannot be brought in without agreement by the Kosovo Accreditation Agency (KAA). Furthermore, the current curriculums are mainly focused on academic strand of journalism with little practical subjects. Especially in the field of ethics, the focus remains in the level of media regulation, law and theoretical ethics although the public university stands out with organizing debates and guest lecturers from the regulatory bodies of media in Kosovo and from the civil society. The overall journalistic education in Kosovo remains politics oriented with the focus on government, political communication, and a misbalance in favor of public relations and communications versus journalism and ethics. The offered programmes in Kosovar schools are in all three levels of studies (BA, MA and PhD) but having reviewed the curriculums that are advertised in the web pages, we can see how little attention is given to the ethics and media regulation and how much more is given to the politics and literature (Albanian literature, genres of journalism etc.). Ethics is offered in the BA level of studies for only one semester whereas no ethics course is offered in the MA level neither in the public university courses nor in the private colleges.

Journalism curriculum as business intelligence

It has been unexpectedly noted that often universities avoid transparency in their public records with regard to who is teaching which subjects. Normally, universities only publish subjects without names of instructors in their web pages and that could be different from official documents in the KAA. When KAA was contacted to receive official copies of accredited curriculums taught at universities in Kosovo, they refused to give away such information under the pretence that it was valued as “intellectual property of the submitters (i.e. Universities) to the KAA and therefore could not be distributed” for the third parties. This is an indication of the attempts to not report and advertise the course list as accredited because it would most likely not fulfill the conditions for such accreditation. The institutional framework in Kosovo demands faculties for each accredited education programmes to have at least three lecturers with completed doctoral studies.

Conclusion

As journalists and media in Kosovo have passed through multi-level changes from authoritarian to pluralistic models of functioning in constant change and struggle, journalism education has never been stable and steady. Over the last decade, new journalism schools have been founded both in public and private sector which reflects significant increase in quality reporting. Nevertheless, technology, globalization, rapid development of social media leave much to be desired in the journalism education in Kosovo which lacks European and international aspects of journalism teaching and approaches.

Furthermore, the past conflict events of the destruction of Yugoslavia haunts present day journalism in challenging human rights, ethics and even business models of Kosovar media. The traumatic past, conflict

and ethnic animosity is still present in the public discourse among Kosovar journalists because of political resistance of the leadership of the entire region to take steps towards recognizing conflicting past and the atrocities that happened. Journalists feel like they are very much part of the struggle and along with that, they have a role to reveal 'the truth' to what has happened to the past. Historic jargons characterise present coverage of reporting when ethnic minorities are in the scope as a reminder of bitter past.

One of the ways to overcome such challenges of the past is transitional justice and along with that in the field of media is transitional journalism as argued largely in this paper. Such idea puts journalism in perspective of transitional justice and looks at the problems from a human rights approach including the education of journalists in the field of human rights but instead of learning from top down approach of what is globally needed, the learning programmes would be from the bottom up approach of starting from local cases of media coverage of human rights violations and abuse and how to solve them.

As one of the significant gaps in the teaching of journalism in Kosovo is in relation to dealing with the past, lack of taught courses for journalists entering the media market is seen as a weakness of the education system in Kosovo along with other structural problems in the media. The data shows journalistic roles shifting from traditional watchdog to activist role which challenges the journalistic profession and aspired objectivity in fair reporting. Such shift is related to the lack of trust in the institutions for the reasons of institutional corruption and misconduct, non-transparency and lack of access to information. Journalists want to take matters in their hands by actively participating in decision making, causes and even advocacy by teaming with non-governmental sector in attempt to change policies and the situation. Here, non-governmental sector plays a crucial role because it is more trusted due to its effectivity.

As Kosovo is a transitional society where institutional and social change have moved from authoritarian regime through conflict and post-conflict into the current stage where journalists are defining their own role in society vis a vis other institutions responsible for the country development and progress. In absence of both desirable development and progress, journalists are willingly taking more responsibilities into their own hands. In this regard, also the current higher education system in Kosovo that provides young journalists to the market is in its infancy when it comes to journalism education. It fulfills basic needs for journalism programmes but is dominated by traditional thinking and focus. The article sheds light on the need for practical tailored training that provides hands on knowledge that combines realities of political pressure, history and the transition for better success.

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Journalists not spies. The importance of the legal distinction for the protection of journalists during armed conflicts

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Abstract

International Humanitarian Law (IHL) has long-claimed that recognition as a civilian is critical to a journalist's safety during war, but the new US Manual blurs that line and says journalists must better understand the distinction between civilians and combatants. Given the fact that journalists might not be familiar with these legal concepts, this article proposes the use of critical pedagogy to engage them in the consideration of those issues (Freire, 2000). To start the conversation, and following a legal methodology, the article analyzes protections established under IHL, provides legal definitions for combatants, spies, and civilians and explains how each should be treated. Then to promote the inclusion on this topic in academic curriculums, it present teaching experiences and recommendations to engage media personnel in the study of this topic.

Introduction

In 2015 Unesco - the United Nations' organ mandated to promote safety of journalists - launched its Research Agenda on the Safety of Journalists which includes the study of this topic from an array of perspectives. Academic curriculums are part of the agenda, and while available trainings prepare journalists to face physical and psychological threats they are missing a crucial component: International Humanitarian Law (IHL).

For decades, reporters and photographers have been improperly trained, or not trained at all, on the rules governing armed conflicts, something that puts them and their profession at risk. The Law of War Manual published by the United States Department of Defense presents new challenges for the protection of journalists and requires an understanding of IHL. The US armed forces participate in almost every international armed conflict, and the application of the manual can place journalists in particularly dangerous situations. Media personnel need to understand basic legal concepts to better protect themselves, to properly address the risks that they will face, to identify the most appropriate protection mechanisms in the face of danger, and know how to hold parties accountable for violations of IHL. Therefore it is urgent to include IHL in academic curricula.

There have been attempts to promote the study of IHL. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), NGOs like Reporter Without Borders, and academic institution offer some trainings on human rights with the intention to meet local needs, like in the case of Kosovo presented by Hoxda and Andresen or the Spanish example presented by Iturregui, Cantalapiedra and Moure in this publication. However, they are insufficient and more efforts need to be made. Therefore, in this article I present a way forward for the inclusion of IHL in journalists' trainings by answering two key questions: what are the main differences between journalists and spies? And, how can we teach these differences to journalists?

Methodology

This article is partially grounded on personal experiences and background as an educator. Additionally, as a lawyer I am trained to conduct legal research and I will use the legal method for my analysis of IHL. This method refers to the analysis of the sources of International Law established under article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice; which in this case includes the Geneva Conventions and their protocols, customary international law, general principles of law, the US Law of War Manual, and the writings of international lawyers and scholars. The examination of those legal documents allows me to explain not only the differences between combatants, spies, and journalists, but also the protection mechanisms that can be used by media personnel.

Furthermore, for the past three years I have led several teaching activities at the United Nations-mandated University for Peace, and I rely on these experiences for this article. At UPEACE classes follow different formats (lectures, seminars, field trips) to provide students with theoretical and practical skills. Courses include journalists and other professionals who are directly linked to the protection of media personnel, i.e. lawyers and psychologists. Every professor is entitled to use the methods that she or he considers appropriate to deliver the content to the very diverse groups of master students, which in my case is critical pedagogy.

I have been exposed to this pedagogy throughout my academic life. Paulo Freire's ideas have been widely used not only in Latin America but also by peace education scholars.¹ Moreover, given the fact that UPEACE's master students come from different countries and have different worldviews, interests, backgrounds and skillsets, finding common ground can be a challenge. It's therefore necessary to use an inclusive pedagogy. Critical pedagogy provides me the necessary tools to approach diverse groups of students without a legal background and engage them in the study of legal issues. Hence, in the second part of the article I build on this experience to promote its use on journalists' trainings on legal issues.

Journalists not Spies: The Legal differences

IHL is the international legal regime that regulates the conduct of hostilities. It establishes the differences between combatants and journalists, and it guarantees that people who are not directly participating in hostilities suffer as little as possible during armed conflicts. These norms set the minimum standards for the protection of the wounded, prisoners of war, combatants and civilians (ICRC, 2016, para. 216). Each country has the duty to implement these rules within their territory, and there are two main forms in which this is done by national authorities: the adoption of domestic norms and/or through the adoption of manuals

¹ cf. Freire, 1998; Freire, 2000; McLaren, 2003; McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007.

to be followed by the army, like the US Law of War Manual.²

In accordance to IHL, the protection of any person located where hostilities are taking place depends solely on being identified either as combatant or as civilian.³ Within this legal framework, civilians are those who are not directly participating in the hostilities while combatants are people who are actively conducting the hostilities. Yet, the problem is to differentiate between them.

To clarify the distinction, in 2009, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) published the Interpretive Guidance on the Notion of Direct Participation in Hostilities. Combatants have a direct participation in the hostilities, and according to that interpretative guidance the constitutive and cumulative elements of acts that can be considered as direct participation in the hostilities are:

- (1) a threshold regarding the harm likely to result from the act,
- (2) a relationship of direct causation between the act and the expected harm, and
- (3) a belligerent nexus between the act and the hostilities conducted between the parties to an armed conflict (ICRC, 2008).

Given the fact that in practice this can be difficult to determine, people in the field rely on other visible signs to make the distinction. According to IHL, combatants must wear a uniform, carry their weapons openly, and they usually have to stay in military camps or in places considered as military targets (Additional Protocol I, article 44; Pfanner, 2004). In consequence, if a person is seen with clothes similar to military uniforms of any of the parties in conflict or near military duty stations, she or he can be identified as a combatant. These facts can directly affect media personnel.

Journalists play an important role in providing information about the conflict. They can work near military targets and wear similar clothes; thus, IHL has long-claimed that being recognized as civilians is crucial for the safety of journalists. Until this point the distinction seems easy to make, but problems appear when war correspondents are embedded with one of the parties in conflict.

On this point it is necessary to specify that IHL recognizes two types of journalists: war correspondents, and civilian journalists (Customary Rule 34, II Geneva Convention, article 4.A.4). During international armed conflicts⁴ both are protected as civilians; hence, they cannot be targeted and their equipment is classified as civilian (Additional Protocol II, article 79). However, in some cases embedded journalists have to use military uniform, or similar attire, which place them in a very dangerous situation.



² This document is a guide for the US military personnel to operate during armed conflicts that “focuses on jus in bello – law relating to the conduct of hostilities and the protection of war victims” (US Department of Defense, 2016, p. 1, para.1.1.2).

³ The identification is made in accordance with the distinction principle stated in article 48 of the Protocol Additional I, which indicates that: “In order to ensure respect for and protection of the civilian population and civilian objects, the Parties to the conflict shall at all times distinguish between the civilian population and combatants and between civilian objects and military objectives and accordingly shall direct their operations only against military objectives”. According to the US Manual point 2.5, the principle of distinction or discrimination, “obliges parties to a conflict to distinguish principally between the armed forces and the civilian population, and between unprotected and protected objects.” (US Department of Defense, 2016, p. 62).

⁴ Article 2 of the Geneva Conventions indicates that it is an “armed conflict which may arise between two or more of the High Contracting Parties”. For more details on this regulation see the Commentary of 2016 made by the International Committee of the Red Cross, available at: <https://ihl-databases.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/Comment.xsp?action=openDocument&documentId=BE2D518CF5DE54EAC1257F7D0036B518>.

Sources: (Warrior Lodge, 2014) (Verdi, 2004).⁵

But this is not the only risk. Actually, in certain situations military personnel can look like civilians. Spies can use civilian attire to perform their job (Customary Rule 107), and even similar tools to report (Garrido V., M. 2017). The US Manual acknowledges this situation and indicates that

"In some cases, military personnel who do not wear the standard uniform of their armed forces may nonetheless remain entitled to the privileges of combatant status because the wearing of such uniforms does not constitute the element of 'acting clandestinely or under false pretenses'." (US Department of Defense, 2016, p. 113, para. 4.5.2.1)

This statement affects journalists and put them in danger. Even when they are not embedded they can be taken as part of the military and be targeted. If a combatant sees a journalist collecting information in a suspicious manner, she or he can come to identify the journalist as a spy. When this happens, media personnel can be imprisoned, equipment can be confiscated and communications limited. Nonetheless, despite the obvious similarities, a major difference between embedded journalists and spies must be considered.

A spy is a member of the armed forces who gathers information in a territory occupied by an adverse party

"through an act of false pretenses or deliberately in a clandestine manner" during an international armed conflict (Additional Protocol I, article 46). IHL only allows espionage in this type of conflicts. In consequence, parties to a non-international armed conflict (i.e. civil war, hostilities between different armed groups) cannot claim that a person is a spy (Garrido V., M. 2017). Moreover, spies are combatants who cannot be considered as prisoners of war (POW), they can be legally injured or killed and their equipment can be subject to attack (Customary Rule 107). In this regard, the US Manual establishes that "[c]ombatants captured while engaged in spying or sabotage forfeit their entitlement to POW status" (US Department of Defense, 2016, para. 4.4.2).

For these reasons, it is extremely important that journalists mistaken as spies have the necessary tools to demonstrate that they do not fulfill these criteria. They do not gather information for the military or use false pretenses; henceforth, they cannot be considered as spies. Media personnel are protected by article 79 of the Additional Protocol I which indicates that:

"1. Journalists engaged in dangerous professional missions in areas of armed conflict shall be considered as civilians within the meaning of Article 50, paragraph 1.6

They shall be protected as such under the Conventions and this Protocol, provided that they take no action adversely affecting their status as civilians, and without prejudice to the right of war correspondents accredited to the armed forces to the status provided for in Article 4 A (4) of the Third Convention.

They may obtain an identity card similar to the model in Annex II of this Protocol. This card, which shall be issued by the government of the State of which the journalist is a national or in whose territory he resides or in which the news medium employing him is located, shall attest to his status as a journalist."

Fact Box:

Spies gather information for the state in a clandestine manner (Customary Rule 107).

Spies collect information about the enemy and that will be used in military operations.

Information shared by spies is used for decision-making processes or for military strategies.

The processing of that information involves intelligence services and members of the military.

Spies are part of a collective operation; in which information constitutes integral part of the "concrete and coordinated tactical operation" (ICRC, 2008, p. 1022).

The party who captures the journalists is the one who determines if the journalist was acting in a clandestine or suspicious manner.

Journalists are entitled to demonstrate that they are not spies.

⁵ The picture published by Warrior Lodge is under the Creative Commons License, and the picture included in the article published by Verdi (CBS) can be used for academic purposes in accordance to their terms and conditions.

⁶ Article 50 Definition of civilians and civilian population:

1. A civilian is any person who does not belong to one of the categories of persons referred to in Article 4 A (1), (2), (3) and (6) of the Third Convention and in Article 43 of this Protocol. In case of doubt whether a person is a civilian, that person shall be considered to be a civilian.

2. The civilian population comprises all persons who are civilians.

3. The presence within the civilian population of individuals who do not come within the definition of civilians does not deprive the population of its civilian character.

Journalist training and IHL

The concepts already described are not explained in a comprehensive manner to journalists. The tools designed to prepare media personnel to cover armed conflicts do not provide clear instructions on how to use IHL. In fact, some training manuals do not even mention the Geneva Conventions, while other publications only include some references to IHL (i.e. IFJ, INSI, OSCE, Reporters Without Borders). One of the reasons for this void seems to be a general resistance to include legal topics in journalists' trainings. For instance, the International News Safety Institute recognizes the importance of knowing the protection mechanisms that journalists can access; however, they do not include IHL in their trainings. In fact, they argue that during armed conflicts journalists may not receive any protection because "the rule of law is often the first thing to break down and the last thing to be restored" (INSI, n.d., p. 20). Similarly, the Safety Guide for Journalists published by Unesco and Reporters Without Borders do not consider the legal aspect. The chapter dedicated to the planning and preparation steps only refers to the risk of being an embedded journalist and only mentions the protection provided under article 79 of the Additional Protocol I (Reporters Without Borders, 2015, p. 17).

Nonetheless, these are not the only examples. It is worrying that universities around the world do not include in their curriculums mandatory courses on the legal safety of journalists.⁷ Human rights and IHL classes tend to only be taught to legal students, and courses specially designed for media personnel are limited.⁸ Yet, to understand IHL would give journalists certainty in the field regarding the protection they can receive. Properly trained journalists will know how to better defend themselves and how to establish a clear distinction between them and military personnel.

Safety depends on knowing the risks and the solutions to problems. Journalists may know the risks of covering an armed conflict, but they are not aware of legal solutions because, in many cases, this is not a relevant part of the training. In consequence, it is necessary to change the situation, and to do it we must put more emphasis on the inclusion of legal issues in the academic journalism curricula.

Teaching the differences

"Education starts from the experiences of people, and either reinforces or challenges the existing social forces that keep them passive".

Nina Wallerstein (1987, p.33)

The groups that I have had at the United Nations mandated University for Peace are among the most diverse in the world. They not only include media personnel but other professionals such as lawyers, psychologists, anthropologist, etc. For example, in 2016 I had a group of 18 students, from 18 different countries, with different professional backgrounds and experiences. Every time that I covered legal topics, students (including those with legal background) tend to believe that they do not know anything about laws and that it is too difficult for them to learn it. In fact, in private conversations some of them have told me that norms are abstract ideas that only lawyers can understand, and for that reason they are not interested in learning anything related with law. Yet the legal principle *ignorantia juris non excusat* requires everyone to know the law. As a lawyer I feel that is our duty to teach these topics, but, how can we get students' interest?

The first challenge is to identify and break the barrier that students (and even professors) tend to put up. Curriculums are developed (or at least should be developed) around topics that have a direct impact on the student's education (Freire, 1998, pp. 36-37). According to McLaren, critical pedagogy provides the tools

7 c.f Abit H., L. and Andresen, K. "Training journalists in times of transition: The case of Kosovo", Iturregui Mardaras, L., Cantalapiedra González, M.J. & Moure Peñín, L., "Safety Training for Journalists: A Case Study with the Spanish Military", Jamil, S. "Freedom of expression and threats to journalists' safety: an analysis of conflict reporting and peace journalism education in Pakistan", Pate, U., Oso, L. & Jibril, A. "Status of Training and Research in Reporting Conflict, Peace Journalism and Safety Education in English speaking West Africa: The cases of Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone".

8 For example Unesco offers an online course for judicial operators called "International Legal Framework on Freedom of Expression, Access to Information and the Safety of Journalists" (Information available at: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/media-services/single-view/news/launched_the_3rd_edition_of_the_on_line_course_international/. Last visited: 25 March 2017). The Center for the Protection of Afghan Women Journalists seeks to provide trainings on physical and digital safety (Information available at: <https://rsf.org/en/news/rsf-opens-first-center-protection-afghan-women-journalists>. Last visited: 25 March 2017). Palestinian universities are the exception to the rule because a decision adopted by the Government in 2016 ordered the inclusion of the topic in journalists curriculum (Information available at: <http://www.ifj.org/nc/news-single-view/backpid/1/article/palestinian-universities-trained-on-ifj-safety-curriculum/>. Last visited: 25 March 2017).

needed to identify resistance and overcome it (2003, p. 218).

For example, before starting a special lecture on Arbitration and Adjudication for the course on Tools for Conflict Resolution and Transformation at UPEACE the professor said that he knows that not all students were familiar with legal topics and that these issues are not easy to understand. After this introduction he requested students to bear in mind the importance of international law and gave me the floor. To break that barrier I started the presentation referring to a situation familiar to everyone: a job contract. This case captured their attention and after some minutes the majority of the students were interested in the topic, and we were able to discuss the main concepts (i.e. arbiters, judges, court composition, possible outcomes of each procedure, etc.) and achieve the learning objectives set for that class. However, not everything we have tried has worked. For the same class but on a previous year, I preferred to start the conversation with a video that, in my opinion, presented the issues in a clear and easy way; yet, students were not engaged with it, and as a result, the majority of them did not actively participate in the following discussions.

For this reason, it is important to bear in mind that “teaching is not just transferring knowledge” (Freire, 1998, p. 49), it is a process of inquiry, critique and construction (McLaren, 2003, p. 218). Taking into account these ideas, critical pedagogy not only requires the revision of concepts but also the identification of expectations. When students have the opportunity to express themselves they can recognize knowledge gaps that personally affects them and that are shared by their peers (Freire, 1998, p. 81). At UPEACE, courses imparted to students enrolled in the Peace Education program or in Gender and Peacebuilding programs include this dynamic. Professors start the class by setting the class objectives with the students.⁹ Course evaluations of these classes show that this practice is highly appreciated by students, and due to its effectiveness, I integrated this practice in my classes.

With this in mind, in the first session and for the introductory round we ask every student to explain their learning objectives and expectations to the group. We take time to listen to them and to write down the issues that they present so we can use it later in the class discussions. Some students have very defined expectations, but the majority of them do not know how to answer this question, and this information is very useful to develop strategies that can break the barriers they set. This interaction also gives to the teacher the possibility to adapt the class to students’ interests and to guide class discussions towards their interests. Given the fact that “knowledge is relevant only when it begins with the experiences students bring with them” (McLaren, 2003, p. 218), students will be engaged with the class if expectations are fulfilled and they will bring questions and examples that will contribute to the achievement of the goals set by the class.

For the revision of the concepts, McLaren suggests giving primacy to students’ voices; therefore, their experiences are extremely relevant for class discussions (2003, pp. 242, 245), as well as the personal stories that teachers can share with the group (hooks, 2010, p. 51). The main purpose of this dynamic is to deconstruct and reconstruct concepts through a participatory discussion (Freire, 1998, p. 30). In this way teachers can create a space where everyone can participate, every idea is considered, and knowledge is constructed from everyone’s experiences (Hooks, 2010, pp. 56-57; Wallerstein, 1987, pp. 37-41).

In accordance with these ideas, we open the discussion by asking questions that introduce them to the topic and to critical thinking. The types of questions and topics covered will depend on the design of the class. If the schedule allows several sessions to explain IHL the form to address legal issues will necessarily vary. When students have previous access to reading materials class discussions are dynamic. They usually have a basic understanding of the concepts, and they will ask different questions to clear the doubts. However, when they cannot access reading materials the class will be different. In these cases what we try to do is guide them through different materials to find the answers. For example, to explain what an international armed conflict is it is useful to tell them to look at the ICRC website, to read the concept and then continue answering their questions or with your presentation. This is helpful to keep their attention and also give them the possibilities to know where they can find information, or in Habermas words, to promote emancipatory knowledge (McLaren, 2003, p. 197).

Because many of them will not be familiar with legal materials, misunderstandings will appear. For instance, in a class devoted to understanding the functioning of the United Nations Security Council I started the class talking about its resolutions, pairing them into small groups and asking them to analyze a resolution. I assumed that students knew what a resolution was, but to my surprise they did not and the exercise did not work. For this reason, it is important to clear up doubts and constantly check that all participants

⁹ Following Henry Giroux’s ideas, class objectives can be set by answering the question: “Why is this knowledge being taught in the first place?” and the answer will provide macro and micro objectives. For Giroux macro objectives “are designed to enable students to make connections between the methods, content, and structure of a course and its significance within the larger social reality... [and] Micro objectives represent the course content and are characterized by their narrowness of purpose and their content-bound path of inquiry” (McLaren, 2003, p. 195).

have a common understanding of the topics. Only when all students are in the same level of understanding can the discussion continue to the next issue.

Critical pedagogy demands a high level of flexibility, respect, and understanding of the concepts and the group (hooks, 2010, pp. 9-10). In the first classes that I taught at UPEACE I did not follow this pedagogy, I did not take the time to listen to students' expectations, which affected the general evaluation of the course. When I started to include the elements mentioned above, students grew more engaged with the class, discussions were more enriching, and evaluations improved. In my experience critical pedagogy facilitates teaching to groups of students with different personal and professional backgrounds. It creates spaces where students can discuss and remember the content that can be used in their professional lives.

Recommendations

To explain international humanitarian law, I suggest the use of some of the following guiding questions to design the class or to ask in the classroom:

What is an armed conflict according to IHL?

How can we distinguish military personnel from civilians?

When is it legal to spy on enemies?

What are the journalists' communicational goals? How are they different from spies' goals?

What can you do if you are mistaken for being a combatant?

Which are the norms protecting journalists? How can you use them?

We need to acknowledge the fact that every person learns in a different way. At UPEACE we have found that the use of videos and pictures is helpful to illustrate how this is perceived in reality; but another good class strategy is to request students to present examples based on their personal experiences, or regarding the conflicts they would like to cover (hooks, 2010, pp. 185-186). When they identify the risks they faced or will face they have the opportunity to present to the class the topics that they consider important.

For example, in the class Freedom of Expression in the Digital Era I had students from Colombia, Iran, US and Canada, each with different experiences who saw the issue of safety of journalists in accordance with their world views. When they discussed digital security, threats and actors they were able to recognize similarities and solutions to the challenges they faced. All of them agreed upon the importance of using digital tools to keep data safe, to understand legal mechanisms that can be used to avoid the materialization of threats, and they recognized that a journalist can be considered a spy anywhere in the world. After the discussion, they realized that they can use IHL or international human rights law to protect themselves in online and offline contexts, during armed conflicts or in non-violent environments.

Conclusions

So far journalists have not been properly trained in IHL. Media personnel are considered as civilians during armed conflicts and they are entitled to receive a special protection. However, given the fact that they can be identified as combatants and lose the protection, it is essential that journalists gain the necessary legal knowledge to better protect themselves when covering wars.

For media personnel it is useful to understand that they cannot be targeted and that their equipment cannot be confiscated; yet, to have arguments to demonstrate that they are not spies or combatants is crucial. In many cases journalists only have one opportunity to defend themselves and remain safe; hence, they have to use that opportunity in the right way. At the moment, new generations of journalists are not properly trained to face the challenges they will find when covering conflict situations; therefore, it is necessary to improve their preparation as soon as possible because it can save many lives in the near future.

The Unesco's Research Agenda on the Safety of Journalists makes an attempt to review academic curriculums; however, it does not specifically promote the inclusion of IHL or human rights. This resistance to the inclusion of legal issues in journalists' trainings affects them and must be overcome. Universities and any other type of institutions concern with journalist's safety are essential to change the situation.

To break this knowledge gap we need to recognize not only that courses are not designed to provide tools to keep media personnel alive but also that teaching methodologies used so far are not good enough. Professors have the duty to prepare media personnel for the challenges they will face and to transfer knowledge that can be use in dangerous situations. In consequence, academic curriculums must include the study of legal issues. The protection of journalists requires an interdisciplinary approach. Journalists covering armed conflicts need to not only know about first aid and digital security, but also about legal mechanisms of protection.

The improvement of academic curriculums, as suggested by the Unesco's Research Agenda, cannot be limited to map what trainings already include. We need to take a step further and fill the knowledge gaps that we can find, like the case of the study of IHL.

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Safety training for journalists: a case study with the Spanish military

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Abstract

This paper studies how the training of journalists has been approached in Spain. Since 2003, the Army War College has held annual Training Courses for War Correspondents. Over three hundred journalists have been trained on these courses. This study analyses and reflects on how the Spanish Army carries out the training of journalists; how this training has evolved; and how it is assessed by Spanish journalists. It also examines the role of Spanish universities in this regard. In order to do so, our research required an analysis of curriculums for both undergraduate and graduate studies of the Communication Faculties at Spanish universities. In-depth interviews were conducted with journalists who had taken part in the courses and army members who had designed and taught them. One of our main findings is that the Spanish army is the leading institution in safety training for journalists; neither the media nor Spanish universities play a role in it. The army designs, runs and provides the financing for this training, which is very positively assessed by journalists, to the point where they consider it has determined their safety at work.

Introduction

Safety is considered by Unesco to be a focal element in promoting freedom of expression, press freedom, and the right to information. “Unless journalists are safe and secure they cannot be expected to carry out their professional duties that enable the media to provide the public platform for the exchange of ideas, opinions and information” (Unesco, 2015, p.13).

According to the latest Report on the Safety of Journalists and the Danger of Impunity by the Director General of the Unesco, 2015 was the second bloodiest year of the last decade, with 115 journalists killed. Most of these were local journalists.

There are three factors that primarily condition the work of journalists in the field: professional working conditions, journalists’ training and their professional experience, and safety training and equipment. The study focuses on Spain, where in 2003 the War College of the Spanish Army set up its annual Training Courses for War Correspondents, in which 25 journalists each year are trained in health care, self-protection, weaponry, landmines and improvised explosives, and use of military vehicles, and are also embedded with military units.

This article looks at how these training courses were set up, how they have evolved, and how they are assessed by journalists. Our research reflects on the role of the media, the army and universities in one of the most important factors that contribute to journalists’ safety in war zones: their training.

Background: Spanish Journalism

Unesco identifies several key indicators for the safety of journalists. One of these is the role of the media, particularly insofar as whether “journalists, including freelancers, have contracts with proper terms of employment, including with respect to safety and personal risk” (Unesco, 2015, p.14) and whether “media organisations ensure that workplace and working conditions are safe and secure” (Unesco, 2015, p.14). Over the last decade, 158 freelance journalists have been killed, 19% of the total number of journalists who lost their lives (Unesco, 2016). In an interview with war correspondents by the International News Safety Institute (INSI), it was concluded that 79% of correspondents considered that “freelancers were more at risk than 10 years ago. Lack of duty of care by news organisations, lack of preparation and safety training and easier access to conflict zones were seen as the main problems”.

This study first examined the context of Spanish journalists’ current working conditions, which are explained in the Annual Report on Journalism by the Madrid Press Association (APM, Asociación de la Prensa de Madrid). Journalism in Spain has been in a critical situation for decades. Already in 2000, 40% of Basque journalists were carrying out their work under precarious conditions: as contributors, with no “social security or paid vacations, with unpredictable working days; on average, journalists have been working under these conditions for a period of three to five years.” (Cantalapiedra, Coca and Bezunartea, 2000, p.5).

Fifteen years later, the situation is still difficult. The recently published 2015 Report on the Profession of Journalism by the Madrid Press Association emphasizes the “profound crisis” in the sector. Since 2008, 12,200 jobs in the media have disappeared, and 375 different media outlets have shut down. Between 2010 and 2015, the average basic salary fell by 17%. Journalists repeatedly point out that “the two biggest problems in this profession are increasing unemployment and precarious working conditions as a result of this; and low wages for journalism” (APM, 2015, p.8).

Another factor which stands out in Spain is the proliferation of freelancers: 25% of working journalists are currently freelance. 72% of the time, this is not a voluntary choice; journalists are forced into freelancing by circumstances (APM, 2015). This not only includes journalists who provide local or political information, but also those covering conflicts. Spanish journalists report that in Syria, for example, 90% of journalism in the country is carried out by freelance correspondents (Europapress, 2014).

In Spain, the death of two Spanish journalists in the Iraq war marked a turning point in working conditions for war zone correspondents. Improved conditions were agreed for journalists in conflict zones. However, these thus turned out to be a pure façade. Currently, many Spanish media hire freelancers to cover information in conflict zones (Iturregui, 2011, p. 277). They are typically journalists experienced and knowledgeable about the areas they cover, and yet only a bare minimum of their costs are covered by the media. The correspondents cover their own accommodation and subsistence, equipment for work and safety, and life insurance.

Theoretical Framework

Education in Journalism

Education for journalists has been seen as a driving force towards the fulfilment of their work's social function (Joseph, 2009). Many researchers who have discussed the role correspondents can and should play in war journalism have spoken of the importance of proper training. McGoldrick and Lynch consider necessary "a set of tools, both conceptual and practical intended to equip journalists to offer a better public service" (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2000, p.5). Kempf mentions the need for journalists to have a "knowledge of conflict theory (understanding of conflict and conflict analysis, conflict management)" and "professional skills and journalistic working techniques" (Kempf, 2003, p.10). Through interviews, McGoldrick and Lynch identified some of the difficulties journalists were encountering in carrying out their work. Ignorance and lack of training were two of these (McGoldrick and Lynch, 2000, p.25).

More than 80.000 students in Spain have graduated or obtained degrees in Journalism since 1976 (APM, 2016). Although journalism is considered to be undergoing an almost permanent crisis, it continues to be an option for thousands of young people every year.

Education on the historical circumstances and development of specific conflicts is essential for the quality of journalists' work, but a more general knowledge of the international context is also extremely important. "International Relations' is the most suitable subject that would provide the relevant academic knowledge for IJ students and, to a lesser extent, other journalism students" (Li, 2013, p.9).

Technical training, additionally, currently appears to be a *sine qua non* condition for war correspondents. The proliferation of freelancers has played an important role in the transformation of journalists into multimedia workers. Most of them have agreements with the press, radio and television and frequently run their own blogs (Iturregui, 2011).

Journalists at War: Media and the Military

Journalists' training and professional experience is seen as a highly significant factor in their ability to carry out their work in conflict zones. But training has also been the most effective strategy in Spain for forging links between journalism and the military. In spite of potential critiques that may be applied to this issue by scholars of Peace Journalism (Shinar, 2007), there are elements of the Spanish situation that differ from other countries and must be taken into account. Spanish history, with its strong ties between the dictatorship and the military, has decisively conditioned the image of the army. Society knows little about the military whose workings are relatively closed to the media. Therefore, both the training of army members in communication, and the training of journalists in defence have been seen as primarily a tool for awareness and knowledge (García Hernández, 1996; Iturregui, Cantalapiedra and Moure, 2015).

Training also provides journalists with a greater awareness of the risks they may encounter in war zones. As Cottle asserts, we need to consider the "phenomenological shift that war correspondents have to make as they move from non-violent norms and expectations of everyday civilian life to the organized violence and militarized killing of the war zone" (Cottle, quoting Morrison and Tumber, 2006, p. 88).

The number of journalists in conflict zones is rising. "An estimated two thousand journalists converged on the Kosovo conflict in 1999 and nearly double the number set off for Iraq in 2003" (Tumber, 2006, p.439). Secondly, the embedded system designed and set up by the United States in Iraq in 2003 is now a fully consolidated initiative. 692 journalists were embedded with military units in Iraq in 2003, and all that is required today is to apply via the Nato website for a placing with armies of member countries. This reopens several debates around freedom, security and objectivity.

In an initial step towards the implementation of embedded journalism, the US Defense Department designed a form of military training for journalists to be able to attach to military units in order to cover the Iraq War. Using this experience as an example, the Chief of the General Staff of the Spanish Army War College set up the first Training Courses for War Correspondents, "which aims to provide media workers with experience in operations abroad and allow them to exercise their profession in the safest conditions" (Alcalá, 2013, p.25). The sessions were very positively assessed by both parties. Six years later, in October

2009, journalists were embedded as part of their training.

Role of the University vs. Role of the Military

As Lisosky and Henrichsen point out, it is generally agreed that journalists need to be provided with resources like training, preparation, safety equipment and others, but in spite of the efforts of the United Nations Security Council and the Council of Europe in recent years, “to date, no clear, comprehensive mode, method or mechanism of protection has been universally adopted.” (Lisosky and Henrichsen, 2009, p.131).

Safety training and equipment for journalists would contribute to guaranteeing their physical and emotional integrity. The Unesco report thus identifies civil society organisations (SCOs) and the academic world to be “recognised as important actors as regards journalists’ safety” (Unesco, 2015, p.12); being actors who “build knowledge and capacity” (Unesco, 2015, p.13). The report also attributes the media with the responsibility of providing “adequate insurance and necessary safety equipment to journalists on dangerous assignments”(Unesco, 2015, p.14).

The Unesco indicates that the media should provide “hostile environment and risk awareness training before journalists are sent on dangerous assignments” (Unesco, 2015, p.14). In other countries, private companies have been specialising in such training for decades, and instructors are normally ex army members deeply experienced in conflicts, who have also been in the field with embedded journalists (Tenore, 2012). The Reporters Without Borders manual mentions several companies that provide this type of training and train over a thousand journalists every year (Owen, 2001). In contrast, in Spain it is the Army who carry out this task.

Another vital question, which Lisosky and Henrichsen draw attention to, arises here. “Current strategies that appear to be the most effective in protecting journalists are ones that combine hostile environment training and language and culture seminars, along with physical protection such as flak jackets. While relatively effective, these strategies are also the most expensive, creating financial difficulty for many news organizations around the world” (Lisosky and Henrichsen, 2009, p.144). As Cottle, Sambrook and Mosdell point out, the consequences of this are transcendent: “Inequalities of training and resources that characterise the journalism industry around the world as well as the differentiated risk positions occupied by staffers and freelancers, stringers and fixers, and national and international journalists” (Cottle, Sambrook and Mosdell, 2016, p.203).

Comparative perspective

It is interesting to look at how this issue has been addressed in Britain, where, it must be said, the role of the media, particularly the BBC, differs vastly from what we see in Spain. Also, Britain has favoured alliances with universities as a strategy for encouraging safety training for journalists.

The British International News Safety Institute (INSI) has trained around 2,000 media workers from 30 different countries since 2004. The Institute provides different kinds of training, with modules on first aid; planning, preparation and risk; terrorism including dealing with lone gunmen; weapons; safety equipment; working in crowds; identity concealment; anti-surveillance techniques; hiding cameras and information and landmines (INSI, 2017).

The INSI has also played an important intermediary role. It requested the British Ministry of Defence that the army play a more active role apart from attaching embedded journalists in conflicts. The Institute presented a list of suggestions, which led to the Ministry of Defence Green Book for media relations incorporating a new chapter on safety for journalists (Ministry of Defence, 2013).

The INSI collaborates with several universities, particularly the Cardiff University School of Journalism, Media & Cultural Studies. “Killing the Messenger”, a yearly report, is one of the results of this collaboration. A chapter is dedicated to training and equipment, and indicates that in spite of the rising number of journalists killed in the field, “journalists heading off to dangerous assignments in 2015 are going in better prepared than 10 years ago” (INSI, 2016). The report stresses the rising number of businesses offering safety training for media workers, and argues that universities have a role to play in this regard. “Many journalists are entering the industry from universities, which have been slow to embed safety training into media

curriculums” (INSI, 2016). The Institute collaborates with Cardiff University, providing safety training for Journalism students.

UK set the business standard by the BBC in this respect, which, being “one of biggest news organisations in the world, currently employing over 2,000 journalists and supporting 50 foreign news bureaux, is generally recognised as an industry leader in respect of its efforts to incorporate extensive training and safety procedures aimed at journalists deployed in hostile environments” (Simon Cottle, 2016, pp.152-153). Owen qualifies the BBC as “probably the world’s most safety conscious news organization” (2001,26). The BBC requires any journalist covering a conflict to have undergone a five-day training in physical and psychological safety, a service the network outsources to other providers. The course must be repeated every three years for correspondents to continue to be deployed to conflict zones. (Stuart Hughes, Producer, BBC World Affairs, quoted in Cottle, 2016, pp.152-153).

Methodology

Our study takes into account the three aforementioned areas as they occur in Spain: journalist’s professional working conditions, their training and professional experience, and safety training and equipment.

To carry out this study, we analysed the curriculums of degree studies in Journalism in Spanish Universities and compiled a list of subjects relating to International Relations, journalism in conflict zones, and technical skills. To do this, we set up a database which recorded the degree, university, and whether International Relations or other subjects relevant to journalism in conflict zones were included; and also which year the subject was taught at, whether it was compulsory or optional, what skills were intended to be taught to students studying it, and what programme it was part of.

The second area of study required in-depth interviews and surveys with journalists who have worked as war correspondents, and members of the Spanish army, to establish what kind of safety training is given and how it is assessed by both sides. A standardized script of questions, similar for all the journalists, was designed with the topics and sub-topics of interest. With the military, an in-depth interview was conducted with the Lieutenant Colonel who designed the Training Courses for War Correspondents at the Army War College. Unstructured interviews were also held with directors of the Army Communications Department, and we were given access to documentation on the courses. A total of ten interviews were made.

This article is also the product of previous investigation (Iturregui, 2011; Iturregui, Cantalapiedra and Moure, 2015; Iturregui, Cantalapiedra and Moure, 2017) during which different journalists and army members with war experience were interviewed, and literature on the topic was also reviewed.

Findings and Discussion

Journalism Education in Spanish Universities: Training in International Relations, Conflict Journalism and Peace Journalism.

Over the past few years, less space has been given to subjects pertaining to International Relations in university curriculums for Communication. Although many Journalism degree courses offer an introductory course, it is mostly voluntarily in many of the universities in Spain. The most noteworthy exemptions are the Complutense University, Madrid, and the University of the Basque Country. The former includes Political Science and International Relations as a compulsory first year subject, and Spanish Foreign Relations is offered as a voluntary subject. At the University of the Basque Country, which the authors of this article belong to, International Relations is compulsory in the second year for all courses in Communication. Communications Management in International Organisations is also offered as a third year subject.

In addition, fewer than a third of Spanish universities offer subjects specific to international journalism whether in peace or wartime. In most universities, only one subject is offered, though it must be said that this is normally compulsory. The University of Carlos III is an exception, with four subjects relating to war journalism.

The only postgraduate course offered in Spain is the Masters in “Defence Communication and Armed Struggles” at the Complutense University, Madrid.

Safety Training for Spanish Journalists

There is only one course in Spain focusing on safety training for journalists and it is run by the Army War College. The Army Communications Department began these courses in November 2003 with a twofold aim: to provide journalists in war zones with knowledge and guarantee safety minimums, and to share the experience of military operations abroad with media workers.

The first of these courses were mainly theoretical. The aim was “to provide media professionals with experience in operations abroad so that they can carry out their work in the safest possible conditions.” A week’s training is provided for moving around hostile zones, including health education workshops, information on procedures in minefields, NBC suits, 4x4 driving, and use of maps and GPSs. During the course, journalists fly in chinook helicopters, travel in armoured vehicles, hear hand grenades exploding, machine gun fire, and HK rifle shots, and sleep in a tent in a military camp. After the seventh training session, a night of embedded journalism is also given to allow the army to experience living with journalists, and journalists to observe their work. The training course also includes a simulacrum of a night-time hostage rescue operation involving crossing a mountain and a stream, in a village set up for the purpose, with real shotgun fire. A theoretical session is also included, coordinated by the Press Office of the Army, with other correspondents’ experiences, where the army communications system and how it functions during operations is explained.

Courses were initially attended only by journalists that covered defence in national media. This later evolved to include all workers related to the media: writers, graphic designers, sound technicians, producers, etc., with both regular staff and freelance workers included. Journalists from regional media also attended. Maximum admittance to the courses is twenty-five students, but more than one hundred applications are received in some years. The Communications Department publishes the call for applicants and receives their applications, analyses their CVs and selects the twenty-five eventual members of the course.

The course programme is drawn up by the War College. The College admits that journalists and the military are “completely unknown” and that platforms such as the courses contribute to a better understanding between them. “The embedded exercise is also instructive for the unit. We achieve a twofold aim; both sides have to learn.” They point out that some journalists follow up the course with a second, four-week course, which trains them as military observers.

All journalists interviewed assessed their course at the War College very positively, and insist on the importance of such training before deployment to war zones. According to interviewees, “The course is one of the most renowned in the sector, and includes unique features,” and “fully covers the needs of journalists in war zones.” (Paula Pérez, personal communication, April 2017), and is “the best course in Spain” (Carlos Aciego, personal communication, March 2017). They emphasize that the knowledge provided is “essential for anyone wanting to work in areas like these” (Laura Alonso, personal communication, March 2017).

With regard to how this course might condition the critical stance of journalism, we do not see the journalists making identifications between “us” and “them”. Criticism has been levelled at the embedded journalists in Iraq in 2003 (Dillow, 2003; Tumber, 2004); but neither the journalists we interviewed nor the writers of this paper consider the course to compromise the independence of the journalists nor their work in this respect.

All of the correspondents whose points of view we included in our study insist on the importance of information and education on the context, a concern that can be linked to Galtung’s claim that for peace journalism to be possible, “an indispensable beginning is to identify the conflict formation, the parties, their goals and the issues” (Galtung, 2002, p.268). This is surely an area where universities should be playing a key role, although, as explained previously, subjects dealing with international relations and war journalism are given an ever less prominent position in university curriculums in journalism.

Education and Experience

One frequently debated issue is whether training can guarantee journalists' safety in conflict zones, or whether experience is also a necessary factor. "We were filming in Iraq when my colleague said, 'Don't move – we're coming into a minefield here.' The minefield wasn't signposted, of course. He knew what it was because he had more than twenty years' experience as a war correspondent" (Jiménez Pons, personal communication.)

Experience certainly greatly contributes to safety. There are those, such as Loren Jenkins, the foreign editor of National Public Radio whose work in the Middle East won him the Pulitzer Prize, who consider safety and first aid training to be unnecessary. "I have always believed that common sense – not military training – is the best guide to war correspondence" (Owen, 2001, p.27). Some of the journalists we have interviewed emphasize that the Training Courses contribute precisely in teaching common sense and in awakening journalists' instincts and heightening awareness.

Army members also insist that many experienced journalists who do the course positively value many of the topics it addresses, and insist that the main aim of the courses is to heighten journalists' awareness. Journalists also think that the course helped them "to be aware of the risks of being in a conflict zone, and learn things I wouldn't have otherwise" (Rosa Meneses, personal communication).

Media, Military and University: Roles and Responsibilities.

The APM report shows that 56% of journalists in Spain cover the costs of their own training. These costs are only covered by companies 13% of the time. In the remaining cases, costs are shared (APM, 2015, p.31). Safety training courses with private companies cost around \$3,000. In Spain, costs of safety training are paid entirely by the Army, with neither journalists nor the media contributing to payment. This contravenes Unesco recommendations that the media and civil organisations should be responsible for training. Academia is notably absent here: all of the journalists we interviewed considered that universities should be playing a more active role in both training and research.

Whether journalists are trained or not in safety is left to them to decide. They must apply for the War College Training Courses, and take the courses during their vacation. The media have no part in the process. One of the journalists we interviewed said that when she asked for specific training from employers, she had to have several meetings with company directors to request that they finance her training with a private company. This would be unimaginable in the United Kingdom.

University education for journalists in Spain is limited to international relations, war journalism and history, at most. Apart from where relevant subject matter is taught, Spanish universities do not intervene at all in this area. The recent initiative by the Unesco to open a line of academic research on safety for journalists aims to respond to the question, "What more can be done to protect journalists' safety more efficiently? Certainly a broad coalition, combining the forces of various actors, is crucial. The safety of journalists is a complex issue, as is finding the solution. It needs to be built through a cooperation between states, the media, journalists, international NGOs, national CSOs, academia and intermediaries. This is at the heart of the UN Plan". (Pöyhtäry, 2016, p.181).

Conclusions

The results of this article tie in with what other authors such as Sadia Jamil, Saumava Mitra, Abit Hoxha and Kenneth Andresen, and Umaru A. Pate, Lai Oso and Abubakar Jibril affirm in this issue with regard to the role of academia in providing training in safety and conflict reporting for journalists, as well as the intervention of NGOs in the matter.

In Spain, the army designs, carries out and covers the costs of safety training for journalists. Spanish universities, the media, and civil organisations play no part in the process. Safety training for journalists is undertaken on their own initiative, and journalists acknowledge the army's role as the main authority on safety training. Army training courses are therefore not only seen as the main resource available to journalists seeking to guarantee their own safety, but also a space where the work of the army can be better under-

stood, and where journalists and the military can improve their relations and trust can be generated. In spite of critiques from positions related to Peace Journalism, the writers of this paper do not consider that such proximity will necessarily condition journalists' independence. Knowing more about the work and function of a source need not lead to subordination or complicity with it. It must also be pointed out that the army has a responsibility that the media and academia have overlooked, and that this responsibility is fundamental for guaranteeing conditions for journalists to carry out their task and contribute to a more informed society.

Journalists expect a more active role from academia. All of the interviewees in our research insisted on the importance of education on the context, of International Relations and cultural awareness. However, after the introduction of the Bologna Process in Spain, the presence of related subjects in universities has been drastically reduced. The educational function of the university is therefore in dispute here.

We need more research, more knowledge, as we consider that education should be research based. Here, we see interesting initiatives such as the Journalism Safety Research network (JSRN) hosted by the Centre for Freedom of the Media (CFOM) at the University of Sheffield, with the support of Unesco. Because, as Thomas Hanitzsch pointed out, "collaborative research is the future in our field" and "few areas in our field are better suited to this kind of scholarship than the study of journalists' safety" (Hanitzsch, 2017:77).

The university is a social actor with critical capacity, and we consider that it should work to raise awareness in civil society and the media. This is not only in Spain; it seems to be a general challenge, as other authors in this issue also affirm. In its role as an institution for research, it should become aware of journalists' needs, detect the risks they face, and activate its available resources to create central lines of investigation, which will contribute to greater safety for journalists. It can and should contribute to coordinating the necessary training for journalists; and should denounce the media's lack of implication towards providing safety for their workers, and play a leading role in managing the demands of the profession in this regard. The university should set in motion forms of collaboration that would further comprehensive training for journalists in conflict zones.

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Learning safety education from journalism educations in the global south. A postscript.

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Abstract

The article recaps the main findings of the investigations presented in this special issue and seeks to answer the question “What can Northern journalism educators do to improve safety during fieldwork in the Global South?” The article builds mainly on qualitative interviews with former journalism students who have done journalism fieldwork in dangerous situations as part of journalism education in Norway. It concludes by recommending the building of networks of mutual aid across countries and continents to research journalism safety and enlist the help of educators around the world in the training of journalism students.

Introduction

When the research group Media, War and Conflict at Oslo and Akershus University College for Applied Sciences (HiOA) with the assistance of The Norwegian National Commission for UNESCO, decided to provide scholarships for educators and scholars from Asia, Africa and Latin America to participate at a conference on teaching conflict, war and peace journalism in Oslo, it was not merely for altruistic reasons. We wanted a variety of voices to be heard at the conference, of course, but more than just seeking diversity, we also knew we needed to learn more about doing journalism in the Global South for the sake of our own journalism students.

In fact, the journalism education at HiOA for more than three decades has encouraged students to travel outside the “West”/Global North to report on issues important for the lives of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Some students have had to confront issues of serious concern for their personal safety.

Inspired by the colleagues from the Global South, in this final article of this section, I wanted to end this section by asking former students about their experiences during fieldwork as part of the journalism education in Oslo. What can the journalism educators do better to improve safety during fieldwork in the Global South?

As the discussions unfolded at the event in November 2016, a number of issues related to teaching safety issues to journalism students emerged. The presenters at the conference came from places such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Nigeria, the Palestine, Laos and Costa Rica. While the contexts varied, a number of important issues seemed to be common between the contexts: Many presenters commented on the dominance of international NGOs when it comes to providing safety training. Some have found that foreign trainers too often lacked necessary knowledge of the local context and the realities experienced by local journalists. Some underlined the consequences of the unceasing psychological pressure experienced by journalists as well as journalist educators in challenging environments. All seemed to agree on the need to do more research to understand better the problems experienced by local journalists.

This final article in this special issue seeks to learn from these educators from the Global South. What can journalism educators from a place such as Norway learn about preparing Northern journalism students for working in sometimes challenging environments in Africa, Asia or Latin America?

At HiOA, approximately 500 students have participated in a semester long course called Globalization and International Issues for Journalists over the last 10 years. Nine students that did particularly challenging fieldworks were selected to take part in a small study.

Background – A course in Globalization and International Issues for Journalists

Although the course plan has been updated and adjusted somewhat over the ten years encompassed by this study, the selected students have participated in very similar learning processes. The students are allowed to choose where to do the fieldwork. Some decide to travel alone, while the majority form small groups of two or three friends who travel together. In most cases, the journalism education will, at this stage, not try to dissuade most students from traveling to the places they have selected. However, a few will want to do fieldwork in Iraq, Afghanistan, Sudan, Syria or some other place afflicted by violent conflict and war. A number of processes will be set in motion in these instances. So far, no student has been allowed to travel to places experiencing outright war.¹

The course begins in January with introductory classes to globalization and international issues, including classes on doing fieldwork, the ethics of doing fieldwork and safety issues. At the same time, the students begin to explore local history and society through available literature and interviews with experts, and start to investigate a topic that will be developed further during the fieldwork.

During the first phase of research, the students hand in three assignments. The first assignment is to start exploring and to document key issues related to the history and context of the societies they will be visiting. The second requires more work; the students have to search for relevant sources and interview appropriate experts in order to acquire knowledge of the selected place and topic. The third assignment builds on the first two and asks the students to make a detailed plan for the fieldwork. The plan has to include details on where to stay, local contacts, local organizations, helpers and fixers, and other specifics related to the plan for the fieldwork. The students are asked to evaluate potential safety issues related to the fieldwork.

All three assignments will have to be passed before the student is allowed to travel. The fieldwork will typically last four to eight weeks from mid-March before the students return to have two more weeks of classes and group sessions. Finally, the students hand in a reportage (for newspaper, radio, television or net) and an analytical essay. The course concludes with oral exams sometime in mid-June.

¹ The details are not directly relevant for the topic of this paper. Suffice to say that insurance will be extremely costly. The same with specialized safety courses, safety gear such as bulletproof vests etc.

Perspectives from educators in the Global South

Working on this special issue, the many insights from these researchers resonated with experiences we have had preparing Norwegian students for fieldwork in the Global South.

Dr. Sadia Jamil, for instance, finds a variety of challenges affecting the work of journalists in Pakistan (2017). Most commonly, Pakistani journalists face physical, psychological, financial, topic-specific, emotional and social risks. According to Jamil, 68% of journalists have experienced abusive language and physical attacks during rallies and political events. All surveyed female journalists in addition to some male journalists have experienced gender-specific risks such as harassment, discrimination and blackmailing. There are clearly numerous risks to consider for journalism students wanting to do fieldwork in a challenging environment - not only in Pakistan, but in also quite a few places elsewhere.

Based on research among photojournalists in Afghanistan, Saumava Mitra calls for journalism training to address the socio-cultural, political, economic as well as practice-related constraints faced by journalists in conflict-affected societies (2017). The need for deep knowledge on the socio-cultural, political and economic context should lead to local universities taking a leading role in journalism education and safety training, as well as research.

Umaru A. Pate, Lai Oso and Abubakar Jibril report similar findings from a study of the status of training and research in reporting conflict, peace journalism and safety education in English speaking West Africa. Mostly, the authors explain, the educational systems of the region have been transplanted from Britain in structure, philosophy and curricula. The mass communication/journalism curricula, however, was one of the few exceptions that largely emanated from America rather than Britain. The model focuses strongly on skills empowerment; promoted market based communication and linked the role of the media to general development and regime survival. As the authors demonstrate with their research, countries in West Africa should now rather support institutions in mainstreaming courses on peace journalism, conflict-sensitive reporting and safety education and develop contextually relevant literature in the countries through collaborative engagements

Along the same line of argument, Abit Hoxha and Kenneth Andresen find that safety educators lacking in contextually relevant knowledge tend to compromise quality and outcome of safety education (2017.) According to the research of Hoxha and Andresen, participants at safety training will most likely become less motivated when experiencing lack of attention to the local realities of journalism.

Mariateresa Garrido makes the convincing argument that journalists need to learn about International Humanitarian Law (IHL). According to Garrido, knowing the distinction IHL makes between civilians and combatants, for instance, can make life safer for journalists covering war and conflict. However, surprisingly few know how to dress and behave to avoid being mistaken for something else than a journalist. Perhaps even more surprisingly, Garrido has found it difficult to convince students to study IHL. Based on the experience from teaching IHL, she draws on the pedagogy of Freire to make the argument that educators need to make the subjects relevant for the experiences and realities of the students.

Leire Iturregui Mardaras, María José Cantalapiedra González and Leire Moure Peñín agree that universities need to play a role in safety education. However, subjects concerning international relations now play a less important role than before at Spanish journalism education institutions. The crisis of the media business, meanwhile, means that the media has not taken up the challenge of providing safety education to reporters covering war and conflict. In this situation, most Spanish reporters have reacted positively to the Spanish Army filling the void. The authors reminds us that the army has specialized knowledge of safety issues during hostilities. There are things such as “moving around hostile zones, including health education workshops, information on procedures in minefields, NBC suits, 4x4 driving, and use of maps and GPSs” that university professors would have little or no knowledge of. Similarly, when training needs to include experiences of flying in “helicopters, travel in armoured vehicles, hear hand grenades exploding, machine gun fire, and HK rifle shots” and similar, taking the course designed by the army would be beneficial. The army course gives the participants the possibility to simulate a “night-time hostage rescue operation”. From a peace journalism perspective, training with the army could be seen as potentially problematic, as it might make the journalist less willing to be critical towards the army later. Still, the authors conclude, skills and experiences such as those mentioned here, could potentially be lifesaving in a critical situation.

What were the students supposed to learn before doing fieldwork?

Some of the concerns discussed by the educators represented in this special issue connects with literature on the reading list of the course at HiOA. The study plan describes expected learning outputs. Among other things, the students are expected to develop the skill of “working as a journalist in unknown environments and deal with critical situations that might arise” (HiOA, 2016). A crucial issue is learning to deal responsibly with sources and other “fellow human beings” in unfamiliar contexts. However, cross-cultural experiences can be a challenge for some students. According to some authors, cross cultural learning moves through several phases from “being astonished, enthralled, bedazzled, confused, contradicted, alienated, misunderstood” to being “welcomed, accepted, understood” (Alred, Byram, & Fleming, 2003, p. 27). It is easy to imagine why many students might find it stressful to produce journalism in cross-cultural contexts. When potential dangers and safety issues affect the fieldwork, the level of psychological stress could be further increased.

A few relatively recent titles deal with safety issues during research fieldwork (Nordstrom & Robben, 1995; Richards, 1996; Weissman, 2004). Some of these have been included in the curriculum. According to Bøås et al., the first rule concerning personal safety is to “know your field” (Boas, Jennings, & Shaw, 2006). Managing unsafe situations involve many types of evaluations. First, the physical surroundings must be mapped to identify potential escape routes, safe havens and so forth. Likewise, places where violence could erupt should be identified. However, mapping physical surroundings is far from enough. It is also necessary to understand what is being said or shouted by the different actors in a potentially dangerous situation. In many instances, a student doing fieldwork will not be able to understand the local languages. He or she will depend on having a translator, a fixer, friend or other contacts to explain what is being said. Additionally, interpreting and understanding body language and movements depend on deep cultural knowledge.

Most authors on the reading list emphasise the importance of knowing who is who. The various groups and organizations must be mapped and analysed. Key questions are “Who are the key players?”, “Who do the various organizations, groups and militias represent?”, “What do they stand for?” and so forth. A thorough knowledge of the social and political field must be developed. Most textbooks on doing fieldwork in potentially dangerous situations discuss whether or not to inform all groups and organizations about plans for a fieldwork. In some contexts, informing all parties would be very dangerous, for instance in districts torn between warring factions (Krøvel, 2012). While seeking to make interviews on both sides of the “frontline” is a fine ideal, crossing the (sometimes only imaginary) frontline would be unsafe or even impossible in many real situations of war and conflict.

A Northern journalist or student doing fieldwork will be in a privileged position. He or she can leave the area after completing the job. The local informants, translators and fixers, however, will have to live on in the local communities in the same context of war or conflict after finishing the task. A foreign journalist or student should therefore be extra careful about putting locals in danger (Hight & Smyth, 2003 ; Schmickle, 2007).

Studies show that dramatic events might cause long-term effects. If traumatic experiences are not dealt with properly, psychologic effects of fear or stress can become serious problems later in life, sometime causing a variety of problems such as “Feeling that you are out of control. Feeling your life is threatened. Blaming others. Shame over your behavior. Problems coping with day-to-day life. Excess use of alcohol or drugs.» (Schmickle, 2007).

Typical issues that now and again appear after returning home are: “Disappointment with attachments that seem cold compared with the terrible intimacy of watching people, even strangers, bleed and die». «Frustration with friends who seem more interested in trivial cultural events than in global matters of war and peace». «Discomfort with material abundance that stands in stark contrast to the desperate need in other parts of the world». «Alienation from a family that had to make do without you» (Schmickle, 2007).

However, these studies also find that long-term effects to stress and fear depend much on motivation and social network. Feeling that the assignment is important seems to make reporters less prone to negative reactions to stress or fear. Similarly, having someone in the newsroom, among the editors, in the family or among friends that are willing to listen and try to understand, appears to reduce negative effect.

A small study of former students, years later

This small study is mainly based on qualitative interviews. From a total of app. 500 students who have taken the course in Global Issues for Journalists from 2007 until 2016, I selected nine for in-depth interviews to probe the issues discussed above.

In the process of selecting the most relevant students, I could benefit from one of a number of sources that inform the journalism educators about each student's fieldwork. For instance, all students have to hand in three assignments where plans for the fieldworks is outlined. After returning home, all students hand in one analytical essay discussing relevant experiences during the fieldworks.

The nine selected have all done fieldwork in particularly challenging situations. However, interviewing former students about possible traumatic experiences and long-term psychological effects is a sensitive issue. For that reason, the research project including the interview guide was submitted to the Norwegian Centre for Research Data for approval. The project was approved on the premise that all information that could identify the informers was to be removed. To further guarantee the anonymity of the respondents, the paper will not describe the places and local issues in full detail, although it would have been beneficial for the understanding of the safety issues to do so.

The (approved) guide for interviews include the following questions, which were followed up with more questions as the interview evolved.

Age and gender.

What was your motivation for doing that particular fieldwork?

In retrospect, did any particular experience during the fieldwork make a strong impression on you?

Could you describe how you reacted to these experiences?

Did you travel and work alone?

Did you have someone to discuss the experiences with during the fieldwork? How did it work?

What do you think in retrospect about those experiences?

Do you feel you were prepared for those experiences?

Have you discussed it with someone later?

Could something have been done differently to prepare you better?

Were the assignments and lectures at school after returning home important or helpful for you in order to deal with the things you had experienced?

What type of knowledge and experiences was important to you in order to deal with the issues?

Looking back on the fieldwork, do you feel that making such experiences during the studies has been mostly positive or negative for your later personal and professional development?

The students and the fieldworks

Most of the selected students did fieldwork either in Latin America or in areas of conflict in or related to the Middle East. Those who travelled to Latin America did work as journalists in areas affected by two different categories of conflict. Some visited districts heavily affected by the so-called war on drugs and had to navigate environments plagued with high levels of violent organized crime. Others reported from districts mostly affected by leftist insurgencies and right wing paramilitaries supported by police or the militaries.

Those who reported from the Middle East worked in areas affected by complex patterns of conflicts. Historically, various leftist and nationalists movements have struggled for "liberation" and for establishing independent states. However, conflicts in these places have become increasingly motivated by demands related to ethnicity. To complicate matters further, numerous religiously based armed groups have emerged as influential players in the conflicts.

The nine selected students were on average two to three years older and therefore a little more experienced than their peers were at the time of doing fieldwork. This small difference in age is perhaps because the teachers would guide younger students in the direction of less demanding projects and fieldworks. Only mature students would be allowed to plan for difficult fieldworks that might involve danger.

Four out of nine selected students are women.

Types of unsafe situations encountered

The students interviewed had all encountered situations they felt were unsafe. Most had felt “real fear” at one time or another during the fieldwork. This is in stark contrast to the vast majority of students taking part in the course over ten years represented here. Less than five percent reported having experienced situations that caused fear. This clearly indicates that certain places are much more prone to danger for journalist students than others. Teachers need to evaluate carefully whether or not a particular student can be allowed to do fieldwork in a locality where the probability of encountering danger is high.

The most common unsafe situation mentioned during the interviews, was being stopped at roadblocks and checkpoints. The students found those situations stressful for several reasons. First, Norwegian students are not used to seeing armed men (and some women) in the streets. Perhaps even worse are being stopped at informal road blocks that sometimes pops up during conflicts, especially when it is difficult to identify the soldier who are manning the check points. As informant number 3 put it: “the shock of realizing that you are powerless”.

“The worst thing I experienced”, said informant number 7 “was being stopped by an armed group. Especially since I was not able to identify which group the soldiers belonged to”. In conflict, you need to think carefully about what you say and how you say it to whom. “I wanted so strongly to frame my answer correctly. Use the “correct” words. But it was impossible to know what to say as long I did not know who I was talking to.”

Informant number 1 and 6 had been present at peaceful demonstrations that suddenly turned violent. “The demonstration was a good place for me to make interviews and take pictures”, said informant number 1. “But I did not understand what was happening. All I caught was that the mood somehow shifted. People began to shout. Others looked worried.” When the chaos broke out, the crowd began to run. This was in itself potentially very dangerous, explained both informants. However, “the main problem was that I did not know who or what I was running from. What is more, I did not know where to run. I was totally disoriented” (informant number 6).

Informant number 5 did experience something similar. For this informant, what happened after escaping from the demonstration was the most unpleasant part. “It became dark and I did not know where I was. At this time, most people had disappeared from the streets. Except from me, very few were out on the streets. The problem was that the army and police set up checkpoints. Everyone was checked. I was afraid that they would believe I was an agent or a in some way was helping the liberation movement. I had heard stories about people disappearing at checkpoints like this.”

In the end, none of the students was physically harmed. All escaped arrest or imprisonment, except for one who was detained for a few hours at a checkpoint. The main problem that the students focused on afterwards was the psychological stress of being overwhelmed by chaos, being deprived of control over the situation. All found not understanding the language particularly difficult. “Knowing that young, armed men were discussing what to do with you without being able to understand what was being said increased the feeling of helplessness. Feeling helpless was the worst part of the experience” (informant number 5).

Many of the informants did mention the added problem of trying to find out what had happened. After returning to the hotels, having escaped the violence and potential danger, the students tried to find trustworthy information online or on television. However, the internet as well as the media were overflowing with rumours. “It was really difficult to find reliable information. I desperately needed to know more. Was it safe to venture out again? Was there any danger in staying put in the same hotel? Was the police looking for foreigners? I had a million questions. But could not find the answers” (informant number 9).

Another issue that many found psychologically disturbing was meeting victims of war and violence. “I was not prepared for the shock. I thought it was just about getting the job done. Just asking the questions. However, I found it very disturbing to have to ask the victims about details. How did it happen? Who were killed?” (Informant number 5). “I felt bad about it for a long time afterwards” (informant number 3). “I could not understand why, but I felt shame and a deep sense of guilt. I was shameful for leaving them behind to return home after having asked them about their most intimate memories of the tragedies”. Years later, many of the students recalled meeting victims of war and conflict as the most difficult experience. Most of them could still feel shame thinking about the experience.

Motivations

Recalling the motivations for doing fieldwork in challenging environments, the students cited a number of reasons. The many reasons mentioned could perhaps best be summarized in five ideal models.

First, informant number 7 and 9 put emphasis on the “social responsibility of journalism” to cover particular issues. “The audience deserves to know about the issue. It is my job to cover it” (informant number 7). The second ideal model could be called “empathy”. Informant number 2, for instance, explained that s/he had seen a reportage on television dealing with this particular issue. “I just had to go. See for myself. I wanted to do something” (Informant number 2). The third category is similar but also slightly different: “These folks are struggling for liberation” (informant number 5). “Almost nobody here have heard about the things that are happening. Norwegian businesses are making things worse by investing in (...)” I have called this category “politics of solidarity”.

A number of statements would fit nicely in category four, “adventurism”. “I wanted to experience something very different from quiet Norway. Wanted to experience something exiting, perhaps dangerous” (informant number 1). Finally, number five is a category I name “personal ambition”. Quite a few saw the fieldwork as a possible step towards the goal of building a career in journalism. “I wanted to do something that would be noticed. Something that stood out from the crowd” (informant number 9).

While I here have defined five categories or ideal models of motivations, all students referred to several motivations. However, the composition of motivations varied much between the students. Some were for instance motivated both by “politics of solidarity” and “adventurism”. While others were motivated by a combination of “empathy”, “social responsibility of journalism” and “building a career”.

In particular, two of the former students reported long-term effects of experiencing dangerous or difficult situations. Both stood out from the rest of the students because they explained having been mostly motivated by “adventurism” and “building a career in journalism”. The problem, both explained, is that they later found it difficult to explain to themselves why they had asked people in very difficult situations about intimate details. “It was hard to live with afterwards. I really felt selfish” (informant number 9). While the number of students is small, it seems like those who reported to have been driven mainly by personal ambition, seemed more likely to report long-term effects such as feelings of guilt.

Feeling unsafe

Among the nine students, none reported to have been in situations of direct physical threat. However, all students told about situations where they did not feel safe. Four of the students believed that the feeling of being in danger of physical threat was so strong that it had a negative impact on the fieldwork and the outcome. Two reported long-term effects, such as nightmares.

Typically, the students found situations such as these difficult to handle: One of the informants covered a popular riot in support of a leftist and nationalist independence movement. A large gathering became surrounded by military and armed police. Besides the danger of being attacked by the police or the military, the student could feel the mood changing and suspicions grow: “I was really concerned that some of the protesters would wrongly identified me as a spy for the police. That would have been very dangerous”.

Another student had had to drive across an area known for being plagued by landmines. “For many years later, I kept waking up in the middle of the night feeling fear, the same feeling I had when driving in (...)”. Yet another told about experiences during fieldwork somewhere ravaged by the drug war. The informant had been dining with a local family when everybody suddenly stood up. “We had to leave, they explained, because a group of youth entered. They looked pretty normal to me, but the locals realized the young med were carrying way too much cash; a sign that something was nor right. They knew from experience that they had to get out of there as quick as possible.”

In most of these cases, what caused later trauma was knowing that things might have gone very wrong.

A different type of distressing experience mentioned by several was being harassed because of travelling with someone from an ethnic minority. “For me it was very traumatic”, explained informant 4, “experiencing that a friend or an acquaintance was subjected to racial abuse. Without being able to do anything. In fact, I could only have made matters worse.” Again, the anger of realizing that they were no more than powerless witnesses was something that stuck with the journalism students for years.

Managing unsafe situations

The students found many ways to deal with danger and stressful situations during the fieldwork. At least one of the students came from a family that many years earlier had migrated from that particular area to Norway. The student was to some extent able to communicate in the local language. For this student, being able to discuss with knowledgeable relatives during and after fieldwork was important in handling psychological stress.

For the others, many mentioned spending as much time as possible and preferably living with local families as fruitful strategies to make the fieldwork safer.

In one particular locality, it had been of great importance to inform all the warring factions about who the journalism students were and what the purpose of the visit was. With the help of international organizations, the information was distributed to the different factions and information was passed on to the different checkpoints in the area. In retrospect, the students saw this as extremely important to be able to travel safely. In other situations, however, the same procedure could have been extremely dangerous. Crossing the border between one armed group to another was seen as impossible (informant 7 and informant 9).

In retrospect, all the students agreed that acquiring deep local knowledge was crucial in order to make the fieldwork as safe as possible. Most students regretted not having read and researched more before traveling.

Three of the students had managed to form some sort of alliance with local journalists that they found very useful. According to these students, getting help and information from locals who understood what it meant to be a journalist, was extremely valuable to avoid unsafe situations. Similarly, two students had been able to enlist the help of local human rights activists. These students also found working with local activists helpful as the activists had much knowledge about what was going on, although working closely with human rights activists could potentially lead to unwanted attention from certain groups.

While it in some of these situations is difficult to assess whether or not working with local journalists or human right activists really made the job safer, the students felt that working with locals made them understand better the local realities. Additionally, building personal relationships to “brave” journalists and human rights activists made the whole experience of covering a conflict more “meaningful” (informant 3).

What is more, all the informants had found it necessary to have someone to discuss with. “I needed to talk to someone to clear my mind. I needed a different perspective on things” (Informant 5). Finding someone to talk with was the most effective way to reduce psychological stress in difficult periods. Those who travelled with fellow students did find it helpful to have a friend to share the experience with. Those who travelled alone did look for others to share with. Most often, this was other journalists in the area or local activists of some kind. Even exchanging emails or talking on Skype with teachers at home was mentioned as something important when experiencing psychological stress.

Post fieldwork at school

The Department of Journalism and Media Studies does have in place a system for post fieldwork follow up including group sessions and plenary discussions. However, none of these informants did find these activities helpful for dealing with traumatic experiences.

What the informants did find helpful, though, was meeting friends and fellow students that had had similar types of experiences. Meeting informally, in spontaneously formed groups of two or three, over a cup of coffee, discussing and sharing freely, was often mentioned as “helpful” or “valuable”. The formally organized debriefs in groups or plenary sessions, however, were mostly seen as “awkward”.

Seven students explicitly mentioned the added stress of having to present a reportage for exams as something that significantly added to the challenges of dealing with stressful situations during the fieldwork. “The stress of producing the reportage for the exam made me push on. I did not take time to stop and reflect. Instead I worked almost day and night to produce something for the exam” (informant 1). According to Schmickle and others, working hard as a strategy to cope with traumatic experiences often lead to long-term problems (Schmickle, 2007). These students had to hand in the reportage and an analytical essay for exams only days after returning home. Additionally, they would have to pass oral exams before completing the semester. It was very hard for them to find time and space to deal properly with what they had experienced.

Long-term effects

The former students did mention minor long-term effects. The fate of victims was the most commonly mentioned theme. Most students have continued to worry about the fate of those they met and interviewed during interviews. In some instances, feelings of guilt was mentioned. Feeling guilt was mostly related to “being privileged” and therefore “able to leave and go home” (informant 3 and informant 4). However, in one of the cases the student worried about the possibility of having “put others in danger” (informant 1). Another worried that pictures and text the students had uploaded to blogs and Facebook during fieldwork could have been a risk to the safety of the sources. It was not primarily the products of journalism this student worried about, but rather communication on social media during the fieldwork. “There was no ways of knowing who might have found the information online” (informant 8).

All the students had encountered problems and had been worried for some reason or another during fieldwork. However, all of the informants, without exception, stated that the experience had been “extremely positive” for personal and professional development. For the students, having to overcome challenges and problems had been turned into something positive, an experience to grow from. This overall positive evaluation is strengthened by the fact that a very large majority of the informants has gone on to become successful journalists. Many of them continue to work on issues related to the so-called Global South.

Improving journalism education in the Global North

Inspired by the insights of journalism educators from the Global South, I wanted to learn from the lived experiences of former students having done fieldworks in challenging and potentially dangerous environments. Two sets of recommendations emerged. One set of experiences and recommendations stemming from the from the journalism educators. The other coming from Norwegian former students.

Much research and planning must be done to avoid dangerous situations, journalism students in addition need to learn how to identify different groups during conflict situations. Students must learn from experts how to recognize different types of arms including firearms. Students should be trained to observe surroundings, plan escape routes and other techniques to get out of difficult situations. From the qualitative interviews, we understand that dangerous situations might arise even if everything possible has been done to prepare for a safe fieldwork. Consequently, it is essential to teach safety issues to journalism students traveling to do fieldwork in challenging environments.

According to Iturregui (et.al.), the many issues in war and conflict requires specialized knowledge, such as being able to identify the sound of firearms, finding good escape routes etc. Spanish journalists value highly the possibility of building experience in controlled circumstances, for example by flying in helicopters and observing live explosions. The journalism students interviewed here, did find it difficult to navigate conflict situations without having such specialized knowledge and experience beforehand.

The findings here seem to connect well with existing literature underlining the correlation between motivation and possible long-term effects of traumatic experiences. The interviews underlines the importance of analysing well the motivation students have for doing a particular fieldwork before the students are allowed to do journalism in potentially dangerous regions. More than anything, building a network of trustworthy contacts before the fieldwork has proved to be the most effective safety measure for these informants. At the same time, the interviews demonstrates that the journalism education needs to pay more attention to the issue of protecting sources and others from harm.

However, there are limits to what educators from Europe can do to prepare students for doing fieldwork in foreign contexts, as the articles in this section demonstrate. Jamil’s work illustrate the numerous ways that the safety of journalists can be compromised (Jamil, 2017). It is difficult to imagine that foreign educators could acquire sufficient knowledge to handle such a multitude of context related challenges. Hoxha (et.al) finds that students tend to become less motivated if educators are lacking in knowledge about the realities of doing journalism in a particular locality (Hoxha, 2017). Still, as Garrido reminds us, it not sufficient for educators to possess the needed knowledge (Garrido, 2017). In addition, the educators need to develop pedagogical skills to connect the knowledge with the lives and realities of the students at home. Mitra and

Pate (et.al) underlines the importance of knowledge-based education (ref). Research is needed to produce knowledge on the specific challenges and dangers faced by journalists around the world.

As the articles in this issue make clear, local universities should have a leading role in producing knowledge and providing education. The best thing Northern scholars could do to enhance safety of Northern journalism students doing fieldwork in the Global South, is to form alliances across borders and continents, building networks of mutual aid to research journalism safety and enlist the help of local educators around the world in the training of journalism students.

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Reviews

The reviews pages are edited by Tor Clark. If you have a book you would like to review or have come across a new book we should know about please get in touch. Also if you have recently had a book published and would like to see it reviewed, please contact Tor on t.clark@leicester.ac.uk

Reviews Section

The domination of Brexit

Reviews Section edited by Tor Clark, University of Leicester, UK.

Have you wondered what the politicians did *before* Brexit? So dominant has it become in the political firmament that it's sometimes hard to remember there was ever any other real politics before June 2016. And how dull political life might have been if Remain had won and we'd just had same-old, same-old under Cameron and Osborne?

But Brexit is upon us and has as profound an impact on Journalism as it does on all other aspects of life. How journalists and spin doctors tackled Brexit makes for interesting and useful reading in itself. How journalism will deal with the issues Brexit coverage raised – most notably the thorny issue of 'balance' in broadcast journalism – gives Journalism practitioners, academics and students plenty to discuss.

So it's not surprising that this reviews section is dominated by reviews of books about Brexit. These may not be traditional scholarly tomes concerning concepts and theories, but in the selection of books about Brexit reviewed briefly in this edition's Reviews pages, lecturers and students will find excellent first-hand journalistic accounts which say much about 21st century journalistic practice, as well as academic analysis of the journalism around Brexit by esteemed Media scholars from leading Journalism and Communications departments at universities such as Loughborough and Cardiff.

Not content with having spent six months editing a significant collection of chapters about Brexit (and Trump) journalist, academic and book editor John Mair decided to spend his well-earned summer break reading all the other books about Brexit. He agrees with most informed reviewers in lauding *Sunday Times* political editor Tim Shipman's *All Out War*, which is predicted to become the standard journalistic work on Brexit. Find out what he thinks of its rivals.

Journalism Education editor Professor Chris Frost casts his expert eye over *Brexit, Trump and the Media*, a collection of 58 separate chapters analysing the journalism around 2016, the year of the populist uprising and the subsequent 2017 UK general election. Find out how this tome compares with the other recent literature in his review.

Back on planet normal, regular reviewer Michael Foley has been intrigued by a history of the Irish press in the 20th century, which offers interest and insights for journalism today.

And finally, Australian academics Kristy Hess and Lisa Waller appear to have achieved the impossible – writing an international book about local journalism in *Local Journalism in a Digital World*. Find out what it offers for you and your students.

The Reviews section will attempt to get back to a broader coverage of all things journalistic in the next edition, but for now, Brexit is so all-consuming, it more than merits its domination of this section, only a year after the storm broke.

Brexit, Trump and the Media edited by John Mair Tor Clark, Neil Fowler, Raymond Snoddy, and Richard Tait.

Review by Chris Frost, Liverpool John Moores University

Here is the latest from the fast-moving publication machine driven by John Mair and ably assisted in this instance by Tor Clark, Neil Fowler, Raymond Snoddy, and Richard Tait.

John now proudly claims 20 of his “hackademic” style books; books made up of short essays, typically 3,000 to 4,000 words as a commentary of a recent event of interest to the media and of interest to journalists and scholars in the way it was covered.

Of course he was spoilt for choice by events over the past 18 months and the surprises they brought: Brexit overturning the polls, the US election that defied the pundits and then our own surprise election with its even more surprising result.

To deal with such a range of material the book is split into eight sections each with a different theme. The first five look at Brexit from different angles whilst they are followed by chapters on the Trump election, post-truth, politics and journalism and then finally the 2017 UK election.

The speed of turnaround from the events to publication makes this book (and indeed the series of books) unusual in academic terms and that is why the editors use the term hackademic as this is a mix of academic work and journalism. Journalists turned academics turn journalist again to put out chapters that use their earlier research as a basis to develop an early analysis of events whilst journalists try their hand at a slightly more academic style having had time to ponder a little longer than usual on what events, statistics and developments might mean.

The editors have managed to gather 56 authors to produce a broad range of views. It would be foolish to attempt to name all 56 in the review any more than it would be sensible to criticize each chapter, I will however try to give a flavour of what's on offer. The book starts with a section on understanding the Brexit result. Richard Tait of Cardiff University leads the section that contains chapters by Nigel Farage, former leader of UKIP, and Andy Wigmore & Jack Montgomery of Leave.eu. Raymond Snoddy leads the section on why the Brexit campaign won with chapters by polls supremo Professor John Curtice of Strathclyde University, and Professor David Blanchflower of Dartmouth College. Brexit and the press has Hugh Whittow, Editor of the *Daily Express* explaining how it was the Express what won it, while an international view is added by Dianan Zimmerman of ZDF and Xiaochen Guo of Communication University of China.

The locals and nations approaches to Brexit are examined in the next chapter with Mike Gilson, a former editor of the *Brighton Argus* and Martin Shipton, the chief reporter of *Media Wales*. Professors Justin Lewis (Cardiff), Richard Tait (Cardiff), Jay Blumler (Leeds) and Ivor Gaber (Sussex) join with Stephen Cushion (Cardiff), James Mates, Europe Editor, ITV news and Gary Gibbons, Political Editor C4 News are just a few of those considering broadcasting and its role in presenting balanced coverage of the debate.

The final three chapters continue the pattern with Raymond Snoddy, Healen Boaden and Bill Dunlop, President Eurovision Americas, tackling the US election, Mark Thomson, president and CEO *New York Times*, and Peter Preston, former Editor of *The Guardian*, heading the section on post-truth and Michael White and Raymond Snoddy heading the final section on the UK election. An introduction by Jon Snow and a postscript by Nick Robinson bookend the 408 page tour de force.

The sheer range of views and analysis on offer makes this a great book to dip into, picking chapters as the mood takes you and it is a great source of reference for your lectures, speeches and articles. Journalism may be the first draft of history, but this is surely the first draft of academic analysis.

Brexit, Trump and the Media edited by John Mair, Tor Clark, Neil Fowler, Raymond Snoddy and Richard Tait., published in 2017 by Abramis 408 pp. £19.95

Local Journalism in a Digital World by Kristy Hess and Lisa Waller

Review by Tor Clark, University of Leicester, UK

Local journalism has been much undervalued in the study of journalism generally. More attention is focused on the more high profile end of the profession, especially national news, international news and television news generally.

And yet we all know, and statistics bear out, more people consume local news, especially outside the UK, and that what affects most people on a daily basis is what is happening to them in their own surroundings. Therefore, local journalism is incredibly important and worthy of study.

A significant problem with being a Journalism academic interested in local journalism has always seemed to be that in an internationalised academic world, especially when the best research is deemed 'world-leading', local journalism has only parochial appeal which would seem to discourage academic enquiry.

Another major issue is, as we all know, that local journalism is hard to define. Are the Washington Post and the New York Times local or national papers? Of course they are national, but yet they associate themselves with a single geographic location in exactly the same way as does the Whitby Gazette, for example. Indeed before the arrival of America's first truly national newspaper, USA Today in the early 1980s, they were the best examples of US national papers.

There's a similar picture in Australia, where Murdoch's relatively recent The Australian has attempted to unite a continent which had previously been happily served by major quasi-national regional papers such as the Sydney Morning Herald, The Western Australian and The (Melbourne) Age among others, while other, usually free, papers served specifically local communities.

Even if we establish what we mean by local journalism, within local journalism there is a vast array of formats and styles, ranging from the highly professional respected major regional papers, noted above, to the enthusiastic but often haphazard parish magazines produced at village level.

Add into that mix regional and community radio and then the huge variety of hyper-local digital media and you have a huge and complex picture, which would seem, at first glance, hard to aggregate and quantify between the covers of one academic book.

But now, for those of us who have soldiered on researching local journalism in its many forms over many years, Australian journalists-turned-academics Kristy Hess and Lisa Waller's new book, in attempting to find common themes in local journalism from all over the globe, will be very welcome.

Hess and Waller, who work and write together at Melbourne's Deakin University, have attempted to ground local journalism as an entity in academic and sociological theory and then explore what it is, what it does and how influential it may be.

Encouraged by Bob Franklin, Professor of Journalism at Cardiff University, the doyen of academic research into local journalism, Hess and Waller have surveyed local journalism in all its many varied forms from all over the world and attempted, successfully, to establish common themes which will be applicable throughout local journalism, without compromising the distinct versions of the various diverse forms in different countries and regions.

They begin by conceptualising local journalism, before examining its various forms and practices, and concluding with perhaps the most important question – how to secure the economic future of local journalism in an increasingly socially fragmented and globalised world.

The problems they identify we already know too much about, but thankfully they find reasons for optimism, especially the important place local journalism still occupies in local communities and the possibilities for more innovative economic models to ensure local communities can still have access to accurate information about their localities.

This is a book scholars of local journalism have been waiting for. It will set an overview of the field that can be used to frame and promote more research. It offers general readers, journalists and academics across many social sciences a text which, in attempting global overview, makes a real contribution to this neglected local field of study.

Local Journalism in a Digital World by Kristy Hess and Lisa Waller, published in 2017 by Palgrave, paperback, £22.99 GBP, pp294, ISBN: 978-1-137-50476-0.

The Fourth Estate: Journalism in Twentieth-Century Ireland by Mark O'Brien

Reviewed by Michael Foley, Dublin Institute of Technology, Ireland.

It was not too long ago there were few books on media and press history in Ireland. There were a few studies of broadcasting, but they were often studies of broadcasting policy. There had been a number of important studies of censorship, which obviously impacted on journalists. Historians, of course, examined newspapers, but nearly always as sources rather than actors or players themselves.

However, in the past ten years there has been a spurt of activity, influenced by the Newspaper and Periodical History Forum of Ireland and its annual conference, showcasing scholarly work in the area. We now have studies of individual newspapers, collections of essays on periodicals, on journalism before independence, books on the radical and nationalist press and the press during the Famine. Dr O'Brien, the author of this work is also the author histories of *The Irish Times* and the *Irish Press*.

The current volume is not about individual newspapers and their editorial policies, nor does it deal with media policy other than how it might impact on journalists, but with the professional development of journalists themselves and in that it is unique and welcome.

The book takes us from journalists working in the highly political press of the pre-independence period, to the violent birth of independent Ireland, through the period of nation building, to the mid period of domination by the Catholic Church to the modern period of journalists operating in an open liberal democracy. It takes us to colonialism, to post-colonial and beyond.

Much of the focus is on the relationship between journalism and the Catholic Church. One of the purposes of any journalism history is to examine how it relates to the societal power brokers and the church was the most powerful institution for much of the period covered by this work.

In the introduction, Dr O'Brien says the book was prompted by questions posed about journalism amid the clerical abuse scandals and political corruption stories that emerged in the 1990s. Why were not these issues exposed earlier? And asks if Irish journalism 'was the dog that would not bark.' Was it collusion with those in power or because the press was so muzzled by church and state. Does this book answer its own questions, possibly not, but raising the questions within the context of journalism and its culture is important.

O'Brien's work is descriptive. Rows within and between journalist organisations are detailed. Major stories and how they were covered or missed are chronicled comprehensively.

NUJ branches were established in Ireland soon after the union's foundation. It went into decline with the founding of the Irish Journalist Association. The IJA's support of Home Rule, meant it was impossible to organise in Northern Ireland.

In the mid 1920s the NUJ again, decided to attempt to establish itself in Ireland; the IJA went into decline following the closure of a number of Dublin newspapers. When De Valera founded the *Irish Press*, where its journalists joined the NUJ *en masse*, the NUJ became the main trade union for Irish journalists, and remained so until today.

O'Brien goes into detail about rows between the NUJ and the church, attempts to establish the Guild of Irish Journalists, a Catholic body that was to sweep away the NUJ and the Institute of Journalists prominent in the 19th century, remained a sort of ghostly presence. The rows are fascinating and do give insight into the culture of journalism in the 1940s and 1950s, but the NUJ was dominant, with 500 members to only a handful in the Guild or the Institute. The question that is not asked or answered is why did journalists stay loyal to the NUJ, even when, at times, the union in London, had lost patience with Ireland?

My view is the NUJ offered a link to a wider world and there have always been strong links between Irish journalists and British journalism. It was also an act of solidarity with journalists in Northern Ireland where the NUJ's press card was accepted and carried by all, whether working for the *Irish News*, the Newsletter or working in the Belfast office of the *Irish Press* or *The Irish Times*. There was also the fact that journalists were badly paid so they wanted an organisation that was about improving their pay and conditions rather than having access to the Bishop's Palace.

While the sections dealing with organisations are fascinating, *The Fourth Estate* is not just a history of journalistic bodies. It deals with the 30-years of state censorship of broadcasting during the period of the

Northern Ireland Troubles, of how the stories of clerical abuse were finally published; how journalists skirted repressive censorship, defamation and the belt of the bishops crozier. If they were not always pushing the envelope, journalists played an important part in Ireland becoming a modern European country.

This book is welcome. It is well written and offers students a great introduction to Ireland and its journalism and suggests a wealth of ideas for further research.

The Fourth Estate: Journalism in Twentieth-Century Ireland by Mark O'Brien, published in 2017 by Manchester University Press, pp 243.

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Review by Tor Clark, University of Leicester, UK

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Local Journalism in a Digital World by Kristy Hess and Lisa Waller, published in 2017 by Palgrave, paperback, £22.99 GBP, pp294, ISBN: 978-1-137-50476-0.

Brexit Studies:

All Out War – The Full story of How Brexit Sank Britain’s Political Class by Tim Shipman

The Bad Boys of Brexit: Tales of Mischief, Mayhem and Guerilla Warfare in the EU Referendum Campaign by Aaron Banks

Unleashing Demons – The Inside Story of Brexit by Craig Oliver

The Brexit Club by Owen Bennett

Reviews by John Mair, lead editor of ‘Hackademic’ series of Journalism books

It would not be surprising if an enterprising, nay realistic, university has not established a ‘Centre for Brexit Studies’ yet. Brexit will impact – almost certainly negatively – on higher education. The whole phenomenon was shaped and recorded by journalism, which in turn was changed forever by it. What was this volcanic eruption all about? Publishers are quicker off the mark than the academy as ever and have already established their own Brexit studies’ lists.

All Out War: The Full Story of How Brexit Sank Britain’s Political Class by *Sunday Times* political editor Tim Shipman does lives up to its billing. Published within six months of the June 2016 vote, it is comprehensive, based on good first-person research, well written and very readable – all 620 pages of it. If you read nothing else on Brexit, read this.

The Bad Boys of Brexit: Tales of Mischief, Mayhem and Guerilla Warfare in the EU Referendum Campaign has the name of Aaron Banks, the moneybags behind the Leave.eu campaign, on the cover. In reality it was put together by an ex-*Sunday Times* political editor Isabel Oakeshott over a summer mining Banks’ email inbox. No doubt Andy ‘Wiggy’ Wigmore, Banks’ spinmeister, put in his oar as well.

This is a racy, entertaining and informative, if depressing, read, about how the insurgents took on the Establishment and even their own side – the more respectable Vote Leave campaign – and won; the arguments and the vote. Populism pays when it is mining a rich seam of discontent. ‘It’s immigration wot won it!’ they

might claim, though the political classes are reluctant to admit it.

If you want to know how the Remain campaign pulled defeat from the jaws of victory, then read Sir Craig Oliver's *Unleashing Demons – The Inside Story of Brexit*. It is tame and self-satisfied like the Remain campaign itself, a diary of the road to failure. A worthy, if unexciting read by David Cameron's former spin doctor.

Equally unexciting is *The Brexit Club* by Owen Bennett of *Buzzfeed*. This is a workmanlike report on the campaigns but pales in comparison to the magnum opus of Shipman.

I must declare an interest in this fascinating topic, having spent six months editing *Brexit, Trump and the Media*, for Abramis, which is reviewed elsewhere in this section. But the experience made me hungry for more and that appetite was well served at least by the first two books on my list.

So, for the academics looking to set up that Department for Brexit Studies in one of our universities, there is already a corpus of work; some of it journalistic, some of it academic, some 'hackademic'. Most of it makes for good and intelligent reading. Brexit will change higher education, journalism and all our lives in the end. Now is the time to try to understand it and these early texts can be useful and informative guides for us and our students.

All Out War: The Full Story of How Brexit Sank Britain's Political Class by Tim Shipman, published 2016 by William Collins, pp 620 pages, £25.

The Bad Boys of Brexit: Tales of Mischief, Mayhem and Guerilla Warfare in the EU Referendum Campaign by Aaron Banks, published by Biteback, 2016. £18.99.

Unleashing Demons - The Inside Story of Brexit by Craig Oliver, published by Hodder and Stoughton, 2016, £20.

The Brexit Club by Owen Bennett, published 2016, by Biteback, £12.99.

Information for contributors

We accept original articles about journalism education and topics linked to journalism and education that are not offered for publication elsewhere at the time of submission. Articles for peer review should be in the range of 5000-7000 words.

Articles for Comment and Criticism should be shorter at about 3,000 to 4,000 words.

The copy deadline for the next issue is: March 10, 2017 but material sent earlier would be appreciated. Articles should be submitted to the editors at ajejournal@gmail.com together with a 100-150 word abstract. Comment and criticism articles can be more polemic and do not require an abstract.

Presentation and submission:

Articles should be produced in Word format, double spaced and set in Times New Roman 12pt with the minimum of formatting. Please **do not** press the “enter” button to put a double space between paragraphs or add additional spaces and do not use specialist templates. Referencing should be in standard Harvard form with citations in the form: (Simmons 1955, p404) whilst notes should be set as endnotes.

All tables and figures must be produced separately either at the end of the article or in a separate file. Each should be clearly labelled Table 1:..... Table 2:..... Fig. 1:..... Fig. 2: etc and a note inserted in the text identifying approximately where it should be placed.

Book Reviews:

Reviews of appropriate books should be approximately 400 words. We do not accept unsolicited reviews of books, but are always grateful to be given the opportunity to consider a review proposal. Please contact Tor Clarke, the reviews editor, if you wish to submit a review. All book reviews should include author, title, ISBN number, publisher, number of pages and price.

Copyright:

Authors should confirm they have cleared all copyrighted work for publication and agree that they will indemnify the editors against claims for defamation, copyright infringement or plagiarism. All authors will be asked to sign a contract confirming this.

Process:

Papers are sent to at least two referees for comment. On return your paper will be accepted, accepted following editing as identified by the referees or refused. Comment and criticism pieces and book reviews will be decided by the editors but may be accepted on the basis that they are edited as identified.

Proofs:

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Journalism Education

The Journal of the Association for Journalism Education

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Volume six, number two, Summer 2017. Inside this issue:

Articles

Freedom of expression and threats to journalists' safety: an analysis of conflict reporting and peace journalism education in Pakistan - *Dr. Sadia Jamil*

Adoptability and acceptability of peace journalism among Afghan photojournalists: Lessons for PJ training in conflict-affected countries - *Saumava Mitra, University of Western Ontario, Canada*

Status Of Training And Research In Reporting Conflict, Peace Journalism And Safety Education In English Speaking West Africa: The Cases Of Ghana, Nigeria And Sierra Leone – *Umaru A. Pate, Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria Lai Oso, Lagos State University, Lagos, Nigeria and Abubakar Jibril Taraba, University, Jalingo, Nigeria*

Training journalists in times of transition: The case of Kosovo - *Abit Hoxha, LMU Munich; Keneth Andreesen, University of Agder, Norway*

Journalists Not Spies. The importance of the legal distinction for the protection of journalists during armed conflicts - *Mariateresa Garrido Villareal, University for Peace*

Safety Training for Journalists: A Case Study with the Spanish Military - *Leire Iturregui Mardaras; María José Cantalapiedra González, Leire Moure Peñín University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU*

Learning safety education from journalism educations in the global south. A post-script - *Roy Krøvel, Professor of Journalism, Oslo and Akershus University College for Applied Sciences (HiOA)*

Book Reviews

Introduction - Tor Clark; *Brexit, Trump and the Media* - edited by John Mair et al, reviewed by Chris Frost; *The Fourth Estate - Journalism in Twentieth-Century Ireland* by Mark O'Brien, reviewed by Michael Foley; *Local Journalism in a Digital World* by Kristy Hess and Lisa Waller, reviewed by Tor Clark; *All Out War – The Full story of How Brexit Sank Britain's Political Class* by Tim Shipman, *The Bad Boys of Brexit: Tales of Mischief, Mayhem and Guerilla Warfare in the EU Referendum Campaign* by Aaron Banks, *Unleashing Demons – The Inside Story of Brexit* by Craig Oliver, *The Brexit Club* by Owen Bennett, all reviewed by John Mair

Journalism Education is published by the Association for Journalism Education and you can contact the editors on AJEjournal@gmail.com