

A Comparative Study on Peace Journalism Through  
International Channels Broadcasting to the “Arab World”

by

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## **Abstract**

This thesis will try to understand the peace and war frames used by foreign countries broadcasting to the Arab world, it is knowing that the Arab countries, in general, are a region of successive conflicts, and are closely related to the former colonial countries politically and economically, although freed from them, but in the late nineties of the last century, the increasing media orientation from foreign countries, including the colonial, where the number of international channels broadcasting to the Arab world has reached about 17 in the past 20 years, and still on the rise. Also, this thesis will compare the essential channels funded by foreign governments and broadcast in Arabic by knowing how much they use the peace journalism while covering the conflicts to the Arab world.

*Keywords: framing theory, peace journalism, Arab World, international broadcasting, conflict.*

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## Chapter 1 – Introduction

Freedom of journalism and expression is one of the fundamental pillars of democratic systems and one of the most critical factors contributing to the justice and peaceful social development of any country, were highlighted in the World Bank's 2003 report, which focused on the importance of the role of journalism and the media in driving the development process at all levels. "Freedom of the press is not a luxury, it is the heart of just development," said then World Bank President James Wolfensohn. However, freedom of opinion and expression, especially in countries with fragile regimes or in areas of tension or crisis countries, need responsible journalism, those that do not escalate existing tension or increase hostilities and breed hatred among parties to a conflict. In the best case - those that seek to contribute to solving the crisis. This type of media is called "the journalism that deals with crises cautiously" or "peace journalism".

French philosopher Jean Baudrillard wrote after the end of the second Gulf War an article entitled "Gulf War did not take place", (Baudrillard, J. 1995). In which he confirmed that this war did not occur, but saw people including a television version of the picture, according to sociologist Giddens, this war between President Bush and President Saddam Hussein was not like other wars in history, it was a war as portrayed by modern mass media, it was merely a television spectacle, where the presidents of the two warring countries at the time, and with the tens of millions of viewers, they recognize through the "hyper-reality " world that exposes them to what is happening in actual reality.

The idea here is that the media are trying to move us from a war scene to another war scene, it determines how we consume war news are and how it contributes to shaping our vision and knowledge of this war or crisis, it also determines our impressions and judgments on the parties

to the conflict, in accordance with the media frames in which it included and promoted in disputes.

If the function of the media build meaning and frame our vision of the world, framing processes and meaning building are active when covering crises and wars, and their impact on the recipient increases. Exactly what Guy Tuchman intended to say is that: acceptance of representative social tradition and norms as facticity makes reality more susceptible to manipulation. In the crisis period, the demand for media information is increasing to explore the crisis and its existence and to anticipate the results or the state of stability; the recipient is more vulnerable and penetrability.

The media discourse acquires its importance during the crisis because it not only depicts the reality and conveys it but seeks more than any other time to create the appropriate cognitive and contextual framework for the recipient to adopt a consensus approach to the crisis. However, peace journalism talks about reality, that is, it transmits reality as it is on the ground, not as we want to see it according to our biases or ideological references which we exist, and our cultural knowledge of this reality. Because any conflict is rooted in each party related conflict, and they are the pursuit of goals that are not compatible, and therefore, the deletion of any discussion of one of the parties is a distortion. Since any conflict has its cultural and historical roots, reporting any dispute without its origins and the appropriate backgrounds is a manipulation of the facts and achieving specific goals for the benefit of one of the parties to the conflict. Thus the deletion of any discussion from one party is considered a distortion.

In the world of journalism, there are several ways to tell the story, depending mostly on how the journalist tells his audience the story, so journalists put news stories in frames, these frames make it easier for the public to understand, validate and interact with the news story provided to them, which known as a framing process. Perhaps the best way to understand how the media influence events are through the theoretical literature of the framing process. Media frames are defined as Media frames, large unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some significant degree, for us who rely on their reports, this definition created by Gitlin (1980).

As the news stories about conflicts are the most formidable, with the media portraying everything we see or hear about conflicts that take place far away, as well as journalists who convey their opinions derived from their real experiences and thus control the types of news stories presented to us, as (Bratic & Schirch, 2007: 28-40) indicated.

Furthermore, traditional media values such as excitement, drama, hostility, simplicity and differences between ethnic minorities are important when coverage the conflicts while the majority of journalists adopts frameworks like violence or conflict politics as a means of continuing to produce intimidation reports to excite audiences as a means of increasing media to promote circulation and classifications (Lee & Maslog, 2005).

If we assume that the journalist highlighted the context of peace initiatives rather than ethnic and religious differences to promote peace processes, the whole course of the story could be changed, which Galtung (1986, 1998) regards as peace journalism, here the journalist decides what is worthy of publication, which affects the events significantly, in the same context Wolfsfeld (2001) argues that the role of the media in conflict resolution or building peace

processes is that the media are able to change according to the news frame it adopts in news stories covering the conflict, despite the prevailing assumption that the media should be neutral and objective in covering conflicts, they have a moral obligation to promote peace processes among conflicting peoples. Peace journalists report not only on conflicts but also on anecdotal reports in search of facts that play an active role in preventing violence in the future, and therefore the peace press plays a decisive role in peace-building and conflict prevention (Galtung & Lynch, 2005).

The Arab world is an area where there are different conflicts, of course, there will be different frameworks to cover these conflicts according to the agenda of the news channel that presents these conflicts, this study will examine the media discipline of the channels funded by foreign governments in the Arab world, since it is common knowledge that the media is considered a soft power by Governments to influence the distribution of propaganda of other peoples. The question we ask is what frames used in Arabic-language news channels funded by non-Arab governments while covering conflicts in the Arab world.

Depending on that, this thesis represents the most prominent war and peace journalism news frames used by foreign news channels broadcast to the Arab world, particularly those funded by governments, covering two conflicts in 2017 and 2018: the US government's acknowledgment of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and the conflict between the Gulf states and Qatar. The most useful theories that will help to understand the patterns in which news stories placed and analyzed are the theory of framing and peace journalism literature in general, and to amount to specific results on the use of war frames or peace frames in the content of news stories during conflicts the study used Galtung classification for peace journalism. As well the study highlighted the role of the media in reducing conflicts in fragile societies.

Besides, the study gives a new dimension to the peace journalism, where it intersects with the soft power, diplomacy and propaganda by international channels funded by individual governments broadcasting to other countries. This study examined the extent to which these channels rely on war indicators rather than peace indicators during coverage of conflicts in fragile countries, conducted on the study sample which is six international channels funded by non-Arab governments and directed to the Arab world: BBC Arabic, Al-Hurra (United States), France 24, Russia's RT Arabic, Mkan33 (Israel), and TRT's Arabic.

### **International broadcasting to the Arab world**

If the term international broadcasting can be defined, we can say that it is merely a communication that crosses international borders, that is, it transcends the sovereign borders of any country (Daewoo and others, 2014). While (Martin, 1958) argues that the term "international broadcasting" is a collection of involved news, information and entertainment directed to an audience outside the state's boundaries, this certainly implies another essential tool called "propaganda," which involves under the concept of public diplomacy.

Omenkwukwu (2010) described international broadcasting as "the process of disseminating information, messages, values and attitudes for the promotion of new behavioural patterns between two or more countries to influence attitudinal changes that are germane for creating a conducive environment in the areas of politics, culture and socio-economy".

International broadcasting is not new in the Arab world, where the beginning was in the period of World War II and the Cold War, the warring countries have directed many Arabic-language international broadcasting radio stations in order to polarize and to attract the Arab peoples to adopt their ideology and ideas. The difference that can be observed between the emergence of

international radio broadcasting to the Arab world in the thirties of the last century and the emergence of the international broadcast of channels directed in Arabic at present is the emptiness in the Arab media arena of the international radio broadcasting competition, and the lack of confidence of the Arab public in the media owned by the Arab governments.

Therefore, the confidence of the Arab public in international radio broadcasting directed by the governments of other countries was greater.

Today, international channels funded by the governments of other countries have started broadcasting after Arab international channels began broadcasting in the mid-nineties after they freed from government control, especially concerning broadcasting news and restoring the confidence of Arab viewers.

In the thirties of the twentieth century, most of the Arab countries were under Western colonialism in that particular period has begun to know the Arab world on international broadcasting, most colonial countries launched radio stations in Arabic for several purposes, including enabling its presence and gain opinion of the Arab peoples, especially at the end of the Second World War period and the beginning of the cold war.

The first colonial government started international broadcasting in Arabic were the Italian government, which began with what was known as the "Bari" radio in 1934. The radio station had several ideological objectives, the most important of which was to stir Arab public opinion towards the English and French authorities, especially its policies in the Arab region as part of the competition between colonial governments and their influence in the Arab world.

While the Arab countries gained their independence from the forces of colonialism, the international radio stations increased their numbers, especially after the end of World War II. Many of them were different in the number of hours of broadcasting, some of which broadcast 24 hours such as Israel Radio and others did not exceed the broadcasting in the Arabic language half an hour, such as Switzerland. Of course, this is not surprising, despite the end of the actual presence on the ground of the colonial governments, but it had many interests in the Arab region, which is also a continuation of the cultural and economic impact and keeping the Arab countries under the domination of colonial powers.

As for the relationship between the work of international radio stations broadcast in Arabic and the governments financed by them, although at first glance it seems that these governments do not interfere in the work of radio stations that are directed to the Arab region, such as "Radio BBC in Arabic", "Radio Monte Carlo," "Voice of America", "Radio Moscow," one of the most crucial Arabic-language radio stations that circulated and promoted the principle of freedom of expression and objectivity, but in many situations shows the obverse, they are ultimately an instrument of the state's foreign policy, for example "BBC in Arabic" radio opposed the British government during the Suez Canal crisis in the Arab world, the radio refused to be silent about what was happening in the policies, and published the criticism directed by the Labour Party to the government, but the government intervened and decreased the hours of external transmission in 1968.

Also, in 1975, when British and US military forces entered Lebanon, President Eisenhower sharply criticized Voice of America journalists when he tried to obtain a press release from an American senator condemning sending US troops to Lebanon. President Eisenhower wrote about this incident, noting that the concept of freedom of expression has crossed its borders. He

said that should be used as a weapon used to achieve the goals of the free world, but not authorized to explain the differences of the American people regarding its foreign policies.

The relationship between foreign policy and international broadcasting nurtured through funding from certain actors such as governments, public, non-governmental organizations, religious institutions, Commercial Companies. Accordingly, we can define some of the functions of international broadcasting: giving information, promoting a particular image, making a profit, spreading specific ideas and influencing public opinion, such as religious proselytism.

Moreover, international broadcasting has become the cornerstone of foreign policy efforts or the use of soft power in diplomacy for many countries. Many countries rely on international broadcasting to achieve several objectives by assigning specific functions to them: to provide accurate information in the underdeveloped areas as basic compensation for the lack of information, represent culture and history and language of a particular country, a link between the mother country and its countrymen abroad, "missionary" in that it has dissemination of specific political, socio-cultural and religious ideologies. These functions based on a comparative analysis of the broadcast of five countries in which (Grenoble, 1980) identified six primary functions of international broadcasting. It is noted that the Arab region is one of the most critical areas that were and still are targeted by international radio stations, the Arabic language occupies the third place among the world's languages that were broadcast by international radio stations via shortwave, where was preceded both English and French.

With the existence of authoritarian regimes in the Arab world, Eastern Europe and some Asian countries, the existence of international broadcasting channels could be justified as

compensation for what is not available. However, the beginning of the 21st century, the existence of international channels of a missionary not justified due to the development of the information infrastructure and information technology revolution. There are no isolated areas or areas where information is not available, especially in the Arab world, where insufficient information has reduced, which confirmed by the existence of 370 free satellite TV channels, according to the Arab Monitoring Organization advisory until the nineties of the last century. Interestingly, 56 of the broadcast programs are produced by private entities, while the state produces 38 of the broadcast programs. Moreover, many specialized channels broadcast daily news and entertainment as well as special topics and exciting subjects according to the targeted audiences and spectators.

In 1997, Livingston presented a study about CNN's effect, which opened the way to re-asking the question of the importance of international broadcasting, especially about modern politics and diplomacy. The study covered the coverage of CNN during the Second Gulf War, where it benefited from an exclusive role to convey events directly from Iraq, while it was criticized by many, they accuse it of abandoning the objectivity, abandonment of journalistic principles and the use of the Iraqi regime as an excuse and justification for what the US government did, CNN's epitomized is an example of international broadcasting. Although many scholars, before him, claimed the importance of international broadcasting as a tool for implementing foreign policy and soft power in public diplomacy in general (Browne, 1983: 30).

### **Channels funded by non-Arab governments broadcasting in Arabic**

As was the case for international broadcasting in the age of radio was also in the era of international satellite channels, which added a new dimension to the media directed in the Arab world, the Arab region has still been a strategic importance and depth of the great humanist

civilization, in addition to the reflection of political crises faced by the Arab region on more than one region of the world. As for the Arab world, it noticed in the media arena that international broadcasting is increasing, and its diversity is in terms of content or ownership. However, the remarkable attention is to the increasing international broadcasting directed to the Arab world, this is due to the increasing interest in the Arab region after the events of 9/11 (Ayish, 2004), and thus increasing competition to attract some 300 million people living in the Arab world, who are living in political conditions that make news an essential engine in their daily lives. Many countries have launched satellite channels, by the countries that broadcast them, the different objectives of these countries and their interests in the Arab region.

In this regard, the Arab States Broadcasting Union (ASBU) has noted in its annual report that 819 Arab television organizations use 17 satellites to broadcast 1230 Arab and foreign channels to the Arab world and that the Persian channels occupied the top of the list of foreign satellite channels broadcasting to the Arab region; 133 Persian-language satellite channels in the Arab sky broadcast via Arab satellites. However, what interests us in this study is the international channels directed and speaking in Arabic and using Arabic means to reach the Arab viewers in the Arab region, Africa and Europe. It broadcasts 13 foreign Arabic-speaking channels directed to the Arab world and uses Arab satellites.

International satellite broadcasting, especially Arab satellite channels, has added an excellent dimension to broadcasting to the Arab world, especially as it has passed the time and space limits, as has been the case with international radio broadcasting, international satellite channels considered as an extension of the international broadcasting of radio stations directed to the Arab region since the 1930s. The governments financed these channels and accompanied the development of international broadcasting and worked to complete the previous role in light of

the current political changes in the Arab region to achieve the policy of the countries that fund them (Lynch, 2006; Sefsaf, 2004). Otherwise, the supporters for these channels argued that it is as a tool to collect data on public opinion in addition to being an effective means to communicate with Arabic speakers in the Middle East or anywhere in the world by providing information and entertainment for them (Anderson, Gillespie, & Mackay, 2010; Elareshi & Gunter, 2010; Kassman, 2007). While some studies have concluded that the Arab public is considered the international channels, especially that provides news services more credible and attractive than local Arab channels (Khalil, 2004, P.52) while some claim that Arabic-speaking international channels offer their ideology in covering events and reporting, which may not be commensurate with Arab political cultures. (El-Nawawy, 2006; Ferjani, 2009).

However, the global audience has become more sophisticated to choose what it wants from news and information from multi-international platforms that are not on the agenda (Rugh, 2004). The masses search for information and news from different sources for the same event, especially in times of wars and crisis, sources are often the media with different agendas to triangulate ideas (Heil, 2007; Rugh, 2004). Of course, the Arab public is looking for actual news and entertainment in several sources regardless of the political ideology and agendas of these media outlets, especially TV channels (Lynch, 2012).

International broadcasting by channels directed to the Arab world can be defined as those that broadcast directly and deliberately from one country to another. Media messages in a language that target audiences can understand, it seeks to present the views of the countries concerned on international issues, provide news and events, and thus provide alternative solutions.

Moreover, the international broadcasting Channels funded by non-Arab governments broadcasting in Arabic, they are attractive to Arab viewers due to these news services are presented in accordance with the media traditions of the Western world, This trend stems mainly from the lack of the fundamental principles of journalism in the Arab media including objectivity and integrity in the delivery of news and lack of attention to the wishes and requirements of the public, while the international channels speaking Arabic follow the Western way to provide the news which is way more credible than the local Arab media (Al-Jaber & Gunter, 2013).

Further, the French and British news channels often focus on presenting exciting and newsworthy topics such as conflicts, wars and disasters around the world because they are a 24-hour source of interest for TV services users and online services (Richter, 2008). Conflicts and war news often influenced by the cultural context of the communities within which they occur, especially in the context of multiculturalism as (Deuze, 2004) and (Newhagen, 2009) noted. (Deuze, 2004) Pointed that, the most affected are news editors who are influenced by the cultural context when they make decisions about which story news should broadcast and which story news that should not broadcast and in which context news contents should place. That is what happens; the editors have put the news story in individual frames according to the news values which are the basis of the news industry; therefore, the structures usually reflect broader specific cultural templates and narratives (Tewksbury,1997).

There is an overview of Arabic-speaking channels funded by governments of non-Arab countries. These channels considered news channel emperors that broadcast in their countries:

**Al-Hurra TV;** was funded by the US government, a year after the US-led war in Iraq, was launched as a news channel 24 hours a day in 2004. It was clear that the main aim of the channel was to try to improve the image of the US government in Arab society and to address the influence of Al-Jazeera on post-war Arab scenes. However, the channel still faces many difficulties in terms credibility, due to the feelings of hatred and anger among Arab viewers against the US policies in the Arab region, especially after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, and the apparent bias in the US for Israel. (Fahmy, Wanta, & Nisbet, 2012; Lahlali, 2011).

**Russia Today TV(Arabic);** like the same way the US channel launched, "Russia Today" was launched in 2005, it was clear that the main aim of the channel was to continue to spread Russian influence in the Arab region, especially in light of Russia's support for some Arab leaders as well as being a key player in the Middle East, recently it has played a prominent role in relation to the Syrian conflict and the Arab Spring revolutions. The channel provides 24-hour newscasting services; it is the first Arabic-language channel to use modern technologies such as three-dimensional technology in the news studio, besides, a large part of its programs mainly provide content in Russian history and culture. (Allison, 2013).

**France24 TV (Arabic),** in the same year that the channel "Russia Today" was launched, the French-speaking Arabic channel was established. It launched in late 2006, France realized the power of the international broadcast and its influence in the Arab region since the last century (Heil, 2007; Richter, 2008). France's was one of the first to go to the Arab countries especially influence in North Africa because of the France colonial policies after the First World War the first experience for it was with Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic, which still broadcast to now. While the main objective of France 24 is to maintain a bridge between France and the Arab

region as a whole and to provide news from the French perspective, where all issues raised, and the debate opens to all news subjects (Anderson, 2006).

**BBC (Arabic) TV;** despite its long experience in providing news to the Arab public, it has over seven decades of radio coverage that its failure in 1997 to launch an Arabic-language channel. Then, in 2008 the channel in Arabic returned to with great force despite the high competition in the Arab news market, it has more than 250 correspondents around the world and 72 international offices around the world (Al-Jaber & Gunter, 2013). BBC TV has a brand name that is highly creditable among Arab viewers because of its long history of international broadcasting in the Arab region. However, it is currently facing intense competition and a difficult challenge in attracting the Arab masses and providing the right content for them (Jaber & Baumann, 2011).

**TRT (Arabic)TV;** started broadcasting in April 2010, by Turkish Radio-Television Corporation (TRT), which is the first international television channel in the Arabic language in Turkey, and it has been one of the most significant Turkish openings toward the Arab world. There are disappointments and worries concerning TRT Arabic. In this regard, compared to the previous channels, The TRT (Arabic) channel comes late from the previous satellite channels, despite its ten-year presence in the Arab world, but the lack of experience in international broadcasting directed to other countries, which stands in the way of progress, especially in the Arab world compared to the experiences of previous channels, and it seems that it needs to do much research on how to understand the nature of the Arab world and how to be a source of information reliable and attractive to the Arab viewers. (Dinçer& Kutlay, 2012).

**MAKAN 33 (Arabic: 33 مكان) TV;** Recently, the official Israeli-Arabic channel launched in May 2017 and the Israel Broadcasting Corporation funds it, this is not first Israel's attempt to reach out to the Arab public, but most of the channels that preceded it were unsuccessful in attracting the Arab public, the latest one was Channel 33; because of it failed to attract the Arab public, so Israel replaced it with a new channel, with great potential. One of the goals its establishment to defend the policy of the occupying power under the pretext of "the necessity of Israel's supreme interest."

These are not the only channels broadcast in Arabic and funded by foreign governments, but these channels will be analyzed in this study.

### **Conflicts in the Arab World**

The Arab world stretches between the Arabian Gulf and the Atlantic Ocean, nearly 5,000 miles across Asia and Africa. It is officially made up of twenty-two countries and has over 350 million people, mostly young people. The Arab world characterised by the similarity of the peoples, they are speaking the same language, and they have the same religious ideology. However, the Arab conflicts increasingly emphasise the difference and specificity of each country, on the one hand, and highlight the independent identities in which the countries that emerged after independence from colonisation and uses "national" boundaries and political configurations.

The Arab world, which countries prominently speaks Arabic after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, began to form a new system. For many years, the Arab world was in an ongoing conflict between East and West, secular versus religion, nationalism versus ethnicity, capitalism versus socialism. Thus, the Arab countries continued to contradict themselves in order to determine their identity and remained in conflict with other societies and with consistency with

themselves. Given the history of contemporary conflicts in the Arab world, it began with the beginning of the British intervention prior to the First World War, where it pledged to establish a homeland for the Jews in Palestine when the British Foreign Secretary made a promise in what was known as the "Balfour Declaration," then followed by the Sykes-Picot Agreement which led to the division of parts of the Arab homeland among the victorious states World War I, and the subsequent period of colonialism saw attempts to create divided countries of the Arab world as separate states.

These countries defined as subgroups of the Arab society, which were united by one national component. They often formed on the basis of Western Orientalists perceptions the Arab society, which were based on fragmentation in the style of "mosaic", like a Kurdish state in northern Iraq, now known as the Kurdistan of Iraq, there was a state for the Alawites in Syria and a Druze state in Lebanon, as well as for the creation of new states such as Israel, There are other more complex cases where minorities and races have been imposed on other communities within the same state or political entity as the Maronites in Lebanon.

Accordingly, the policy of fragmentation of imperialism led to the creation of internal conflicts between members of one society in the Arab countries, and some of them reached civil wars, some countries in the Arab world established as political entities that are economically and socially incomplete and cannot rely on themselves, It is in constant need to the imperial and great powers states (Ali Eddin Hilal, 1983).

Although the majority of the population in the Arab world united by one religion, Islam and two-thirds of the population belong to the Sunni Muslims, many differences divide them and many differences that prevent them from forming a social unit. There are ethnic and ethnic

differences in addition to the differences caused by Lifestyle: Village, urban and Bedouin. Also, the Arab world retains over the ages of factors (economic, political, sectarian, ethnic) lead to renewed conflict.

On the other hand, conflicts in the Arab world can be dated with dates following the end of the Cold War globally, namely, the measurement of events directly affecting the region, particularly the events of September 11, 2001, and the subsequent invasion American forces in Iraq in 2003. Finally, some are the reference of the comparison has the so-called "Arab Spring" revolutions, or upheavals, and its interactions, and developments.

However, all dates and events that on the history of the evolution conflicts and the qualitative transformation in their tracks in the Arab world have all had a definite impact, there confirmed repercussions, albeit varying degrees and weights, or the conversion of some or all of the conflicts in the region. One of the essential tracks affecting disputes in the Arab world it is the Palestinian issue, and the geostrategic struggle over the areas of oil presence, finally the overlap of identities in the Arab world (ethnicity, religion, ideology).

Two recent developments of conflicts in the Arab world discussed in this thesis: Arab-Israeli conflict (the Palestinian issue), regional conflicts in the Arabian Gulf, as these qualitative developments can change the specific paths of conflict. Recently US President Donald Trump has admitted to Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and the transfer of the US embassy to Jerusalem a symbol of peace and conflict in the Arab region. Another development is the diplomatic conflict in the Arab Gulf states, as Saudi Arabia has decided to sever all diplomatic and commercial relations with the State of Qatar.

## **Jerusalem a Symbol of Peace and Conflict**

After seven decades of diplomatic freezing, a "Jerusalem law" which was approved by US Congressional, President Donald Trump announced on 6 December 2017, the recognition by his administration of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, in confirmation of that, Trump decided to transfer the US Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem. The US Congress adopted a Jerusalem law in 1995, which stipulated that the US embassy should be moved to Jerusalem within a time limit not later than May 31, 1999. However, that law included an item allowing the US president to sign a six-month exemption if he deems it necessary to protect US national security interests, Since US President Bill Clinton, US administrations have been signing a six-month deadline, despite the election promises of all American presidents to move the US embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Through history, Jerusalem has been outstanding for three heavenly religions, in addition to the emergence of many civilizations and cultures, there have been many battles and wars between different nationalities and groups in an attempt to control them. The current conflict over the holy city dates back to the seventeenth century when Palestinian Jews and Arabs have contradictory claims about who has the right to live within the city that stems from the religious dimension of both groups, apart from political and territorial claims. Although the conflicts over the city come from ideological differences, this does not change the city's legal status and its status in international law.

The Israeli Knesset passed the "Jerusalem Law," which is considered the united capital of Israel on June 30, 1980. Less than two months later, the UN Security Council passed resolution 478, which condemned the Israeli move as a violation of international conventions, with the approval of 14 members and Washington abstained. He called on the 13-member states that hold

diplomatic missions in Jerusalem to withdraw. Since then, the events have been followed in the same way as we see today. Some of them were symbolic but clear-cut. In 1989, for example, Israel rented a plot of land in Jerusalem for 99 years to build its embassy for \$ 1 a year. In 1995, the US Congress ratified the "Jerusalem Embassy Law" which states that the US Embassy should move from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, which allowed American presidents to postpone its implementation for six months indefinitely.

Thus, successive US presidents have been reluctant to implement the resolution and delay it for six months after the US interest and the complexities of the Middle East require a more cautious US policy. The US president's decision to approve the implementation of the law comes partly because of internal reasons, and some of them are related to the nature of Trump's policy concerning the Middle East.

The full impact of recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of the State of Israel can assess on possible peace efforts, like the Palestinian Authority, one of the parties to the conflict, met the Trump Declaration of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in reaction to the resolution in addition to a similar reaction by Arab governments and Islamic countries that have historical roots in the conflict and some of them have cultural roots and ideology, which some countries consider a religious conflict and not only political. The Palestinian Authority, one of the parties to the conflict, considered the United States to be an insecure mediator in any possible peace process and thus it a withdraw from any peace process as long as the United States is a biased mediator. As a mediator to resolve the conflict before, in one way or another, the bloody violence between Palestinians and Israelis could escalate following this decision, with this decision, the US role becomes biased against one party at the expense of another and thus undermines its efforts to

establish a peace agreement between the parties to the conflict within a broad regional framework.

Some regional and international moves that took place after the Trump Declaration stressed the importance of the tensions that result from the declaration might increase the breadth of the conflict. For example, the Turkish president worked with the Palestinian president to group Islamic countries to pressure in the direction cancelled Trump decision. They protest against the resolution came to the Security Council and the UN General Assembly. At the time the judgment was put to the vote, the US used threatening language to prevent countries from voting in favour of cancelling the decision to try to recognise Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, backed by 128 votes to 9, with 35 abstentions.

In the same international effort to internationalize the conflict and the need to create a peace process between the parties to the conflict, the Palestinian president has joined 22 treaties and international organizations. The most dangerous of all is that the Trump Declaration had a direct impact on the increased use of bloody violence between the two parties, according to opinion polls, 44% of the Palestinian public supports the return to the use of weapons to achieve political gains compared to 35% three months before the announcement of Trump. The number of people who believe that diplomacy and political solutions are the most effective means of ending the conflict and establishing a Palestinian state has dropped from 33% to 27%.

On the ground, violence intensified in the first weeks of the Trump Declaration in the occupied Palestinian territories, where clashes between Palestinian youths and Israeli soldiers erupted in most Palestinian cities. As a result of the violence at the end of December 2017, some 16

Palestinians killed and about 3,000 wounded. In the Hamas-controlled Gaza City, rockets were fired at Israel, raising the possibility of a new war with the Gaza Strip.

The fact is that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is threatened by a situation, in which there is a growing demand for violence under a violent regional situation. Since the United States was the only sponsor between the parties to the conflict to achieve stability and temporary peace, now it is difficult to resume real negotiations between the Palestinians and the Israelis are applicable, especially in light of the Palestinian rejection and insistence on not negotiating under US auspices, which threatens to destabilize and intensify the conflict.

### **Qatar Diplomatic Crisis**

The Qatari crisis began on May 24, 2017, with an active media campaign led by UAE and Saudi media because of statements published by the Emir of Qatar, which the State of Qatar said was fabricated and the Qatar News Agency, which published the statements after midnight was breached Wednesday (May 23-24) and published statements allegedly made by the emir of Qatar. For almost two weeks, the UAE and Saudi media continuing attacking Qatar and its policy.

Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Egypt announced on June 5 that they would cut off diplomatic and consular ties with Qatar, closed land, sea and airports with them, prevent transit in their lands, airspace and territorial waters and prevent their citizens from travelling to Qatar. Moreover, the granting of residents and visitors of its citizens a fixed period to leave and prevent Qatari citizens from entering its territory and give residents and visitors of the two weeks to exit.

The roots of the crisis. Qatar's foreign policy since 1995 has characterized by dynamism, flexibility and manoeuvrability and the attempt to create balanced relations with the most regional and international powers. Qatar built strong ties with the United States and hosted in the 'many' one of the largest US military bases in the region, while it was open to other regional powers despite the great contradictions among these countries.

Qatar has opened up dialogue initiatives and conferences that have become part of the soft policy tools it uses and launches a media revolution through the establishment of Al-Jazeera and opened the door to discuss issues that were taboos in the closed Arab political space.

The Arab-Gulf anxiety of Qatar escalated in 2011 when several protests broke out in Arab countries, and Qatar embraced the so-called "Arab Spring Uprisings," especially in Egypt, Libya and Syria. Where Doha supported the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, such as the year of 2013, is a pivotal point in Qatar's foreign policy.

The revolutionary tide began to wane as a result of mistakes and failures of the revolutionary forces and the violence of the regimes, especially the Syrian government, the Islamists' errors in governance in Egypt and the aspiration of the military to return to power and the complexities of the Arab political and social situation.

The forces of the old regime started a counter-revolution and began to gather their forces in preparation for a significant counter-attack and achieved two crucial breakthroughs, first one in Egypt where the army, with the active support of Gulf countries, mainly Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, was able to defeat the democratic process and put an end to the results of the January 25 revolution. Moreover, the second in Syria, where the Assad regime was able,

thanks to Iranian support, to withstand the forces of revolution and opposition and move to the military counter-attack.

This stage was known to be the stage of counter-revolution led by the UAE and Saudi Arabia, which held Qatar responsible for trying to thwart its attempts to turn back the clock and cancel all that resulted from the revolutions of the Arab Spring. After the military coup in Egypt, the dispute broke out publicly between Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Bahrain, on the one hand, and Qatar on the other, ended with the withdrawal of the three countries to their ambassadors from Qatar in early 2014, and the crisis lasted about nine months.

Gulf crisis at that time stopped the limits of the withdrawal of ambassadors and did not take higher dimensions due to the concern that the capitals of the Gulf states of the policies of the second Obama administration. After Obama supported in his first state the Arab Spring revolutions, he tried in his second term to approach Iran in the hope of agreeing to resolve the crisis of its nuclear program. Obama's pro-US policies toward Iran, a Gulf feeling of American abandonment, and growing Iranian hegemony policies have led to a general Gulf feeling of weakness, prompting Saudi Arabia and the UAE to delay their differences with Qatar, especially with the need for Qatari media, financial and military support. Yemen in early 2015.

Qatar has placed its weight in supporting the Saudi-UAE campaign in the face of the Houthi militias that have turned against legitimacy and seized control of the capital Sana'a in September 2014.

Renewed crisis, when the media campaign against Qatar launched in May 2017, the new question about the foreign policy of Qatar and its role in the conflicts in the Middle East was at

the heart of the crisis that the previous circumstances did not allow. Qatar has generally adhered to the position of the Gulf states on the most critical regional issues in Syria and Yemen and Iran in addition to the so-called war on terrorism, with Donald Trump elected president of the United States. Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates regained self-confidence. An alliance between the Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia arose for both internal and external reasons.

The two leaders returned to their offensive policy and began mobilizing against Qatar in many Western and American media, up to the Riyadh summit, which provided signs of a pent-up crisis in relations with Qatar, most notably the attempt to marginalize the Qatari presence and some of the GCC countries. In addition to Jordan, only two days after the summit, an offensive was launched by the Saudi, UAE and Egyptian media on the State of Qatar.

In early July 2017, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates sent a list of demands to Doha through Kuwait, which is mediating between the two sides to end the crisis.

The list includes 13 demands, notably the closure of Al-Jazeera, the reduction of diplomatic relations with Iran, the closure of the Turkish military base in Qatar and the severing of Qatar's relationship with all Islamic organizations, including the Muslim Brotherhood and the Nasserist Front. Despite the measures taken by the Gulf states (Saudi Arabia, UAE, Bahrain, Yemen) and Egypt against Qatar, which Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates call it a "boycott", while Qatar insists on calling it a "blockade", meanwhile there are many questions the feasibility of such measures, whether they are a siege or boycott.

## Chapter 2- Literature Review

### Reporting conflicts

Many studies say that the majority of war correspondents do not distinguish between the military and civilians except through military uniforms, and accompanied by the official guides of the armies, and this is precisely noted by Phillip Knightley's "The first casualty" (1989), Where the role of public relations is evident in the news stories, and this strengthens the government's narrative and legitimize it, journalists are thus more likely to publicity, choosing to rely on official and government sources.

One of the most controversial wars in terms of the role of the media in wars was the US war in Vietnam. At some point in that war, the United States temporarily suspended the bombing of North Vietnam, which was then considered a step for the United States to achieve international and domestic gains and not for peace. Daniel Hallin (1986) criticize the legend, which always says the American media is proactive and critical but has deliberately sabotaged by the involvement of the US military. While the journalists themselves gave up the objective press in publishing the US administration's view on the events: In this case, TV correspondents present themselves not as an independent observer, but as a patriot, a partisan, while it often referred to as "our" offensive peace. Also, Hallin stressed that foe the most television in the Vietnam War was often a follower rather than a leader, before the collapse of the consensus, as began the television coverage to turn around, and when it did turn, it only turned so far.

The media often fall into the trap of reproducing the propaganda of the government and military leaders rather than of balanced journalism. Therefore, media coverage of wars often unacceptably presents dissenting views compared to official sources; ideological alternatives ignored in the debates. According to Hermann and Chomsky (1988), many examples show that

the relationship between the military and journalists continues to limit the ability of journalists to speak independently.

Many examples can cite about the relationship between media institutions and military institutions. For example, after the events of September 11th, the chairman of Fox News Channel in US Roger Wills, who is of the Conservative Party sent an urgent message to President George W. Bush, where he advises him to take the hardest Possible Actions (Deans 2002). We can also cite the period before the US invasion of Iraq at the end of 2002, beginning in 2003, when most American journalists subjected to programs organized by the Pentagon, about how to cover the fighting took place, how to deal with weapons and many military skills (Strupp, 2003).

Furthermore, there is a presumption that the media is how wars or battles are fought based on the propaganda and promotion of a particular war, the argument here is the media are the main ways through which the which by contemporary conflicts played out. This idea is closely related to the idea that media is the battlefield itself; two major have developments contributed to this: technological development of the means of war or what is known as "Revolution in military affairs" (RAM), In which technological innovations have increased, this is illustrated dramatically in the wars that rely on technology and informatics, and the postmodern critique of reality, which depends on the importance of the realistic scene.

The best representation of this assumption was in the Gulf War, where it was a gigantic simulation of the real war, but it was television images instead of missiles, so as a result, the confidence in the media has lost after thousands of human casualties and thousands of military

items have found; bombs and weapons, it was real and not as promoted by the media, they are not textual or symbolic materials (Baudrillard, 1995).

James Der Derian said (2002) noted that about the term "virtuous war" which brings together modern technologies and humanitarian motives, the virtuous war depends on several factors according to the US view of it. It relies on technological simulation techniques, manipulation of the media, and frequent network warfare to eliminate potential enemies. Moreover, reflected clearly in the recent conflicts of the US military and its strategy, which focus on the concept of reliance on the aerial bombardment, which will not result in the victims of American civilian casualties, and therefore the minimum attention of the media in civilian casualties. Also, the military has adopted significant innovations in information and communications technology in its public relations efforts to provide a new and "bloodless" vision of war that looks good on domestic television screens.

In addition to the "revolution in military affairs" (RMA), there are global surveillance techniques, and simulation systems that have resulted in missiles and smart bombs all centred on the principle of the "future combat system" (FCS) model of retinal warfare. (Hambling, 2003). Based on these two techniques (RMA) and (FCS) there are bases that have changed in the conduct of the war: that there are fewer bodies to observe and less mess to clean up, the fundamental dilemma of human losses has become less, and there is less chaos to get rid of, which corresponds to the so-called virtuous war. Still, modern conflicts are wars full of losses, both human and material. It is not just a media war or a battle on the screen, but fighting on the ground. Philip Taylor (1992) concluded that, although many believe that the second Gulf War of 1991 was a media war with distinction, where CNN embroiled in moving the battle from reality to the screen in what is known as the television's war, in fact, it was not. It is a conflict

between armed forces, where the spoils of information war went to the victors. While Chomsky (2002) has a sharp opinion of the media, accusing her of indoctrinating public opinion to a degree of self-imposed totalitarianism, directed elsewhere, terrified, screaming patriotic slogans, fearing for their lives and admiring with awe the leader who saved them from destruction.

However, the role of the media in terms of ideological control over the public should not overstate. In public opinion, in the two countries, which are the most widely practised propaganda systems, public opinion has been reluctant to adopt the government's narratives. In Britain, opinion polls in January 2003 show that 47 per cent opposes against Iraq's war to 30 per cent in favour (Travis, 2003). A very close result shown by opinion polls in the United States where the media were very sympathetic to Bush's Bush campaign to invade Iraq, 52 per cent of the public supported the campaign, while 43 per cent against (Gallup News Service, 2003).

In general, many opinions agree that journalists are only neutral and independent observers while covering any conflict, they must, therefore, be able to distance themselves from any ideological or organizational determinants while monitoring military activities, journalists must necessarily have the power to oppose the decisions of military officials who are capable of making strategic military decisions in times of war. Most apparent example the role of journalist in covering war in a neutral way and having the power to oppose the decisions of the government in wartime is the role of the press during the US war in Vietnam, where the role of the press undermined the popular support of the government in its decision to continue to fight the war, which led to its loss.

One of the most important news stories in the Vietnam War was a report by CBS news anchor Walter Cronkite about his visit to Vietnam. However, the main shock of the report was that the war was a bloody stalemate and that the military solution in Vietnam was almost impossible.

It reported that after this report broadcast, President Johnson told his aides that the Vietnam War was over (Ranney, 1983). In that period, Broadcast coverage of the war in the United States contributed significantly to changing public opinion, especially concerning the numbers of corpses, and US involvement. The Vietnam War has shown the terrible life of millions of people under the war, television pictures have brought pictures of blood, injuries and details of human suffering, the result, according to President Nixon, was the defeat and weakness of the home front of the American people, the question was whether America would be able to wage another war abroad without disintegration and weakness home front (Hallin, 1986).

Often investigative journalism and reports of committed journalists force governments to be more transparent in their justification for military operations and wars, as the adversarial model suggests, by the same logic, we can say that the "watchdog" of the media started to fuel because of the volume of news and competition in the media and the increasing number of them, so competition makes journalists look for original stories that others have not discovered, " Truth" becomes an essential commodity in an era full of news items.

Overall, the role of media in conflict coverage and communicated it could define in three mainstream narratives: publicist during the war, the critical observer over military operations and the behaviour of governments, has recently become the battlefield and the space in which the war takes place.

## **Peace journalism as a concept**

The concept of peace journalism first appeared in the literature written by Johan Galtung in the 1960s, and the question arose as to how the media could contribute to peace. In his analysis of the concept of peace, Galtung created two concepts, the first being "passive peace". Negative peace represents only the absence of violence in the State, between States, between individuals, and so on. Means that the parties do not attack each other and do not struggle to achieve a specific goal but remain in a state of stillness. Since there is a "negative peace", we will automatically assume that there is a "positive" peace in our reading of this definition, but is not the negative peace that we know about the peace and aspire to achieve? Yes, it is in the Arab world. Our pursuit of negative peace is precisely our grave mistake. The reason I say this lies in the concept of positive peace put forward by Galtung.

Even in a negative peace, there may be factors that lead to renewed conflict. These factors take different forms. Some are economic, such as state monopoly of resources and depriving people of them, or cultural factors such as ethnic and sectarian differences between the components of society. Because there are factors that lead to conflict again in the case of passive peace, Galtung has created the second concept of positive peace. Positive peace reflected in the achievement of sustainable peace through the exclusion of factors that lead to renewed conflict and the creation of greater equality and integration in society so as not to create conflict again. This concept is undoubtedly different from the famous model of peace, embodied in the absence of conflict. Because of this difference, it is difficult to determine a positive peace, because it is difficult for us to prove that all factors leading to the conflict have eliminated. Conversely, we can identify a negative peace or lack thereof if we ask the question: "Are the conflicting parties attacking each other using violence publicly?"

According to functional analysis, seven essential journalism functions can distinguish from the historical development of media theories and models over the past five decades. These functions include Press function as a source of information, Watchdog, Gatekeeper, Policymaking, The Diplomatic Media, the Peace Facilitator, and Peace Building. The role of journalism in community peacemaking and conflict resolution in a given society is an advanced function of journalism, especially in societies suffering from internal conflicts, whether ethnic, cultural, religious or political, as well as in transitional times. Some believe that the role of journalism in building peace includes a set of primary axes. First, to identify the reasons that led to the conflict in society, whether political, economic, social or cultural and to identify the main differences between the parties to the conflict. Old problems and conflicts, involving the most significant number of citizens in the process of building bridges of community peace, and the fourth helping to build institutions that can manage conflicts and not resort to violence.

The concept of "peace journalism" also emerged after criticism of the liberal model with the appearance of the McBride report in 1980, whose recommendations were not taken at that time because of the conflicting interests of Western countries, on the one hand, and Third World countries on the other. The most important of these criticisms are those that have questioned the extent to which freedom of the media is related to pluralism, on the one hand, and democracy and its objectives on the other, and the appropriateness of media and democracy concepts associated with the liberal model with non-Western contexts and environments that have different cultural and social contexts. Concepts on the media in developing countries can take ownership of these instruments and the management of their content in the hands of specific groups with unique interests, which eventually leads to the possibility of growing monopolization of these means according to the political economy model of the media.

This trend has been a significant development in the role of the media, reflecting the repercussions faced by Eastern European countries and some Third World countries that have undergone a shift in their political structure and consequently their media environment. This trend focuses on the need for a set of measures and commitments that guide the media to prevent violent conflicts and support for community peace.

According to that, the democratic process is a primary objective of the media, but its content and meaning differ during the democratic transition in Eastern European countries in the 1990s. Instead of seeking to weaken and undermine state control, the democratic process of the "peace-building" model includes seeking to strengthen a fragile state, build bridges of good relations between the state and citizens, and promote reconciliation between the groups of society that were at the time of political transition. The press here relies on a strategy for all parties to benefit from the Win-Win Strategy, focusing on the conflict itself as a problem rather than focusing on a particular party as a cause of the conflict; the peace press focuses on conflict resolution initiatives and the foundations for the preservation and maintenance of community peace.

The peace journalism can be a bridge and a third party between the two sides of the conflict, while the confidence lost among them, where they can reduce the tension and conflict and act as a means of building instead of demolition. Therefore, the ability of journalists to access information and influence in public opinion and influencing policymakers can cover the news of the conflict in a way that provides the basis for overcoming it in the light of the convergence of all institutions and groups of society to resolve conflicts.

## **Framing theory**

The most important theoretical approaches through which peace journalism can be studied and can be used to understand the media content of conflict management and peacebuilding is the theory of framing, which in theory supports peace journalism.

Hence, the resolve for this study to be grounded by the framing theory. The concept of framing comes from the theoretical origins of social and psychological studies, as noted by Iyengar & Simon. According to sociologists, the framing is the expression of concentrations of certain events, symbols and stereotypes within the content of the media, while psychologists are considered framing is the changes in the judgments.

Gitlin (1980) defined the media frames as patterns of interpretation and perception that are routinely placed in repetitive symbols within the media discourse, either verbally or visually.

Entman is one of the leading framing researchers, and through his assessment and review of the contributions of previous researchers in this field, he believes that this concept includes selection and prominence, while Entman (1991) says that news frames embodied in symbols, concepts, linguistic metaphors and images that are emphasized and focused on during news narrative.

In addition to the previous definition, Entman (1993) considers that the framing process occurs when journalists select some aspects of reality and present it in the news and make it more transparent and highlight it in a way that promotes a definition of the problem and causal explanation, moral evaluation, and/ or treatment recommendation for the item described, and

he also suggested that the media framing of a case performs four functions: first, to define and identify the problem accurately, identifying the causal factors of the case according to economic and political interests and prevailing cultural values, as well as identifying the causes where the frameworks identify the actors that created the problem and the assessment ethics, the fourth function is to propose how to address problems where frames propose several solutions to address the issue and predict their potential impacts.

Wolfsfield (1991) presented five key factors that affect the process of building news on TV channels (Robert Entman, 1991: 18):

- 1- Degree of political independence of the leading TV channels.
- 2- News sources.
- 3- Types of legal practice and rules of editorial policy within the news channels.
- 4- The ideological, cultural and political backlash.
- 5- And the events themselves.

To facilitate an understanding of the causes of conflicts arising from passive peace, Galtung created a model of violence called structural violence. Usually, when we watch a fight or when an individual or group is hurt, we say that "violence" has been used. This violence is called "physical violence." So it is only a kind of violence that employ in the case of conflict between different parties. In the case of passive peace, another form of violence is used, which is "structural." Structural violence manifested in the practice discrimination in its forms (e.g., racial, sectarian) by a group or individual against another group, as well as the unequal division resources and power by one of the parties to the conflict. For example, when someone attacks and harms, it is physically violent. However, when the State reduces the wages of employees, the State exercises structural violence against the staff.

As the public depends on the media to know the details of the conflict, at the same time, the framing process is evident in case of conflict reporting, and it helps to understand the influence of media in shaping public opinion and on the social construction of reality. Thus, the process of framing here affects the nature of public opinion related to the conflict, which leads to influence the process of peacebuilding.

After factors that generate conflict as a first difference between passive and positive, structural violence becomes the second difference. Despite the existence of peace in a particular state, for example, in its passive form, violence remains used in this state in its "structural" form, which is analogous to the use of "physical" violence when the conflict is taking place within the State. However, in the case of positive peace, no form of violence is used. We conclude that the return conflict is inevitable as long as the type of peace in a society or a negative state.

Kevin Kemper and Michael Grinfeld (2002) state that many stories are framed or structured as conflict stories and studies are looking at how framing may influence the direction of the conflict covered. Also addressed is the idea of civic journalism as a way to help solve the conflict, in which journalists would facilitate dialogue and discussion among groups and inform ordinary citizens so that they can make their own sound decisions. However, there is some dispute over whether or not the press should take on that role.

Thus, a brief definition of framing theory can be summed up as how journalists to edit and present news to the public. Tuchman adds that framing theory acts as a mediator between the public and the world around them, in this case, the journalist selects an event and gives it

meaning through the news, it is imposing a specific framework through which the event of his choice was considered significant.

The framing theory is essential for all journalists and is particularly important for journalists in the field of peace, who often use narratives, which is the interpretation and presentation of a story, this explanation and presentation is the power of the media to create a meaning through which to build societal discourses. In his book, " Peace Journalism Principles and Practices," Steven Youngblood argues that power to create meaning often used by traditional journalists formulating narratives with incomplete contexts that reinforce stereotypes, on the other hand, peace journalists should be more careful in choosing words in stories and articles that deal with conflicts. For example, how many people should die in a particular event to become a massacre?

Here, Lynch assumes that peace journalists must be more committed to accuracy and objectivity. If 100 people die, we must write 100 people dead. The story must be as it is without descriptive words. It should leave the public to make descriptive judgments about the event if it is a massacre or not. Lynch states that peace journalists write facts and allow the public to make their own decisions.

When discussing peace journalism according to the framing theory, we find two essential and competing frameworks when presenting issues of conflict, one of them is war journalism and is violence-oriented, which is the prevailing framework, and the other is peace journalism peace-oriented, which is different frameworks used. These are two different ways to describe a set of events related to a conflict, the choice here regarding any frames can use due to ethical values.

## **Journalism between: Peace and War**

The reporting of any conflict is often in two competing frameworks: peace and war. This classification clearly articulated by Johan Galtung (1986, 1998), this leads us to the fact that the peace press is laying out four fundamental pillars: peace versus conflict, facts, people and elites, the solutions that can be reached to end the conflict. According to Galtung, journalists who cover wars, violence and conflicts must have the skills to analyze the conflict, to reach better stories, this depends on the journalist's understanding of the historical and cultural roots of the conflict, and therefore the possibility of giving all parties in the conflict the opportunity to communicate their voice to the public and not to certain parties only. To create an understanding environment in which solutions are possible, by applying the practices of peace journalism accurately. Thus, peace journalism that gives space for voices calling for peace, which are often ignored by traditional news that operates according to enhanced news values, Galtung gave "peace" priority as a news value through which to begin analyzing and building news in conflict coverage.

Furthermore, war journalism practices are violence, elite, propaganda and victor orientated, the war journalism is mainly propaganda-oriented and therefore dependent on the sources of the elite, who overwhelmingly dominate the discourse of war and peace without giving any chance to peacemakers. In addition to war journalism, peace is a "cease-fire and victory." At this point, the press of war leaves the place, while the peace journalism as a guided approach remains in place to follow the implementation of the peace agreement. Galtung calls on journalists to learn how to properly analyze the conflict, especially those who cover the conflict, possess the skills to analyze the conflicting parties and the cultural context of the conflict, just as the health journalist has enough knowledge to write news stories about medicine and health issues.

Galtung explains the theory of peace as a positive approach versus a negative approach to peace, at the beginning of Galtung's research on peace journalism, he focused on direct conflict, and then the theory extended to cover the subject of structural violence in general (Galtung, 1958).

Galtung believes the context in a story decided determines the outcome or perception of the story, thus places responsibility for the writer as providing an "intellectual frame" for the story and giving a voice to both sides of the story. Galtung asserts that journalists should convey the benefits of peace.

Thus, the media should represent reference frames through a deeper understanding of frames, although Galtung says that the media cannot cause war or peace, but it can play a role in influencing society so that it is the images that people tend to believe. That is why (Galtung, 1958) concludes that there must be more expectations and demands from the media to keep them more accountable.

Galtung (2000) argues that we need journalists to focus on peace journalism to achieve the following: the secrets of war, the stories that the media do not say, the background, the cultural and historical context that led to the conflict, the indirect effects on the people that the war caused (Galtung, 2000: 47). In sum, Galtung's (2000) vision of the peace press is to look deeper into the root cause of the conflict. It analyzes what can be done to restore society rather than stop at the end of the conflict.

In comparison to peace journalism, the central focus of war journalism is to cover the details of the conflict, so the war journalism adopts a focus on conflict and urges violence as a way to resolve the conflict (Neumann & Fahmy, 2016).

Thus, war journalism focuses on hard news and reporting on the negative implications that occur along with the conflict. According to Măda & Săftoiu (2014), war journalism is used as a frame to cover the conflict in order to evoke emotions from the audience.

The peace journalism can consider as Shinar updated of Galtung's original dyadic schema the 'state of the art' (2007: 200) and thus peace journalism is: Paying attention to news stories about peace and post-war reconstruction, to identify abuses committed by the parties to the conflict and the suffering of the victims during the conflict period, to broadcast attempts to resolve the conflict and constructive ideas for peacemaking, to explore and reveal the background of the conflict and the contexts in which the differences between the conflicting parties were formed, in addition to portraying the conflict and presenting it with transparency to the public and giving voice to all parties, not just the leaders of the two parties.

In the following table from Galtung's presentation on the peace journalism and war journalism, some of the indicators on which the study related to trying to understand and analyze reporting about conflicts (Lynch, 2005):

PEACE/CONFLICT JOURNALISM	WAR/VIOLENCE JOURNALISM
<p>I. PEACE/CONFLICT-ORIENTATED</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Explore conflict formation, x parties, y goals, z issues.</li> <li>- General “win, win” orientation</li> <li>- Open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture</li> </ul>	<p>I. WAR/VIOLENCE ORIENTATED</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win) war</li> <li>- General zero-sum orientation</li> <li>- Closed space, closed time; causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Making conflicts transparent</li> <li>- Giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding</li> <li>- See conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity</li> <li>- Humanisation of all sides; more so the worse the weapon.</li> <li>- Proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurs.</li> <li>- Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Making wars opaque/secret</li> <li>- “Us-them” journalism, propaganda, voice for “us”</li> <li>- See “them” as the problem, focus on who prevails in war</li> <li>- Dehumanisation of “them”; more so the worse the weapon.</li> <li>- Reactive: waiting for violence before reporting.</li> <li>- Focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)</li> </ul>
<p><b>II. TRUTH-ORIENTATED</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Expose untruths on all sides / uncover all cover-ups.</li> </ul>	<p><b>II. PROPAGANDA-ORIENTATED</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Expose “their” untruths / help “our” cover-ups/lies.</li> </ul>
<p><b>III. PEOPLE-ORIENTATED</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on suffering all over; on women, aged, children, giving voice to voiceless</li> <li>- Give name to all evil-doers</li> <li>- Focus on people peace-makers</li> </ul>	<p><b>III. ELITE ORIENTATED</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on “our” suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece</li> <li>- Give name to their evil-doers</li> <li>- Focus on elite peace-makers</li> </ul>
<p><b>IV. SOLUTION ORIENTATED</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Peace = non-violence + creativity</li> </ul>	<p><b>IV. VICTORY ORIENTATED</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Peace = victory + ceasefire</li> </ul>

- Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war	- Conceal peace initiative, before victory is at hand
- Focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society	- Focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society
- Aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation	- Leaving for another war, return if the old flares up again

Although the majority of this section will focus on the study of Galtung, it is vital to note the research conducted by Annabel McGoldrick and Jake Lynch, in their book, *Peace Journalism* (2005), they explore the definition and meaning of the concept established by Galtung. They defined peace journalism as using to find balance while reporting conflicts and taking into account the objectivity in the transfer of conflict and the cultural and historical context in which it occurred with its analysis (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005: 5). It is also essential that a journalist must be aware of the difference between conflict and violence, as conflict can lead to positive ramifications, in contrast to violence, which will not (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005).

### **Critique of Peace Journalism**

In his study of the peace process in Oslo (Palestinian-Israeli negotiations), Wolfsfeld (1997) notes, the peace process is tedious and complicated. Journalists seek simplicity and excitement in their stories. Besides, the peace process takes place behind closed doors, while journalists want to access and release information. Also, it is easier for the government to sell stories of war rather than stories of peace so that war provides conflict and visuals.

The main criticism of peace journalism is that it overestimates the power of journalism and places foremost authority on the journalist's responsibility to bring peace to the conflict.

(Hanitzch, 2004) believes that the journalist should cover the story as it is without being a primary concern to the public, rather than relying on the journalist to resolve the conflict by covering stories, should rely on public relations representatives or politicians.

According to functional analysis, seven essential journalistic functions can distinguish from the historical development of media theories and models over the past five decades: the journalism function as a source of information, as a watchdog, as a gatekeeper, as a diplomatic mediator, a supporter of the peace facilitator, and then journalism as a peace-building. The role of journalism in community peacemaking and conflict resolution in a particular society is an advanced function of journalism, especially in societies that suffer from internal conflicts, whether ethnic, cultural, religious or political, as well as in the transitional periods in which these societies go through.

Peace Journalism emerged after criticism of the liberal model with the appearance of the McBride report in 1980, whose recommendations were not taken at the time because of the conflicting interests of Western countries, on the one hand, and Third World countries on the other. The most important of these criticisms are those that have questioned the extent to which freedom of the media is related to pluralism, on the one hand, and democracy and its goals on the other, and the appropriateness of media and democracy concepts associated with the liberal model with non-Western contexts and environments that have different cultural and social contexts. Concepts on the media in developing countries can make the ownership of these means and the management of their content in the hands of specific groups with unique interests, which eventually leads to the possibility of growing monopolization of these means according to the political economy model of the media.

This trend has shown a new role in the role of the media, reflecting the repercussions faced by the Eastern European countries and some Third World countries which witnessed a change in their political structure and consequently their media environment. This trend focuses on the need for a set of measures and commitments that guide the media to prevent violent conflicts and support for community peace.

In this context, some issues arise regarding the ability of journalism and the media to build peace. These include the ability of journalists to cover peace issues, as they cover issues of war and conflict that seem more exciting and relevant to journalistic values. The problem may be in the society itself, not in journalists. Therefore, researchers focus on the importance of seeing the role newspapers in conflict resolution within the framework of a culture of society and the extent to which it can exploit.

A distinction between media and journalism also noted. "What we need is more quality in journalism – not a new kind of journalism that is to impose on news people. Finally, we should not see journalists as the problem; we need to see society and culture as a problem" (Hanitzch, 2004: 173). Hanitzch (2004) further explains that if social studies stories further, they will find the real problem to be social inequalities and uneven distribution of resources. He suggests that journalists should not be the only ones held accountable for bringing peace during a crisis, as it takes away the responsibility of politicians and peacemakers. In order to make the world a better place, Hanitzch (2004) argues that society should not start with journalism, but rather the underlying issues. Loyn (2007) is one of the voices critical of peace journalism, says that the world is not a right place, due to the theoretical structure of peace journalism has nothing to do with ending wars and conflicts on the ground, the role of the press has nothing to do with the way in which conflicts conducted. (Loyn, 2007: 6).

## **Implementation of the Peace journalism**

While researching and studying literature that studied peace journalism, many researchers relied on the Galtung classification of peace and war journalism to see how the media covered conflict issues. For example, one study analyzed 1388 news stories on four Asian regional conflicts taken from five Asian newspapers. The study found that peace journalism can help promote a culture of peace between the conflicting parties and thus resolve the conflict (Lee and Maslog, 2005). The study is the first study used Galtung classification of peace and war journalism indicators as a practical approach.

As for Stawicki, M. (2009), he studied the theories of conflict resolution and peace, discussed the possibility that the peace journalism interferes with media work, as well as the frames that used which can exacerbate or work to calm down the conflict. The study focused on analyzing the on the Palestinian issue and the ongoing conflict with Israel in two periods; the first phase of the conflict was the visit of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to the Al-Aqsa Mosque in 2000 and the second during the events of 2002. The researcher collected news stories from three US newspapers: Christian Science Monitor, The New York Times and St. Louis Post Dispatch. The thesis focused the content analysis on the context which conflicts present and the sources which newspapers were based, and the language used. The most relevant results in this study underline that the most frequently used news frames are the security frame and the military frame of the Israeli government, the researcher also found that the Times newspaper was biased in its use of the news frames, while the Post-Dispatch newspaper used the episodic and incidental frame of events and the Mentor newspaper was the most balanced and consistent in covering conflict.

Concerning the effects of war and peace journalism, Lynch, McGoldrick, and Heathers (2015) conducted a study with paid participants watching TV news bulletins in order to monitor their heart rate for emotional response. It was limited to people who lived in Australia for at least 20 years. Seventy-four undergraduate and graduate students, with a variety of majors and degrees selected for this study. The participants watched video on the Palestinian issue and the conflict with Israel and framed in peace and war journalism. The results showed that war journalism viewers were they more thought to the core of the conflict was about religion, while those who watched the peace journalism videos were less believe that the reason is a religion (Lynch et al., 2015). This research is essential as it reveals the different views on war and peace journalism and how they can come into effect when journalists frame a story a certain way.

Another study entitled: to what extent Al Jazeera channel used Peace journalism in the Arab Spring revolutions in two Arab states in 2011? The study used the classification Galtung indicators for War and Peace journalism; the study was for researcher Abdul Nabi 2015. The first events in Bahrain where he chose the first two weeks to intervene Military government of Saudi Arabia to end the revolution, in Syria, Abdel Nabi chose the period following the Syrian government's attack on chemical weapons in the Ghouta area in the countryside of Damascus. The study found that most of the news frames dominated the war journalism frameworks. The researcher concluded that media coverage was an essential and vital catalyst for the impact of a series of revolutions in Arab countries.

Burr, P. (2017) this study focuses on the journalistic approach by the Daily Nation and The New York Times on the Westgate attack in Kenya on September 21, 2013, through the theories of peace and war journalism. The study further compares the findings of the Daily Nation to that of the approaches taken by The New York Times on September 11, 2001, during the Twin

Tower and Pentagon attacks. The method used for this study is the Peace Journalism diagram created by Johan Galtung.

In the study of Myint, Z. M. (2017), news stories were analyzed from four different newspapers, two from Myanmar, one from the United States and one from Bangladesh, the coverage of these newspapers studied in the Rakhine region conflict, the researcher used comparative analysis to examine war and peace journalism frames, which find out war frames dominating the coverage of the conflict in the four newspapers, but the newspaper funded by the Government of Myanmar was more likely to produce stories of peace journalism than others, in terms of language, there was a slight difference between newspapers using English and Burmese newspapers. In general, newspapers in English were more war-oriented than peace journalism, there is also an essential finding of the study that foreign sources and produced by international journalists such as Reuters and the Associated Press were more widespread and more widely used than news stories by local and regional journalists who know the conflict zone more and have lived on the conflict in their region.

## **Thesis Questions**

This thesis seeks to answer the following questions:

First, Considering the “Recognition of Jerusalem,” are there differences in the perspective (peace or war journalism) taken of the event, compared between the international channels funded by non-Arab governments broadcasting to the Arab World?

Secondly, Considering the “Qatar Crisis,” are there differences in the perspective (peace or war journalism) taken of the event, compared between the international channels funded by non-Arab governments broadcasting to the Arab World?

Thirdly, is there an overall distinction of indicators in perspective (peace or war journalism) taken by the international channels funded by non-Arab governments broadcasting to the Arab World could observe?

Finally, in the international channels funded by non-Arab governments which broadcasting to the Arab World, what is the perception of the Arab World during coverage of the conflicts?

Since the majority of previous studies found that the use of war journalism indicators was more than peace journalism indicators during conflicts reporting, the current thesis proposes to verify the following hypothesis: War journalism indicators are the most widely used than indicators of peace journalism during conflict media coverage in the international channels broadcasting to the Arab World and financed by non-Arab governments.

## Chapter 3- The Methodology

The methodology of this thesis is the analysis of the content of the news media, especially the Galtung classification of peace and war journalism indicators. In order to answer the questions and hypotheses of this thesis which mentioned previously, the sample of the dissertation compos of news stories collected from six international channels broadcast to the Arab world funded by governments of non-Arab countries. These countries have different policies towards the Arab world, and therefore are suitable for this study, where we can identify the differences among them if they exist, six TV channels from different countries: Al-Hurra TV, Russia Today (Arabic), France24(Arabic), BBC(Arabic), TRT(Arabic), MAKAN 33.

Al-Hurra channel chosen because it seeks to improve America's image in the Arab world, especially after the 2003 Iraq war, therefore, likely to play a role in the American decisions toward the Arab world, particularly Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. The choice of Russia Today channel based on the foreign policy taken by Russia in support of many Arab leaders and, of course, spreading Russia's ideological awareness in the Arab world and seeking to be a key player in providing information to Arab citizens, especially regarding the Syrian issue and the issues of the Arabian Gulf. As for the BBC and France 24, they both have confidence among Arab viewers because of their long history of broadcasting in the Arab region, from radio stations to satellite channels, and their adaptation to all Arab political developments, reflecting the views of both the British and French governments.

About TRT Arabic, it is Turkey's first experience in broadcasting to the Arab world, TRT channel in Arabic after a significant change in Turkey's foreign policy towards the Arab world. In addition to its current role in many Arab issues, where it is considered a key player in the political and economic life in the Arab world, so it would be good to know the frameworks used

by the broadcast directed to the Arab world, especially as it is still suffering from success in attracting the Arab public. It is similar in this suffering channel MAKAN 33, which is the latest channels directed in Arabic from non-Arab countries, while trying to attract the Arab public with all the possibilities and means available, it is noteworthy that the Israeli Broadcasting Corporation had already had a previous channel attempt in Arabic but failed, so decided to launch a new the channel of MAKAN 33, with a new strategy and double possibilities for attracting the Arab public, it know that the State of Israel constitutes the basis of contemporary conflicts in the Arab world.

### **Procedure**

News stories analyzed were published between December 6, 2017, and April 6, 2018. Starting from the official recognition of President Trump in Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. The process of manual word classification began by placing specific keywords such as "conflicts," "Jerusalem as capital," "Israel," "Palestine" and "President Trump". As for Qatar's diplomatic crisis, the analysis began from May 24, 2017, to April 24, 2018. Since the beginning of the crisis in Qatar. Artefact searches were initiated using keywords: "Qatar," "The Arab Gulf States," "Saudi Arabia," "United Arab Emirates," "Diplomatic relations," "Conflict," "Crisis." The thesis based on the individual story as a unit of analysis, the focus was placed on news stories that spoke directly about the conflict, and news stories dealing with the conflict partially excluded.

The news stories are categorized by peace and war journalism through the use of definitions provided by Galtung (2000), represented earlier in this study. After the articles coded, they will evaluate through the use of 13 coding indicators provided above. Each article is be coded based on the 13 war frames (Yes, No, or Neutral) and then 13 peace frames (Yes, No, or Neutral).

Neutral is selected if there is no peace or war present, irrelevance to either frame or if there is both peace and war present. This tactic of coding can be replicated, as it replicated from the study of Maslog et al. in 2006. Can apply to any country and their use of journalism amid conflict or terrorism.

### **Numerical Coding**

The numeric coding based on a calculation of the various wars and peace frames present in each News story that will be compared to determine if the News stories lean towards war, peace or neutral. The news stories will first be coded based on the study of Maslog et al. (2006). The peace and war journalism code indicator will base upon a negative (War Journalism), neutral, and positive (Peace Journalism) scale. They coded as follows: Negative/War (2) Neutral (3) Positive/Peace.

News stories are numbered based on the perspective which adheres to as determined by the number of peace/war indicators present. Each News stories are evaluated using 26 code indicators of peace and war journalism. Chi-Squared analysis and ANOVA test will compare across each category of war and peace journalism to determine if differences are significant. An Alpha level of  $p < .05$  will represent the threshold for the evaluation of the statistical significance of the finding.

### **Analysis and Measurement**

This thesis based on the 13 indicators developed by Galtung 2000, which are best suited to answer the questions of this study, indicators included 13 indicators for war journalism and 13 indicators for peace journalism. These indicators are based mainly on the categories that Lee

and Maslog and Kim established in their study of five Asian newspapers (2006). The news content will then be classified and coded into peace, war or neutral journalism according to the indicators that have classified in Appendix B.

The war journalism indicators adopted in the classification included: The language used to cover conflict (victim, emotional, demonizing), reactive, visible effects of war, orientations (Elite, The difference, two parties, partisan, zero-sum orientation), focus on here and now, Dichotomizing the good and bad, stops reporting after the war ends.

The peace journalism indicators adopted in the classification include the following: the language avoid using in cover conflict (victimizing, demonizing, emotive), proactive, invisible effects of war, orientations ( People, Agreement, Multi-party, Non-partisan, Win-win orientation), causes and consequences of war, Avoid labeling of good and bad, stays reporting after the war ends.

### **Statistical Analysis**

Research questions posed within the study have addressed through the use of descriptive statistical techniques and then analyzed using statistical software programs. IBM SPSS (V 20) was used to run frequency counts, cross-tabulations and percentages, specifically, Chi-Square tests and ANOVA tests including means and standard deviations) are used to analyze data yielded through the research questions for comparative purposes. Moreover, try to confirm the validity of the research hypothesis through the use of statistics of independent means.

## Chapter 4- Results

In order to have reliable results, this thesis confirmed the reliability of the coding of news stories through the use of a second coding for an exploratory sample, and it has encoded 18 news stories (11% of all news stories). The first and second coders reached overall reliability of at least 0.811, according to Krippendorff's Alpha (nominal). The coding inter-reliability results included a (Krippendorff's Alpha (nominal)) in nine of the coding categories, with the lowest variable (Victimizing) a 0.74 (See Appendix A).

In this research, a total of 162 news stories coded. Of the 31 news stories from BBC (from both the Recognition of Jerusalem and Qatar Crisis), 31 news story also from AL-Hurra channel, 29 news story from Russia Today, 25 news story from France24, while 24 news story from Makan33, and 22 news story from TRT. All of the news stories selected for this study were in the Arabic language.

The first question posed in this treatise is the following; Considering the "Recognition of Jerusalem," are there differences in the perspective (peace or war journalism) taken of the event, compared between the international channels funded by non-Arab governments broadcasting to the Arab world?

Considering the comparison of international channels funded by non-Arab governments reporting of the "Recognition of Jerusalem," the respective breakdown of ratings by the three orientations of reporting was found to be statistically significant ( $\chi^2(2) = 6.545$ ;  $p < .001$ ).

The AL-Hurra channel showed a higher percentage of war orientation (75%), while Russia Today channel revealed a higher percentage of peace orientation (28.6%). The BBC channel showed a lower usage of a peace orientation (11.8%). The TRT channel showed a lower usage of war orientation (44.4%), while the Al-Hurra channel revealed a lower use of a neutral orientation than other channels (6.2%), TRT showed a higher percentage of a neutral orientation (33.3%).

Overall, there was a difference in the perspective taken of the event "Recognition of Jerusalem" compared between the international channels funded by non-Arab governments broadcasting to the Arab world. Also, according to the results shown in table-1, there were no statistically significant differences between the indicators of peace and war journalism concerning the six main channels covered by the analysis considering the "Recognition of Jerusalem," Chi-square =6.545, df =1, p= 0.776, Cramer's V= 0.198.

**Table 1: Peace/War Framing Related to Recognition of Jerusalem**

Table 1. illustrates the summative descriptive analysis of the comparison of essential measures related to the reporting Recognition of Jerusalem as a capital of Israel:

Descriptive Statistical Measure	Al-Hurra	Russia T	France24	BBC	TRT	MAKAN33
War Oriented Rankings %	75.0%	57.1%	54.5%	58.8%	44.4%	60%
Peace Oriented Rankings%	18.8%	28.6%	18.2%	11.8%	22.2%	26.7%
Neutral Rankings%	6.2%	14.3%	27.3%	29.4%	33.3%	13.3%

N= 82, Chi-square =6.545, df=1, p= 0.776, Cramer’s V=0.198.

The second thesis question is as follows: Considering the “Qatar Crisis,” are there differences in the perspective (peace or war journalism) taken of the event, compared between the international channels funded by non-Arab governments broadcasting to the Arab world?

Considering the comparison of international channels funded by non-Arab governments reporting of the “Qatar Crisis” respective breakdown of ratings by the three orientations of reporting was found to be statistically significant ( $\chi^2(2) = 7.900$ ;  $p < .001$ ).

The MAKAN33 channel showed a higher percentage of war orientation (77.8%), while the BBC’s lowest ranking orientation was war journalism (35.7%). Russia Today appeared as the second largest in the war orientation ranking (66.7%), whereas Al-Hurra and the TRT channel has shown relatively convergent ratios (53.3%), (53.8%). After them, France24 showed (50%) as a war orientation.

The TRT’s news story leaned more towards a neutral orientation (30.8%), while Russia Today had a lower neutral orientation (6.7%). BBC appeared as the second largest in the neutral orientation ranking (28.6%), then (20%) from Al-Hurra, (14.3%) from France24 and (11.1%) from MAKAN33 were framed as a neutral orientation.

The peace orientations showed the lowest percentage in MAKAN33(11.1%), while the France24 and BBC channel showed identical ratios (35.7%). After them, Al-Hurra showed (26.7%), Russia Today showed (26%), and TRT showed (15.4%).

Overall, there was a difference in the perspective taken of the event “Qatar Crisis” compared between the international channels funded by non-Arab governments broadcasting to the Arab

world. Also, according to the results shown in table-2, there were no statistically significant differences between the indicators of peace and war journalism about the six main channels covered by the analysis considering the “Qatar Crisis”, Chi-square =6.545, df =1, p= 0.776, Cramer’s V= 0.198.

**Table 2: Peace/War Framing Related to Qatar Crisis**

Table 2. illustrates the summative descriptive analysis of the comparison of essential measures related to the reporting “Qatar Crisis”:

Descriptive Statistical Measure	Al-Hurra	Russia T	France 24	BBC	TRT	MAKAN33
War Oriented Rankings %	53.3%	66.7%	50%	35.7%	53.8%	77.8%
Peace Oriented Rankings%	26.7%	26%	35.7%	35.7%	15.4%	11.1%
Neutral Rankings%	20%	6.7%	14.3%	28.6%	30.8%	11.1%

N= 80, Chi-square =7.900, df=1, p= 0.639, Cramer’s V= 0.222.

The third question of the thesis is the following: Is there an overall distinction of indicators in perspective (peace or war journalism) taken by the international channels funded by non-Arab governments broadcasting to the Arab world could observe across the channels analyzed?

Concerning Al-Hurra channel. Which the study analyzed 16 news stories to cover the event of recognition of Jerusalem and Qatari crisis, which analyzed 15 news stories.

For the two events, the dominant salient indicator of peace journalism avoids demonizing language with percentage (66.7%), while indicator stays reporting with (60%), invisible effects (43%), while the highest indicators of war journalism were elite-oriented (81.2%), in both events, Al-Hurra channel has relied on the elite as sources of information, differences (75%) in Jerusalem conflict and highest in Qatar crisis (66.7%), Focus on here and now (73.3%).

**Table 3-1: Peace/War indicators of AL-Hurra channel**

Table 3.1. illustrates frequency and percentages of AL-Hurra channel reporting of “US President Donald Trump recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel” and “Qatar Crisis”.

<i>Channel Al-Hurra</i>						
<i>Indicators</i>	<i>Jerusalem conflict</i>			<i>Qatar crisis</i>		
	<i>Peace</i>	<i>War</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Peace</i>	<i>War</i>	<i>Neutral</i>
Reactive/Proactive	5 (31.2%)	8 (50%)	3 (18.8%)	3 (20%)	6 (40%)	6 (40%)
Visible/Invisible effects of war	7 (43.8%)	7 (43.8%)	2 (12.5%)	4 (26.7%)	9 (60%)	2 (13.3%)
Elite/People-oriented	2 (12.5%)	13 (81.2%)	1 (6.2%)	0 (0.0%)	9 (60%)	6 (40%)
Differences/Agreement oriented	2 (12.5%)	12 (75%)	2 (12.5%)	4 (26.7%)	10 (66.7%)	1 (6.7%)
Causes and consequences /Focus on here and now	3 (18.8%)	11 (68.8%)	2 (12.5%)	2 (13.3%)	11 (73.3%)	2 (13.3%)
Dichotomizes good and bad /Avoid label of good and bad	2 (12.5%)	8 (50%)	6 (37.5%)	5 (33.3%)	9 (60%)	1 (6.7%)
Two-party/Multiparty orientation	5 (31.2%)	9 (56.2%)	2 (12.5%)	13 (86.7%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (13.3%)
Partisan/ Nonpartisan	2 (12.5%)	9 (56.2%)	5 (31.2%)	4 (26.7%)	3 (20%)	8 (53.3%)
Zero sum/ Win-win orientation	3 (18.8%)	10 (62.5%)	3 (18.8%)	1 (6.7%)	8 (53.3%)	8 (53.3%)
Stops reporting and leaves after war/Stays on to report afterwar	3 (18.8%)	6 (37.5%)	7 (43.8%)	9 (60%)	2 (13.3%)	4 (26.7%)
Uses/Avoids victimizing language	4 (25%)	9 (56.2%)	3 (18.8%)	6 (40%)	6 (40%)	3 (20%)
Uses/Avoids Demonizing language	4 (25%)	6 (37.5%)	6 (37.5%)	10 (66.7%)	2 (13.3%)	3 (20%)
Uses/Avoids Emotive language	5 (31.2%)	5 (31.2%)	6 (37.5%)	4 (26.7%)	6 (40%)	5 (33.3%)

As for Russia today in Arabic, which the study analyzed 14 news stories to cover the event of recognition of Jerusalem and Qatar crisis, which analyzed 15 news stories.

For the two events, the dominant salient indicators of war journalism are the reactive and the differences oriented. The percentage is about (85.7%) while the highest indicators of war journalism were used emotive language (73.3%).

In both events, each of the following indicators came out as the highest percentage in peace journalism: Avoids Demonizing language (64.3%) Invisible effects of war (53.3%).

**Table 3-2: Peace/War indicators of Russia Today channel**

Table 3.2. illustrates frequency and percentages of Russia Today channel reporting of “US President Donald Trump recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel” and “Qatar Crisis”.

Indicators	<i>Channel RT</i>					
	<i>Jerusalem conflict</i>			<i>Qatar crisis</i>		
	<i>Peace</i>	<i>War</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Peace</i>	<i>War</i>	<i>Neutral</i>
Reactive/Proactive	2 (14.3%)	12 (85.7%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (26.7%)	8 (53.3%)	3 (20%)
Visible/Invisible effects of war	6 (42.9%)	6 (42.9%)	2 (14.3%)	8 (53.3%)	5 (33.3%)	2 (13.3%)
Elite/People-oriented	1 (7.1%)	10 (71.4%)	3 (21.4%)	7 (46.7%)	3 (20%)	5 (33.3%)
Differences/Agreement oriented	4 (28.6%)	8 (57.1%)	2 (14.3%)	3 (20%)	12 (80.0)	0 (0.0%)
Causes and consequences /Focus on here and now	3 (21.4%)	10 (71.4%)	1 (7.1%)	5 (33.3%)	8 (53.3%)	2 (13.3%)
Dichotomizes good and bad /Avoid label of good and bad	5 (35.7%)	5 (35.7%)	4 (28.6%)	1 (6.7%)	5 (33.3%)	9 (60%)
Two-party/Multiparty orientation	4 (28.6%)	7 (50%)	3 (21.4%)	7 (46.7%)	4 (26.7%)	4 (26.7%)
Partisan/ Nonpartisan	5 (35.7%)	2 (14.3%)	7 (50%)	4 (26.7%)	5 (33.3%)	6 (40%)
Zero sum/ Win-win orientation	2 (14.3%)	9 (64.3%)	3 (21.4%)	6 (40%)	5 (33.3%)	4 (26.7%)
Stops reporting and leaves after war/Stays on to report afterwar	8 (57.1%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (42.9%)	7 (46.7%)	5 (33.3%)	3 (20%)
Uses/Avoids victimizing language	0 (0.0%)	9 (64.3%)	5 (35.7%)	2 (13.3%)	10 (66.7%)	3 (20%)
Uses/Avoids Demonizing language	9 (64.3%)	3 (21.4%)	2 (14.3%)	5 (33.3%)	6 (40%)	4 (26.7%)
Uses/Avoids Emotive language	7 (50%)	5 (35.7%)	2 (14.3%)	2 (13.3%)	11 (73.3%)	2 (13.3%)

As for France 24 channel in Arabic, which the study analyzed 11 news stories to cover the event " recognition of Jerusalem" and "Qatar crisis", which analyzed 14 news stories, In both events, peace journalism focused on two indicators; Invisible effects of war (72.7%), causes

and consequences of the conflict (57.1%). For war journalism, the highest indicators used in the two events were Win /Win orientation for Qatari crisis event with (71.4%) and Jerusalem conflict event with (81.8%). In the Jerusalem conflict, there is another highest indicator used to focus on here and now (81.8%).

**Table 3-3: Peace/War indicators of France 24 channel**

Table 3.3. illustrates frequency and percentages of France 24 channel reporting of “US President Donald Trump recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel” and “Qatar Crisis”.

Indicators	<i>Channel France 24</i>					
	<i>Jerusalem conflict</i>			<i>Qatar crisis</i>		
	<i>Peace</i>	<i>War</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Peace</i>	<i>War</i>	<i>Neutral</i>
Reactive/Proactive	2 (18.2%)	8 (72.7%)	1 (9.1%)	3 (21.4%)	7 (50%)	4 (28.6%)
Visible/Invisible effects of war	8 (72.7%)	3 (27.3%)	0 (0.0%)	4 (28.6%)	8 (57.1%)	2 (14.3%)
Elite/People-oriented	2 (18.2%)	7 (63.6%)	2 (18.2%)	3 (21.4%)	4 (28.6%)	7 (50%)
Differences/Agreement oriented	2 (18.2%)	8 (72.7%)	1 (9.1%)	4 (28.6%)	8 (57.1%)	2 (14.3%)
Causes and consequences/Focus on here and now	2 (18.2%)	9 (81.8%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (57.1%)	3 (21.4%)	3 (21.4%)
Dichotomizes good and bad /Avoid label of good and bad	4 (36.4%)	6 (54.5%)	1 (9.1%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (57.1%)	6 (42.9%)
Two-party/Multiparty orientation	5 (45.5%)	3 (27.3%)	3 (27.3%)	5 (35.7%)	4 (28.6%)	5 (35.7%)
Partisan/ Nonpartisan	5 (45.5%)	2 (18.2%)	4 (36.4%)	3 (21.4%)	7 (50%)	4 (28.6%)
Zero sum/ Win-win orientation	1 (9.1%)	9 (81.8%)	1 (9.1%)	1 (7.1%)	10 (71.4%)	3 (21.4%)
Stops reporting and leaves after war/Stays on to report afterwar	2 (18.2%)	6 (54.5%)	3 (27.3%)	4 (28.6%)	4 (28.6%)	6 (42.9%)
Uses/Avoids victimizing language	3 (27.3%)	6 (54.5%)	2 (18.2%)	5 (35.7%)	7 (50%)	2 (14.3%)
Uses/Avoids Demonizing language	5 (45.5%)	1 (9.1%)	5 (45.5%)	7 (50%)	5 (35.7%)	2 (14.3%)
Uses/Avoids Emotive language	6 (54.5%)	4 (36.4%)	1 (9.1%)	3 (21.4%)	9 (64.3%)	2 (14.3%)

The BBC focused its coverage of events recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel on zero-sum orientation and reactive (76.5%) in war journalism indicators, while the highest indicators

used in the peace journalism was the: Stays on to report after the war (47.1%). In total, 17 stories from the BBC's coverage of the Jerusalem recognition event analyzed.

In the event of the Qatari crisis, 14 news stories analyzed, the highest indicators were used in peace journalism, avoiding emotive language (85.7%). Notably, the coverage of BBC the highest representation of the indicators were differences oriented and Focus on here and now, with a percentage (64.3%).

**Table 3-4: Peace/War indicators of BBC channel**

Table illustrate frequency and percentages of BBC channel reporting of “US President Donald Trump recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel”<sup>17</sup> and “Qatar Crisis”<sup>14</sup> Event.

Indicators	<i>Channel BBC</i>					
	<i>Jerusalem conflict</i>			<i>Qatar crisis</i>		
	<i>Peace</i>	<i>War</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Peace</i>	<i>War</i>	<i>Neutral</i>
Reactive/Proactive	2 (11.8%)	13 (76.5%)	2 (11.8%)	2 (14.3%)	8 (57.1%)	4 (28.6%)
Visible/Invisible effects of war	3 (17.6%)	7 (41.2%)	7 (41.2%)	7 (50%)	7 (50%)	0 (0.0%)
Elite/People-oriented	5 (29.4%)	8 (47.1%)	4 (32.5%)	3 (21.4%)	5 (35.7%)	6 (42.9%)
Differences/Agreement oriented	1 (5.9%)	11 (64.7%)	5 (29.4%)	5 (35.7%)	9 (64.3%)	0 (0.0%)
Causes and consequences /Focus on here and now	3 (17.6%)	8 (47.1%)	6 (35.3%)	1 (7.1%)	9 (64.3%)	4 (28.6%)
Dichotomizes good and bad /Avoid label of good and bad	3 (17.6%)	8 (47.1%)	6 (35.3%)	2 (14.3%)	8 (57.1%)	4 (28.6%)
Two-party/Multiparty orientation	2 (11.8%)	11 (64.7%)	4 (23.5%)	8 (57.1%)	5 (35.7%)	1 (7.1%)
Partisan/ Nonpartisan	6 (35.3%)	5 (29.4%)	6 (35.3%)	11 (78.6%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (21.4%)
Zero sum/ Win-win orientation	1 (5.9%)	13 (76.5%)	3 (17.6%)	4 (28.6%)	6 (42.9%)	4 (28.6%)
Stops reporting and leaves after war/Stays on to report afterwar	8 (47.1%)	2 (11.8%)	7 (41%)	3 (21.4%)	5 (35.7%)	6 (42.9%)
Uses/Avoids victimizing language	6 (35.3%)	8 (47.1%)	3 (17.6%)	9 (64.3%)	3 (21.4%)	2 (14.3%)
Uses/Avoids Demonizing language	5 (29.4%)	2 (11.8%)	10 (58.8%)	11 (78.6%)	2 (14.3%)	1 (7.1%)
Uses/Avoids Emotive language	7 (41.2%)	7 (41.2%)	3 (17.6%)	12 (85.7%)	2 (14.3%)	0 (0.0%)

It observed in the coverage of TRT for the event of recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, analyzed 9 news stories, were used the reactive as the highest representation of the indicators with a ratio (88.9%) for war journalism, this is similar to coverage of the Qatari crisis, analyzed 13 news stories, where the reactive was the highest indicators with the ratio (61.5%), also TRT used the zero-sum orientation (61.5%) and used to victimize language (61.5%) indicators for war journalism. As shown in Table 3.5, the dominant salient indicators for peace journalism in the two events were "agreement oriented" indicator with percentage (66.7%) and "stays on after the war" indicator with (53.8%).

**Table 3-5: Peace/War indicators of TRT channel**

Table 3.5 illustrates frequency and percentages of TRT channel reporting of “US President Donald Trump recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel” 9 and “Qatar Crisis”13 Event.

Indicators	<i>Channel TRT</i>					
	<i>Jerusalem conflict</i>			<i>Qatar crisis</i>		
	<i>Peace</i>	<i>War</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Peace</i>	<i>War</i>	<i>Neutral</i>
Reactive/Proactive	1 (11.1%)	8 (88.9%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (23.1%)	8 (61.5%)	2 (15.4%)
Visible/Invisible effects of war	3 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)	4 (30.8%)	3 (23.1%)	6 (46.2%)
Elite/People-oriented	1 (11.1%)	3 (33.3%)	5 (55.6%)	2 (15.4%)	5 (38.5%)	6 (46.2%)
Differences/Agreement oriented	6 (66.7%)	1 (11.1%)	2 (22.2%)	3 (23.1%)	7 (53.8%)	3 (23.1%)
Causes and consequences /Focus on here and now	4 (44.4%)	3 (33.3%)	2 (22.2%)	6 (46.2%)	5 (38.5%)	2 (15.4%)
Dichotomizes good and bad /Avoid label of good and bad	0 (0.0%)	6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	2 (15.4%)	7 (53.8%)	4 (30.8%)
Two-party/Multiparty orientation	3 (33.3%)	5 (55.6%)	1 (11.1%)	6 (46.2%)	4 (30.8%)	3 (23.1%)
Partisan/ Nonpartisan	0 (0.0%)	6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	1 (7.7%)	5 (38.5%)	7 (53.8%)
Zero sum/ Win-win orientation	4 (44.4%)	4 (44.4%)	1 (11.1%)	2 (15.4%)	8 (61.5%)	3 (23.1%)
Stops reporting and leaves after war/Stays on to report afterwar	3 (33.3%)	5 (55.6%)	1 (11.1%)	7 (53.8%)	2 (15.4%)	4 (30.8%)

Uses/Avoids victimizing language	1 (11.1%)	3 (33.3%)	5 (55.6%)	3 (23.1%)	8 (61.5%)	2 (15.4%)
Uses/Avoids Demonizing language	2 (22.2%)	4 (44.4%)	3 (33.3%)	6 (46.2%)	3 (23.1%)	4 (30.8%)
Uses/Avoids Emotive language	4 (44.4%)	4 (44.4%)	1 (11.1%)	2 (15.4%)	5 (38.5%)	6 (46.2%)

Regarding MAKAN33 channel, the study analyzed 15 news story for recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, and nine news story for Qatari crisis. The reactive (80%) Indicator was the highest in the war journalism in recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel's event, while the differences oriented (77.8%) and focus on here and now (77.8%) were the highest indicators of war journalism in Qatar crisis.

Concerning peace journalism, the highest indicators were stays on to reports after the war (60%) in recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and in the Qatari crisis event, the ratios varied between all indicators.

**Table 3-6: Peace/War indicators of MAKAN 33 channel**

Table 3.6. illustrates frequency and percentages of MAKAN33 channel reporting of “US President Donald Trump recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel”<sup>15</sup> and “Qatar Crisis”<sup>9</sup> Event.

Indicators	<i>Channel MAKAN33</i>					
	<i>Jerusalem conflict</i>			<i>Qatar crisis</i>		
	<i>Peace</i>	<i>War</i>	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Peace</i>	<i>War</i>	<i>Neutral</i>
Reactive/Proactive	3 (20%)	12 (80%)	0 (0.0%)	2 (22.2%)	5 (55.6%)	2 (22.2%)
Visible/Invisible effects of war	1 (6.7%)	10 (66.7%)	4 (26.7%)	3 (33.3%)	5 (55.6%)	1 (11.1%)
Elite/People-oriented	4 (26.7%)	8 (53.3%)	3 (20%)	0 (0.0%)	7 (77.8%)	2 (22.2%)
Differences/Agreement oriented	5 (33.3%)	9 (60%)	1 (6.7%)	2 (22.2%)	7 (77.8%)	0 (0.0%)
Causes and consequences /Focus on here and now	2 (13.3%)	11 (73.3%)	2 (13.3%)	2 (22.2%)	4 (44.4%)	3 (33.3%)
Dichotomizes good and bad /Avoid label of good and bad	4 (26.7%)	8 (53.3%)	3 (20%)	2 (22.2%)	5 (55.6%)	2 (22.2%)

Two-party/Multiparty orientation	8 (53.3%)	7 (46.7%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)
Partisan/ Nonpartisan	2 (13.3%)	9 (60%)	4 (26.7%)	1 (11.1%)	6 (66.7%)	2 (22.2%)
Zero sum/ Win-win orientation	2 (13.3%)	11 (73.3%)	2 (13.3%)	1 (11.1%)	6 (66.7%)	2 (22.2%)
Stops reporting and leaves after war/Stays on to report afterwar	9 (60%)	2 (13.3%)	4 (26.7%)	3 (33.3%)	4 (44.4%)	2 (22.2%)
Uses/Avoids victimizing language	2 (13.3%)	9 (60%)	4 (26.7%)	3 (33.3%)	6 (66.7%)	0 (0.0%)
Uses/Avoids Demonizing language	4 (26.7%)	6 (40%)	5 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)
Uses/Avoids Emotive language	9 (60%)	4 (26.7%)	2 (13.3%)	3 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)

Finally, the fourth question in this thesis, on the international channels funded by non-Arab governments which broadcasting to the Arab World, what is the perception of the Arab World during coverage of the conflicts?

In light of the previous analysis of the international channels that are broadcast to the Arab World as they cover two different conflicts: "President Donald Trump's acknowledgement of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel" and "the Qatari crisis," we can draw some important observations about the context of peace journalism and the role it can play in Arab world environments.

Many Arab countries suffer from ongoing conflicts at the regional and national levels, some of which linked to disputes over geographical borders and natural resources, which a direct result of the colonial era, conflicts that the media can consciously or unconsciously rise. The role that the media can play in managing the conflict based on regional and national interests and a tool for soft power in other countries.

The international media, especially Arabic-speaking foreign channels, have always presented a particular concept to the issues of the Arab region, the problems they face, their causes, the roles of their actors, and the solutions they envisage to the issues in the conflict. The

establishment of such satellite channels has come in response to a specific logic aimed at influencing Arab opinion in the field more competitive media than clear business objectives. This has resulted in the fragility of the credibility of these satellite channels among the Arab masses, which have become more than ever control the media agenda and determine the hierarchy of news and in some way the editorial line, despite the bidders of respect for the principles of media neutrality and professional professionalism and administrative independence, since then these satellite channels. The development of strategies of influence in an attempt to adapt to the conditions needs and tastes imposed by the transformations experienced by the space media scene at the regional and international levels in recent years, especially the increasing role of social media in the formation of public opinion.

On the other hand, foreign Arabic-speaking satellite channels based on their coverage of Arab internal affairs in general on the image of the revolutionary or revolutionary activist who, contrary to the current trend, is diverting a large number of them in to talk shows and reports to express their views.

The process of analyzing the content of these programs, such as "Axes" in France 24 specifically, revealed the trends that led to hosting some of the most controversial figures in the Arab World or even selecting issues and how to address them. The period covered by the study, the program dominated by current issues related to the dialectic of Islam and its relation to violence and terrorism, which is entirely consistent with the political agenda of the French government during that period after the increase in the frequency of terrorist attacks in the country. Such issues in the Arabic-speaking channels at this particular time confirm a new strategy to engage in the drive for religious reform by provoking public debate on this issue. Regardless of the positive or negative call to reform the Islamic discourse in an attempt to stop or mitigate violence, such a position can be understood as an attempt to pressure external to

advance religious reforms in Muslim-majority Arab societies. Moreover, it remains remarkable in this matter issued in the context of secular policies supposedly based on the separation between religion and power.

"Panorama," which is on the Russian Today channel, devoted two episodes to the Gulf crisis, adopting an exaggerated and robust speech to deal with the events in an attempt to exaggerate and amplify the issue: the "serious crisis," "the most serious crisis," "the depth of the crisis", "confrontation or war," "scandals," "quadriplegic offensive," "war project," "playful Machiavellian game," "dangerous emerging situation," etc. Also, some special terms and phrases were used to describe the crisis as a "conspiracy" or a "Machiavellian game" made by parties in order to reach the goals and objectives of: "The Gulf Puzzle: Who Solves It?", Qatar in the Goal: The scenes? ".

The Russian criticism focused on the role played by the United States in this crisis, and especially on the relations and interests and alliances that connect the various parties to the crisis. Such a sharp and sharp rhetoric would help to instill suspicion and suspicion among the various stakeholders in the interest of the opposing parties (Russia and its allies in the region), saying: "We are the good guys" and "the fakers", A popular public discourse known for its anti-Americanism has strengthened the receptive capacity for such rhetoric and increased tensions among the various Arab parties.

Not far from this logic, France 24 and Al-Hurra channel they covered the Gulf crisis with a focus on what called "efforts" and "mediation" and "calls for dialogue and calm" for France and the United States in particular in resolving them. It seems clear that US policy has brought to the fore this controversial role in the Arab and international media in an attempt to appear as a "neutral" party in this crisis and to refute the many accusations that revealed its role in igniting the crisis following President Donald Trump's visit to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia Saudi

Arabia: "With the mediation of mediations, the initiative led by the US Secretary of State stands out as the best mediation options available at the international level due to the close and parallel relations between the United States and the two Gulf states ...(Al-Hurra, July 25) July 2017, "Al-Azz Its diplomacy with Qatar is still intact despite multiple offers the solution").

In both cases, we can conclude that the media discourse that dealt with the Gulf crisis represents a bold speech through the arsenal of terms used, as mentioned above. It also based on a set of constructed and artificial facts with the aim of concealing its reality through a scene and a worrying review through intimidation and fabrication on July 29 2017, Al-Hurra broadcast a 30-minute episode of the crisis titled "The Manama Meeting: Strong Actions Against Qatar" that focused heavily on the "Other Qatar of the Gulf Cooperation Council, or the freezing of its membership or remove them ," and tried to highlight the relationship between this crisis and the increased threat of terrorism in the region and the World.

The results of addressing Arab internal affairs in foreign Arabic-speaking satellite channels bring to the fore the question of the dialectical relationship between government authorities and regional and international media actors, mainly through individual media policies of specific social groups, in an attempt to increase opportunities for public influence.

Among these social groups can be described as belonging to young people, as we have already mentioned, and categories of women and children. In the West, Arab and Muslim women are still perceived as excluded, subordinate or marginalized and often rely on inclusive discourse to address their issues.

Accordingly, we find the speech of foreign satellite channels speaking Arabic and Western media discourse in general, moulded following this fragmentary view of contemporary reality and the development of women in Muslim-majority Arab societies. The excessive focus on

individual paths of women in a specific context or community and their portrayal as unusual situations that are directly at the service of a specific logic is to appear as an "ally" of women to legitimize intervention or contemplation in the internal affairs of the region.

Regarding TRT Arabic channel coverage of recognition of Jerusalem as a capital of Israel; it relied on portraying the Arab World as living in a continuing religious conflict between Islam and Christianity. At least four or more news stories mentioned terms such as the Christian World and the Islamic World. Besides, the channel focused on the fact that the event was religious and hosted at least 7 out of 12 people working in official and non-official religious bodies and thus depicted the event as a part of the Islamic World as a whole and did not mention the Arab World.

### **The Thesis Hypothesis**

This thesis suggested the following hypothesis based on previous peace journalism studies: War journalism indicators are the most widely used than indicators of peace journalism during conflict media coverage in the international channels broadcasting to the Arab World and financed by non-Arab governments.

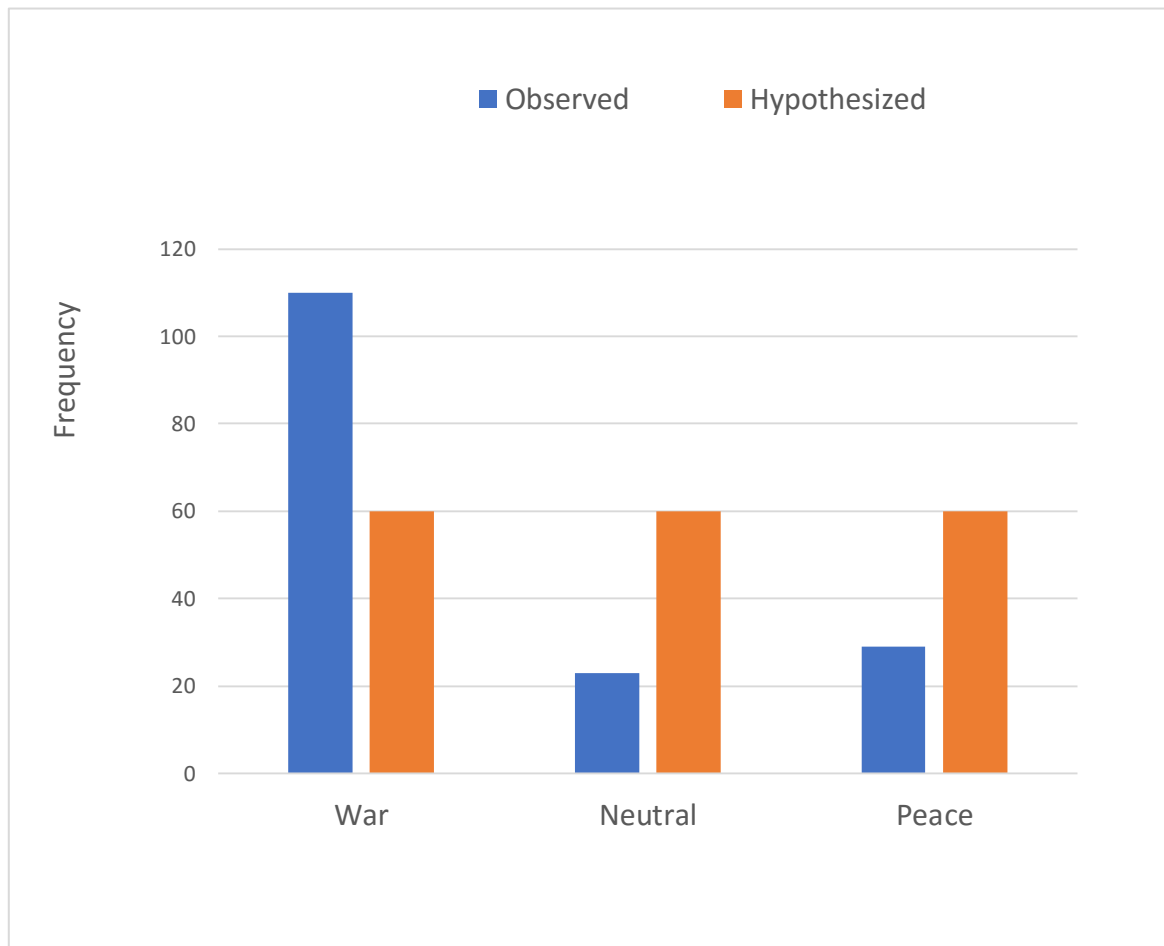
Out of 162 news stories, 110 (67.9%) stories classified as news stories produced as war journalism, war indicators were more than indicators of peace journalism, and 29 (17.9%) stories classified as news stories produced as peace journalism while 23 (14.2%) were as neutral. Overall, Table 4 confirms that War journalism indicators are the most widely used than indicators of peace journalism during conflict media coverage in the international channels broadcasting to the Arab World and financed by non-Arab governments ( $\chi^2(2)$ ,  $N=162$ ) =10.132,  $p < .001$ .

**Table-4: Distribution of Overall Framing**

<b>Conflicts</b>	<b>War</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Peace</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Jerusalem conflicts</b>	61 (37.7%)	14 (8.6%)	7 (4.3%)	82 (50.6%)
<b>Qatar crisis</b>	49 (30.2%)	9(5.6%)	22 (13.6%)	80 (49.4%)
<b>Total</b>	110 (67.9%)	23(14.2%)	29(17.9%)	162 (100%)

N=162, Chi-square = 10.132, p<.001

*Figure-1 Distribution of Overall:*



## Chapter 5- Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the use of peace and war journalism techniques by collected news stories from six Arabic-speaking TV channels funded by governments of non-Arab countries, these countries have different policies towards the Arab world, and therefore are suitable for this study, where we can identify the differences among them if they exist. Six TV channels from different countries: Al-Hurra TV, Russia Today (Arabic), France24(Arabic), BBC(Arabic), TRT(Arabic), MAKAN 33 by covering these channels to two significant events in the Arab world during 2017/2018: US President Donald Trump recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and Qatari crisis. The theoretical framework for this study based on peace and war journalism. The research examined a total of 162 news stories from December 6, 2017, and April 6, 2018.

This thesis was starting from the official recognition of President Trump about Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and from May 24, 2017, to April 24, 2018. Since the beginning of the crisis in Qatar. The method used for analyzing this study was based on Johan Galtung's peace journalism model, also used in a study by Maslog et al. (2006). A coding definition sheet based on Maslog et al. 's (2006) study used when coding articles (See Appendix B).

In this chapter, the findings of the study discussed the details; Firstly, the dominant journalism frames discussed in the coverage of the conflicts. In this study, two main conflicts examined: "Recognition of Jerusalem" and "Qatar Crisis," After that, the mainframes of war journalism and the factors that help war frames emerge during conflict coverage are presented and thirdly, the dominance peace journalism frames discussed while the media were covering the conflicts. Fourthly, the hypotheses reached by the study and compared with previous research. Finally, the fifth chapter ends with the limitations of the study. Afterwards, the theoretical and practical

implications of the study results discussed, after which proposals for future studies and research presented.

### **War and Peace Journalism framing across conflicts and channels**

According to the findings of the study, there are statistically significant differences in the framing of war journalism versus peace journalism among the sample of the study, which is the six international channels. In other words, these channels produced war stories more than journalism stories about peace, for example, roughly 75 per cent, of stories broadcast in the AL-Hurra channel in the "Recognition of Jerusalem" conflict, were classified as war journalism, this is in line with the findings of a 2010 Lee study in which he said Western media were trying to focus on conflict and violence in news stories produced about developing countries.

Overall, there was a difference in the perspective taken of the event "Recognition of Jerusalem" compared between the international channels funded by Non-Arab governments broadcasting to the Arab world. Also, there was no statistically significant difference in overall journalism framing across the international channels.

All the channels oriented to war journalism frames. It is interesting to note that Al-Hurra and MAKAN 33 are more war-oriented in coverage of the issue of recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel; both channels are a party to the conflict. Generally, the American media, known for its independence in presenting issues to the public away from the opinion of the US government in these issues but it was quite the opposite, where it was considered an extension of the government in some of the issues dealt, for example, CNN, which is a professional and

unbiased, dealing with the global audience on principle 'us and them' slant... Although US values promoted include freedom of the press as a fundamental and distinct value, the US journalism fails to communicate information to the public accurately and helps to make contact between public, which is a pressing responsibility, but the US journalism has always proved to be a battleground, Armageddon on invisible enemies. (Mikali, 2001, p.2)

As for the coverage of news channels funded by non-Arab governments and broadcast in the Arab world to the crisis in Qatar, the results showed that makan33 channel, funded by the Israeli government, topped the channels dominated by the war journalism while covering the "Qatar crisis", while BBC channel was the most productive for news stories about peace journalism compared to the thesis sample.

### **War Frames Most Commonly Used in Coverage**

The content analysis applied in the thesis on six international channels revealed that there are four frames for war journalism that are most commonly used to achieve prevalence, they were: elite-oriented, use of dichotomizing, here-and-now focus; and use of emotive language, also found that both indicators, emotional language and differences oriented among the most prominent indicators used in war journalism.

The previous literature which the thesis referred previously concurred with these findings, where it found that the most widely used war journalism indicators were dichotomizations, elite-oriented, and focus here-and-now. Among previous studies that agreed with these findings and relied mainly on the Galtung classification of peace and war journalism on which this thesis based were (Fahmy & Eakin, 2013) study (Lee, 2010) and (Lee & Maslog, 2005).

The sample of the thesis (the six news channels) used the following war journalism indicators to cover the conflict "Recognition of Jerusalem": Elite-oriented, differences-oriented, Reactive and Focus on here/now.

While the coverage of the Qatari crisis focused on the following war journalism indicators: Focus on here and now, differences, zero-sum, Use victimizing language and Reactive. The dichotomized war indicator was observed in the coverage of "Recognition of Jerusalem" conflict most of TRT channels, followed by Al-Hurra channel, France 24, Makan33, BBC, and the least in Russia Today channel. In the coverage of "Qatar Crisis," the most of dichotomized framing was in Al-Hurra channel followed by BBC, France24, Makan33, and the least in TRT channels.

### **Focus on the immediate event (Focus on here and now)**

Significantly, the results show that the sample of the study, the six channels, clearly focused on the immediate and urgent event during the short period in which the conflict occurred with little necessary information and did not address the historical and cultural context of the conflict.

A further indicator of war journalism emerged in the media coverage of the conflicts analyzed in the study, focusing on here and now, which supports the earlier conclusion that war-journalism frames are dominant in coverage of conflicts. As Lee and Maslog (2005) say, the use of the index here and now in the media coverage is more common in newspapers.

When making any media coverage of the conflict, it is supposed to stay away from the sensational and stereotypical nature of reporting a news story, especially if there is the talk of minorities and different parties to the conflict. Comprehensive information about the cultural

and historical backgrounds of each category must be presented in the conflict to help the public causes the truth and the roots that led to the conflict.

For example, we can trace conflicts in a more profound and more protracted way. The study deals with the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. This conflict did not arise in 2017. It began at the end of the Ottoman period with historical roots extending much earlier.

We cannot separate the context, circumstances, and historical, cultural and social factors that have contributed to the formation of the current conflict over the past decades, failure to provide background and conflict formation contexts often leads to failure to deliver a constructive speech in the media.

The issue of recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel is part of a conflict that has been going on for decades, Both Power & Andsager (1999) noted there have been numerous online and digital media campaigns that disseminate information to incite religious violence between the three faiths and sectarian violence in order to provoke more societal conflicts, thereby reducing the violence that may result from immediate treatment of conflict news in the media, which is often urgent, to illustrate the manipulation and hidden agenda of the parties to the conflict trying to broadcast messages to manipulate public opinion and try to hide the roots of the original conflict.

### **The language used in covering conflicts**

The results of the study indicate that the sample of the study, the six international channels covering the conflict issues studied, generally used the interactive frames as well as the reliance on distinctive news sources, while the war journalism frames dominated the news coverage.

This pattern of coverage can explain by the definition of framing theory proposed by de Vreese (2005), where he argued that the framing is a process of highlighting certain elements in a particular subject to make it more evident than others, and thus create a specific way to understanding of an event or issue is formed. Besides, journalists use a specific language to describe conflict based on their narrative of events, and they are also built frames explicitly to identify conflict issues.

The peace journalism appeared before the nineties of the last century as it carried many concepts, which are different from the traditional journalism, and its main task to work to stop the contamination of minds and eyes and ears of human beings' violent media passionate and provocative. Peace journalism left the interpretation to audiences causes of conflict without bias, through practical tools to analyze the conflict and focus the transfer of facts as they are without prejudice to one party at the expense of the other party, Moreover, without manipulating emotions of the masses through the use of emotional words as tragedy or innocence to achieve the highest percentage of follow-up.

Perhaps the "situational" dramas that fill the corners of the Arab world are those that have built a media based on the sectarian, political and sectarian basis based on factional facts. Without a doubt, this media was a useful tool in "pouring oil on the fire for geopolitical interests".

The question was, how the media could convey the crises and wars of the world without being involved in propagating a culture of violence and advocating hatred? A question that began more than 70 years ago, following the Second World War.

In the case of this dissertation and the sample analyzed, the news stories covered in six news channels differed in the use of language between peace journalism frames and war journalism frames, the results revealed that the most frequently used language was victimizing language and demonizing language in the coverage of the events "Recognition of Jerusalem" conflict and Qatar crisis. In general, the six channels relied heavily on the language of the victim, followed by the use of demonic language and terms that fuel conflict.

It turned out that MAKAN33 Channel and TRT used the language of the victim more than the other channels in covering the conflict of recognition of Jerusalem, while it turned out that the channels such as Russia Today and France 24 used some demonizing language more than other channels had done for covering the news about the Qatar crisis. As for the emotional language, its use has been widely observed, regardless of the channels or event covered, the BBC and TRT were used the emotional language significantly by their coverage of the conflict "recognition of Jerusalem," In coverage of the crisis in Qatar, the emotional language used significantly in France 24 and Russia today.

### **Peace Frames Most Commonly Used in Coverage**

During the presentation of previous conclusions, the focus was on the war journalism frames that dominated the news coverage in general, but it is essential to know the peace journalism frames used in the news coverage analyzed. If we reviewed the most widely used frameworks during coverage of the conflict in Qatar and the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in the study sample, the six-news channels broadcast in Arabic, It is consistent with the results of past research about peace journalism and frames used to cover conflicts, which were reached by Lee & Maslog, 2005, and Fahmy & Eakin, 2013.

They found that avoiding the use of demonizing language and going to several parties and hearing from several parties is one of the most critical frames on which they depend on Peace journalism, As for this thesis, it found that; the most common frames used in the six channels which examined it was peace journalism frames, in addition to previous studies this thesis found another indicator everyday use were: Nonpartisan orientation and stays on to report after conflict.

### **War Frames Most Commonly Used in Coverage**

As confirmed in previous studies, this study has tested one hypothesis that war journalism is more dominant than of peace journalism when reporting conflicts. Based on the analysis of the data presented in the study, the hypothesis is correct. Besides, a set of previous studies also supported the same conclusion, as the approach to war journalism was dominant in news reporting (Ersoy, 2016; Abdul-Nabi, 2015; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005; Lee & 2005).

Wolfsfeld (2001) explained that the media plays an important and influential role in conflicts where they can be constructive towards peace or destructive to war. While the theory of peace journalism is normative, it can be constructive in the peace process through news stories that support the peaceful settlement of the conflict, where journalists should do what is in the interest of peace (Irfan, 2006).

Thus, the press of war can play a destructive role in the peace process through news stories that support fueling, intensifying and inciting violence (Lee & Maslog, 2005). The results of this study clearly show that the media are often destructive in the process of ending the conflicts and increase its intensity and do not support constructive ways in the process of establishing

peace while reporting the disputes. Applies to the sample of the study, which the channels broadcast in Arabic and funded by non-Arab governments and directed to the Arab world.

### **Limitations**

In this study, there were three significant constraints. First, the size of the sample in this study is limited. A total of 162 news stories were coded, of the 31-news story from BBC (from both the Recognition of Jerusalem and Qatar Crisis), 31 news story also from Al-Hurra channel, 29 news story from Russia Today, 25 news story from France24, while of the 24-news story from Makan33, and 22 news story from TRT. All of the news stories selected for this study were in the Arabic language.

Second, the sample collected was from the Internet Archive from the channel's website or its affiliate accounts on social media sites. Some channels do not publish all news stories that broadcast on the Internet, and some stories not completed.

Thirdly, this study relied on the coding methodology proposed by Galtung through the classification of bilateral indicators of war and peace journalism and has used in several studies, including (Lee & Maslog, 2005; Lee, 2010).

However, the revised classification framework did not specify how the researcher could classify news stories containing a mix of peace journalism indicators and war press indicators, many news stories that were not dominated by war journalism frames or frames of peace, the same story, therefore, was taken as neutral.

## **Recommendations**

There is a recommendation for future studies that is to expand the scope of analysis and study more than a conflict related to the Arab world. This study analyzed two conflicts: the recognition of Jerusalem and the crisis of Qatar, but on a larger scale, there are many conflicts rooted in the Arab world.

On the other hand, future studies can use more than one international channel in the sample, in addition to the channels used in this study. International channels that are broadcast in Arabic and funded by non-Arab governments have used. There are international Arab channels financed by private companies and broadcast in Arabic such as CNN or Sky News, and others, there are also international channels funded by Arab governments such as Al Jazeera television network and MBC network. Also, future studies can examine the framing of peace and war journalism in other traditional media such as newspapers and radio stations, such as Monte Carlo International or BBC Radio in Arabic.

Future studies can examine the concepts of framing in the new media emerging in the Arab world, such as social media, blogging, and citizen journalism, especially in the period of its spread during the Arab Spring revolutions, it would be interesting to study the framing of the war and peace journalism on social networking platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, and how they used peace and war journalism frameworks in a conflict-ridden environment.

Finally, future studies should focus on understanding the process by which the framework created in the media and how it is dominant in reporting conflicts.

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## Appendix A - Coding Instruction

	<i>Cohen's Kappa</i>	<i>Krippendorff's Alpha</i>	<i>N Agreement</i>	<i>N Disagreement</i>	<i>N Cases</i>	<i>N Decisions</i>
<i>Proactive</i>	.775	.7799	17	1	18	52
<i>Invisible effects</i>	.829	.8329	16	2	18	52
<i>People</i>	.820	.8232	16	2	18	52
<i>Agreement</i>	.889	.8916	17	1	18	52
<i>Causes and consequences</i>	1	1	18	0	18	52
<i>No dichotomizing</i>	.891	.8936	17	1	18	52
<i>Multiparty</i>	1	1	18	0	18	52
<i>Nonpartisan</i>	1	1	18	0	18	52
<i>Win-win/ orientation</i>	.778	.7813	16	2	18	52
<i>Stays on to reporting</i>	1	1	18	0	18	52
<i>Avoids victimizing</i>	.910	.9173	17	1	18	52
<i>Avoids demonizing</i>	1	1	18	0	18	52
<i>Avoids emotive</i>	.909	.9109	17	1	18	52
<i>Reactive</i>	1	1	18	0	18	52
<i>Visible effects</i>	.913	.9153	17	1	18	52
<i>Elite oriented</i>	.817	.8219	16	2	18	52
<i>Differences</i>	.908	.9086	16	2	18	52
<i>Here and now</i>	1	1	18	0	18	52
<i>Dichotomizing</i>	.882	.8845	18	2	18	52
<i>Two-party</i>	.913	.9148	17	1	18	52
<i>Partisan</i>	.915	.9173	17	1	18	52
<i>Zero Sum (Victory)</i>	1	1	18	0	18	52
<i>Stops reporting</i>	.853	.8380	16	2	18	52
<i>Victimizing</i>	.738	.7445	15	3	18	52
<i>Demonizing</i>	1	1	18	0	18	52
<i>Emotive</i>	.913	.9148	17	1	18	52

## Appendix B- Code Sheet

Story ID: \_\_\_\_\_

Date (MM/DD/YYYY) \_\_\_\_\_

V0. Channels: AlHuraa=1, RT=2, France24=3, BBC=4, TRT =5, Makan33=6

V1. Conflicts: Jerusalem conflicts =1, Qatar crisis=2

W1. Reactive: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

W2. Visible effects of war: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

W3. Elite orientation: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

W4. Difference -oriented: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

W5. Focus on here and now: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

W6. Dichotomizing the good and bad: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

W7. Two party orientation: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

W8. Partisan: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

W9. Zero-sum orientation: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

W10. Stops reporting and leave after war: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

W11. Uses victimizing language: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

W12. Uses demonizing language Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

W13. Uses emotive language Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

P1. Proactive: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

P2. Invisible effects of war: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

P3. People oriented: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

P4. Agreement-oriented: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

P5. Causes and consequences of war: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

P6. Avoid labeling of good and bad: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

P7. Multi-party orientation: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

P8. Non-partisan: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

P9. Win-win orientation: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

P10. Stays on to report aftermath of war: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

P11. Avoids victimizing language: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

P12. Avoids demonizing language: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

P13. Avoids emotive language: Yes= \_\_\_\_\_, No= \_\_\_\_\_, or Neutral= \_\_\_\_\_

V.2 Overall Framing: War =1, Neutral =2, Peace = 3