

Interpreting Peace Journalism in East Africa:
Individual, Organizational, and Professional Influences

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Abstract

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Despite increased scholarly attention to peace journalism content and theory in recent decades, journalists' perceptions of peace journalism are less well understood. This relative disparity matters to the extent that journalists' understanding of peace journalism has some bearing on the content that is produced and the progress made toward the larger normative goal of more peaceful societies. The following thesis contributes to this end by examining the social conditions that shape journalists' interpretation of peace journalism. Using a hierarchy-of-influences perspective and data collected from 20 semi-structured interviews with journalists in East Africa, the study explores how journalists interpret peace journalism as a model for professional practice and how these perceptions are shaped by individual and professional-structural dynamics. The study finds that journalists' interest in peace journalism may correspond to particular types of shared experiences, such as conflict experience or role conceptions, and that professional-structural influences, such as professional precarity, correspond to distinct understandings of peace journalism.

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Chapter 1: Peace Journalism and journalists' perceptions

Introduction

Interest in “peace journalism” has increased considerably in recent decades. Developed by Norwegian sociologist Johan Galtung in the 1970s and gaining traction at the turn of the century, the peace-journalism model promotes non-violent solutions to conflict by correcting for the perceived value biases of contemporary war journalism (Galtung, 2003). These value biases are reflected in a general preference for episodic, event-based reporting, official sources, and a narrative dichotomy of good and bad actors (Allen & Seaton, 1999). Peace journalism aims to correct for these biases through an orientation toward the structural causes of conflict, opportunities for peacemaking, and multiparty interactions (Galtung, 2003; Lee & Maslog, 2005).

Attention to peace journalism has not been limited to the academy. International organizations like the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) have devoted considerable time and resources to support peace-journalism trainings around the world. As a result, thousands of editors and reporters have begun to discuss and, in some places, practice peace journalism. For example, in March 2017, journalists and researchers gathered in Kisumu, Kenya to participate in the first East African Peace Journalism Training Workshop. This training, hosted by Rongo University in collaboration with the African Peacebuilding Network (APN) of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), brought individuals together for two days to discuss capacity-building measures for reporting on conflict, as well as ways to promote understanding of peace-journalism theory and practice (Social Sciences Research Council, 2017).

While research—often taking the form of content analysis—has been conducted to examine the extent to which peace-journalism frames manifest in news content, far less work considers how journalists make sense of peace journalism and the implications of such interpretations on practice. This relative disparity matters to the extent that journalists' understanding of peace journalism has some bearing on the content that is produced and, subsequently, the progress made toward the larger normative goal of more peaceful societies. The following study contributes to this end by examining the social conditions that shape journalists' interpretation of peace journalism. Namely, how do journalists interpret peace

journalism as a model for professional practice and how are these perceptions shaped by individual characteristics and professional-structural dynamics?

Literature Review

Peace journalism

Galtung's (1986) earliest writings on peace journalism date back to the Cold War and condemn the media's tendency to overemphasize negative events, foreground elite actors, and neglect the societal benefits of peace. In light of these criticisms, Galtung (1998) has been instrumental in directly contrasting peace journalism with contemporary war journalism, which is often characterized as sensationalist, superficial, and primarily concerned with depicting spectacles to boost ratings and circulation (Allen & Seaton, 1999; Carruthers, 2011). In contrast, peace journalism underscores the root causes of conflict and emphasizes areas for common ground or resolution (Galtung, 2003; Lee, 2005).

Research on peace journalism can be categorized broadly into three lines of interest. These include peace journalism as a normative concept, peace-journalism content and effects, and peace journalism as a model for journalism practice. In addition to employing different theoretical and methodological lenses, these distinctions become important when considering how peace journalism is defined and how its presence and influence can be ascertained. As an intellectual concept, work on peace journalism often assumes normative goals related to the maintenance (or restoration) of peaceful societies, ranging from prevention of conflict (Mogekew, 2011), to diffusion of conflict by peaceful means (Lynch, 2013), to larger peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts following conflict (Hawkins, 2011). Studied as media content and effects, peace journalism is commonly examined as the presence or absence of peace-journalism frames and conventions in texts alongside individual affective responses to such content (Gouse, et al., 2019; McGoldrick & Lynch, 2016). Finally, and most relevant to this inquiry, scholars interested in peace journalism as a practice explore peace journalism through journalists' perceptions and attitudinal shifts following introduction to the reporting model of peace journalism (e.g. Abunales, 2016; Adebayo, 2016).

Scholarship on the practice of peace journalism can further be categorized into two separate, albeit related, approaches. One subset of inquiries has examined peace journalism and journalists'

perceptions. Findings from these studies generally suggest that journalists are more likely to support and practice constructive reporting practices, such as those associated with peace journalism, when they perceive their professional role as one of an active participant in societal well-being (Andreson et al., 2017; McIntye & Sobel, 2017). While active participation may look differently across contexts, it is generally associated with reporting oriented toward problem-solving and the effects of reporting on societal issues (Bro, 2008). Studies on journalists' perceptions also suggest that familiarity with or training in peace journalism increases its practice. In such investigations, increased practice is documented either through more peace-journalism indicators in a text (Abunales, 2016) or through journalists' self-reports (Adebayo, 2016) following introduction to peace journalism.

A second subset of research on the practice of peace journalism considers how various influences on the conflict reporting process impact the production of peace-journalism content. Here, a multi-level influences approach, reminiscent of Shoemaker and Reese's (2014) classic hierarchy-of-influences model, illustrates the myriad ways in which conflict reporting can be influenced by societal-, structural-, and individual-levels factors (Bläsi, 2004, 2009). At the level of the individual, conflict coverage is said to be impacted by personal attitudes, beliefs, experience, knowledge, and conflict competencies (Bläsi, 2009).

These two lines of research—perceptions of peace journalism by individual journalists and individual journalists' influence on the production of peace journalism—both begin with the journalist and extend forward to implications for content production. This reflects a larger academic tendency to focus on how perceptions shape news content (Albæk et al., 2014; Shoemaker et al., 2009). However, it becomes equally, if not more, important to look back farther still at what shapes such individual perceptions to begin with. In neglecting to consider how perceptions are shaped, collective work may address what journalists think and what journalists do without developing a full understanding about why that process plays out the way it does. Thus, there is value in not only knowing whether perceptions and practices are linked, but also in understanding which influences are important in shaping such results. To approach this puzzle, one must first understand the factors influencing journalists' perceptions of professional models like peace journalism.

Journalists' perceptions and professional model importation

While peace journalism is a relatively recent example of a model, or analytical approach, for journalism practice, it is by no means the first. Peace journalism joins the ranks of other journalistic professional development efforts—such as solutions journalism, social-responsibility journalism, and investigative journalism—that have experienced varying successes and challenges as they are introduced across contexts. Several schools of thought contribute to how models for professional practice are adopted, including the influence of national press systems (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, 2011), organizational dynamics (Amiel & Powers, 2019; Breed, 1955; Gade & Perry, 2003), and individual resolve or interpretation (McIntyre & Sobel, 2017; White, 1950). While these schools of thought all provide valuable perspectives, most of which acknowledge the interplay of all three influences, of particular interest to this inquiry is significance at the level of individual interpretation.

This line of thinking tracks with theories of normative individualism, or work chiefly concerned with personal characteristics of journalists, as well as the conceptualization of the individual journalist as a “gatekeeper” who wields primary power over news production and content (White, 1950). In addition, it resonates with leadership theorist Thomas Carlyle’s notion of the Great Man theory, or the assertion that certain individuals act as heroes by harnessing their natural attributes to lead and make change, or in this case, adopt practices associated with particular journalism models. This perspective draws a reliable critique about whether individual decisions can be understood outside the organizational and cultural structures within which they work (Hanitzsch, 2004).

To this point, it is imperative to acknowledge that the writing process of any individual journalist is not an isolated event; it is influenced by a great many factors such as gender, race, nationality, and other socio-structural forces that moderate one’s decision making (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). This reality inevitably informs Schudson’s (1995) assertion that “journalists add something to every story they run” (p. 19). From here, extant scholarship provides many circumstances which may impact how journalists interpret peace journalism and its importation as a model for professional practice. However, the present investigation is concerned with the relative influence of three factors in particular: individual background or personal experience, professional role conceptions, and journalistic routines and organizational dynamics. Given their proximity to individual experience, these influences are more readily accessed by

journalists themselves as compared to the impacts of larger media systems or social orders and provide a strong conceptual foundation from which future studies may examine more pervasive institutional forces.

Individual Background Experience. At the level of individual background, how journalists perceive peace journalism may be influenced by their previous experiences or ways of understanding the world, such as education or career trajectory. One particularly relevant area in this context is journalists' personal experience with and previous understandings of conflict. For example, conflict coverage is said to be impacted by three different kinds of journalist competencies (Bläsi, 2004). These include basic journalistic competence—or the capacities needed to distill, prioritize, and present information accurately in a report—as well as general conflict competence and specific conflict competence. General conflict competence is characterized by more universal, textbook-oriented knowledge about what conflict is, how it progresses, and how one behaves in its presence, whereas specific conflict competence refers to what the journalist knows about a specific conflict at hand and its parties. The most high-quality conflict reporting, including contextualized reporting associated with peace journalism, is expected from journalists who rank high across all three competencies. As such, journalists' conflict-specific knowledge and understanding is theorized to influence how they interpret and perceive principles like those associated with peace journalism.

Role Conceptions. In addition to individual background, journalists may perceive peace journalism differently based on their perception of journalists' professional roles. Role conception refers to the ways in which journalists conceive of and articulate the most important aspects of their job and their contributions to society. These roles have been categorized at the level of national journalism cultures as monitorial, collaborative, interventionist, and accommodative, differing between one another across several categories. Such differences in journalists' role conceptions include the degree of appropriate government antagonism, level of audience engagement, and the extent to which solutions to societal problems are developed and presented in the news. Of course, these roles are then shaped by many numerous national, regional, and global dynamics (Hanitzsch et al., 2019).

Extant scholarship demonstrates a relationship between journalists' role conception and perceptions of models like peace journalism (Andresen et al., 2017). For example, a 2017 study found that Rwandese journalists felt an obligation to promote unity and reconciliation and that this orientation

contributed to journalists' general receptiveness to peace journalism (McIntyre & Sobel, 2017). This tracks with research suggesting that journalists in non-Western contexts value more interventionist and developmental roles, both orientations that are relatively friendly to constructive reporting practices like peace journalism, than their Western counterparts (Hanitzsch et al., 2011).

Routines and Organizational Dynamics. Finally, pressures at the levels of professional routines and organizational dynamics—discussed here as “professional-structural” dynamics— may influence how journalists perceive and interpret peace journalism. Peace journalism has long been critiqued as overly advocative, fundamentally at odds with professional norms like objectivity (Loyn, 2007), news values such as conflict and timeliness (Hanitzsch, 2004), and journalistic rhetorical conventions like storytelling frames (Fawcett, 2002). These norms are maintained by way of professional routines and organizational structures (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). At the organizational level, journalists cite issues such as time constraints and lack of resources as impediments to conflict-sensitive coverage like peace journalism. At the level of professional routines, institutionalized norms like attending press conferences and following breaking news, often associated with episodic conflict, also run counter to the deeply contextualized reporting associated with peace journalism (Rodny-Gumede, 2016).

These organizational and professional pressures are often exacerbated for journalists occupying particularly precarious professional positions. Much of the work on precarity in journalism has been conducted in western contexts (Matthews & Onyemaobi, 2020) and focuses on precarious employment, which can be defined as “work for remuneration characterized by uncertainty, low income, and limited social benefits and statutory entitlements” (Vosko, 2010, p. 2). In media work, precarious employment often encompasses young or entry-level reporters who may move in and out of journalism as freelance, contract, or part-time workers (Cohen et al., 2019).

The concept of professional precarity can be extended to precariousness situated at the organizational level with impacts on individuals. Given the rise of digital news and increased media convergence over recent decades, community media houses in more rural areas face heightened challenges such as declining circulation and added financial insecurity (Abernathy, 2018). Moreover, this organizational precarity and resource uncertainty can have impacts on news decision making (Arenberg & Lowrey, 2018), indicating that editors or newsroom managers at small, rural media houses may also

operate under a kind of professional precarity associated with their respective leadership positions in these organizations. While this type of organizational precarity is not typically captured in conversations around precarious employment, such a perspective suggests that professional and organizational pressures may be experienced unevenly by individuals depending on the type of organization they work for.

Employment precarity and organizational precarity are not prerequisites for the professional-structural pressures detailed above. These pressures, like resource constraints and industry norms, are felt to some degree by all media practitioners. However, these forms of precariousness may have layered impacts on how journalists experience such forces, helping to explain how and why some individuals may be more impacted by professional-structural dynamics than others. Given the extent to which professional-structural dynamics govern the day-to-day practice of journalism, the presence and intensity of these demands may ultimately color how journalists interpret the feasibility and value of peace journalism.

Of course, these influences—individual background, role conception, and professional-structural dynamics—are not mutually exclusive and, on the contrary, likely reinforce one another. For the purposes of this project, they provide three lenses through which one can understand journalists' perceptions of professional models, thus contributing to larger discussions about the mechanisms by which professional journalism models disseminate across contexts. Moreover, journalist trainings and workshops ostensibly provide the tools, both conceptual and practical, necessary for the practice of peace journalism. However, this is predicated on the assumption that journalists interpret peace journalism's normative goals and interventions receptively and in some consistent manner. Examining this tension contextualizes the practice of peace journalism; it also builds toward better understandings of peace-journalism content effects and peace journalism's normative realization—both of which depend on peace-journalism practice for their maturation.

Chapter 2: A Hierarchy-of-Influences Approach

As detailed in the preceding literature review, this inquiry examines journalists' interpretations and perceptions of peace journalism at the levels of professional-structural dynamics, role conception, and individual background. This approach joins existing efforts to complicate an academic tendency that takes news content as a given and, instead, foregrounds influences on the construction of news content. Led most notably by Pamela Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese (2014), the hierarchy-of-influences model illustrates the ways in which news content can be influenced by societal-, structural-, and individual-level factors. It is at the level of the individual that this project focuses, reaching back a step to understand how individuals come to understand and make meaning of their work and various efforts to shape it. The current investigation draws on the multi-level influence work advanced by the hierarchy-of-influences model to center the individual as an agent in content production whose perceptions are likewise influenced by factors on several levels. Rather than examine how innate individual attributes influence news content, I harness the theoretical approach to explore how social learning shapes and corresponds to perceptions of peace journalism with, as the hierarchy-of-influences model would suggest, possible implications for content production.

In this direction, it is necessary to first situate the individual within other influences on content production in order to understand where areas exist for individual agency or decision-making. In the hierarchy-of-influences model, the individual occupies the centermost field of influence, followed by routine practices, media organizations, social institutions, and social systems (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 9). However, the model does not presuppose a linear top-down interpretation of these levels, by which the individual is despairingly subjugated to organizational pressures that are subsequently beholden to social systems. Instead, the model intentionally leaves the boundaries of these levels and their interactions "underspecified" as to encourage researchers to identify relative influences, both from the top-down and bottom-up (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 246). While it is difficult, if not impossible, to divorce these levels from one another, the present examination is primarily concerned with the levels of the individual and their professional routines or norms, subordinated to the organizations within which they work.

This attention to the individual follows from normative assumptions embedded in how peace journalism is presented as a practice. For media practitioners, peace journalism is framed as an evaluatory framework for reporting from which they might adjust their decisions and routines to take a more peace-oriented approach. Expanding on Galtung's (1998) classification of war/peace journalism, this focus on the individual took shape with McGoldrick and Lynch's (2000) 17 good practices in covering war. The index-like checklist of interventions in news making, such as avoiding blame assessment and focusing on the invisible effects of conflict, is geared toward decisions that are most often made by individuals. Such decisions involve sourcing, word choice, and relative emphasis on particular themes—all of which coalesce around issues of framing—as opposed to higher-level editorial decisions such as story topic selection.

Peace journalism's roots in framing theory further warrant careful examination at the individual level. A news frame, at the core of most scholarly definitions, involves visual or verbal information that directly or implicitly defines a problem, suggests the moral evaluation of the problem, and identifies who or what is responsible for its creation as well as its solution (Entman, 1993; Tewksbury, 2015; Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). When journalists attempt to practice peace journalism, they engage in a kind of peace-frame building, moderated often by routines and professional techniques. Frame building refers to the process by which frames appear in news content and considers both individual attitudes and organizational pressures (Scheufele, 1999). While frame building involves a large corpus of literature that cannot be fully developed here, the concept affirms the importance of accounting for both individual- and organizational-level influences in order to understand how journalists make sense of peace journalism and its framing practices.

At the level of the individual, the hierarchy-of-influences approach accounts for personal demographic characteristics, background experience, attitudes and beliefs, and relative power within an organization. In looking at how background and experience may shape attitudes and perceptions, this project's theoretical framework assumes the cumulative influence of demographic characteristics such as gender, age, and race on perceptions, rather than attempting to isolate such influences. This approach does not suggest that these sociological differences do not matter, but rather, that they are necessarily baked into individual perceptions. Put simply, demographic factors shape journalistic understanding and

interpretations indirectly through shaping personal attitudes and values as well as professional role conceptions (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 238).

Although framing decisions are most often made by individuals, both the hierarchy-of-influences approach and literature on frame building suggests that individual perceptions and decisions are influenced by larger organizational and societal dynamics. Thus, this investigation takes into account influences by professional routines and organizational pressures which together can be discussed as professional-structural dynamics. Journalistic routines can be defined as “styles of thought from an endless pattern of norms in response to common situations” (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 165). Examples of these professional routines or norms include interviewing protocols, an inverted-pyramid story structure, event patterns like press conferences, and journalistic objectivity. Journalists are socialized into such norms or routines, ostensibly providing boundaries around appropriate professional actions and interpretations.

Organizational dynamics are closely related to routines, though individual media professionals and routines are typically subordinated to the larger organization and its goals (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). The characteristics of a media organization, including structure of positions, ownership, platform, target audience, market competition, and profitability, provide the institutional environment within which individuals and their routines must negotiate professional practice. For most organizations, the primary goal is economic. News organizations must be profitable in many media environments to stay afloat, though this priority at times runs up against individual goals or professional routines. Such organizational considerations often manifest as organizational policy or in organizational bias, influencing the degree of journalist autonomy to select and produce stories. In the hierarchy-of-influences approach, the larger and more complex a media organization is, the more likely it is that organizational factors prevail over influences from the individual and routine levels of analysis (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 157).

Finally, in examining how individual perceptions are shaped by background, role conceptions, and professional-structural dynamics, this project’s use of the hierarchy-of-influences model is not to make any explicit theoretical predictions. Instead, this investigation examines the interplay of such influences and their relative superiority to one another in shaping journalists’ perceptions of peace journalism. This reflects the hierarchy-of-influences approach such that “there is no conclusive test of the

model's 'correctness' and no 'proving' the hierarchy" (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014, p. 245). Rather, in better understanding how influences at several levels interact to produce journalist understanding and meaning, one can consider the conditions under which journalists interpret peace journalism differently and perceive its application and practice. Following from this, the primary research question asked here is:

RQ: How do individual backgrounds, professional role conceptions, and professional-structural dynamics influence journalists' interpretations of peace journalism?

Chapter 3: Data and Research Method

Case selection

The decision to situate this study in East Africa represents both practical and conceptual considerations. First, although some peace-journalism workshops are hosted in the United States, the United Kingdom, Norway, and Sweden, these trainings are by and large directed toward contexts in the Global South. This tracks with a longer history of journalism model exportation, whereby models are exported to contexts where journalism professionalization is thought to be particularly underdeveloped or malleable (Golding, 1977).

Sub-Saharan Africa has been a popular target of such efforts, leading some to criticize the exportation of altruistic models and artforms to the continent as a kind of “charitable imperialism” (Ndaliko, 2016). Charitable imperialism refers broadly to the ways in which internationally sponsored and well-funded initiatives can inhibit more localized efforts to address societal issues like conflict resolution. With respect to peace journalism, localized approaches to conflict reporting might emphasize tools or techniques for constructive coverage that are outside of or beyond a peace-journalism paradigm. In doing so, more locally sourced programs may be more effective and better-suited for that context than the Western-developed peace-journalism model.

This perspective follows from a larger movement in the interdisciplinary study of Africa to analyze social phenomena contextually, taking cues from lived experiences of individuals in such places (Konadu, 2019). Given that the concept of peace journalism emerged in a mainly Scandinavian and Western European academic context, selecting cases based in East Africa provides a valuable lens through which we can consider the mechanisms impacting journalists’ perceptions in different contexts, contributing to larger conversations around the professionalization of journalism across space and time.

Based on this project’s principal interest in factors shaping social reception of peace journalism, it is theoretically important that research subjects start with some baseline exposure to peace journalism from which to build their understanding of the model. It is often the case that such exposure comes from particular training experiences or workshops. Of course, journalists can be exposed to professional journalism models in other ways, though trainings provide an empirically important space to explore social conditions of reception, as these workshops typically represent a first pass at model importation. For

these reasons, the 2017 East African Peace Journalism training workshop presents a useful point of departure for constructing this study's purposive sample.

Pragmatically, situating this study regionally in East Africa, as opposed to a single nation state, expands the purposive sample population while retaining some shared socio-political realities. Although peace journalism has received increased attention in recent years, the reporting model remains a relatively specialized and unfamiliar approach to most journalists (Rodny-Gumede, 2016). Under these circumstances, identifying multiple peace-journalism trainings with enough willing participants for the study within a single country becomes difficult, if not unachievable.

However, casting too expansive a sampling net poses a similar challenge if respondents operate in wildly different socio-political environments. Fortunately, delimiting this study to East Africa and, in particular, those countries belonging to the East African Community (EAC)—including Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan—provides a reasonable compromise. The EAC region has some shared histories of armed conflict and many of the area's national press systems developed under similar experiences of colonialism and twenty-first century independence. As such, situating the study in East Africa presents a geographic region where peace-journalism trainings or workshops may be delivered with some relative sense of similarity.

While national media environments in East Africa are each unique, there are many shared characteristics across the region. For instance, the EAC has some level of media pluralism, both with respect to diversity of viewpoints as well as a media ownership. This is the case particularly in Kenya, which is frequently touted as one of the most robust media markets on the continent, marked by growth in journalism education programs, professional unions, media associations, and a number of independent outlets (Obonyu & Owilla, 2017; Schmidt, 2015; Schmidt & Deselaers, 2015). In addition, regional press environments have experienced pressures from digitalization and technological advances in recent years, forcing media houses to restructure like many newsrooms around the globe (Breit, 2020). Finally, European colonization in the early 20th century primed modern press systems in the region as tools for authoritarian control (Ochilo, 1993), and press freedom across many East African countries remains somewhat limited today due to extra-legal intimidation practices toward private media outlets and forms of soft censorship (Kamau, 2018; Mukhongo, 2015).

In addition to the nature of press contexts in East Africa, the region's recent history of electoral violence and international terrorism suggests that practicing journalists in the area are familiar with and likely report on conflict to some degree periodically. This reality presents a particularly meaningful environment in which to consider journalists' attitudes toward peace journalism, as such attitudes have implications for how communities understand contemporary violence and their antecedents based on how they are covered in the news.

For example, a subset of literature on violence in sub-Saharan Africa tends to attribute conflict to disorderly young men who are adrift and generally subsumed in nihilism (e.g. Monga, 2016). However, others have argued that these young men may be better characterized as products of widespread unemployment and other structural conditions which force them in unfavorable directions to escape difficult circumstances and relentless boredom (Masquelier, 2019; Quayson, 2014). A normative peace-journalism approach might, and perhaps should, interrogate these structural causes, but this is predicated on how journalists interpret the peace-journalism model and its viability to begin with. In short, studying perceptions of peace journalism in the context East Africa not only has implications for how we understand conflict reporting; it may also extend to better understanding how existing narratives about conflict in sub-Saharan Africa are maintained, manipulated, or disrupted by journalists and their interpretation of peace journalism.

Data collection

To answer this study's research question, my primary data come from 20 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with East African journalists between September 2020 and February 2021. Respondents were limited to journalists from East African nations partner to the East African Community (EAC) intergovernmental organization, including Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda. In addition, respondents met specific peace-journalism exposure criteria. Namely, respondents were eligible to participate if they had attended at least one institutionally sponsored peace-journalism training. The parameters for the training were capacious, in order to reflect the range of real-world trainings available to journalists, including workshops sponsored by international, domestic, private, and public institutions. However, such trainings were to be delivered under the auspice of an organizational

unit, such as a media non-profit or professional association, to establish a baseline level of institutional oversight beyond individual presentations.

Because this project is primarily interested in the social conditions of reception, the demarcation of institutionally sponsored trainings is not to ensure specific content delivery, but rather that the interview subjects are broadly aware of the peace-journalism model and its basic principles. To ensure baseline consistency across training messages and principles, I triangulated content by requesting and reviewing primary training documentation either from the interview subjects or directly from sponsoring institutions. Training content that deviated substantially from the basic peace-journalism tenets outlined in McGoldrick and Lynch's (2000) 17 good practices in covering war would be excluded; however, this never came to pass based on respondents who agreed to speak with me. In addition to the geographic and training criteria, respondents were proficient in English and were 18 years of age or older.

In light of circumstances presented by the Covid-19 pandemic, interviews were conducted virtually via web-based video service platforms Zoom and WhatsApp. Given that respondents all attended their respective peace-journalism trainings in English and most came from English-language media outlets, interviews were conducted in English. Additional language translation or other language assistance was not necessary aside from carefully assuring cross-cultural conceptual understanding of select terms and ideas.

The open-ended questions included in the interview guide (see Appendix I) corresponded to my three levels of interest—individual background experiences, role conceptions, and professional-structural dynamics—and prompted participants to draw from their memory of peace-journalism training participation from as early as 2009 and as recently as 2021. Studying journalists' experiences with peace-journalism trainings long after they have occurred is analytically central to this study, as it allows enough time passed to avoid grandiose claims typically associated with recency bias (Hogarth & Einhorn, 1992). Respondents who recently attended a peace-journalism training were given especially careful attention in the analysis, focusing particularly on applied definitions—or examples of how abstract concepts have been or could be applied directly to their work—rather than verbatim training definitions.

Data from documents such as workshop proceedings and other popular media resources were also used to better understand the vocabulary of peace journalism, both with respect to how journalists

talk about their understanding and how they perceive peace journalism manifesting in actual news content. I also consulted practitioner manuals and presentation materials made available to me by workshop organizers when possible to help correct for basic memory errors associated with in-depth interviews with journalist participants. Additionally, I asked respondents to identify a piece of news content that they believed represented a peace-journalism approach and walked through these articles or broadcast stories together during the interview. This exercise further illuminated the applied dimensions of peace journalism that journalists found most salient.

This data collection approach is supported theoretically by Shoemaker and Reese's (2014) hierarchy-of-influences model, which situates the individual—including their perceptions—as an important influence on the production of news content. The questions included in the appended interview protocol follow from the theoretical assumptions introduced by the model and my proposed research question—namely, that influences on several levels impact how an individual interprets or perceives a model like peace journalism. To explore such influences, interviews serve as an ideal methodological tool to help reveal more latent emotions and perceptions. As opposed to strict observation, interviews provide an opportunity for respondents to reflect on understandings that may not be evident in behavior and to engage in mean making of social experiences (Lamont & Swidler, 2014). Thus, semi-structured interviews allow me to pursue individual meaning and understanding of peace journalism and better understand the factors shaping these understandings.

Sampling and recruitment

Study participants were recruited using a purposive sampling strategy. Initial sampling came from journalists (N=12) who participated in the 2017 East African Peace Journalism training workshop in Kisumu, Kenya, using contact information provided by workshop organizers at Rongo University. Additional respondents were recruited using snowball sampling from participants' professional references to identify other workshops and attendees of similar trainings in the region. This recruitment approach ultimately produced respondents from four of the six eligible East African countries—Kenya (5), Rwanda (1), South Sudan (4), and Uganda (10)—across five peace-journalism trainings conducted between 2009 and 2021. Uganda is home to the Peace Journalism Foundation – East Africa and has been a particularly

popular target of peace-journalism training efforts, which may help contextualize the resulting sampling distribution.

After securing appropriate IRB approvals, study participants were recruited by email or WhatsApp with follow-up communication conducted via social media platforms Twitter and LinkedIn when necessary. Recruitment messaging broadly accomplished the following goals:

- Presented the study's principle interest as journalists' experiences with peace journalism
- Described participation as a one-hour interview over video conferencing software Zoom
- Provided assurance that participation is voluntary and will be kept confidential
- Offered to arrange a time for conversation

Within the first dozen interviews, participants' responses to questions became appreciably predictable based on characteristics sampled for, including professional position, employer organization, and markers of individual background such as childhood experiences and education. From here, recruitment continued until it was determined that little to no new information with respect to the research questions would be gleaned through additional interviews.

This sampling and recruitment approach is appropriate in the context of this study for several reasons. First, given my interest in the relationship between social conditions and interpretations of peace journalism, I constructed a sample with similarities and differences across a specific population (i.e., journalists exposed to peace journalism). Intentionally selecting respondents via a purposive strategy allowed me to maximize range to achieve the variation needed to analyze these differences in interpretations (Weiss, 1994). Additionally, because journalism tends to be a well-networked professional field, recruiting potential respondents through training organizers or professional colleagues provided a level of credibility that presumably helped to increase response rates.

Description of data

Table 1 presents basic descriptive information about respondents, including distribution across gender as expressed by sex, countries, relative location within country, types of professional positions, and types of employers. Location within country is categorized as either "urban" or "more rural" with urban referring to capital cities and "more rural" corresponding to other areas outside of respective capital cities.

Table 1. Information about respondents, including gender as expressed by sex, country, location, position, and employer.

	Gender	Country	Location	Position	Employer
1	Female	Kenya	More rural	Editor and radio presenter	Religious, community
2	Male	S. Sudan	Urban	Freelance reporter	N/A
3	Male	Uganda	More rural	Editor	Private, community
4	Male	Rwanda	Urban	Editor	Public, government
5	Male	Kenya	More rural	Freelance reporter	N/A
6	Female	Uganda	Urban	Multimedia journalist	Private, conglomerate
7	Male	Kenya	More rural	Station manager	Private, community
8	Female	Kenya	Urban	Reporter	Public, university
9	Female	Uganda	Urban	Director/coordinator	Private, non-profit
10	Male	Uganda	Urban	Head of communications	Private,
11	Male	Kenya	More rural	Producer	Private, conglomerate
12	Male	Uganda	More rural	Regional correspondent	Private, conglomerate
13	Female	Uganda	More rural	Freelance reporter	N/A
14	Male	Uganda	More rural	Radio broadcaster	Private, community
15	Female	Uganda	Urban	Senior journalist	Private, conglomerate
16	Male	S. Sudan	Urban	Reporter	Religious, network
17	Female	S. Sudan	More rural	Head of programs	Religious, community
18	Female	Uganda	More rural	Freelance reporter	N/A
19	Male	Uganda	More rural	Freelance reporter	N/A
20	Male	S. Sudan	More rural	Producer and freelance	Public, government

“More rural” designations may include relatively urban centers of particular regions, but the availability of resources and services in these places generally pales in comparison to their respective capital cities. Respondents’ positions are categorized by current or most recent position in the media industry, even though some journalists were unemployed or had recently transitioned out of journalism by the time of the interview.

As illustrated, the sample included several more men than women with 12 male respondents and 8 female respondents as well as slightly fewer individuals working in urban settings (N=8) as opposed to more rural settings (N=12). These distributions correspond with trends across the continent, where there are on average fewer female journalists as compared to male journalists (Hanitzsch et al., 2019) and large percentages of populations live outside of major cities (World Bank, 2019). Uganda and Kenya were more heavily represented in the pool of respondents than participants from South Sudan and Rwanda, and interview participants worked at a variety of media organizations, including those owned by universities, governments, private media conglomerates, and both small and large religious entities. Individual positions ranged from freelance journalists and general-assignment reporters to editors and station or department managers.

Table 2 presents information related to respondents' educational backgrounds. Almost all respondents received a bachelor's diploma in journalism or a related field, and many had attended other discrete journalism trainings or were currently enrolled in master's-level programs. This tracks with recent research suggesting that journalism is a relatively professionalized field in sub-Saharan Africa where nearly 93 percent of Kenyan journalists, for example, specialize in journalism or communication at the university level (Hanitzsch et al., 2019, p. 77). With respect to training in peace journalism, five out of the 20 respondents had attended more than one peace-journalism training. In such cases, the corresponding year in Table 2 represents participants' first training, as the first training represents a theoretical cite of introduction for purposes of this study.

Table 2. Information about respondents' educational backgrounds and year of first peace-journalism training.

	Gender	Country	Education	PJ Training
1	Female	Kenya	BA - Mass Media and Communication	2017
2	Male	S. Sudan	BA - International Relations, Journalism certificate	2017
3	Male	Uganda	Journalism certificate, year-long course	2017
4	Male	Rwanda	BA - Journalism and Communication	2017
5	Male	Kenya	BA - Communication and Media Technology	2017
6	Female	Uganda	BA - Journalism	2017
7	Male	Kenya	BA - Mass Communication	2017
8	Female	Kenya	BA - Linguistics, Media and Communication	2017
9	Female	Uganda	BA - Journalism	2009
10	Male	Uganda	BA - Journalism and Mass Communication	2009
11	Male	Kenya	BA - Broadcast Journalism	2016
12	Male	Uganda	BA - Journalism	2010
13	Female	Uganda	BA - Journalism	2021
14	Male	Uganda	Journalism certificate, year-long course	2021
15	Female	Uganda	BA - Journalism	2011
16	Male	S. Sudan	Advanced journalism certificate, year-long course	2020
17	Female	S. Sudan	BA - Journalism	2020
18	Female	Uganda	Secondary-school diploma	2021
19	Male	Uganda	BA - Journalism, Public Administration	2021
20	Male	S. Sudan	Secondary-school diploma	2020

Note: Respondents' answers were reviewed alongside training cohorts to confirm that variation in answers did not simply reflect differences in training. This provides reasonable certainty that variation across the sample reflected variables of interest versus disparate training experiences.

Data Analysis

From the 20 interviews conducted, audio recordings were transcribed by professional transcription service Verbal Ink, generating 314 pages of transcripts. The shortest interview was 21 minutes and the longest was one hour and 33 minutes, with the average interview length of 51 minutes. Because the project seeks to “demonstrate variations in how social phenomena are framed, articulated, and experienced” (McLellan et al., 2003, p. 67), interviews were transcribed in full with respect to ideas,

focused on the exact transcription of words. After receiving the transcripts, I conducted a second round of review with the audio to assure that appropriate verbal cues were included, such as particularly emotive outbursts or pauses, while filler words were excluded from the data used for analysis.

Given that my primary research goal concerns broad themes that shape journalists' perceptions—as opposed to a narrower focus on how those perceptions present themselves in specific speech patterns—the accuracy of interview data depends on the accurate preservation and presentation of ideas. It is for this reason that filler words were removed, instead emphasizing clear extrapolation of concepts in order to demonstrate variation across respondents. Data accuracy was further preserved in the second round of transcription by conceptually situating distinct concepts or ideas within broader conversational contexts. At times, these contexts were illuminated by pauses other nonverbal cues, but in many cases, inaudible or vague utterances were not meaningful for this analysis and, as such, were removed from the transcript.

From here, interview data were analyzed in qualitative analysis software Dedoose by coding for themes and engaging in a thematic analysis of interview transcripts. Semi-structured interviews, in particular, lend themselves to interpretive analysis and provide space for researchers to pursue situational meanings or motives (Hopf, 2004). Coding was conducted at the semantic or descriptive level with the goal of organizing such data to be interpreted in a more general sense (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Based on the theoretical orientation of the project, several themes were pre-determined at the outset, including individual background and experience (Bläsi, 2004, 2009; Shoemaker & Reese, 2014), routines and organizational dynamics (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014), and perceptions and understanding of peace journalism.

In coding for individual experience, I created codes for information indicative of education, job description, work history, and experience with conflict or conflict resolution. Journalists' role conceptions were coded as information pertaining to the purpose of journalism, journalistic responsibility, and indicators of journalism quality. In coding for professional routines and organizational dynamics, I looked for information related to reporting practices and conventions, such as story selection, framing emphasis, and experience in the newsroom following training completion. Finally, in coding for understanding and interpretation of peace journalism, I delineated between theoretical definitions and applied definitions and

coded for information related to audiences for peace journalism, purposes for peace journalism, and means by which to practice peace journalism (see Appendix II for codebook).

From the information gleaned from these codes, I observed marked differences in how individuals discussed peace journalism and noted that these differences manifested as emphases on divergent audiences, aims, and reporting interventions associated with peace-journalism content. I then labeled two distinct types of perceptions of peace journalism and categorized respondents as either having a more “people-oriented” or more “policy-oriented” understanding of the model based on the audiences, aims, and interventions they articulated most dominantly in their responses (see Appendix III for illustrative examples by respondent). From here, I examined respondent information related to my three primary influences of interest—personal background, role conception, and professional-structural dynamics—alongside respondents’ peace-journalism categorizations to understand how these influences may (or may not) shape such perceptions of peace journalism.

In addition to the more guided analysis presented by the project’s theoretical framework, I also considered recurrent themes not immediately represented by my initial theoretical lens. This process occurred by noting first impressions based on overarching themes present in the data, followed by a close reading to identify and label relevant phrases or sections. These markings were made based on information that was repeated several times in the dataset, information that was especially surprising, or information that was characterized as important explicitly by an interview subject.

After indexing these data, I created an additional code for precarity, including both individual professional precarity as well as organization-level precarity. While closely related to the professional-structural dynamics I coded for from the outset, the code for professional precarity developed out of the analysis process and, as is described in the findings section, became particularly important to interpreting the study’s major contributions. More specifically, the concept of precarity ultimately helped explain the distinction between two primary interpretations of peace journalism, which respondents were categorized by based on how they perceived the audiences, aims, and interventions of peace journalism.

In addition, while coding was primarily deductive, I explored journalists’ role conceptions from a more interpretive position for two reasons. First, while I share with the role-conception literature the assumption that journalists’ understandings of their roles influence their perceptions of peace journalism,

my aim is not to apply or fit extant categories. Instead, I harness interview data to explore what those conceptions are. The value of in-depth interview data is that it allows conceptions to emerge in the respondents' own words, and my analytical goal was to effectively characterize those conceptions in the data. This approach corresponds to my hierarchy-of-influences theoretical perspective, which similarly acknowledges the importance of journalists' role conceptions, but does not prescribe specific roles to particular functions within the hierarchy. Secondly, and as detailed in the literature review, existing research on peace-journalism interpretations is sparse. While a select few studies concern related concepts, such as role conceptions and constructive journalism (i.e. McIntyre and Sobel, 2017), there is not sufficient basis upon which to assume a particular role conception might be at work in this context.

Chapter 4: Findings

Analysis of interview transcripts yielded 433 applications of 25 codes and sub-codes in Dedoose, resulting in four key findings: (1) Journalist respondents had remarkably similar individual backgrounds with respect to education and personal experience with conflict, suggesting that those journalists who become interested in peace journalism may share similar characteristics that motivate such interest; (2) Respondents also generally shared an active, interventionist view of their journalistic roles, indicating that reporting approaches like peace journalism may be especially salient for those with particular role conceptions; (3) Journalists tended to understand peace journalism in one of two ways, differing with respect to intended audiences, aims, and reporting interventions; and (4) such divergent perceptions of peace journalism correspond to organizational and professional pressures that are unevenly felt across respondents.

Individual background

Following from the project's theoretical framework and interview guide, respondents answered a series of questions pertaining to educational training, personal experience with conflict, and how they became interested in journalism. Despite variation across countries, employing organizations, and professional titles, respondents reported many shared experiences especially with respect to educational background and conflict experience. Interview participants provided several different lines of reasoning for selecting media work as a career pathway; however, as detailed below, these responses did not necessarily correspond to identified patterns of peace-journalism interpretation or other trends in the data.

Interest in journalism

Almost all interview respondents reported either interpersonal influences or personal interests in communication technologies as catalysts for their careers in media work. With respect to personal relationships, many respondents referenced family members or educators who had identified a talent for writing or speaking, often in English, in the interviewee at a young age. This praise and appreciation then motivated interviewees to pursue a career in journalism, frequently preceded by experiences in theatre,

debate clubs, and school magazines or newspapers. Patricia Gwitaba¹ summarized this experience succinctly saying, “It didn’t occur to me that I wanted to become a journalist, but because I was good at literature at school and debating, my teachers took interest in me. It kind of came naturally for me that communication would be my thing” (Ugandan multimedia journalist, 27 September 2020). Other journalists were influenced by personal contacts more directly, as was the case for Dembe Nateza whose older brother worked as the editor of a local newspaper branch. “That was really what piqued my interest,” he shared (Ugandan freelance journalist, 2 February 2021).

In addition to motivations provided by personal contacts, nearly half of respondents also referenced some early interest in media technologies and the professional renown associated with radio, television, or photojournalism. For example, Kenny Senyange remembered molding clay into the shape of a camera as a child and pretending to take pictures (Kenyan freelance journalist, 24 September 2020). Other participants were reportedly motivated by the allure of television and radio receivers generally, often consumed with listening to presenters and “trying to picture oneself there” (Olivia Mwenge, Kenyan former television reporter, 6 October 2020). When asked whether participants knew any journalists growing up, nearly all positive responses referenced journalists, often from the BBC or Radio Deutsche Welle, that they had come to “know” or admire from a young age through their fascination with media technologies like radio and television.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, a couple of respondents identified motivations outside of personal accolades or interests in media technologies. For example, one participant shared that he had intended on a career as a medical doctor or engineer, but journalism became a backup because he was “good at writing” (George Liku, Ugandan news editor, 29 September 2020). Abdul Kareem described a formative memory in which politicians, teachers, and other local professionals were pushed away from a crime scene while journalists were allowed to rush in, elevating the importance of journalists in his mind and ultimately confirming that this was the career he “should be pushing for” (Ugandan regional correspondent, 1 January 2021). This pursuit of professional authority was echoed by Omari Hassan who emphasized that “where the nation is going , I will know... I fell in love with the media because there are those privileges that I will have” (South Sudanese freelance journalist, 4 February 2021).

¹ All respondent names have been replaced with pseudonyms throughout.

Education

Respondents also shared notably similar educational backgrounds. Of the 20 interview participants, 15 had received tertiary degrees in journalism or a related field, and 18 participants had undergone at least some specialized journalism training. The remaining two respondents had recently completed secondary studies but shared keen interest in pursuing a university degree in journalism or mass communication in the future. Interestingly, a handful of participants also held master's degrees, though these degrees were completed in adjacent fields such as international relations, diplomacy, or development studies.

In addition to basic journalism training and university studies, many respondents had participated in other short courses and specialized journalism trainings beyond peace journalism. These trainings covered topics like investigative journalism, multimedia journalism, photography, and media management. While variation existed with respect to types of university degrees and the content delivered at these specialized trainings, respondents shared a relatively high-level of education as well as an orientation toward continual learning.

More specifically, there was some consensus that one would “never saying no to a training opportunity” (Rose Kawala, Ugandan former senior journalist, 26 January 2021) and that such opportunities presented valuable moments to “move higher” (Julius Nakame, Ugandan radio journalist, 26 January 2021) in both their educational and professional trajectories. South Sudanese Journalist Wilson Ibrahim reflected on his advanced certificate in journalism saying, “It is not yet enough for me” (South Sudanese reporter, 29 January 2021). This shared enthusiasm for continuing education suggests that individuals interpret peace journalism not only as a way to practice “good” journalism in the normative sense, but also a practical opportunity for professional mobility.

Experience with conflict

All respondents also reported some experience—often direct experience—with violent conflict before their introduction to peace journalism. Some participants reported perpetual socio-political strife, like the experience of growing up “in a warzone” during the Lord's Resistance Army's insurgency in northern Uganda (Inno Mutsei, Ugandan freelance journalist, 23 January 2021). Others had very specific

conflict reporting experiences such as “tasting tear gas” during riots or losing a shoe while “running for dear life” on assignment (Sicily Kalu, Kenyan radio broadcaster, 29 September 2020). For some, even covering somewhat ordinary topics like routine elections constituted violent conflict coverage. Abdul Kareem shared:

I remember going to the DRC where the rebels had taken part of the northern Democratic Republic of Congo neighboring Uganda. I also remember jumping over bodies with a car and on foot. I also remember covering protests. But even in Uganda, when you're covering campaigns, it's like covering conflict. (Ugandan regional correspondent, 1 January 2021)

For those respondents who did not experience violent conflict directly, they often referenced a local or national conflict that impacted them indirectly. Some spoke of having family from a region that had been “of the greatest affected by post-election violence” (Olivia Mwenge, Kenyan former journalist, 6 October 2020). Others, like Serge Abara, reported more localized and discrete “tribal conflicts” such as “people fighting about land, people fighting about swamps, people fighting about administrative units” (Ugandan head of communication and marketing, 29 October 2020). Still others discussed prolonged national political upheaval, for example, suggesting that people are always having problems “due to some crisis or another in South Sudan” (Wilson Ibrahim, South Sudanese reporter, 29 January 2021). In these instances, respondents did not report that they were directly involved in conflict, though they brought a kind of proximity to conflict into their media work.

Finally, and as other studies have similarly reported, some participants referenced well-known regional or international conflicts with strong cautionary lessons for the news media. For example, nearly half of respondents described the use of radio to incite violence during the 1994 Rwandan genocide. Others referenced Kenyan election violence in 2007 that elicited international media headlines. In discussing the imminent threat of election violence in Uganda, Abdul Kareem drew a comparison to 2007 violence in Kenya saying, “We had a real-life example in Kenya... In the later year 2007, [election violence] happened in Kenya, and people were chopping each other like hens” (Ugandan regional correspondent, 1 January 2021).

While experiences of conflict were each unique, from intense and direct reporting on violent situations to more generalized experiences of living under violent conflict conditions, all respondents

reported some personal relationship with conflict. Although a larger representative sample with greater variation across these variables would be needed to say with certainty how these experiences compare to journalists generally in these areas, these share individual background experiences seem to correspond to an openness to peace journalism as a professional practice. More specifically, journalists who participate in peace-journalism trainings understand peace journalism as an opportunity for professional advancement or a way of producing better conflict coverage—and, most often, as both. As is posited in the later discussion section, this relative homogeneity might lead one to believe that respondents would have the same or similar ideas about what peace journalism is and how it can be practiced.

Role conceptions: journalist as facilitator

Despite variation across countries, employing organizations, and professional titles, respondents also shared perspectives concerning their role as journalists in their respective societies. In particular, many interview participants directly referenced their role in facilitating conflict resolution, either by distilling information for relevant parties to use in the peace process or by more directly mediating conflict resolution between sparring groups. While elements of informing publics and facilitating social change exist as dimensions of roles identified in extant role conception literature, these ideas combined unexpectedly in the context of the interviews. Here, the term “facilitator” represents both dimensions of informing and mediating toward a shared goal of conflict reduction or resolution. Evidence for this understanding of the “journalist as facilitator” can broadly be categorized into two perspectives about how journalists can and should engage with public affairs: (1) providing information or tools for communities to address conflict or (2) providing opportunities or a platform for communities to resolve conflict. Each of these dimensions of the journalist-as-facilitator role conception derive from a sense of strong media interventionism.

Providing information or tools

A first manifestation of this journalist-as-facilitator role conception is in the provision of relevant information for communities to resolve conflict or find solutions on their own terms. In this case, journalists emphasized their role in providing information so that citizens “are able to make decisions” and

“participate in nation building” (Stephen Odihamno, Kenyan radio manager, 17 September 2020). Silas Malakbundu summarized this perspective saying, “When I look back at the news reporting that is hard news, I find that most truth is missing... Why can’t one actually dig for the reality and present it to the public? Once people know the reality, it will make more impact in the society” (South Sudanese freelance reporter, 25 September 2020). This understanding of journalists’ role as a steward of information operates under the assumption that society can and will use verified information to make rational decisions and that it is the journalist’s responsibility to provide these tools.

Providing opportunities or a platform

A second expression of the journalist-as-facilitator role conception came in the form of more direct reconciliation efforts. In these instances, respondents underscored journalism’s role in “uniting the community” (Sicily Kalu, Kenyan radio broadcaster, 29 September 2020) and “harmonizing society rather than dividing it” (Serge Abara, Ugandan head of communication and marketing, 29 October 2020). In practice, this perspective brings together different voices in a public forum where “they can air out some of [their] challenges” (Stephen Odihambo, Kenyan radio manager, 17 September 2020).

This facilitation may be conducted directly, as Omari Hassan describes with respect to his broadcast programs. He shared: “I make sure that I get the two parties involved to talk about their controversial issues, what actually caused them to do what they’re doing, and the source of the conflict” (South Sudanese freelance journalist, 4 February 2021). Facilitation was also discussed indirectly through putting viewpoints in conversation with one another in the context of a news article. In either circumstance, the perspective holds that the journalist’s role is less about providing information and more about providing a space or venue for conflicting parties to engage with one another. Under this role conception, communities benefit from facilitated dialogue and the news media serve as one platform where diverse perspectives can be exchanged.

Strong media intervention

Whether facilitation was discussed with respect to information or mediation, the journalist-as-facilitator perspective relied on an assumption of strong media effects and interventionism. Time and

again, respondents discussed journalism's capacity and duty to "change society" (Serge Abara, Ugandan head of communication and marketing, 29 October 2020) and the journalist's power to "destroy or build" (George Liku, Ugandan news editor, 29 September 2020). This sense of interventionism appeared both at the institutional level, or the media's role in "shaping society, setting agendas, and guiding society in how it should behave" (Serge Abara, Ugandan head of communication and marketing, 29 October 2020), as well as at the level of individual journalists. Kenny Senyange reflected on his personal responsibility saying, "As a journalist, I play a major role in ensuring peace... that the person who is reading this is not motivated to continue violence or to retaliate" (Kenyan freelance journalist, 24 September 2020). Similarly, Ugandan journalist Zaida Ngoy shared: "I realized that I could use my pen and paper and the power of radio, the power of media, and report about the war in a way that exposes the war" (Ugandan media non-profit director, 19 October 2020).

While this sense of strong media effects and the journalist-as-facilitator role conception were shared widely across the sample, many respondents still emphasized allegiance to more "classic" role conceptions such as journalists as watchdogs, monitors, and neutral disseminators of information. Silas Malakbundu described the relationship between media interventionism and traditional news values saying that journalists should "be involved in solving [conflict]" while still being mindful of "objectivity, impartiality, and independence" (South Sudanese freelance reporter, 25 September 2020). South Sudanese journalists, in particular, shared a marked orientation toward government accountability and human rights violations, perhaps a reflection of the country's particularly poor press freedom environment and relatively recent independence from Sudan in 2011.

Two interpretations of peace journalism

Although study respondents tended to share many characteristics with respect to individual background and journalistic role conceptions, two distinct understandings of peace journalism became apparent over the course of interviews. Not only were the two interpretations distinctive, but they were also multi-layered with differences in how journalists imagined the intended audiences of peace journalism, aims of peace journalism, and reporting interventions with which to achieve these goals. The first of these interpretations, or *peace journalism for people*, understands peace journalism as narrative

framing and story selection produced for localized groups to promote victim-centered healing and community-level reconciliation. In contrast, a *peace-journalism-for-policy* interpretation harnesses the use of particular words or language mechanics produced for more removed audiences of elite or government decisionmakers with a goal of prompting third-party conflict intervention or mediation.

These two interpretations—people-oriented peace journalism and policy-oriented peace journalism—are inherently linked insofar as people are affected by policies and policies are enacted by people. There is no pure or extreme manifestation of these interpretations, meaning that respondents naturally referenced some aspects of both perspectives within their responses. However, in nearly all interviews, one understanding generally dominated the other with respect to the level at which audiences, aims, and interventions were articulated. Following a detailed description of the two distinct interpretations, more opaque or negative cases are addressed.

Peace journalism for people

Audiences. Those who interpreted peace journalism as a generally more people-oriented enterprise imagined consumers of their content to be localized communities or individuals directly experiencing conflict. Some respondents referred specifically to victims of violence, as Kenyan journalist Kenny Senyange did when warning about the perils of insensitive conflict coverage:

You should know that among the people are going to consume your news, some of them may be victims of these unfortunate events that you report about... There are people who are concerned, people who are affected by such things. The way you report it, it will affect them either psychologically, and some of them can even be prompted to retaliate. (Kenyan freelance journalist, 24 September 2020)

Other respondents discussed communities in a broader sense. For example, Kenyan journalist Olivia Mwenge reported, “For me, my biggest thing about journalism is our responsibility to community. We have this power and it comes with a certain responsibility... So we always pick the graphic images and all that, but then how does that now affect whoever is consuming this content?” (Kenyan former television reporter, 6 October 2020). For both Kenny and Olivia, as well as those who share their perspectives,

peace-journalism content is geared toward communities and individuals experiencing conflict, and this explicitly or implicitly drives their conflict coverage.

Aims. In addition to imagined audiences, a peace-journalism-for-people interpretation presents unique goals for the intended impact of content. Respondents categorized into this group often emphasized community-oriented responses in the aftermath of conflict, such as village-level negotiations or post-conflict reconciliation efforts. For instance, Ugandan journalist George Liku described peace journalism as a way to “communicate justice” to victims. He went on to add, “We are beating the drums to let people know what to express in the community. We are looking at the community togetherness, the community project... That the family not lose hope after the violence” (Ugandan radio editor, 29 September 2020). This view was shared widely with an ultimate goal of “making a community feel better” (Martha Okello, Ugandan freelance reporter, 28 January 2021).

In addition to post-conflict healing, others identified the goal of ending ongoing conflict but from a localized position within the community as opposed to a third-party intervention. Kenyan journalist Sicily Kalu describes a news story she worked on which prompted local communities to willingly surrender their weapons, as opposed to being forced to surrender by an outside mediator (Kenyan radio broadcaster, 29 September 2020). Similarly, Kenyan journalist Stephen Odhiambo suggested that peace journalism serves as a tool to help communities understand their circumstances and make decisions in the direction of peace. He explained, “As a community radio station, we are supposed to empower this community to be able to understand where they are and how are we going to help them so that they are able to make decisions” (Kenyan radio manager, 17 September 2020).

Interventions. Lastly, those with a more people-oriented understanding of peace journalism provided unique reporting interventions to meet their goals of community reconciliation and healing. More specifically, these respondents emphasized larger narrative issues of story angle or topic as opposed to specific patterns of speech or word choice. For example, Kenyan journalist Kenny Senyange recounted how changing the framing of a story’s headline can move it from a peace-journalism approach to a more negative conflict coverage orientation:

I remember writing a story about the area administration. This was my intro: ‘The area administration of the [redacted] region has assured that there will be peace henceforth after a

troop of a certain number are deployed to that particular place. This came as a result of a scuffle between rival groups that left others hurt and others lost their lives as a result.' So, when I submitted this story it was on a very soft note... Later on at night when I was watching the television, the story was: 'Seven people have been killed by the [redacted] community after the community invaded the neighboring community and attacked them.' (Kenyan freelance journalist, 24 September 2020)

Kenny's anecdote illustrates a shift in story angle, moving from his focus on public officials' assurance of peace instead to a focus on a death toll from the invasion. Similarly, Stephen Odhiambo emphasized the importance of storytelling perspective saying, "So we are asking them now, can we now change the narrative? Can we change the conversation that we speak about peace because there's that value?" (Kenyan radio manager, 17 September 2020).

Both Stephen and Kenny's examples refer to large questions of story messaging and narrative. Of course, such narrative framing is often determined by smaller decisions with respect to language and text, though these more mechanical writing choices were not the focus of their reported operational approaches to peace journalism. In summary, the peace-journalism-for-people interpretation promotes story framing that is somewhat explicit in its orientation toward peace with a goal of facilitating community-level reconciliation for victims of conflict, broadly defined.

Peace journalism for policy

Audiences. In contrast, a policy-oriented interpretation of peace journalism perceives news content as received by a more removed audience of elite or government decisionmakers. In some such instances, journalists discussed peace-journalism content as if it were addressed to observers outside the immediate conflict environment. Ugandan journalist Patricia Gwitaba illustrated this perspective when sharing why it is important to share stories from conflict-torn communities with wider publics. In doing so, she explained her goal to minimize stereotypes and stigmatization:

So I just wanted to bring out the resilience in the people who go through conflict and tell people in the city that these people have moved on. There's no need to keep tying them to the war... Those

people are there and we just choose not to talk about them. (Ugandan multimedia journalist, 27 September 2020)

Similarly, Wilson Ibrahim articulated a desire to illuminate the unseen suffering of his countrymen saying, “It’s their voice we have to bring as journalists so that they can see how their people are suffering” (South Sudanese reporter, 29 January 2021). Journalist Serge Abara specifically pointed to government elites as his intended audience, saying he sought “government feedback” from his peace-journalism content (Ugandan head of communication and marketing, 29 October 2020).

Aims. While a people-oriented understanding of peace journalism emphasizes community-level responses to news content, such as post-conflict reconciliation efforts, a peace-journalism-for-policy perception sees conflict intervention as a more top-down approach. For example, Ugandan journalist Patricia Gwitaba spoke of peace journalism being used “to make or to decide on a policy or a decision at a higher level or even at the lowest level” (Ugandan multimedia journalist, 27 September 2020). In addition, Ugandan journalists Serge Abara identified a peace-journalism story he remembers as successful. The story covered a dispute between two ethnic groups over a boundary that laid over a particularly fertile piece of land. He spoke of his reporting approach saying,

I brought all of the experts in, and I brought out the hidden motives. People were conflicting for the swamp. And, indeed, when that feature ran, I ran it on my radio, but it was also run on a bigger platform. When it ran on the [redacted station], it forced government officials to come and cool the situation. So, there was an intervention. (Ugandan head of communication and marketing, 29 October 2020)

This type of government intervention follows from a more institutional perspective of peace journalism’s utility. As compared to journalists who hope to facilitate localized efforts with their peace-journalism content, respondents with a more policy-oriented approach asked: “What is the voice of the government on this issue? How are they planning to bring peace among these two communities?” (South Sudanese reporter, 29 January 2021).

Interventions. Whereas a people-oriented understanding of peace journalism puts much focus on story framing and narrative structure, journalists with a more policy-oriented interpretation identified peace-journalism content primarily by use of specific language and conventions in text. Patricia Gwitaba

emphasized word choice and language saying, “For me, the words you use to describe and the words you use to tell your story matter a lot” (Ugandan multimedia journalist, 27 September 2020). This held true for a number of other respondents including Rose Kawala who explained:

In terms of infusing [peace journalism] into my everyday reporting, it just made me a lot more conscious and aware about the words that I use and the words that you sometimes take for granted. And it's just one word that seems really innocuous. It's not inflammatory or anything, but the interpretations. People interpret things really, really differently and just one word alone can turn your story completely. (Kenyan senior journalist, 26 January 2021)

As compared to the people-oriented understanding of peace journalism, the peace-journalism-for-policy interpretation perceives peace journalism as a way to draw attention to conflicts using deliberate and careful language in order to prompt elite response to ongoing inequities or social strife. This concern with third-party, policy-oriented solutions to community problems stands in contrast to the more community-level and victim-centered perspective of the people-oriented peace-journalism approach.

Audience, Aims, and Interventions

Although the imagined audiences of peace-journalism content differ with a people-oriented versus policy-oriented approach—victims of conflict on one hand and removed elites on the other—both perspectives are theoretically grounded in a peace-journalism approach. Peace journalism, as forwarded by many proponents and in particular by McGoldrick and Lynch's (2000) 17 good practices in covering war, is concerned primarily with the content of conflict coverage, rather than the intended consumers, *per se*. However, distinguishing between intended audiences has likely implications for how journalists conceive of peace journalism's aims and operationalization, as will be discussed in the following sections.

Similarly, distinct perceptions of peace journalism's goals are not necessarily at odds with one another and neither approach is precisely favored by proponents of peace journalism. Extant literature on peace journalism tends to be solution-oriented, but stops short of being overly prescriptive about the level at which these solutions should develop. These differences in interpretation are important to the extent that reporters may be producing content with different aims in mind and evaluating the value of peace journalism disparately as a result.

Finally, the unique, albeit related, operational foci of peace journalism interventions are both incorporated into most peace-journalism trainings and instructional materials. Interventions at the level syntactic writing structure as well as issues of higher-order story selection ostensibly have a place in the peace-journalism project. Moreover, journalists who discussed the peace-journalism interventions at one level often signaled to the other. However, it appears that journalists reportedly find some operational approaches more salient than others.

Given that individual background and role conceptions were generally shared across the sample and showed insignificant variation, one can consider other social phenomena that may shape or correspond to these divergent perceptions of peace journalism. In examining how such layered interpretations—of audiences, aims, and reporting interventions of peace journalism—are stratified across respondents, a hierarchy-of-influences perspective helps us understand how professional and organizational dynamics may shape such interpretations.

Audiences, Aims, Interventions: A professional-structural perspective

By examining journalists' interpretations of peace journalism alongside respondents' professional situations, these findings suggest that layered perceptions of peace journalism tend to move along a professional-structural continuum. More specifically, journalist respondents who occupied relatively precarious reporting positions (e.g., freelance journalists or entry-level employees) or who worked in small, community media houses (e.g., all-in-one journalist-producers in very rural areas) generally perceived peace journalism to be a more people-oriented endeavor with a goal of facilitating community-level resolutions or reconciliations.

For example, both Kenny Senyange and Olivia Mwenge, who spoke at length about victims as consumers of news content and responsibility to community, respectively, both work under such unstable conditions. At the time of interviews, Kenny worked as a freelance journalist in a rural area and Olivia was employed outside of journalism entirely, citing intense competition in the media market of her country. Kenny cited these professional constraints as challenges to implementing peace journalism into his own work saying,

Even after the training, I know as a correspondent I met some challenges. Because the editors were not thinking the way I was thinking.... They will want you to send them videos of houses burning. They want to send you videos of people shedding tears... They want action videos.... But despite the fact that I had a complete overhaul, there are some resistive forces that are above me. (Kenyan freelance journalist, 24 September 2020)

Moreover, journalists like Kenny and Olivia in more precarious professional positions who generally took this community-oriented perspective often pointed to storytelling mechanisms such as selected topic and narrative perspective as important to their approach. Olivia illustrates this phenomenon saying,

[With a peace-journalism approach], you're more deliberately propagating a certain narrative... The biggest thing is how we frame certain people as the ones who do certain things. So young people are the ones who do this and this, and then young people feel attacked. And then now there is a lot of friction now between different groups just based on not even actual happenings but how those happenings were covered. (Former Kenyan television reporter, 6 October 2020)

In contrast, journalist respondents working in more bureaucratic professional environments, often characteristic of larger, more urban outlets, tended to understand peace journalism as a tool to prompt outside intervention into violent conflict and were more likely to characterize peace journalism with respect to specific text and language decisions. For instance, Serge Abara, who reported on the dispute over the land boundary, serves as the head of communications and marketing of a large, private media house in an urban area. In speaking about the goals of peace journalism, he said: "The end result we wanted is government action—we wanted action." In discussing how his team packages peace-journalism content to prompt such action, he returned time and again to avoiding hate speech. He reportedly directs his team this way: "Do not just pick propaganda from the government... Let what the government spokesperson said be the lead, but not the story... We eliminate hate speech" (Ugandan head of communication and marketing, 29 October 2020).

Table 3 shows the distribution of individual attributes across the three dimensions of journalists' interpretations of peace journalism—audience, aims, and interventions. Employers categorized as "major news organizations" include media conglomerates and larger syndicates such as news networks or wire

services. “Non-major news organizations” reference smaller, community-based stations, usually located in rural areas.

Table 3. Distribution of individual attributes across perceptions of peace-journalism audiences, aims, and interventions.

	Audiences (n=18)			Aims (n=20)			Interventions (n=19)		
	Victim	Elite	Total	C-B	OI	Total	SN	TC/WC	Total
<i>Job title</i>									
Freelancers or unemployed	8	0	8	7	0	7	6	0	6
Reporters or editors	5	5	10	8	5	13	7	6	13
<i>Employer</i>									
Major news org.	2	4	6	3	4	7	3	4	7
Non-major news org.	11	1	12	12	1	13	10	2	12
<i>Geographic location</i>									
Capital or major city	1	5	6	2	5	7	1	5	6
Non-major city	12	0	12	13	0	13	12	1	13
<i>Gender</i>									
Male	8	3	11	10	2	12	9	3	12
Female	5	2	7	5	3	8	4	3	7

Note: C-B = Community-based resolution; OI = Outside intervention; SN = Story narrative; TC/WC = Text conventions and word choice.

For purposes of this table, respondent categories are mutually exclusive and respondents were categorized based on their dominant orientation toward audiences, aims, and interventions. However, in practice, someone who primarily emphasized word choice may have also referenced story angle at one point or another over the course of conversation. Respondents who could not be confidently categorized within one of the three dimensions were not included in that dimension’s count.

While Table 3 provides a sense for how individual attributes distributed across the three dimensions of peace-journalism interpretations—audiences, aims, and interventions—Table 4 examines the distribution of individual attributes across the two primary understandings of peace journalism.

Table 4. Distribution of individual attributes across people-oriented and policy-oriented perceptions of peace journalism.

	Interpretation of PJ		
	People-oriented (N=13)	Policy-oriented (N=7)	Total (N=20)
<i>Job title</i>			
Freelancers or unemployed	7	1	8
Reporters or editors	6	6	12
<i>Employer</i>			
Major news org.	2	5	7
Non-major news org.	11	2	13
<i>Geographic location</i>			
Capital or major city	1	7	8
Non-major city	12	0	12
<i>Gender</i>			
Male	8	4	12
Female	5	3	8

Respondents were categorized as having either a more people-oriented or more policy-oriented understanding of peace journalism based on how they perceived peace-journalism audiences, aims, and interventions. As illustrated, attributes associated with more precarious professional positions—such as freelancing, working at non-major news outlets, or working in a rural areas—tended to have a more people-oriented understandings of peace journalism. Those occupying relatively less precarious positions, characterized by more senior positions in large, urban organizations, generally adopted a more policy-oriented perception of peace journalism.

In working under precarious conditions, journalists with more people-oriented understandings of peace journalism are often closer to the communities they cover, both with respect to physical proximity as well as interpersonal ties. Such positioning may help explain the heightened interest in victim experiences. In addition, the lack of resources available to journalists working in more precarious positions also means that reporting interventions may need to be more explicit or direct in order to have the intended impact. Reporters covering large areas or particularly rural places may not have the time or resources to conduct long, drawn-out conflict coverage and, for this reason, must assert appeals for peace more blatantly.

These pressures are ostensibly alleviated to some extent for journalists in less precarious professional positions. Journalists in this category may report for more urban audiences situated outside of a direct conflict zone and, in such cases, provide policy-related solutions relevant to their viewers, namely civil society leaders or government elites. Operating in urban areas also puts practitioners in closer proximity to these seats of power, enabling a more direct line of communication for making policy-related suggestions.

In addition, respondents with policy-oriented understandings of peace journalism in relatively stable positions are more likely to work in managerial or editorial desk positions, pulling them farther away from the conflict at hand. In such cases, these media professionals exert most influence over the written reports they review and may focus their attention on specific word choice and language, rather than larger reporting decisions which ostensibly have already been made by the time a draft appears on their desk. Rose Kawala articulated this reality explicitly saying,

I think the skill or the principle that I applied every day in my life was choosing words. And the fact that I was always the last person to read the story before it would go, I was the last gatekeeper which meant I always had an opportunity to change and edit. (Ugandan former senior journalist, 26 January 2021)

Experiences like Rose's illustrate how the nature of one's professional position, including relative level of precarity, can shape the ways in which individuals interpret and look to implement peace-journalism practices into their day-to-day work.

Of course, it is important to acknowledge instances where these patterns do not hold. Of the 20 respondents interviewed, all 20 are categorized as having either a more people-oriented or policy-oriented interpretation of peace journalism. However, these numbers reflect one "negative" case or exception to the professional-structural patterned understandings of peace journalism observed across the sample. This individual is a South Sudanese journalist who, despite occupying a relatively precarious position as a freelance investigative reporter in the country's capital city, held a predominantly policy-oriented perception of peace journalism and adamantly described it as a tool to elicit government response and intervention. For instance, he described his goals for peace journalism as having an

“influence on the decision of the government” via international pressure (South Sudanese freelance journalist, 25 September 2020).

One explanation for this exceptional position based on degree of professional precarity may be that, as previously mentioned, South Sudan has a particularly poor press freedom index compared to neighboring countries such as Kenya and Uganda (Reporters Without Borders, 2020). It may be the case that journalists operating in relatively stifled press environments are actually more likely to direct their conflict grievances toward government officials. However, this would offer only a partial explanation since other South Sudanese reporters provided more predictable responses based on their professional positions. A second and perhaps more satisfactory explanation comes from the respondent’s self-identification as an investigator freelance reporter. Investigative journalism is particularly concerned with holding powerful elites accountable and, as such, can manifest in especially adversarial orientations toward government officials. From here, an internalized sense of investigative duty may transcend more patterned understandings of peace journalism based solely on professional position.

In addition to this exceptional case, it is also worth noting that two other respondents demonstrated uncharacteristically expansive understandings of peace journalism, in particular with respect to reporting interventions. That is, while dominant understandings of peace-journalism audience and aims allowed them to be categorized as having a people-oriented perception, these two respondents referenced both word choice and story angle with roughly equal emphasis in their respective interviews. Interestingly, both respondents had served as journalism educators or trainers in addition to their own reporting careers. For example, former Kenyan journalist Olivia Mwenge was trained as journalist but also instructed journalism students at one point in her professional trajectory. When discussing her own reporting approaches, Olivia provided responses consistent with a people-oriented understanding of peace journalism, including a focus on selecting peace-oriented story narratives. However, when discussing how she explained peace journalism to students, she emphasized,

For the aspect of the training bits, I was able to take my own students through processes like being deliberate in what you're writing and how you're writing it. Like why are you choosing this word as opposed to this? Have you given it some thought? And how do you think it's going to play out? (Kenyan former television reporter, 6 October 2020)

While this statement reflects focused attention to language and word choice—seemingly in contrast to Olivia’s people-oriented categorization—it also reinforces the two distinct understandings of peace journalism based on professional position. As indicated, respondents who occupied relatively stable professional positions adopted a more policy-oriented understanding of peace journalism, including an emphasis on language and speech patterns over larger story angle. In their positions as educators or professional trainers, these two respondents similarly occupied editorial positions from which they had most direct control over word choice and language. Thus, these two journalists appeared to understand peace journalism as primarily a people-oriented endeavor with respect to their own reporting positions and experience, but found some elements of the policy-oriented interpretation salient in their work as educators. This phenomenon begins to highlight both the merits and limitations of this professional-structural approach, which the next chapter considers at length.

Chapter 5: Discussion

These findings contribute to extant understandings of journalism professionalization processes by examining how individual perceptions of models are shaped by social conditions and personal experiences. More specifically, the study's findings suggest that journalists' interests in peace journalism may correspond to particular types of shared experiences, such as conflict experience or role conceptions, which shape how journalists perceive the utility of the model. In addition, I find that professional-structural influences, such as professional precarity, correspond with particular ways of processing new information. Together, these insights extend not only discussions about how models like peace journalism are transposed across contexts, but also how we understand journalism professionalization efforts more broadly and the ways in which practitioners in media and beyond negotiate the myriad influences on their work.

Improving peace-journalism research and practice

In the context of this project, a hierarchy-of-influences approach to the social world illuminates divergent interpretations of peace journalism. Under such a lens, journalists' perceptions are influenced by factors on many levels, two of which include organizational dynamics and routines (Shoemaker & Reese, 2014). I have considered these influences in tandem under the name "professional-structural" dynamics. In general, journalists working in more precarious or uncertain professional situations are more likely to perceive peace journalism as people-oriented conflict coverage meant to cultivate community-level responses.

Toward these goals, individuals with a people-oriented perception of peace journalism understand optimal operational strategies to be at the level of story angle and general narrative messaging. Individuals in these types of entry-level or relatively uncertain positions often spend long hours reporting in the field and may feel closer to the communities they cover. Likewise, because there is some distance between these reporters and higher positions of power, they may see their most efficacious content as reaching victims and community-level readers. As well, their most memorable or successful operational strategies are those in which they have the opportunity to move the narrative away

from more conventional professional or organizational reporting practices associated with negative conflict coverage.

In contrast, media professionals operating in larger, more bureaucratic environments tend to interpret peace journalism as policy-oriented content directed toward elite decisionmakers who are generally removed from the immediate conflict situation and may be prompted to intervene. For these media professionals, optimal operationalization of their aims manifests in text conventions such as avoiding hate speech and being mindful of specific word choices. Government officials and seats of power are less distant for these journalists, perhaps increasing their determination to flag conflict at the highest institutional levels. In taking on this institutional perspective, they may also see the most effective or impactful interventions coming from a third-party mediator. In addition, journalists in more senior or stable professional positions may focus on operational strategies related to text conventions and specific language choices, given that they generally face fewer barriers in constructing the broad narrative of their stories in day-to-day practice and often have direct editorial power over the work they review. As such, they may see more specialized decisions about word choice and language as the most added-value changes to their ordinary reporting approach or most active forms of peace journalism.

These findings have several implications for the implementation of peace journalism. For instance, the data suggest that media professionals who are closer to the ground and doing the most active field reporting, often occupying entry-level positions, perceive peace journalism to be a more bottom-up mechanism for peacebuilding. On the other hand, journalists who understand peace journalism as a more watchdog-oriented, top-down endeavor tend to occupy mid-to-high managerial positions in bureaucratic, urban institutions and are less likely to be in the field reporting on conflict situations. This might suggest that the most suitable or appropriate peace-journalism trainings should more explicitly tailor content for the type of professional position media practitioners occupy, acknowledging the different realities and affordances of such positions.

Furthermore, these findings confirm concerns that journalists are likely interpreting peace journalism as a model for professional practice differently, potentially obscuring the larger normative goals of the approach. I suggest that one way perceptions are differentiated is by degree of professional precarity and that while journalists may agree to peace journalism's main principles in the abstract, the

extent to which they can approximate such goals varies according to how they perceive their professional situation. Future work in this area might examine how such interpretations manifest in practice or whether journalists perceive some understandings as more legitimate than others, naturally identifying areas for intervention toward improving peace-journalism practice and its associated goals.

A social understanding of journalism professionalization

In addition to informing the specific practices and dissemination of peace journalism, the project's multi-influence theoretical approach illustrates the value of examining social determinants of journalistic perceptions more generally, particularly in sociopolitical contexts like East Africa. For one, and as previously described, the journalist-as-facilitator role conception shared across respondents builds from a notion of strong media interventionism. This finding corresponds with previous work that has found an interventionist media role to be "more strongly supported in less developed countries and societies facing disruptive changes" (Hanitzsch et al., 2019, p. 162). The interventionist role conception foregrounds journalists' opportunities for participatory social change as well as the promotion of certain ideologies and values.

While the journalist-as-facilitator role developed from this study refers to the facilitation of both information and direct conflict mediation, it parallels dimensions of existing role conceptions. For example, this study's broad category of journalist-as-facilitator includes elements of what others have called the "mediator" role conception (McQuail, 2000). This understanding of journalistic roles corresponds most closely to the journalist-as-facilitator dimension of providing direct opportunities or platforms for mediation. Such findings affirm work that has explicitly identified peace journalism as a popular application of the mediator role conception (McGoldrick, 2000), although the journalist-as-mediator role conception does not fully capture respondents' emphasis on distilling information as a form of facilitation.

The journalist-as-facilitator perspective advanced here also echoes the collaborative role orientation's own take on journalists as "facilitators" (Hanitzsch & Vos, 2018). The collaborative role is described as one in which reporters partner with governments to facilitate societal well-being, at times theorized as government pandering or propaganda (e.g., Pasti, 2005). The "facilitator" dimension of the collaborative role orientation emphasizes voluntary collaboration with public officials to assist in unification

efforts. For this reason, this study's conception of the journalist-as-facilitator role deviates slightly from the collaborative understanding in that journalists emphasized their unique facilitation roles. References to government partnership, while not completely absent, were rare.

Beyond these interrelated and specific role conceptions, this study generally reinforces work that has found journalists are more likely to support constructive reporting practices when they perceive their role as active participants in societal well-being (Andreson et al., 2017; McIntye & Sobel, 2017). These findings also extend this work by suggesting that not only are interventionist and collaborative role conceptions likely to predict general support for constructive conflict coverage, but they also may shape and help predict the types of individuals who are likely (or not likely) to actively self-select in to trainings on topics like peace journalism. While it is not this study's theoretical interest nor empirical aim to build toward a unified theory of role conceptions, these findings complement work by Hanitzsch et al. (2019) and the Worlds of Journalism Study to illuminate possible social antecedents of such role conceptions.

In addition, this study contributes to ideas of journalism practice in East African countries that have historically received relatively little attention in the journalism professionalization literature. Countries like Uganda, Rwanda, and South Sudan, in particular, remain difficult places to practice journalism, as well as study the field, and are not well-represented in cross-national comparative work. While a more systematic comparison is needed, these findings suggest that some role perceptions and norms may transcend national journalism cultures or state boundaries. As well, insights generated with respect to professional precarity—and, in particular, the ways in which the concept can be expanded to include organizational dynamics like rural versus urban environments—also responds to calls for more thoughtful scholarly attention to precarity in the Global South (Matthews & Onyemaobi, 2020). More specifically, rather than presume that precarity is best evaluated as a measure of full and permanent employment, which does not always map onto the realities of places like East Africa, this study considers other professional-organizational dynamics that may offer more or less stability to journalists working in these contexts.

Moreover, the findings, and in particular the shared backgrounds, experiences, and role conceptions of respondents, affirm the importance of studying journalism contextually. Responses from East African journalists reflected a shared concern for agency around social change and community

development, cornerstones of what has been called an “African journalism model” (Shaw, 2009). In such places, a social approach to understanding the formation of individual interpretations and perceptions becomes especially important, arguably even more so than in societies where a western liberal model dominates conversations around journalism professionalization.

Beyond East Africa, this multi-level influence approach toward a social understanding of individual perceptions can inform journalism studies research writ large. Many efforts to study journalism professionalization focus on institutional-level changes or conditions, such as press system norms or organizational environments (Amiel & Powers, 2009; Gade & Perry, 2003; Hallin & Mancini, 2004, 2007). While it is clear that interventions on these levels matter in the larger pursuit of professional model dissemination, this project advances the argument that these institutional conditions must be examined alongside perceptions—and the antecedents of such perceptions—of individuals. In the context of peace journalism, these findings suggest that curbing pressures at the institutional levels to attend peace-journalism trainings or gain related skills represents only partial progress toward model adoption if individual interpretations of such model principles continue to be stratified by the same or similar institutional influences. In short, equal access to knowledge may not translate into comparable uses or interpretations of that same information.

As for studies that do consider increments of journalism professionalization at the individual level, these efforts typically examine such phenomena as changes in content production over time. While these studies extend from the journalist forward to individual impacts on content, a multi-level influence approach demonstrates that content production cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of the social conditions that shape individuals producing such content in the first place. A hierarchy-of-influences perspective, in particular, provides a conceptual framework from which scholars of journalism practice can continue to explore influences on various levels in relationship to one another. Future work in this area may seek to quantify these influences and/or identify other salient factors shaping journalists’ perceptions of peace journalism.

Practitioners and social phenomena from a multi-level perspective

Finally, and at the most gestalt level, these findings demonstrate the strengths of a multi-level influence perspective to better understand communication situations and social phenomena. As articulated from the outset, this investigation examined the interplay of influences on different levels and their relative superiority to one another in the context of journalists' perceptions of peace journalism. In examining how individual backgrounds, role conceptions, and professional-structural dynamics correspond to particular ways of understanding peace journalism, I have argued that individuals are not only directly impacted by professional precarity—to the extent that they may have more or less access to certain material resources or opportunities—but that such precarity may actually correspond to different ways of processing new information and negotiating responses to it.

This approach can be used to improve our understanding of many other social circumstances, especially communication processes. For example, like journalists, activists and political elites are frequently exposed to new information such as novel policy proposals, plans for social programs, or administrative improvements for bureaucratic processes. How these individuals perceive and respond to external influences on their work may well be shaped by social experiences on various levels, from one's involvement with organized religion to their personal stake in a particular issue area, for instance. Such social experiences may ultimately shape interpretations of new information in patterned ways that have little to do with the content of the information provided, but that yet lead to tense disagreements or political cleavages. Understanding the relative influence of these multi-level factors may be one way of improving the delivery of information via trainings or workshops, ultimately resulting in more fruitful public deliberation processes across sectors.

Limitations

From the multi-level perspective and associated findings, this study advances conversations across several areas, but it also presents inherent limitations. First, the project's theoretical orientation implicitly assumes that influences like professional precarity are forces acting upon individuals who then find themselves in precarious situations. In fact, decisions to get involved in precarious work could be deliberate, as may be the case with entrepreneurs or those with sufficient resources to take professional

risks. For these individuals, precarity might not be experienced with the same kind of pressure as one who has been impacted by the same influences unwillingly, suggesting that the objective appearance of precarity is perhaps less important than one's perception of it. This limitation acknowledges that while precarity is an important indicator of peace-journalism interpretation, it is not the whole story.

This theoretical orientation also assumes that influences like professional precarity are stable when such pressures may be temporary or otherwise malleable. This alludes to a second set of limitations with respect to methodological approach. Interviews represent a single point in time. Additional work in this area might include a longitudinal study of journalists and their perceptions to better understand whether changes in professional precarity lead to shifts in perceptions over time. Interviews are also reconstructions, and these reconstructions happened in the context of discussions about conflict reporting. As such, it can be reasonably assumed that I do not have data that is unaffected by the concept of peace journalism, and a nice follow-up project might pair these findings with a study that does not have peace journalism as the theoretical focus.

In addition, interviews as a method of inquiry are often critiqued for merely presenting evidence for what individuals claim to do and not necessarily what they actually do (Jerolmack & Khan, 2014). Fortunately, this study's interest concerns the social realities that shape individual interpretations and perceptions, and it is admittedly less concerned with whether journalists' precise actions align with their words. A systematic examination of peace-journalism practices in relationship to perceptions would be a relevant and important follow-up to this investigation. That said, interviews do provide privileged access into perceptions that are otherwise hidden from researchers, and because peace journalism practice depends as much on how journalists perceive it, such a research technique is invaluable.

Additionally, choosing only to interview journalists who have attended institutionally sponsored peace-journalism trainings means the spectrum of possible peace journalism interpretations collected is limited. While this tempers the generalizability of the findings, it is also conceptually useful in that these journalists are ostensibly the individuals charged with receiving and disseminating peace-journalism practices if the model is to take root in their respective societies. To this point, because I used organized trainings as a site of study and employed a version of snowball sampling to identify additional respondents, interview respondents are likely to know one another to some degree. This presents some

concern for in-network selection bias which I account for to the extent possible by incorporating potentially unique characteristics of this group into my understanding and analysis of the data (Small, 2009).

In addition to in-network selection bias, generational cohort effects may be at work within the population from which I draw my sample. Generational cohort effects refer to the impact of major socio-political events on generations of a given population who experience these events together (Meredith & Schewe, 2002). More specifically, many of the journalists I recruited and subsequently interviewed were in their mid-20s to mid-30s and came of age during several formative conflicts located in East Africa between the 1990s and early 2000s. These include the Lord's Resistance Army's insurgency in northern Uganda, the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, the Second Congo War, civil war in South Sudan, and periods of election violence across the region. For this reason, it should be understood that the precise findings from this purposive sample are not intended to generalize beyond this case. Instead, these findings illuminate the mechanisms shaping journalists' understandings of their work and efforts to modify it, with implications for how such processes might be understood in other contexts.

Relatedly, and in an effort to address ethnocentric assumptions associated with my own social background, it cannot be overstated that my interest in the interpretation of peace journalism is not in whether individual journalists have fulfilled the peace-journalism criteria put for by theorists in other contexts or whether the training was causally effective. Rather, this inquiry is concerned with peace journalism as individuals understand it in the contexts in which they are situated. As such, these findings are not broadly generalizable even while we might expect to see similar processes at work under comparable social and professional circumstances. To make more broad generalizations, a larger randomized sample is needed.

Finally, my position as a researcher and personal social background required constant reflexivity throughout the data collection and analysis process, as well as my reliance on several key informants to provide context-specific guidance. Keeping in mind that "research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise" (Smith, 2012, p. 35), this study adopted an orientation toward continual bias checking, with the hope of mitigating subconscious ideological constructions of otherness and the related heteronormativity bias that comes from entering these spaces as an outsider (Johnson, 1997; Zohrabi, 2013). Despite

these considerations and efforts to address them, there may be perceptions of peace journalism and reflections about journalism practice more generally that I could not access based on my position.

The spectrum of possible responses is further limited in that only English-speaking journalists were interviewed and the conversations occurred via the relatively impersonal medium of video conferencing. The inability to travel in 2020-21 as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic necessitated these virtual interviews, and it introduced additional challenges such as navigating internet connectivity issues, time zone differences, and a general reliance on technology that would have been less critical had conversations taken place in person. While this methodological necessity presents limitations, it also facilitated conversations with individuals who may have been in hard-to-reach rural areas irrespective of the pandemic, and it made the project—in its final form—possible.

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Appendix I: Interview Protocols

The primary data for this study come from in-depth, semi-structured interviews. The interview guide below outlines the broad contours of the information gathered, as well as the specific questions asked of all participating interview subjects:

Opening questions

1. What is your current title and position?

Theme 1: Individual background and experience (trajectory and education)

1. Could you tell me a bit about how you got into journalism?
 - a. Follow-up: Did you know anyone working in journalism growing up?
2. Could you tell me about your career trajectory to this point, including previous reporting positions?
 - a. Follow-up: What is your educational background?

Theme 2: Professional routines and organizational dynamics

1. What does a normal day of work look like for you?
 - a. Follow-up: Tell me about your day yesterday.
 - b. Follow-up: What about the rhythm of a typical week? How did your last week shake out?
2. How does your work or position fit into [insert organization or employer]?
 - a. Follow-up (or if freelance): How do you select the stories that you work on?

Theme 3: Individual perceptions of training and impacts

1. How familiar were you with peace journalism before the 2017 training?
 - a. Follow-up: What had you heard about it, if anything? How did you understand it?
2. What prompted you to attend the training?
 - a. Follow-up: Did you have a background in conflict reporting or conflict resolution?
3. Can you tell me about your experience attending the training?
 - a. Follow-up: Had you attended others? Was it useful?

- b. Follow-up: In retrospect, is there anything you wish had been covered more?
- 4. Can you tell me about your experience in the newsroom after you completed the training?
 - a. Follow-up: How did you explain what you had learned and/or changes you were making to your editor or colleagues? Did you receive any resistance?

Theme 4: Understanding of PJ

- 1. How do you define peace journalism?
 - a. Follow-up: What do you think it looks like to do reporting using a peace-journalism approach?
 - b. Follow-up: Outside of your experience, are there constraints that would prevent broader adoption of peace journalism in your field? If so, what?
- 2. In what ways do you feel you have succeeded or struggled to implement a peace-journalism approach into your work?
 - a. Follow-up: Can you show me an example of an article you produced (or that was produced) using a peace-journalism approach?
 - b. Follow-up: How did you arrive at this topic? How did you decide what to emphasize?

Appendix II: Codebook

Categories and codes	Operationalization	Example
<i>Individual background</i>		
Education	Information about any relevant schooling, especially tertiary education and additional training	<i>"I did a Bachelor's of Arts in Mass Media and Communication. But now in my Master's, I'm doing International Relations."</i> (Sicily Kalu, Kenya)
Job history	Information about work trajectory, especially nature and length of previous positions	<i>"I joined another radio station where I was the station manager. I had to do everything—as a journalist, managing the whole station, coming up with policies..."</i> (Serge Abara, Uganda)
Experience with conflict	Any information referencing previous experiences with conflict or understandings of conflict, including electoral violence, protests, war reporting, etc.	<i>"I remember going to the DRC where the rebels had taken part of north in the Democratic Republic of Congo neighboring Uganda. I also remember jumping over bodies with a car and on foot."</i> (Abdul Kareem, S. Sudan)
<i>Role conception</i>		
Journalism purpose	Any reference to the purpose or value of journalism or journalists	<i>"We are supposed to empower this community to be able to understand where they are and how are we going to help them so that they are able to make decisions."</i> (Stephen Odhiambo, Kenya)
Journalism quality (good vs. bad)	Any distinction between or reference to quality of journalism or reporting	<i>"So you don't get to the depth of the issue. You're just running by the words that people are telling you, which to me is not journalism."</i> (Patricia Gwitaba, Uganda)
<i>Professional-structural dynamics</i>		
Current position	Any information pertaining to nature of current position, including location, size of organization, position within a structure, autonomy, etc.	<i>"There is a managing editor that is a news editor. And there's something that is a bureau chief. And after the bureau chief that is me, who's a regional correspondent."</i> (Abdul Kareem, S. Sudan)
Organizational pressures	Any information pertaining to organizational vitality, including financial pressures, resource	<i>"My experience has not been all that good. Because you write for an editor a story that is supposed to be championing for peace, yeah? But an</i>

	scarcity, or other internal challenges	<i>editor will change everything.</i> "(Kenny Senyange, Kenya)
Industry pressures	Any information pertaining to journalistic norms and pressures, including news values, deadlines, principles from journalism education, source relationships, etc.	<i>"In a conflict situation, especially when you are reporting war, you find it difficult to practice peace journalism because the media need to run breaking news and that is something that is putting us in a dilemma."</i> (Silas Malakbundu, S. Sudan)

Understanding of peace journalism

Theoretical definition	Any reference to a specific (either provided or personal) definition of peace journalism in the abstract	<i>"I will define peace journalism as the best way to end conflict or reduce conflict using peace as a reporter."</i> (Kenny Senyange, Kenya)
Practical definition	Any reference to peace journalism in practice, including specific stories, successes and challenges, examples from the field, etc.	<i>"I can say it's a peace journalism story because I was able not to take any side. I was able to bring a story that was authentic. I interviewed all sources."</i> (Inno Mutsei, Uganda)
Audience	Any reference to the intended audience of PJ	<i>"So it was just a way of telling the people who live in the city that: "Don't have that mentality that everyone in Northern Uganda is still living in the war memory and they are stuck."</i> (Patricia Gwitaba, Uganda)
Aims	Any reference to the purpose behind PJ	<i>"And with time, some communities actually are willing to surrender even their guns because sometimes when I went deeper to do an investigative story, I realized that even the county government actually they sponsor the bandits."</i> (Sicily Kalu, Kenya)
Interventions	Any reference to reporting means or mechanisms to fulfill PJ purpose	<i>"You are stating facts. But you have the choice on what to give prominence or just how to frame it all. So framing was a big issue."</i> (Olivia Mwenge, Kenya)

Appendix III: Illustrative evidence by respondent

Respondent	PJ perception	Illustrative exemplars
<i>Patricia Gwitaba, Uganda</i>	Policy-oriented	<p>“I wanted to bring out the aspect of peace after the war. Northern Uganda is not a peaceful region as yet... And this is a discussion that should continue at a policy level because there are still many things that are lacking, even a resource-allocation level.”</p> <p>“Whatever we do, actually it will impact our communities and it sets the agenda for that story to be adopted as a policy... It’s that mindset of: “If I bring this out in public, someone else out there might pick and run with the same words that I used to decide on a policy or a decision at a higher level or even at the lowest level.”</p>
<i>Joseph Niziyimana, Rwanda</i>	Policy-oriented	<p>“As a journalist, you would go into the community to talk to the two sides or the two parties. You would avoid hate speech.”</p> <p>“We select the stories according to the current situation. For example, a typical example of a peace-journalism story might if there was a political opponent from the US coming to Kigali.”</p>
<i>Zaida Ngoy, Uganda</i>	Policy-oriented	<p>In discussing how her work was received by the audience at a UK peace conference: “I realized when I was covering the war that the Ugandans who were living in diaspora didn’t know exactly what was happening. There was a misperception that the war in Northern Uganda was framed... They printed [my] pictures from the camps and enlarged them very big... So when the team came back in that conference room, they said, ‘Whose photos? Where is this? It is Northern Uganda? This is what is happening. The rebels are indeed there. This is brought by the journalist.’ So that changed their mind.”</p> <p>“Many times we’ve been told that when you advocate for peace journalism, it means we should hide away human right abuse or certain things. Then we tell them, ‘Look, you don’t need to hide. You only need to be careful the language you use, the choices of words, the kind of image that you report there.’”</p>
<i>Serge Abara, Uganda</i>	Policy-oriented	<p>In discussing a peace-journalism story he was particularly proud of: “And then it brought an intervention that the government was not playing its duty by protecting the swamps.. And, indeed, when the government came, they told them never to step into the wetland.”</p>

		<p>“We eliminated hate speech. Our stories were aimed at building society, not breaking them over conflict.”</p>
Rose Kawala, Uganda	Policy-oriented	<p>“We had so many messages, opinion leaders, religious leaders, bishops. They put them on TV to make messages calling on Ugandans urging for peace and things like, which is really good.”</p> <p>“In terms of infusing the work in my everyday reporting, it just made me a lot more conscious and aware about the words that I use and the words that you sometimes take for granted. And it's just one word that seems really innocuous... People interpret things really, really differently and just one word alone can turn your story completely.”</p>
Wilson Ibrahim, S. Sudan	Policy-oriented	<p>“We operate as the voice of those people to the government. So what is the government thinking of those who are not even able to get some water? So what are we going to do? We have to raise the voice of the voiceless... So we started writing some articles.”</p> <p>“[Peace-journalism content] will go to the government to ask them, ‘What are they planning to do in order to bring these people in to help this if something like this experience is happening? What is it they say as a government about it? And what are they planning to do in order to bring peace among these two communities which are fighting about kettles and the gardeners?’”</p>
Silas Malakbundu, S. Sudan	Policy-oriented	<p>“So some pressure will be made on the government that can influence the decision making if the international community picked it up and read it. That means at any point, the government of South Sudan may be asked about whether A, B, C, D happening?... So, it can influence the decision of the government.”</p> <p>“And unless only when you come to words like an insult, yes, one can actually cut it out. But if it is not insult or words, and they are just hard facts that you have seen and then from the other side, you ask the government, ‘Is this happening?’ then the government may say no. But at the same time, the hard facts that have been presented remain as they are... So making it peace-oriented journalism becomes a problem because how do you change it? You can't change the headline that presents the real facts. You can't change it.”</p>
Sicily Kalu, Kenya	People-oriented	<p>“But we [journalists] would come out of the camp, try talking to them, these advantages of fighting. And with time, some communities actually are willing to surrender even their guns.”</p>

		<p>“This radio was actually started because most people here actually were affected [by violence]... We have tents that absorbed those people who their houses were burnt. So the radio actually came as a way of uniting the people or the community at large.”</p>
George Liku, Uganda	People-oriented	<p>In describing the topic of a peace-journalism he is proud of: “Poaching in East Africa is still one of the biggest problems here... So now, in Kenya, when I went there, I found they have introduced the sniffing dogs as an alternative to trap these people who are involved in illicit trade. It’s a message that I feel like is just an element of peace. Because they are not shooting them. They are not beating them.”</p> <p>“I was saying that the family not lose hope after the violence.... How will we communicate justice to that affected family? How will the affected family or other affected families get justice through our work? So this is what we have been communicating. And that’s how we are trying to define peace-journalism approach.”</p>
Kenny Senyange, Kenya	People-oriented	<p>“As a journalist, I play a major role in ensuring peace... The way you report it, it will affect them either psychologically, and some of them can even be prompted to retaliate. At the end of the day, you shall not be helping the society.”</p> <p>“I remember writing a story that the area administration – this was my intro: ‘The area administration of [redacted] region has assured that there will be peace henceforth after a troop of a certain number are deployed to that particular place. This came as a result of a scuffle between rival groups that left others hurt and others lost their lives as a result.’ So when I submitted this story it was on a very soft note. Later on at night when I was watching the television, the story was: ‘Seven people have been killed by the [redacted] community after the community invaded the neighboring community and attacked them. Most of them were armed with guns.’”</p>
Stephen Odhiambo, Kenya	People-oriented	<p>“That’s when the aspect of peace program is very, very important that community are able to come together. We are able to give them an information that is going to help them to stay together. So it’s a very dynamic thing that you as a journalist, you need to think, ‘What can I do for this community?’”</p> <p>“We as a community radio station, we are supposed to empower this community to be able to understand where they are and how are we going to help them so that they are able to make decisions, so that they are able to participate in national building and all that...”</p>

Olivia Mwenge, Kenya	People-oriented	<p>“For me, my biggest thing about journalism is our responsibility to community. We have this power and it comes with a certain responsibility... So we always pick the graphic images and all that. But then how does that now affect whoever is consuming this content?”</p> <p>“You are stating facts, yes.. But you have the choice on what to give prominence or just how to frame it all. So framing was a big issue. The biggest thing is how we frame certain people as the ones who do certain things.”</p>
Shaban Kenyatta, Kenya	People-oriented	<p>“So, you have to involve the stakeholders. That’s the area residents. You have to involve the local government. You have to involve the community leadership. So, after you bring both of them on board, you educate.”</p> <p>On selecting a story topic: “You pick the topic now, for instance, female genital mutilation... Now after identifying this topic, the FGM, you ask [the community], ‘What is the value of doing this? Why do you normally do this?’”</p>
Abdul Kareem, Uganda	People-oriented	<p>“We attended different workshops on how we can communicate where to the community that we worked from and how we can aid these communities.”</p> <p>“[Media] have to communicate well to the people so that the people do not generate into a situation that is so much extremists that it would lead to conflict anytime with any opportunity.”</p>
Inno Mutesi, Uganda	People-oriented	<p>“I said, ‘If I’m to be a journalist, I will make sure what I did this for. I’ll make sure that I bring peace in the community I’m in.’ So that’s why I even enrolled in peace-journalism training because I was so interested. I’m so much into being the voice of the voiceless.”</p> <p>“But you as a journalist, you come. You sit, and your editor will be like, ‘No, what if someone who has lost a relative is to see this image? It’s not going to be good for them.’”</p>
Julius Nakame, Uganda	People-oriented	<p>“I always want to identify the problems that communities are facing and find solutions to the problems, to identify the root causes of the problem and also finding out solutions to these problems affecting the community members.”</p> <p>“Peace journalism, I would just say that it is focusing on identifying the root causes conflict and trying to identify or generate solutions, peaceful means of addressing the problem through different stakeholders.”</p>

<i>Juliana Atem, S. Sudan</i>	People-oriented	<p>“Peace journalism is a commitment of reporting good course of conflict in a way that is an opportunity to respond with non-violent approaches.... You need to be like, ‘This story you're writing...is it accurate?’ And the folks then correct. ‘Is the story balanced?” You have to ensure that the story is balanced, to ensure that the story is in a peaceful way.”</p> <p>“Peace journalism is where you go in deep, you find this resolution, you understand the courses of the conflict and also the consequences behind the story... People will be able to understand very much all the approaches to the war. Or people will be happy to know that. The war is something that can be for the solution in a nonviolent way.”</p>
<i>Martha Okello, Uganda</i>	People-oriented	<p>“For myself, I can define peace journalism as a journalism that can create peace in a community. I think to make a community feel better. If I'm creating peace, it's our mission as journalists to make a community feel better in the society.”</p> <p>“I sit down with my editor and ask him, ‘How can we work on these stories and bring good stories out of it?’ Because from statement made by the general, we can at least say something that... The police were saying that any person that attacks them should be killed. But in our side, we can change that to avoid the killing of the protesters.”</p>
<i>Omari Hassan, S. Sudan</i>	People-oriented	<p>“Peace journalism is a kind of journalism that creates a possible environment for reconciliation, creates an environment for unity, creates an environment for a possible solution, not a violent solution, and nonviolent ways of dealing with the situation.”</p> <p>“I make sure that I get the two parties involved to talk about their controversial issues, what actually caused them to do what they're doing, all the conflict, and what is the source of the conflict. I make sure that I find out the root cause, and that is what I always keep in mind whenever I'm doing [my work].”</p>
<i>Dembe Nateza, Uganda</i>	People-oriented	<p>“Peace journalism is where me as a reporter come and sit together with my editor to write a story but to create a relationship for people to dialogue or to bring people on a round table to talk, to meet, and reconcile through the use of pen and paper and to avoid aids of fights in such situations and to bring reconciliation between parties.”</p>

“Here is a PSA that I did during the training. It was talking about election violence because we really faced it so much in the past election... What happened was we made the PSA, and it really worked... it created ways that people were not so much in fear; people shouldn't get buried in fear because election would come and go. But still, we shall remain in our communities, and we would need each other. So we shouldn't beat each other. We shouldn't kill. We shouldn't maim.”
