Exploring the Use of Emotional Labour by Journalists Reporting on Genocide: The Cases of Rwanda and Srebrenica

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Declaration of Originality

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Summary

The current research takes a sociological approach to the study of journalism to explore the complex emotional work carried out by journalists as they report. Previous research has demonstrated various aspects of the distinct culture of journalism, including the embedded maintenance of certain ideals, such as objectivity and emotional detachment. However, detailed examination of the professional ideals of the journalists themselves reveals an area wrought with complexities and contradictions, where what is expected of journalists in their job role may be challenged by the actual emotional experiences they endure. The present research explores these complexities in order to understand how journalists might manage their emotions and how this management relates to the wider professional and organisational expectations placed upon them. To do this, it centres on journalists that reported during genocide because of the extremely emotive nature of this event. The present research therefore takes a qualitative, case study approach employing two case studies of genocide (Rwanda and Srebrenica) as a lens through which to understand the emotionality associated with reporting. Specifically, it combines interviews with journalists that reported during either genocide alongside a discourse analysis of UK news reporting of these events.

Findings reveal the vital part that emotional labour played for journalists in managing their emotions both during and after their reporting. These journalists performed emotional labour in distinct, multi-faceted, and sometimes contradictory ways. In seeking to make greater sense of this emotional work, the current research elaborates a typology of the different kinds of emotional labour performed by journalists. By examining how journalists experienced the act of reporting amidst genocide specifically, it is possible to see how these complexities are amplified in extreme situations. However, this template also allows the potential for future research on the emotional experiences of journalists that may also report in other situations.
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Chapter 1  Introduction

For me it wasn’t complete compartmentalisation in that I felt something when people were saying these things. I’m sure I teared up and choked up and felt it. But, you do move on. And you go on to find the next thing and you put it aside. But it has a long-term cumulative effect (original emphasis, Journalist 9).

Journalists report on a range of different events that call upon their professionalism and adherence to the culture of objectivity that the industry of journalism promotes. However, in certain situations these journalists can find themselves at a crossroads where the organisational expectations placed upon them are not so easily met. The present research therefore explores the ways in which reporting may involve emotionality that runs contrary to the established ideals of these journalists. It uses the example of genocide to examine the emotional experiences that journalists have whilst reporting on this and how this demonstrates the complexities and contradictions that exist between their job role and their industry. Reporting on-the-ground during genocide represents an incredibly intense and visceral experience since interactions with victims of genocide, and in some instances even perpetrators, places these journalists in an extremely emotional situation. As such, it demonstrates a reporting situation in which the objectivity and detachment that underpin traditional ideals of journalism comes at odds with the emotional investment that these journalists place on their reporting. The present research therefore sets out to answer the following questions:

1. What is the emotional experience of reporting on-the-ground during genocide like for journalists? Specifically, how do journalists manage their emotions and how does the emotional discourse they include in their reporting relate to their experiences?

2. How do these emotional experiences relate to the wider professional and organisational expectations placed upon journalists in their job role?

3. Are previous frameworks used to study journalism, such as the political economy and organisational culture approaches, adequate to study this topic?
To answer these questions a qualitative approach is taken that incorporates two case studies of genocide: Rwanda in 1994 and Srebrenica in 1995. These case studies act as a lens through which it is possible to explore the culture of objectivity that remains an important part of journalism, alongside the more intricate complexities of reporting during these emotionally charged events. Recent research has moved away from the previous political economy approach to journalism (Herman, 2000; Herman & Chomsky, 2008) towards an approach that explores the organisational culture of journalism. This micro sociological approach accentuates what it means to ‘be’ a journalist and ‘do’ journalism in order to examine the wider social dynamics that exist within the newsroom and how this affects journalists and their role within the media industry (Deuze, 2005; Hallin, 2005; Dickinson, 2007; Dickinson, 2010). In this way journalists are seen as significant players within the overall production of news and so their experiences are important to examine. This provides an important basis for the exploration of the experiences of journalists, however the focus on the emotionality of reporting remains under-researched and so the present research seeks to extend this.

Whilst previous research has been done on the media and its representation of the genocides in Rwanda and Srebrenica (Meyers et al, 1996; Pieterse, 1997; Wall, 1997; Karnick, 1998; Kuusisto, 1998; Moeller, 1999; Holmes, 2001; Auerbach & Bloch-Elkon, 2005; Herman & Peterson, 2006; Bouris, 2007; Wall, 2007; Livingston, 2007; Thompson, 2007; Härting, 2008; Marinos, 2008; Brock, 2009; Carpenter, 2009; Harrison, 2009; Melvern, 2009; Vujnovic, 2009; Chari, 2010; Schimmel, 2011), the current research takes a different approach from these. Here the case studies of Rwanda and Srebrenica are instead used as a framework for analysis of the complexities and potential contradictions that journalists contend with when reporting in such extreme situations, with a particular focus on the question of emotions. To explore this interviews with journalists that reported on-the-ground during the genocide in Rwanda or Srebrenica are analysed alongside a discourse analysis of UK news reporting of these events. This approach therefore incorporates a more comprehensive examination by analysing not only testimonies by journalists, but also
text that was produced from reporting on these events. Previous research that has examined media reporting on genocide has tended to rely solely on methods like discourse analysis instead of utilising a more comprehensive approach that would combine with that the testimonies of journalists as well. The incorporation of these two methods therefore enables us to examine a previously under researched area with a revised methodological approach.

For the benefit of providing a basis for positioning the present research amidst previous work around this topic, Chapter 2 will introduce literature in the following intersecting areas: the industry of journalism, the role of journalists, the performance of emotional labour, emotional dissonance and trauma research, and the reporting of genocide within the media. Chapter 3 will then provide a layout of both the methodological basis for the current research, as well as detail the way in which interviews and discourse analysis came to be combined during the research process in order to provide a more comprehensive perspective of the emotional experiences that surround reporting genocide. Following this, Chapter 4 will describe the genocide in Rwanda and Srebrenica in order to both contextualise these two events as well as situate them as distinct case studies through which to examine the current research questions. The major findings will then be collectively presented and analysed over two chapters that will demonstrate the contradictions and complexities that journalists manoeuvred through in their reporting of Rwanda and Srebrenica. For example, Chapter 5 will focus on the interplay between the organisational expectations placed upon these journalists and the inherent emotionality that they faced and the struggles that this caused during reporting. Chapter 6 will then focus on how this struggle transcended into the text that was produced in reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica, as well as through to the lives of the journalists after they were finished. To end, Chapter 7 will serve as a synthesis of these analysis chapters in order to present the major conclusions of the present research: that there needs to be a new framework to study the emotional experiences of journalists that focuses on journalists’ use of emotional labour since previous frameworks have left a gap in regards to the study of this area. Furthermore, this final chapter will provide an
emerging typology based on how journalists were found to utilise emotional labour and how this reveals the contradictions within the organisational culture of journalism.
Chapter 2  Review of the literature

This chapter will review the literature that surrounds this thesis in its research on the emotional experiences that journalists encountered in their reporting. It will first provide a contextualisation of the industry of journalism within the UK by discussing two approaches to the study of journalism: the political economy and organisational culture approaches. Though the political economy approach makes a significant contribution to the understanding of the macrostructures that influence the construction of news, the organisational culture employs a micro-sociological perspective that allows us to examine journalists and the role they play within the industry of journalism. The organisational culture approach enables us to explore the concept of professionalism amongst journalists by exploring the social dynamics of the newsroom. Certain ideal journalistic traits, such as objectivity, prove significant in the construction of the professional identity of journalists and so in this chapter we will be introduced to the organisational expectations that are placed upon these individuals. This will introduce the interplay between journalists and what is expected of them so that we may later consider how this may affect the emotional experience of reporting, especially when reporting on genocide.

Following these discussions of the industry of journalism and journalists’ role within it, we will move on to the area of emotions and emotional labour so that we may explore the emotional experiences of these individuals in this job role. Although previous emotional labour research has largely overlooked journalists, this section will demonstrate how they may utilise emotional labour during reporting as individuals do in a variety of other jobs. However in exploring the use of emotional labour it is also important to consider the potential negative effects it can cause, such as emotional dissonance and subsequent burnout. For journalists that report during conflict it is possible to see how the extreme of emotional labour and the resulting emotional dissonance may combine to form the trauma that journalists may experience as a result of reporting. The current research thus takes the situation of reporting during
genocide and the emotionality that may be associated with this extreme context to fill the gap left by previous research that has focussed primarily on the way that genocide has been constructed in the news, not on the experiences of those journalists that report it.

2.1 The industry of journalism

Journalism has arguably been shown to exist less like a profession than other industries (Aldridge & Evetts, 2003). As we will see, journalism has long been viewed through the macro sociological perspective of the political economy approach and its emphasis on the economic structure and influence of news organisations and other media elites on the construction of news. However, journalism can also be viewed through the equally significant micro sociological perspective of an organisational culture approach that emphasises the journalistic routines and ideologies that construct the practice of journalism (Schudson, 1989). Whilst the political economy approach provides an important basis for understanding the influence of capitalist structures on the formation of news, the organisational culture approach delves further into the role of the journalists that work within these worlds and structures. As such, the organisational culture approach provides a more relevant basis from which the current research may extend its exploration of the emotional experiences that journalists encounter when reporting.

2.1.1 Journalism as an area of study

For decades the practice of journalism in the UK has revolved around the debate as to whether it may be regarded specifically as a ‘profession’ (Tunstall, 1974). Press regulation within the UK and the disagreements towards press standards that extended through three processions of the Royal Commissions on the Press only reinforced these issues towards its classification (Dworkin, 1973). The third Royal
Commission on the Press 1974-1977 finally refuted the status of journalism as a profession because of its lack of a common and consensual knowledge core. Whilst the variety of skills and tasks involved in journalism meant that individuals require experience in the industry, the Commission did not feel there was specialised intellectual training that would be necessary for entry into jobs within it. In addition, the absence of an industry code of ethics in journalism that would protect and regulate standards of performance has also been cited as a reason for its declassification (Aldridge & Evetts, 2003). With this in mind, Tunstall (1974) argues that it may be more accurate to consider journalism as a ‘semi-profession’ instead. Lacking the strict training and explicit codification of ethics and principles that may be expected of ‘professions’, journalism relies on a more covert adherence to policy based on implicit rules and expectations. Past research (Deuze, 2005; Schultz, 2007) demonstrates that there are journalistic standards, ethical practices, and notions of what is important in the job that journalists become socialised into through the journalistic culture and the implicit rules of what it means to ‘be’ a journalist and ‘do’ journalism. As Witschge & Nygren (2009) explain, the codification of policy and norms is impossible within journalism since in a democratic society journalism is meant to hold a position of neutrality in the dissemination of information to the public and therefore cannot designate formal and codified rules in the way that they exist in other industries.

The fragmentation and lack of codification seen in the industry of journalism, however, is what Aldridge & Evetts (2003) believe makes journalism such a distinct and significant area of study. They maintain that the way journalism has endured and thrived over the last century and continues to grow and change calls for a reinterpretation of the concept of professionalism as more towards that of a discourse of occupational control and transformation. In this way the professionalism that surrounds journalism may be examined more as a dynamic process that moulds itself in relation to time and space, but which fundamentally maintains a dominant idea of what journalism is and should be. This mirrors Dickinson (2008) who explains that in
a social world structures and ideas are continuously negotiated and transformed through human interactions. The social interactions and the actions that are produced are therefore of great importance when trying to understand organised human activity, such as journalism. In this way it is possible for journalism to be interpreted through the organisational culture that characterises it amongst those who collectively make up this world and in ‘doing’ journalism define it. Journalism therefore needs to be examined in relation to two approaches that have been used to study it: the political economy approach and the organisational culture approach.

2.1.2 Political economy and organisational culture approaches

The political economy approach was the main approach taken to research journalism and news media from the 1970s onward. This approach emphasises the political and economic structures inherent in a capitalist society. These structures are seen as having a direct influence on the news product because of the economic and political foundations of news organisations (Schudson, 1989). Herman & Chomsky’s (2008) famous Propaganda Model demonstrates a model of the behaviour and performance of the news media based on empirical data from US newspaper coverage. It predicts that corporate and political elites work in tandem with news companies and journalists to provide the media with sources and profit and as a result influence what becomes a big story (Herman & Chomsky, 2008). The emphasis of this model on the macrostructures of news production and the inherent capitalist interests of news organisations in turn minimises the role of journalists in the news process. Herman (2000) maintains that media, corporate, and government elites work in an intricate partnership with journalists and so journalists cannot be expected to maintain autonomy in their job role. Instead journalists are seen as extensions of the wider media machine and its capitalist interests. For instance, journalists are said to utilise certain ‘news values’ that establish the newsworthiness of those stories that will ensure profit for news organisations (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Thus journalists merely perpetuate the capitalist interests of the media elites in their reporting.
However, Harcup & O’Neill (2001) argue that whilst news values can be applied to most major foreign news stories, Galtung & Ruge (1965) made the assumption that journalists experience the reality and then either include or exclude certain events from it. Instead, Harcup & O’Neill (2001) argue that journalists experience a reality, socially and culturally constructed, but based on their personal perception and interpretation, which determines how journalists then include or exclude certain events. In this way then the journalists can be seen as important players that may make their own decisions in regards to their reporting of events. Hallin (2005) similarly criticises the Propaganda Model for its disregard for journalists’ autonomy and asserts that the professionalism of journalists deserves more attention because of the importance it holds within the industry of journalism. In this way we may move from the political economy approach and its emphasis on macrostructures, to the organisational approach and its focus on journalists and the way that their work is influenced by wider occupational and organisational routines (Schudson, 1989). In this way ‘being’ a journalist and ‘doing’ journalism becomes the emphasis in order to better conceptualise the social dynamics at work within this occupation. With this focus it becomes possible to advance towards what Dickinson (2007; 2010) recommends: a sociology of journalists that incorporates journalists as social actors that engage in a distinctive and changing form of labour that culminates in their ability to do journalism. Journalists are members of the ‘news world’ and so by examining them it is possible to better understand the social interactions that make up this world (Dickinson, 2008). Once the interaction between journalists and other players, such as editors, is better understood then the production of news itself can be put into context. This focus on how ‘being’ a journalist and ‘doing’ journalism has a crucial role over the production of news makes it possible to extend what the political economy approach overlooks by suppressing the role of the journalist in lieu of wider political players (Hallin, 2005).

Incorporating the interactionist perspective that the organisational culture approach has to the study of journalism accentuates the dynamics that exist within the
newsroom between journalists, their colleagues, and the news organisation and organisational culture itself. Here journalists are afforded an important focus as those individuals who play a crucial role in the production of news instead of being considered mere pawns of the wider media machine. The organisational culture approach and the significance it places on the role of journalists therefore provide us with a useful microstructural perspective from which to explore the emotional experiences of these individuals. The present research therefore sought to use the organisational culture approach as a base from which to explore the emotional experiences of journalists in order to gain a better perspective of the reality of their job role in relation to what it expected of them.

2.2 Journalists

Since we have seen that news can be considered a social activity in which journalists play an important role, this role will now be examined in relation to how notions of professionalism are more widely related to the organisational culture that journalists adhere to. The newsroom is a socially dynamic place and the implicit rules and learned behaviours it propagates in this context are important in understanding notions of professionalism for journalists. It is through these interactions that journalists learn those ‘ideal’ journalistic traits that they are expected to abide by, of which objectivity plays a significant role. In these organisational expectations it is possible to understand how the professional identity of these individuals is constructed and how they attempt to maintain notions of professionalism within their job role. Journalists’ own perception of their function is therefore also important in these discussions in order to paint an overall picture of what is means to ‘be’ a journalist, based on the interpretation and application of the organisational expectations placed on these individuals by their industry.
2.2.1 The professionalism of journalists

Although journalism itself is not considered a profession, journalists do adhere to rules, albeit implicit and embedded. These ‘rules’ dominate expectations placed on journalists and therefore help to construct their notions of professionalism (Aldridge & Evetts, 2003). Professionalism is therefore still an important part of the organisational culture of journalism, regardless of its position as a semi-profession. Within the industry of journalism, and especially the newsroom, an occupational socialisation appears to occur through which journalists begin to formulate their professional identity over time based on what is expected of them. The interpretation and application of these organisational expectations thus serve to construct the professional identity of these individuals and thus what it means to ‘be’ a journalist.

The social dynamics of the newsroom have been best demonstrated in previous work done by Breed (1955) that showcased the occupational socialisation of journalists and the effect it has on their professional identity. He explains that journalists learn the ‘policy’ of their news organisation through the socialisation and experience of working in a newsroom, which soon becomes normalised and routine. Thus, instead of being given an explicit policy to adhere to, journalists learn on the job what is expected of them through interactions and experiences with colleagues and superiors. This mirrors the concept of normalisation advanced by Foucault (1995) in which social control is exerted that rewards individuals that conform to an ideal, whilst at the same time punishes those who deviate from it. In this way, an idealised form of conduct can be constructed by exerting a social control on others instead of using force. Foucault (1995) explains that this use of social control is used as a disciplinary power akin to what he purports is necessary in order to create ‘docile bodies’, or those individuals that will function best because they are not forced into discipline but instead moulded into it. Aldridge & Evetts (2003) maintain then that professionalism can be used as a form of self-discipline within the industry of journalism for journalists: the occupational socialisation that exists within the newsroom helps journalists to understand how their professional identity should be
formed, with an emphasis on preserving organisational expectations. In this way, news organisations create an embedded social control that is meant to maintain the professionalism of their journalists without a need to ask or force it upon them. For instance, Aldridge & Evetts (2003) explain that journalists learn vicariously through their colleagues and superiors as well as their own experience on-the-job what is expected of them in their job role. Through these interactions journalists internalise the organisational culture and practice their own self-control in relation to their work and how they adhere to notions of professionalism.

However, the discourse of professionalism does not only appear as a result of the occupational socialisation that occurs within the newsroom, but also as a result of an individual's sense of what their professional identity is. Sigelman (1973) explains that journalists face a difficult situation in this sense since they act as dual citizens, linked both with their news organisation and the wider industry of journalism itself. The political economy approach to journalism would argue that journalists are allied with the capitalist incentives of the news organisation that they work for and as a result their notions of professionalism are tied to the interests of these media elites above all else (Herman & Chomsky, 2008; Willis, 2010). However, Reese (2001) found that in comparative research on journalists that they actually identify more readily with their role as a journalist as opposed to the news organisation that they work for. It is possible then that journalists hold more autonomy over the construction of their professional identity, which demonstrates how the concept of professionalism may be more complex than has been previously thought of within political economical approaches.

### 2.2.2 Ideal journalistic traits

Previous research has described certain ideal traits that have been linked to notions of professionalism within the industry of journalism: public service, immediacy, ethics,
objectivity, and autonomy (Merritt, 1995; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001). Together these traits construct a belief system towards what is expected of journalists in their job role and as a result create membership amongst those individuals who incorporate these traits within their work (Deuze, 2005). For instance, the trait of immediacy is a well-established characteristic of journalists since it assumes that journalism is performed in a quick and timely fashion. Consequently, journalists are assumed to be individuals that can make quick decisions and work under time pressures (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001). In addition, the other four traits fit in well with the institutional myths that encompass the concept of what it means to ‘be’ a journalist: ethics, public service, objectivity, and autonomy. Institutional myths help organisations to gain legitimacy and ensure their survival within the public sphere and as such are created by a consensus within the institution in relation to maintaining these goals (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). For example, public service is considered part of the belief that ‘doing’ journalism is seen as a commitment to the public (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001). The industry of journalism therefore gains legitimacy through this organisational myth wherein it is seen as acting for the people. Though no consensual ethical code of practice exists within journalism, (Tunstall, 1974) there are still certain ethical elements that remain part of its organisational culture. In this way Simpson & Coté (2013) refer to what they consider to be ‘ethical reporting’ that follows certain traditional values of reporting: the search for truth, a reliance on public interest, and caring and respect for those whose stories they tell, especially in situations of deliberate violence. By following these embedded rituals journalists are regarded as ethical, which allows journalism to continue on as a legitimate institution that provides a worthy public service. This applies to the current research and its focus on the reporting that journalists do during genocide since such an extreme situation brings with it discussions regarding the engagement journalists have with victims, as we will later see.

Objectivity also plays an important role within the professionalisation of journalists. With regards to objectivity, Gentzkow et al (2006) explain the role that journalism took
on at the turn of the 20th century as an informative, independent ‘fourth estate.’ This continues in some fashion to our present day expectations towards journalists. The background and interests of journalists are deemphasised in order for them to assume objectivity within their work. This commitment to objectivity suggests that journalists should not endorse or promote cultural, social, economic, or political pursuits through their position. Ryan (2001) insists though that a rigid, scientific notion of objectivity is not necessary. Journalists must analyse and interpret the material they gather before they compose and distribute information to the public. Thus, Ward (2009) believes that there is more of a spectrum at work, that it is not as simple as assuming that journalists are either subjective and biased in their writing, or objective and unbiased. Instead, journalists strive towards the tenets of objectiveness that are advocated within the industry, but end up falling more so into a middle ground. Cottle (2000) agrees with this and argues that journalists internalise the norm of objectivity and then police themselves in the way that they use it in accordance with their professionalism. This corresponds to a survey of Danish journalists done by Skovsgaard et al (2013) that found that the concept of objectivity was not a uniform concept at all amongst journalists. Donsbach & Klett (1993) also found differences in their research between journalists when asked about the concept of objectivity. Journalists seem therefore to be aware that objectivity is not always possible to attain, though they believe it remains important to strive for (Sigelman, 1973; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001). Tuchman (1972) asserts that the concept of objectivity is actually a strategic ritual utilised by journalists as a way to protect the work that they do. In this way the notion of objectivity may actually be a more complex concept when journalists are actually expected to apply it whilst reporting. This introduces the difficulty that journalists may face, for instance, whilst reporting during extreme emotional situations, such as genocide.

Lastly, autonomy also has a significant effect when trying to understand the professionalism of journalism. Reese (2001) highlights the paradox whereby journalists occupy an important role within society but at the same time are assumed
by some to lack autonomy. As we have seen, the political economy approach disregards the possibility for journalists to exercise autonomy within their job role. Herman (2000) argues that journalists overlook the habitual influence of media elites over their work. He asserts that whilst they may appear to be acting autonomously as part of their professionalism, this notion is instead a diversionary tactic meant to protect and maintain their role as a pawn of their news organisations by seeming unbiased. However, Dickinson (2010) found that journalists are very protective of their autonomy and the perspective that they are able to pursue the stories that they want to. Plaisance & Skewes (2003) also found whilst speaking to a large sample of newspaper reporters, that they were influenced by the socialisation and environment of their profession but that some parts of their professional identity came from their own individual background and personal philosophies. In this way it appears then that the perception of their own autonomy is important to journalists, regardless of whether others believe it to be true. If journalists are the ones who ultimately construct their own professional identity it is important then to understand how these journalists perceive their own function.

2.2.3 Journalists' perceptions of their function

Previous discussions about notions of objectivity and autonomy demonstrate the importance that journalists' own perceptions of their function plays when trying to understand how the professional identity of these individuals is constructed. One must consider then whether journalists see themselves as functioning in a strictly informative-educative role, or one in which they are more attached. For instance, Willis (2010) maintains that journalists have the potential to promote a specific ethical stance on a situation, which White (1997) argues is facilitated by the power of the narrative that is used in journalism. Former BBC correspondent Martin Bell (1998) advances this view when he writes about his concept of a 'journalism of attachment': journalism that takes a moral stance in order to try to make a difference. After reporting on the Bosnian War in the 1990s he argues the traditional expectation of 'bystander journalism', with its focus on military and technical information, fall short of
the human quality of reporting that journalists encounter whilst in the field. Especially in situations of war or conflict when there are recognisable victims and oppressors journalists must take a moral stance in lieu of objectivity to try to alleviate the suffering of others (Tester, 2001). Reporter Ed Vulliamy (1997 cited in Tester, 2001, p.10) advocates a similar view of how journalism should be, at once demanding his audience to comprehend the horrors of ethnic cleansing: “What the hell was so confusing or complicated about concentration camps or kids being blown to bits by mortar bombs? What was the problem about whose ‘side’ to be on: the children or the bombers?” Likewise, Mellum (2000 cited in Höijer, 2003) found that half of Norwegian journalists reporting from the Kosovo War were so affected by the stories they wrote about refugees that they wanted to help their plight with reporting that could galvanise public interest. Journalist George Alagiah (1999) similarly called for journalists that write about Africa to do so in a principled, humanistic way so that audiences can learn to care for the ‘right’ reasons: the belief in an absolute set of human rights. This demonstrates the complexities that surround the function of journalists that find themselves in a variety of situations that they must report on and which call upon their judgment as to whether they attach themselves to certain people’s suffering, or remain firmly rooted amongst the objective ideals of their industry.

Although it seems plausible that in extreme situations of violence and conflict that journalists may take on a more attached position within their reporting, the concept of a journalism of attachment brings with it its own set of concerns. Bell (1998) himself admits that a journalism of attachment treads on morally dangerous and sometimes ambiguous ground that is difficult to navigate when journalists are thrown into an intense, visceral situation. As much an advocate of a moral duty to the public, Vulliamy (1997) also argues that there is no guarantee that an audience will react in the way journalists may hope by promoting certain ideas through their reporting. Alagiah (1999) likewise acknowledges that if there is an audience response it may only last long enough for the next tragedy to strike and replace it, which means that
an audience may in time become desensitised and fatigued instead of feeling the compassion that a journalist may have intended. In interviews done by Statham (2007), European journalists said that they held an informative-educative role within society. Whilst these journalists felt their work raised awareness of certain issues they reported on, they maintained that they did not advocate partisan ideologies. Additionally, Ryan (2001) points out readers can become frustrated and lose trust in journalists if they feel that they are providing a biased account, which can then backfire on any attempts that journalists may make to promote certain ideals. There seem to be contradictions then, not only among researchers but also among journalists themselves, in relation to their function: whether journalists should be ‘attached’ to certain stories, or if in doing so they may be doing their public a disservice. This debate forms an important basis for examining the experiences of those journalists that report during genocide because of the ethical quagmire that these journalists may find themselves in during extreme conflict situations such as this. It also demonstrates the contradictions and complexities that become apparent the deeper we delve into the industry of journalism and place the expectations of journalists alongside what the experience of the job itself is actually like.

2.3 Emotional labour as performed by journalists

The previous sections of this chapter have discussed the industry of journalism in relation to two key perspectives: the political economy and organisational culture approaches. However, by expanding upon the micro-sociological perspective of the organisational culture approach it is possible to further explore the role and function of journalists that has been overlooked by the political economy approach. In doing so we have introduced complexities that are associated with the role of the journalist and notions of professionalism that are entangled with expectations placed on them by their industry. The present research endeavours to take these complexities further, particularly in relation to the emotional experiences of journalists in their reporting. This section will therefore explore the role that emotions specifically play...
for journalists whilst they are reporting, in the form of emotional labour. It will begin by introducing the concept of emotional labour and previous research that has been done in the area on employees from various sectors. This section will demonstrate how journalists may be included as a class of individuals who are likely to utilise emotional labour as a way to adhere to the emphasis on objectivity that their industry promotes, even though previous research has tended to overlook them.

2.3.1 Emotions and emotional labour

In his famous book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) Goffman discusses how social interaction exists as a dramaturgical performance. He maintains that in different settings individuals play different roles. Individuals interact with each other along certain cultural scripts that help to define their different roles. In this way, individuals are able to signal to others the kind of person they want to be seen as depending on how they perform in each social situation (Goffman, 1959). Drawing on Goffman’s (1959) theory that social situations become defined by the established social interactions amongst individuals within them, Hochschild (2002, p.6) introduces the concept of a culture of emotions: “feelings [that] are on the cultural shelf, pre-acknowledged, pre-named, pre-articulated, culturally able to be felt.” When combined these feelings generate an emotional dictionary representing emotions that have been socially and culturally agreed upon as able to be expressed. Individuals constantly match their inner experiences to this dictionary of suitable emotions depending on what social context they are in, thus perpetuating certain norms related to emotional expression. These ‘feeling rules’ therefore dictate which emotions are socially privileged according to the situation and to what intensity, direction, and duration they are exhibited (Hochschild, 1979). For example, when a relative dies then according to such feeling rules an individual is expected to grieve the loss for a certain period of time. A second norm that Hochschild (1979; 1983) refers to is ‘display rules.’ Similar to Goffman’s (1959) expression rules that guide the way that feelings are displayed when an individual is ‘on stage’, display rules dictate how and when the specific expression of emotion is expected to occur in
certain situations. For example, if a relative dies then according to display rules an individual is expected to cry at the funeral. As a result, both feeling rules and display rules are related to the emotional culture and ideology that directs the way people act and feel in certain situations (Turner & Stets, 2005).

Case studies of emotional labour have been featured in sociology journals and include qualitative research that showcases the performance of emotional labour typically by employees from customer service and helping industries. Following Hochschild’s (1983) work on air stewardesses within the airline industry, much of the research on emotional labour has focused on customer facing service industries. Research by Leidner (1999) specifically examined the emotional labour performance of employees in two such industries: insurance salesmen and fast-food workers from McDonalds. Referring to them as interactive service organisations, Leidner (1999) found the importance that the routinisation of their job role played within the emotional labour performed within these two jobs. These employees were found to rely on training, scripting, and company indoctrination that focused on teaching them how best to present themselves to customers in order to exhibit the ‘message’ of the company. In both instances their employers made sure that these employees adhered to company expectations by carefully monitoring them: sales were tracked, calls were monitored, performance was overseen, and customer feedback took precedent.

There are still differences, however, in the way that emotional labour manifests itself within service organisations. For instance, Leidner (1999) found that in her study insurance salesmen relied on the routinisation within their job role as a way to control the interactions they had with clients in order to make them happy, whereas fast-food workers used it as a way to simply control themselves so that they maintained a positive, friendly customer service air. In this way, the performance of emotional labour by the insurance salesmen mirrors Hochschild’s (1983) concept of deep acting
in the sense that these employees invested themselves emotionally. Deep acting refers to when individuals change the emotions that they feel for a situation in order to meet the emotions that are expected of them in that setting (Grandey, 2000). On the other hand the fast-food workers simply performed surface acting, which meant that they only exhibited the emotions expected of their job on the surface, without them needing to actually feel it themselves (Hochschild, 1983). These differences within two seemingly similar service industries demonstrate the complexity associated with the performance of emotional labour. Such complexities are even more apparent through the study of emotional labour performance of employees in a variety of other job sectors.

2.3.2 Emotional labour in non-traditional sectors

Although early emotional labour research tended to focus on service industries, Fineman (2009) more broadly considers how many different organisations can also act as emotional arenas whereby emotional labour is performed. In more recent work that mimics Hochschild’s (1983) notion of feeling rules, Fineman (2009) maintains that through institutional and discursive practices certain ‘emotionologies’ come to be that inform how individuals should feel and express their emotions. In workplace settings these emotionologies form the basis for the emotional culture within which organisations and their employees exist. For instance, jobs that take place in hospitals (Bolton, 2009), crisis centres (Martin et al, 2009), and prisons (Tracy, 2009) all arguably involve the performance of emotional labour because these emotionologies become embedded through the organisational culture and routine. By this explanation then there seems then a possibility of widening the area within which emotional labour is seen to exist, to include the work of journalists within this. For instance, the legal sector has recently been used as an area of study for emotional labour performance, with a focus on the work of paralegals. Pierce (1999) found in her study that emotional labour was performed by paralegals as part of the emotional service they are expected to implement within their job role. These paralegals were expected to constantly defer to lawyers as well as to emotionally
nurture them within the day-to-day work setting. Pierce (1999) explains then that the emotional labour performed by paralegals is mainly done so as to maintain the emotional stability of lawyers, although this type of work is not included in their job description as it is instead merely expected of them. Thus these paralegals constantly perform emotional labour in their job role that remains invisible within their industry.

Another industry where the performance of emotional labour tends to remain invisible is within the healthcare services. Mann (2005) argues that there is a need for a model of emotional labour within the healthcare industry because of its crucial role in these positions. Examining the nursing profession specifically, she found that most nurses acknowledge that they perform emotional labour as an important part of their duties; it is a skill that they learn on-the-job. Nurses at times must suppress or manage negative emotions, such as anger or frustration, during their interaction with patients so that they can perform the caring duties that are important to their job. Other times nurses may manage their emotions so that they are able to provide patients with reassurance and an emotional outlet during their time in hospital, whilst at the same time remaining detached enough to carry out their duties. Mann (2005) explains that in this way the emotional labour performed by nurses is much more complex and therefore demands more research into recognising its use and effects. Her research showed that nurses many times performed emotional labour because they wanted to offer the authentic caring that they felt was warranted in certain situations with patients. Previous work by Bolton & Boyd (2003) also argues that the management of emotions may be a more active process enacted by employees instead of the traditional expectation that these individuals maintain their emotions solely for the good of their job. Bolton & Boyd (2003) surveyed and interviewed UK airline cabin crew members to learn more about working conditions, environment, and health related to airline cabin members. They found different instances of ways in which these individuals managed their emotions in their job role. They constructed a typology depicting how emotions might be managed depending on the meanings and
motivations of the individual. ‘Prescriptive’ and ‘pecuniary’ emotions were those emotions which employees performed based on organisational training aimed at producing profit through customer satisfaction. This emotion management was associated with the organisational expectations of the job and therefore followed the traditional emotional labour research of Hochschild (1983) and ‘explicit’ rules that employees abide by. On the other hand, Bolton & Boyd (2003) argue that emotions may not be entirely defined by the organisational definition of the situation. Employees may perform ‘presentational’ and ‘philanthropic’ emotions that allow them to escape the organisationally imposed feeling rules of the situation. This emotion management demonstrates the more authentic feelings that emerge from the basic socialised self and interact with these more ‘implicit’ rules of the situation. Bolton & Boyd (2003) therefore explain that emotion management is an active process for these individuals who may combine the ‘explicit’ rules of the organisation with the ‘implicit’ rules of their basic self.

Employees in early studies were seen as performing emotional labour as proof of their loyalty to the company, seen through the way that they meet expectations placed upon them to express certain emotions (Steinberg & Figart, 1999). However, as Mann (2005) and Bolton & Boyd (2003) demonstrate, the realm of emotions and emotion management offer an opportunity to re-evaluate the meanings and motivations that together construct the organisational emotionality of individuals. With their typology Bolton & Boyd (2003) demonstrate how emotion management should not be condensed into one category, such as that which is associated with the organisational expectations of a situation, since it occurs in a much more complex manner. To them the term ‘emotional labour’ in its traditional sense therefore becomes far too deterministic towards an individual’s organisational emotionality and in this sense cannot account for the multidimensional context of emotion management. The present research seeks to extend this perspective that sees individuals as more active in their emotion management than has been previously thought. Using Hochschild’s (1983) traditional concept of emotional labour to build
upons, I will develop and work with a more complex and fluid perspective of emotional labour that integrates the experiences and challenges of journalists as multi-skilled emotion managers.

Emotional labour has also recently been researched in still more sectors. For instance, Bellas (1999) found that academics perform emotional labour whilst conducting research in the way that they must manage or suppress their emotions in relation to the way that they interpret their work. Likewise, she found that the collaboration these academics have with colleagues and their work with research assistants also calls on the use of emotional labour at times. Where research in the natural sciences has traditionally been revered for its objective and unemotional nature, Bellas (1999) demonstrates that researchers can become emotionally invested in their work and their participants, which requires of them a sort of emotional labour to work in tandem with their intellectual labour that has previously been overlooked. Similarly, research by Martin (1999) found that whilst police have typically been regarded as overtly professional and detached in their job role they actually encounter many emotional situations in their line of work. Encounters that the police have with everyday citizens, victims, and perpetrators can all be very emotionally charged. As a result members of the police manage their emotions in order to demonstrate emotional restraint in these situations (Martin, 1999). These examples of emotional labour within academia and the police force help demonstrate the way that emotional labour infiltrates many different kinds of industries. Even though journalists are often subject to pressures to remain objective and emotionally detached they too may rely upon emotional labour.

2.3.3 The performance of emotional labour by journalists

Very recent research by Hopper & Huxford (2015) contends that journalism fulfils two of the three job requirements set forth by Hochschild (1983) as necessary for those
employees that may perform emotional labour: they interact with the public daily, and are also expected to simultaneously encounter and give expression to emotions from others whilst managing their own. The professional expectations placed upon journalists to be objective and rational within their job role arguably sets the precedent for journalists to perform emotional labour in an attempt to suppress emotion that might prove detrimental to their job. Using interviews with 20 former as well as current print and online journalists from local news organisations, Hopper & Huxford (2015) argue that journalists perform emotional labour and that the concept of journalistic objectivity that is key to their professionalism underpins this behaviour. Through their research they found that motivations for performing emotional labour ranged, however, from the ideological to the pragmatic. For instance, some of the journalists demonstrated the binary of what Hopper & Huxford (2015) refer to as ‘eye’ versus ‘I’ in the way that they focused on being detached observers instead of what could be considered a more subjective and personal view of events. Other journalists spoke more about the practicality of being able to suppress their emotions in order to facilitate getting the reporting done. Nevertheless, all of the journalists in Hopper & Huxford’s study explained the way that the management of their emotions was done as part of the general practice of ‘acting professionally.’

Since there has been scant research into this use of emotional labour by journalists Hopper & Huxford (2015) recommend that further work could build upon this exploration of emotional labour. For instance, they suggest that the incorporation of a sample of journalists from larger news outlets than the small to medium sized local news organisations they used would help to build upon their data. Since their work focussed on the emotional labour that journalists encountered specifically within the tasks of news collecting and gathering, Hopper & Huxford (2015) also argue that further exploration of other journalistic tasks, such as writing and presenting the news, would prove useful. Lastly, they suggest that future work in this area would benefit from the integration of methodologies beyond interviews that would endeavour to provide a more comprehensive view of the experience of journalists.
The present research therefore seeks to extend the work of Hopper & Huxford (2015) with a new sample of journalists in order to further explore this use of emotional labour, using journalists that worked for large, international news organisations based in the UK. Since the journalists in Hopper & Huxford’s (2015) study were not specialised to particular reporting situations I have focused exclusively on journalists that reported during the genocide in Rwanda and Srebrenica. The extremely emotive context from which this reporting was done may make it possible, I argue, to better understand the complexities associated with the way journalists manage their emotions whilst reporting. Combining a discourse analysis of newspaper articles from Rwanda and Srebrenica with interviews of the journalists regarding their experiences reporting, makes it is possible to examine the entire process of reporting. From landing in the field and gathering news, all the way through to writing the reports and all that the journalists experienced once this was over, the current research will extend the work of Hopper & Huxford (2015). It will provide a more comprehensive view of the emotional journey of these individuals in their job role.

Early research may have neglected the concept of emotional labour within journalism because, as we have seen, the expectations placed upon journalists are more implicit and unspoken than in other jobs that may rely on a script that dictates the emotion employees are meant to express. Emotional labour may remain invisible within the industry of journalism because journalists are not explicitly told to manage or suppress their emotions, but instead learn to vicariously just as they do other parts of the organisational culture of their job. However, more recent research that has expanded the notion of emotional labour to include previously overlooked industries may exhibit more similarities with the way journalists perform emotional labour. Mann (2005) similarly found in her study of nurses that emotional labour was not recognised as part of the nursing profession and therefore was not explicitly taught. Nurses instead acknowledged that they learnt how to manage their emotions through
their own experiences and with interactions with other nurses. Likewise, emotional labour was also invisible within the job description of paralegals in Pierce’s (1999) study. This invisibility thus proves more complex for researchers to be able to distinguish ways in which to examine emotional labour when it is not a clearly defined part of the job itself. In addition, emotional labour does not fit in with the institutional myth that surrounds the objectivity and thus emotional detachment of the industry of journalism. Feinstein (2006) explains that it is through the perpetuation of this institutional myth that journalists are expected to remain emotionally detached from the hazards of war, acting only as objective observers to the violence they witness. The notion of emotionality is seen as contrary to organisation expectations for objectivity in journalism in which facts and truth are paramount (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012). However, in disregarding the emotional experiences of journalists these individuals have therefore mainly been overlooked in emotional labour research in lieu of other industries that have traditionally been viewed as more likely to incorporate emotionality.

2.3.4 Objectivity and emotional labour

Early research on emotional labour may have overlooked journalists as subjects of study because of the traditional emphasis on objectivity promoted within the organisational culture of journalism. In much the same way the use of emotional labour by employees in industries that have been characterised as ‘masculine’ and ‘unemotional’ have also been under-researched. For instance, Mann (2005) points out that the performance of emotional labour by doctors had been disregarded by much research in lieu of studying nurses since doctors were seen as handing off more of the emotional duties to nurses and therefore were not seen as using emotional labour. However, in more recent years there have been studies that have focused on the performance of emotional labour in what have traditionally been considered ‘objective’ industries, such as academia and the police (Bellas, 1999; Martin, 1999). This opens up the possibility for the work of journalists to also be examined in this way.
Hopper & Huxford (2015) maintain that the ideal of objectivity underpins the expectation of journalists to perform emotional labour in their role since it relies on the management and even suppression of certain emotions that are not deemed appropriate. Since objectivity is seen as contrary to emotionality, the emotional labour that journalists perform means managing their emotions so that they are able to provide an objective, emotionally detached stance. Simpson & Boggs (1999) found in interviews with journalists that they all accept an unwritten code that they must keep their inner emotions ‘in-check’ whilst reporting. In this way journalists are expected to maintain their job role by disregarding any potential emotional toll that is seen as inappropriate within the professional context. However, performing emotional labour in order to remain objective and emotionally detached in these situations may in fact be more complex. For instance, research by Dworznik (2006) interviewing US television reporters and photographers found that when these individuals described their experiences they did not seem as detached as was expected of them, or even as they thought they were. Likewise, Richards & Rees (2011) found in interviews with British journalists that professional norms of objectivity and detachment within the industry of journalism at times exist at odds with the emotional engagement that journalists might have whilst reporting. This introduces a major discussion that underpins the current research and provides a basis from which it is possible to delve further into the complexities of reporting and journalists’ use of emotional labour, by specifically examining reporting that is done during genocide.

2.4 Emotional dissonance and trauma in conflict reporting

Since the organisational culture approach to the study of journalism does not explore the emotions of journalists most likely as a result of the emphasis placed on objectivity within journalism, the previous section explored this with the use of emotional labour research. It demonstrated the possibility that journalists may
perform emotional labour as individuals in other sectors do. Since traditional emotional labour research has also overlooked journalism the emotional labour that journalists might employ was situated amongst research in other previously disregarded sectors, such as the police force, nursing, and academia. This development of the concept of emotional labour plays an important role in further discussions of the work of journalists and their emotional experiences during reporting. The current section will therefore continue on these discussions by exploring how past research on the ill effects of emotional labour can be applied to the trauma that journalists may experience in their line of work. The negative effects of emotional labour will be discussed specifically in relation to emotional dissonance and related burnout. This provides an opportunity to align research that has been done on the emotional trauma that journalists experience in their line of work with the occurrence of emotional dissonance and burnout that stems from the use of emotional labour. The incidence of emotional trauma has notoriously been stigmatised within the industry of journalism, however, which demonstrates the difficulties inherent within this type of research.

2.4.1 Emotional dissonance and burnout

An important part of research into emotional labour has been the exploration of the consequences that occur as a result of it. Past research has explored the negative and positive consequences that emotional labour has on employees in the customer service and helping industries. For instance, Grandey (2000) explains that emotional labour results in good organisational behaviour, however it can also simultaneously have a negative effect on the employees themselves. Hochschild (1983) argues that emotional labour can cause negative emotional and physical effects in instances where there are high emotional demands on employees. These high emotional demands refer to the performance of emotional labour that can cause mental strain on an employee that is meant to exhibit certain emotions. In these cases where employees do not demonstrate the required emotions, deep acting is required by the individual in order to change their felt emotions so that they match the required
emotions. Deep acting is used in this way as an emotion regulation strategy through which an individual will experience emotions that were not originally felt (Grandey, 2000). In these instances, the required emotion is displayed, however because it was not spontaneously felt but required deep acting on the part of the individual in order to experience it, emotional dissonance occurs (Zapf & Holz, 2006). Emotional dissonance refers to this discrepancy between an individual’s authentic feelings and the displayed feelings required within the job role. As a result, emotional dissonance can lead to negative psychological effects later on (Hochschild, 1983). For instance, individuals may begin to feel depressed, cynical, unconfident, and alienated. Furthermore, individuals can experience self-alienation if they feel that they are no longer able to feel or recognise authentic emotions because of the constant need to ‘act’ a certain way in their job role that is incongruent with how they feel (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). However, not all individuals experience this dissatisfaction as a result of the requirement to express organisationally desired emotions. Morris & Feldman (1996) explain that there are three components of emotional labour: the duration of interactions, the frequency of interactions, and emotional dissonance. To explain why certain individuals experience dissatisfaction, they apply person-environment fit theory that looks at the degree to which an individual’s characteristics match with their social environment. In this way, Morris & Feldman (1996) conclude that instead of the frequency and duration of emotional labour, it is instead the presence of emotional dissonance itself that causes this dissatisfaction in the individual. Extensive and continuous emotional labour therefore does not predicate negative emotional effects and dissatisfaction in an employee; emotional dissonance resulting from the discrepancy between authentic and display feelings in and of itself causes this.

Emotional dissonance is associated with another more all-encompassing potential negative effect of emotional labour: burnout. Previous research has found a relationship between individuals who experience emotional dissonance as a result of performing emotional labour and its subsequent link to burnout (Lee & Ashforth,
Maslach & Jackson (1986) identified burnout within the helping professions as a syndrome that occurs when emotional demands of the job become too high and employees are no longer able to manage their emotions. They define it as a syndrome made up of three aspects: emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, and lack of personal accomplishment. In other words, employees can respectively begin to feel depressed and alienated as well as evaluate their own work negatively. From research in the helping professions, emotional exhaustion refers to the drain of emotional resources that can occur as a result of repeated, highly emotional interactions with troubled clients (Maslach & Jackson, 1986). Emotional dissonance is thus associated with job dissatisfaction demonstrated through feelings of reduced personal accomplishment because of the prolonged estrangement it causes with the employee’s own feelings (Zapf et al, 2001; Lewig & Dollard, 2003). Individuals that become chronically detached from their own feelings as a result of emotional dissonance have thus been linked to experiencing subsequent emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Zapf, 2002; Zapf & Holz, 2006). The cumulative result of these three aspects of burnout means that workers typically exhibit stress effects that continue into the long-term and outside the setting of their job. If journalists can be considered as workers that perform emotional labour within their job role, then these negative effects of emotional labour have the potential to be transposed onto their life as well.

Work by Bakker & Heuven (2006) has shown how nurses as well as police officers experienced emotional dissonance that leads ultimately to burnout. Whilst nurses and police officers exhibit very different emotions in each of their jobs, both are very emotionally demanding roles in which emotions need to be regulated. Bakker & Heuven (2006) found that the emotionally charged interactions that nurses and police officers have with the public encouraged the presence of emotional dissonance for both that led to emotional exhaustion and cynicism, and thus burnout. Furthermore, recent research by Schaible & Gecas (2010) supported the finding that inasmuch as police officers tried to perform deep acting in order to exhibit required emotions, they
were more likely to experience burnout and depersonalisation as a result. Additionally, they found that incidences of burnout in police officers were influenced by particular emotional components of their job that had an effect on which components of burnout were specifically experienced. Emotional labour therefore has been found to be a strenuous activity for those that perform it (Hochschild, 1983; Zapf, 2002; Bakker & Heuven, 2006). Moreover, research has shown not only that emotional labour research can be applied to job sectors that have been traditionally disregarded, but so too are negative effects such as emotional dissonance and subsequent burnout associated with these previously overlooked job roles.

2.4.2 Journalists and trauma research

Just as the prolonged performance of emotional labour has been shown to cause negative effects for individuals in other industries, so too may this be possible for journalists. For instance, journalists that cover conflict are especially prone to experiencing similar negative effects. It is in this type of reporting, of which the current research situates itself in its interest in reporting on genocide, that it is possible to see how the extreme of emotional labour and the resulting emotional dissonance may combine to form the trauma that journalists may experience as a result of reporting. Seltzer (2013, p.3) conceives that we live in a present day ‘wound culture’ wherein public and private domains converge through a perverse collective observation and fascination of bodily wounds and trauma. Nevertheless, the area of trauma research has traditionally overlooked journalists’ experiences within its array of work. During his research on the psychological hazards journalists face whilst covering war, Feinstein (2006) recalls his inability to find literature based on the emotional consequences faced by journalists within trauma research—the very area dedicated to the study of just these sorts of traumatic consequences. However, Freinkel et al (1994) argues that journalists can experience traumatic effects from observing violence, as do the victims who directly experience the violence. In their study journalists exhibited traumatic effects after witnessing a gas chamber execution. In this way, journalists that do conflict reporting may experience trauma
by witnessing violence in certain situations due to the riskiness of this type of reporting. In addition, they may also experience secondary traumatisation through their repeated engagement with victims and which mimics symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Secondary traumatisation occurs as a result of being exposed to first-hand accounts of another’s traumatic experiences (Huggard, 2004). Whilst this type of trauma has typically been associated with other professions, such as those within the health industries, it seems equally possible that journalists reporting from conflict situations also experience this.

Nevertheless, Feinstein (2006) explains that a key reason that journalists remain overlooked by trauma research whereas military personnel, for instance, are more widely studied stems from the perceived difference between the two: soldiers risk their lives and place themselves bravely within the heart of a conflict, whilst journalists simply bear witness to the suffering of others. As Captain Nemo aptly puts it in the filmic portrayal of Jules Verne’s Mysterious Island: “You specialise in war news. You supply the ink, the soldiers supply the blood” (1961). Similar to military personnel those that work in the healthcare professions are seen as experiencing this same emotional cost of helping others of which journalists do not seem privy too. As we have seen, the emotional experiences of journalists may be cast aside, deemed inappropriate and contradictory to their job role of maintaining an emotional detachment in order to provide accurate accounting of events (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013). Journalists therefore occupy a distinct role in which they are expected to remain emotionally detached within their organisational culture but the pressure they have to do this is not related to preserving their emotional well-being. For instance, military personnel are expected to emotionally detach themselves in order to fulfil their job role, however, this detachment is also used as a necessary part of their emotional survival within an industry that is regarded as emotionally gruelling (Iverson et al, 2005). On the other hand, the same may not be afforded to journalists if they are expected to remain immune from emotion that runs contrary to their professional ideal.
2.4.3 Immunity from emotion?

Feinstein (2006) maintains that journalists doing conflict reporting adhere to the institutional myth that is perpetuated by the journalistic culture wherein they must remain immune to any emotional effects just as military personnel do. Iverson et al (2005) argue that it is this military culture, of stoicism and masculine stereotypes, that intensifies the reticence that military personnel have in terms of not seeking help for trauma-related issues, as one of the key attributes of those working in the military is a sense of resilience. In their study of British ex-service personnel Iverson et al (2005) found that only half of the 496 people they surveyed admitted that they sought help for problems related to trauma whilst in service. When they were out of service and experienced trauma related problems their efforts to seek help were only slightly higher, in-line with the civilian rate. Greene-Shortridge et al (2007) assert that the stigma associated with mental health issues within the military culture acts as a major impediment for military personnel seeking help for mental health problems. Research suggests that the stigma related to seeking help within the military is mirrored in this same reticence that journalists show. Greenberg et al (2009) researched journalists and their colleagues' attitudes towards PTSD and found journalists were more likely to turn to family members and friends for help for trauma-related problems because they were hesitant about asking for formal help from their employers. Furthermore, work by Feinstein et al (2002) as well as Pyevich et al (2003) found in surveys that journalists that cover war have similar lifetime rates of PTSD as combat veterans and a rate of major depression higher than the general population. Aoki et al (2012) systematically reviewed studies on mental health amongst journalists and similarly found that foreign correspondents had a range of PTSD similar to war veterans and higher than domestic journalists. Additionally, these journalists were afraid of the stigma attached to admitting they felt traumatised even though they were aware that their job role made them prone to experiencing trauma. Like the ex-service personnel in the study by Iverson et al (2005), these journalists did not disclose issues for fear colleagues and employers would lose confidence in their work.
It seems then that regardless of the institutional myths that surround their job, journalists themselves may not actually be immune from experiencing post-trauma symptoms as a result of being exposed to repeated violence and grief (Simpson et al, 2013). In fact, journalists may be prone to experiencing a very specific kind of secondary traumatisation referred to as ‘compassion fatigue.’ This stress response tends to occur suddenly and may cause individuals to feel confused, helpless, guilty, shocked, scared, and/or socially isolated (Huggard, 2004). Whilst compassion fatigue has traditionally been associated with medical professionals such as doctors and counsellors, Dworznik (2006) argues journalists can also suffer from it since they experience first-hand trauma or many times interview those who have. Likewise, journalists may be left with feelings of responsibility, as well as anxiety and even guilt, based on the effects or non-effects of their reporting on certain conflicts. Simpson & Boggs (1999) interviewed journalists and found that 70% of 131 respondents felt stressed after reporting on a traumatic event, experiencing flashbacks and/or intrusive thoughts. Thus, it seems entirely possible that journalists experience and endure trauma in a comparable way to those in other sectors, such as the military, though it is not as widely accepted or researched. This introduces a major discussion that the present research seeks to explore further by specifically looking at instances of reporting during genocide.

### 2.5 Reporting genocide

The previous section explored the negative effects of emotional labour, such as emotional dissonance, and demonstrated the way in which journalists may similarly experience trauma symptoms when they undertake conflict reporting. However, the institutional myth that surrounds the work of journalists as objective and as a consequence emotionally detached, makes it difficult for researchers or those within the industry itself to accept this potential to experience trauma. To finish this chapter, the next section will show how the current research provides a different perspective
and approach to previous research in the way that it uses genocide as a situation from which to analyse the emotionality of journalists. Whilst past work on the experiences of war reporters is comparably important, the particular use of genocide as a context for reporting makes it possible to examine the notion of emotionality at its most extreme for journalists. This also extends previous work that has focussed primarily on the depictions of genocide in the media, such as in the cases of Rwanda and Srebrenica. The present research uses these two cases of genocide instead as a framework for the analysis of the emotional experiences of journalists as they report, thus expanding research both on the experiences of journalists and the reporting of genocide.

2.5.1 Previous research on war reporting

Whilst the current research focuses on the emotional experiences of journalists as shown through the lens of reporting during genocide specifically, there has been some recent research done on the ways in which journalists have reflected on their experiences reporting during war. As Allan & Zelizer (2004) explain, war reporting challenges what normally constitutes ‘good’ journalism as these notions must be realigned due to the demanding circumstances of this type of reporting. Using reflections from the autobiographies of war reporters, Tumber (2006) demonstrates this realignment of internalised occupational values, as well as ethical and moral duties. Journalists in his study acknowledged the way that notions of objectivity and impartiality became complicated, for instance in situations where these journalists reported during wars in which their own country’s military was involved. Markham (2011a; 2011b) argues, however, that these reflections by war correspondents nonetheless reveal the way in which the status and authority of the industry of journalism, and consequently its occupational values, are maintained regardless of the situation. In his interviews with war correspondents he shows how their reflections on notions of professionalism and objectivity, for example, served to reproduce the idea of journalism as a professional and objective industry (2011b). Together these studies demonstrate that whilst war reporting remains a distinct and
challenging situation for journalists, studying it provides significant examples of the way in which the industry of journalism and its occupational values retain an influence on journalists even amidst the demands of this type of reporting.

The present research extends the thinking of the aforementioned work that has been done on war reporting in that it considers reporting on genocide to also be a distinctly challenging situation for journalists, but one that can help us understand journalists and their industry that much more. Using such an extreme reporting situation as genocide as a framework from which to analyse the emotional experiences of journalists makes it possible to discern just how relevant organisational expectations become when these individuals are placed in such a severely emotive situation. If concepts of objectivity and professionalism have to be realigned alongside ethical and moral duties during war reporting, I argue that this struggle would only be amplified when journalists are faced with reporting on genocide. Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948) defines the incidence of genocide as the deliberate extermination of an entire ethnic, racial, national, or religious group. The inequity of such violence, where an entire group is being victimised by another, means that journalists might be placed in an even more difficult situation in which managing their emotions and the expectations of their industry could become a minefield. As such it is important to understand how journalists manoeuvre themselves, both personally and professionally, through this extreme situation so that we are able to comprehend the struggles of these individuals and their industry.

2.5.2 Previous research on Rwanda and Srebrenica in the media

Focussing on how the media represents genocide has been a useful avenue for past research that has been interested in analysing how certain elements of the media structure influence the way that these events are disseminated to the public. For
instance, previous research has analysed depictions of genocide, especially Rwanda and Srebrenica, within Western print news (Meyers et al, 1996; Pieterse, 1997; Wall, 1997; Karnick, 1998; Kuusisto, 1998; Auerbach & Bloch-Elkon, 2005; Livingston, 2007; Thompson, 2007; Wall, 2007; Marinos, 2008; Brock, 2009; Carpenter, 2009; Melvern, 2009; Vujnovic, 2009; Chari, 2010). These studies have criticised Western reporting of Rwanda and Srebrenica, specifically reporting done by US news organisations, which they concluded was reductionist and simplistic. For example, prior research found that these news representations of the genocide of Rwanda were written from a colonialist perspective, based on notions of tribalism that assumed the violence was caused by historical issues between the warring ‘tribes’ of the Hutus and Tutsis. As a result, this reporting was considered to be reductionist in its depiction and its perpetuation of the Western stereotype of Africa as primitive and violent (Meyers et al, 1996; Pieterse, 1997; Wall, 1997; Karnick, 1998; Livingston, 2007; Thompson, 2007; Wall, 2007; Melvern, 2009; Chari, 2010). Similarly, prior research found that Western news representations of the genocide in Srebrenica were simplistic in their scope and perpetuated the notion that ‘ancient ethnic hatreds’ between the Orthodox Serbs and Bosnian Muslims caused the outbreak of violence (Meyers et al, 1996; Pieterse, 1997; Wall, 1997; Kuusisto, 1998; Auerbach & Bloch-Elkon, 2005; Marinos, 2008; Brock, 2009; Carpenter, 2009; Vujnovic, 2009). This perspective over the genocide in Srebrenica from Western news outlets thus was seen as promoting an Orientalist view over the violence in its advancement of colonial concepts that the West is superior over the more archaic and primitive East, much like Western stereotypes of Africa (Said, 1978).

Whilst these studies have proven useful in providing a critical analysis of overall media coverage on incidences of genocide, other studies have researched specifically how victims of these genocides have been represented in print news (Moeller, 1999; Holmes, 2001; Herman & Peterson, 2006; Bouris, 2007; Thompson, 2007; Härting, 2008; Harrison, 2009; Schimmel, 2011). For instance, Holmes (2011) found that the BBC employed explicit footage alongside graphic verbal narratives that
focussed on the gore and brutality of the situation and dehumanised the victims in Rwanda. Other research has also claimed that victims in Rwanda were perpetually dehumanised through their reference to undistinguished ‘piles of corpses’ (Moeller, 1999; Härting, 2008). Thompson (2007) even claims that if daily news of the genocide had been conveyed without relying on descriptions of disfigured, disembodied, and impalpable corpses, then the media could have helped create outside pressure to stop the situation. In relation to victims of Srebrenica, Herman & Peterson (2006) and also Bouris (2007) contend that US reporting of the Bosnian War and also the genocide, depicted the Bosnian Muslims as innocent victims of genocide even though there was mutual blame that could be afforded both sides. The present research, however, incorporates victim portrayals, but from a different angle: that of the journalists’ experiences and engagements with the victims that may then have had a bearing on the way that they wrote about the victims. Journalists that reported from Rwanda or Srebrenica interacted with the victims within their job role, and so it seems important to use the testimonies of these journalists as well as a discourse analysis of newspaper articles that feature descriptions of the victims, to be used as a collective understanding of the emotional experiences that journalists encountered whilst reporting during such an event.

2.5.3 Incorporating the emotional discourse of victims

Montgomery (2005) explains that through the use of a narrative format journalists are able to construct a reality for the reader that is easier to interpret and connect with. Machill et al (2007) found that in instances where televised news reports were presented in a narrative format they were more easily retained and comprehended by an audience. Work by Zarowsky (2004) on narratives of Somali refugees shows the rhetorical and emotional power of narratives for readers. Thus the emotionality that journalists demonstrate within their reporting in the emotional discourse they use to represent victims may demonstrate an important part of the emotional experience that these journalists have with them. Research by Wahl-Jorgensen (2012) examined instances of emotion within text by looking at Pulitzer Prize-winning news
articles and concluded that a strategic ritual of emotionality that is incorporated in these Pulitzer Prize-winning articles. By awarding articles that include this emotionality with the highest journalistic honours, the Pulitzer Prize, the industry of journalism actually contradicts the culture of objectivity it tacitly and consistently promotes. Wahl-Jorgensen (2012) therefore advances the concept that this strategic ritual of emotionality operates alongside objectivity and that journalists are complicit in its usage. Emotionality is used in this way to incite emotions in the reader and thus build an emotional resonance with the audience that can secure the audience’s involvement in the story. Wahl-Jorgensen (2013) explains that this emotionality can be seen in the way that journalists incorporate emotive language and narrative structures in their writing that elicit emotions from the audience. The collective feelings of the subjects and sources of the stories can therefore be utilised in order to build the effect of the story and provide the reader with an emotional connection to events (Grabe & Zhou, 2003). For instance, Steinberg & Figart (1999) explain that the performance of emotional labour requires a worker to maintain their own emotions, whilst simultaneously producing an emotional state in another individual. It is in this way then that Wahl-Jorgensen (2012) argues journalists ‘outsource’ emotional labour to non-journalists who are able to have their emotions expressed within the reporting and which, as a result, will elicit feelings from the audience. This provides an important consideration as we delve into the present research and its examination of journalists and their reporting.

Overall this chapter has explored the literature that surrounds the industry of journalism and the role of journalists, as well as applied the area of emotional labour and trauma to the experiences journalists have in reporting. It has described key research that has been done in relevant areas and in doing so has situated the present research and the ways in which it provides a significant contribution to this area of research. This literature review has therefore explored the many facets involved in studying journalists and the emotional experiences they have when reporting and which may pertain to their reporting of genocide specifically. The next
chapter will focus on the methods and research process utilised within the current research.
Chapter 3  Methods

This chapter will discuss the methods that were employed within the current research to examine the emotional experiences of journalists that reported during the genocides in Rwanda and Srebrenica. It will begin by explaining why a qualitative, case study approach was deemed most appropriate for the current research. It will then describe the methods that were utilised for data collection: interviews with journalists that reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica, as well as a discourse analysis of UK newspaper articles that reported on these events. The research process itself will be explained in more detail, from the sample and data collection through to the analysis of findings. Considering the sensitivity of the current research topic, ethical considerations will also be discussed along with the limitations of this study.

3.1 Methodology and methods

This section will discuss first the qualitative underpinning of the current research and its case study approach that utilised the genocide in Rwanda and Srebrenica as a framework from which to analyse the emotional experiences of journalists. Following on, the two methods that this research utilised will be explained and evaluated: a discourse analysis of newspaper articles and qualitative interviews with journalists that reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica.

3.1.1 Qualitative case study approach

Considering the interpretive and descriptive nature of examining the emotional experiences of journalists in their job role, the present research best lent itself to a qualitative research methodology. A qualitative methodology is best suited to research that first places behaviour within its specific context, then questions why this behaviour occurs. It is interpretive, inferential and descriptive in its nature and
provides the researcher with results that can sometimes provide more depth than quantitative methods (Seawright & Gerring, 2008). Since the present research explores the emotional experiences of journalists, a qualitative methodology was chosen because it made it possible to reliably examine these journalists’ conceptualisation and interpretation of events and the subsequent effect this then had on them emotionally. The overall qualitative approach of this research meant that the discourse analysis of newspaper articles examined the emotional discourse that surrounded the description of victims. Likewise, interviews focused on the detailed testimonies of journalists gained through semi-structured questions.

Within this qualitative approach the current research relied upon the use of two specific cases studies of genocide from which to examine the ways journalists negotiated their emotions whilst they reported on these two extreme situations. Analysis within a case study approach is intended to reveal particulars from each case based on theoretical objectives, as well as permit wider generalisability through theory building. Employing a case study approach helps a researcher work inductively from a specific research setting in order to create a grounded theory (Hamel et al, 1993). For the current research these two case studies of genocide were chosen to together act as a lens through which the emotional experiences of journalists were examined in more detail. Within their job role journalists may be confronted with a range of different reporting situations that can provide circumstances from which they might be expected to negotiate their emotions or otherwise struggle with the culture of objectivity that features within the industry of journalism. In order to best understand the complexities of reporting and the contradictions that may exist as a result of the organisational expectations placed upon journalists within their job role, the current research chose to focus specifically on the reporting of genocide. The extreme nature of genocide tests the emotional resolve and professional tenacity of journalists since it places them in a situation that is intensely emotive. Journalists that report on genocide may find themselves in a much more visceral situation that makes it difficult to adhere to the tacit rules of
journalism that they are accustomed to in other situations. As a result, this provides a potential setting from which to expose contradictions that may exist between how journalists are expected to report versus what their actual experiences are when they report. Being able to understand how journalists negotiate their emotions within these extreme situations means that future research may explore how journalists deal with a range of other reporting situations.

The two case studies chosen were the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and the genocide in Srebrenica in 1995. The contentious association of the term ‘genocide’ with historical instances of mass killing (Power, 2002) prompted the choice of Rwanda and Srebrenica since both have been legally defined as ‘genocide’ by international courts: the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY, 2016) and International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR, 2015). These two cases of genocide took place within the 1990s albeit in different locations, as the genocide in Rwanda occurred in Africa whilst the genocide in Srebrenica occurred within Europe in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Whilst prior research (Meyers et al, 1996; Pieterse, 1997; Wall, 1997) has utilised a case study approach as a way to compare and contrast media representations of the genocide in Rwanda and Srebrenica, the present research used these case studies instead as a framework for the analysis of the particular emotional experiences of journalists in this most extreme situation of reporting.

3.1.2 Discourse analysis of newspaper articles

The first method employed in the current research was a discourse analysis of the emotional discourse found in newspaper articles that reported on the genocide in Rwanda and Srebrenica within UK newspapers. For the purposes of this research ‘discourse’ extends past a sole linguistic definition to focus more on discourse as a constructivist process of social practice (Fairclough, 1992). Within discourse analysis
there is a significant focus on the importance of the text itself since texts are considered to be ‘artefacts’ that promote discourses specific to the context in which the text has been founded (Richardson, 2007). In the current research this was applied in order to understand how and why journalists portrayed the victims of these two genocides though the emotional discourse that they included in these articles. Beyond the language of the sentences produced exist discourse(s) particular to a location in place and time (van Dijk, 2000). Discourse analysis posits that the way people write or speak is not done randomly and that specific words and the way they are combined to form spoken or written text is done by the producers of texts in a purposeful manner (van Dijk, 1989). In this way it was important in the present research to analyse the emotional discourse within these newspaper articles in relation to the context of events in both Rwanda and Srebrenica. Although these case studies were used collectively to understand the emotional experiences of journalists, the emotional discourse that was incorporated in the reporting of each was specific to the particular socio-political context of either genocide. Discourse analysis therefore acknowledges the presence and influence of socio-political context instead of expecting discourse to occur in a completely neutral space; the socio-political context a text finds itself in lends it to a certain explanation (Gee, 1999). When a journalist writes and publishes a text this demonstrates how discourse acts as a process whereby certain ideas are produced and defined (Cotter, 2001).

In the present research the emotional discourse from which the victims were represented in the articles was explored in order to connect the emotional engagement that these journalists had with the victims, to the journalists’ overall emotional experiences whilst reporting. In this way the discourse of these texts was able to extend past the mere text of the newspaper articles themselves, through to the emotionality associated with the victims that were being represented, and perhaps also to the journalists themselves. I wanted to explore how the way in which these journalists wrote about the victims may have related to the experiences of the journalists themselves.
A major criticism of discourse analysis, however, revolves around its inherent subjectivity. Critics argue that texts can be interpreted by the researcher in a way that the producer of the text may have never intended or considered (Widdowson, 1996). Fairclough (1992) points out that this criticism ignores the entire social construction of interpretation itself. There is not one ‘right’ interpretation of a text, for this is contrary to the aims of discourse analysis, but instead the intentions of the texts and the ways in which they are interpreted should be analysed in order to determine the meanings that are ascribed to things and how this can then relate to a wider social context. For instance, within the present research a discourse analysis of newspaper articles written by journalists on-the-ground during the genocide in Rwanda or Srebrenica provides data to supplement interviews with journalists about their experiences reporting. The analysis of this text therefore provides another perspective of the experience of what it is to ‘be’ a journalist and ‘do’ journalism. In this way the discourse analysis provided a deeper conceptualisation in relation to how journalists may emotionally engage with the victims whose stories they tell by examining the text that was produced following these interactions.

3.1.3 Qualitative interviews with journalists

The other method that was employed in the current research was qualitative interviews of journalists that reported on the genocides in Rwanda and Srebrenica. Qualitative interviewing is an invaluable methodological tool for examining the interpretations, expectations, and perspectives of certain individuals (Charmaz, 2002). Within the current research first-hand testimonies from journalists about their experiences reporting during these genocides constructed a crucial personal, as well as collective, understanding of the emotional involvement associated with their job role. As interactional spaces interviews can reveal the meanings and expectations participants afford to events through their own narrative (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). This allows a first-hand perspective that cannot be fully assembled from the sole use of methods such as discourse analysis (Schostak, 2005). In this way interviews in the present research were semi-structured and acted as interactional spaces for
participants to construct narratives about their time reporting. Participants were prompted firstly with quite general, open-ended questions that allowed them the chance to discuss as much as they felt comfortable with. Likewise, this provided a chance as the interview went on to ask more specific questions in relation to participants’ responses. When all of the interviews were finished this made it possible to construct both personal and collective narratives for the journalists in relation to their experiences reporting during Rwanda or Srebrenica.

As with discourse analysis, a prevalent criticism of qualitative interviewing is its supposed subjectivity in analysis and practice. As social interactions, interviews rely upon the engagement, interaction, and interpretations of the participant in his/her responses, but also the interviewer in his/her analysis. The setting of a qualitative interview therefore may be seen as removing predictability that could be found in a more fixed, quantitative setting (Kvale, 1994). However, the current research was interested in examining the emotional experiences that journalists have whilst reporting on genocide, not in providing a quantifiable product to be measured. Similarly, qualitative interviewing has been criticised because of the perceived difficulty of recovering the ‘truthful’ and ‘accurate’ information from a participant (Charmaz, 2000). Rubin & Rubin (2011) argue though that the purpose of the interview is to understand the perspective and interpretation of the interviewee, not of what may be considered ‘truth.’ For instance, within the present research each journalist that was interviewed articulated their own ‘truth’ based on their own experiences and interpretations. The decision to follow a qualitative methodology centred on this interest in determining what behaviour exists within a certain context and then analysing why it is that behaviour occurs. Therefore it remained important to interpret and analyse the testimonies of these journalists as a way to understand the personal and collective conceptualisations of their experiences reporting during genocide, and how this was associated with their emotions.
This section has explained and evaluated the methodological approach as well as the two specific methods that this research employed: discourse analysis and qualitative interviews. It demonstrated the importance of incorporating a qualitative methodology in order to construct and analyse the emotional experiences of journalists that reported on genocide, as well as the inclusion of specific case studies from which it was possible to explore this. The following section will describe in more detail the research process involved, specifically in terms of how the discourse analysis and qualitative interviews were employed from the construction of samples through to data analysis.

3.2 Research Process

Since this research incorporated a dual methodology the research process will be discussed in two parts: the first being the discourse analysis and the second being the qualitative interviews. Each method will be described in detail including how the samples were constructed and the data collected and analysed, followed by a discussion of the way in which these methods were combined into a dual methodology from which to analyse the emotional experiences of journalists.

3.2.1 Method one: Discourse analysis (DA)

The present research adapted Potter & Wetherell’s (1987) approach to discourse analysis and applied appropriate stages of this approach to the emotional discourse that was featured in newspaper articles from Rwanda and Srebrenica. The current research emphasised the qualitative interviews as a means to conceptualise the emotional experiences of journalists and as a result employed the discourse analysis data as supplementary to this. However, the discourse analysis that was performed will be explained first in this section since it was performed first and as a result had a bearing on the interview method as it followed. Exploring this produced text at the
very beginning of this research made it possible to gain an insight into how the events and people related to either genocide were first constructed according to the reporting of Rwanda and Srebrenica. This made it possible to develop interview questions that delved into deeper discussion with journalists regarding their own emotional experiences of reporting, which would not have been possible to glean from the text alone.

**Relation to research questions**

Research questions for the present research integrated the dual methodological approach taken in utilising qualitative interviews alongside the discourse analysis of newspaper articles. The research question that was most applicable specifically to the discourse analysis portion of the present research related to how the emotional discourse found in the text produced by journalists during their reporting related to the emotional experience of the journalists. In this way, this research question aligned the produced text of the journalists, the newspaper articles, alongside the interviews done with journalists from each case study. The discourse analysis and interview data therefore together offered the possibility of providing a more comprehensive view of journalists’ emotional experiences whilst reporting because it incorporated their testimonies along with actual reporting from either genocide. As we will see in the analysis, interviews could be contradictory at times in relation to the way that journalists spoke about their reporting and the organisational culture of journalism as a whole. In these instances where participants gave conflicting responses it was very useful to be able to supplement the interview data with this discourse analysis of the text itself.
Sample selection

Nexis, LexisNexis’ database of searchable news articles, was chosen as the electronic database utilised for the search for newspaper articles for the discourse analysis since it is a well-renowned search engine for global news sources. The focus on UK media and newspapers especially meant that the search included UK newspapers as well as UK news agencies. Since UK news agencies gather news reports and send them to news organisations it was important to include them as part of the selection process as a source for articles. For newspaper sources, both broadsheet and tabloid newspapers were included within the search since the interest was in all UK newspapers regardless of type. For both case studies articles were searched for using the same technique. For instance, for articles on Rwanda the term ‘Rwanda’ was searched for anywhere in the text. Articles were then narrowed down to those that were published between the customised dates of 1 April 1994 to 1 August 1994. The genocide in Rwanda officially began on 7 April 1994 so searching for articles within these dates was expected to yield the most appropriate results. For articles on Srebrenica, articles were found by searching for the term ‘Srebrenica’ anywhere in the text. Articles were then narrowed down to those that were published between the customised dates of 1 July 1995 to 1 November 1995. The genocide in Srebrenica has been accepted as starting on the 10 July 1995 after the Bosnian Serbs overran the enclave and Srebrenica fell so searching for articles within these dates were expected to yield the most appropriate results. In this way, each search encompassed the time period of four months beginning from the start of the month in which the genocide began.

Newspaper articles for the case study for Rwanda were the first to be assessed and therefore helped determine the way that the discourse analysis sample was selected for both case studies. Originally a rubric was applied to each article, scaling how emotive each article seemed (‘neutral’, ‘somewhat emotive’, ‘highly emotive’) in order to find those that included an emotional discourse describing the victims. However, this proved to be too subjective and it was decided that a more set criteria based on
news structures, news theory, and narrative structures was more practical. Newspaper articles were therefore treated as narratives since the news does not just act as the factual representation of events, but as a wider social medium: an opportunity for readers to collectively experience these events (White, 1997; Kitch, 2003; Bird & Dardenne, 1988). Since narratives are typically related to our concept of emotions the current research focused on those articles that featured an emotional discourse that was set up through the use of narrative structures (Hogan, 2003). A list of selection criteria was therefore constructed that made it possible to employ a methodical, logical rationale based on narrative structures and news theory that resulted in a set of articles for each case study. Beginning with those criterion that were deemed most important for the sample, the following list details the narrative elements and news values that were crucial to constructing this sample of articles:

1. **Ethos from eyewitness accounts:** Articles were written by journalists that were in the field at the time of the genocide and thus acted as a primary source of information unlike those written by news correspondents physically distanced from the event. This assumed a more immediate and authoritative perception of events to the audience rather than a secondary account reiterated from other news sources (Kitch, 2003; Grabe & Zhou, 2003). To establish this, the location of the author of the article was determined from the article’s by-line.

2. **Mimetic narrative style:** Articles showed rather than told what happened in order to make the depicted events more tangible to the reader (Foley, 1982; Feldman, 2005). As Taussig explains, this creates a “palpable, sensuous connection between the body of the perceiver and the perceived” (1993, p. 21). For instance, this was used to describe the bodies of victims: “Beneath the falls the shiny grey lumps bob around in the eddys and pools; children, women, men” (Article 3).
3. **Sensory description**: Articles contained descriptions that were intended to make the reader feel as if he/she was experiencing events. They used one or more of the five senses to mentally impress on the reader specific sensations (Kitch, 2003). For instance, this was used to describe the smell of corpses: “You smell it - the sweet and rotten smell of corpses” (Article 4).

4. **Nested narratives**: Articles contained stories that were nested within the overall story (Keen, 2006). Certain moments in time behind the public discourse of the genocide were highlighted and personalised so that the reader could assume a role of privilege (Walter et al, 1995). For instance, this was used to describe a young victim: “A young girl crawls across the grass, her scrawny limbs hardly able to carry her. Suddenly she falls in a tiny heap, flies buzzing around her mouth and eyes” (Orr, 1994c, p.1).

5. **First person narratives**: Articles read as a descriptive ‘story’ described by the narrator (journalist). This personal account of events produced an intimate narration with the author placed at a focal point of experience (Kitch, 2003). This is related to the use of narrative present, where events are represented as though they happened in real time. For instance, an article used this as a way to describe a group of victims: “We saw groups of people staggering along the road” (Article 3).

6. **Narrative present**: Articles were written so the audience was provided immediacy with the events as they were described, which produced a temporal closeness (Keen, 2006; Kitch, 2003). This was established by use of the present tense as the grammatical tense so that the events were described as happening in real time. For instance, an article used this to describe a victim: “A hand grips the arm of another body. But it's only a hand” (Article 7).
7. **Linear:** Articles were written in a logical, chronological progression from beginning to end that facilitated for the reader an engagement with the depicted events as they would any storyline (Kitch, 2003).

These seven criteria were applied to newspaper articles from both Rwanda and Srebrenica so that those articles that included all of the criteria made up the sample for each case study. This provided a consistency in the analysis of the emotional discourse that was featured in these articles since the articles themselves contained the aforementioned combination of narrative and news structures. Those articles that did not fit into these selection criteria were disregarded since they did not demonstrate the level of emotional discourse that the present research was interested in examining.

**Collection of records and documents**

Incorporating the aforementioned criteria the search of the Nexis electronic database for the case study for Rwanda yielded 24 newspaper articles that each contained all seven selection criteria (see Appendix I, Table 7-1 Articles from Rwanda sample). To determine the sample of newspaper articles for the case study for Srebrenica the same selection criteria was utilised as was used for the case study for Rwanda in order to maintain consistency. The database search yielded 31 newspaper articles that each contained all seven selection criteria (see Appendix II, Table 7-2 Articles from Srebrenica sample).

**Coding**

To begin the coding stage each of the newspaper articles from both case studies were thoroughly read and notes were made to create a preliminary concept for the coding stages. The initial plan for coding the newspaper articles was associated with
victim descriptions in relation to three different parameters: ‘dead versus alive’, the emotional conceptualisation of victims, and news values. However, as the analysis progressed it became apparent that these pre-set codes did not interact with the data in a beneficial way. For instance, the pre-set parameter of emotional conceptualisation of victims originally encompassed specific emotions—sympathy, pity, empathy, and compassion—that were found to be too subjective and indistinct to apply. Since the emotionality of the victims within the text itself remained an important part of the research it was decided that this parameter would be changed in order to encompass specific emotions and actions that the journalists used to describe the victims and their actions. This became a more distinguishable way to analyse how victims were emotively framed within the text, by assessing the emotions and actions attributed to the victims.

As a result of the preliminary analysis of the pre-set codes and the finding that the data had not interacted as hoped, different codes were constructed (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). These new emergent codes were based around fixing the issues with the preliminary analysis as well looking at the data inductively. The first two sections of codes were based on the incorporation of narrative structures that made it possible for the story of the victims to be told within the newspaper articles through an emotional discourse. The code for ‘Identity’ was associated with excerpts that described who the victims were, whilst the code for ‘Qualities’ was related to descriptions that incorporated adjectives that ascribed certain traits and characteristics to the victims. Together these two codes revealed descriptions that emphasised the traits of victims. The code for ‘Emotions’ was also ascribed to those excerpts that depicted the feelings of victims, whilst the code for ‘Actions’ was used to demonstrate the actions victims took throughout the course of their suffering. Together these two codes revealed those descriptions that emphasised the emotional conceptualisation of the victims and their experiences. The last code that was used was ‘Figurative language’, which was comprised of excerpts that contained comparisons that went beyond the literal meanings of the words and provided a
familiarity and association with the subject through the use of similes, metaphors, alliteration, and so on. Since the use of figurative language is known as a way to evoke emotion (Grabe & Zhou, 2003) for the current research it was important to identify its use within the emotional discourse that was used by journalists to describe victims. In this way, using these codes in tandem became a more appropriate way to analyse the emotional discourse within the articles as it provided a more inductive approach to the analysis instead of the previous deductive, rigid approach that proved problematic. These codes thus represent an important part of the research process and therefore provide a route on the way to the findings as outlined in Chapters 5 and 6.

**Analysis**

Once the articles were coded according to the emergent codes and themes that were constructed, the text was analysed through narrative analysis. Narrative analysis emphasises the representation of narratives as a way to demonstrate knowing and communicating, through the construction of events that are selected, organised, connected, and described within a text. In this way, narratives take on a story form in which experiences, identities, and meaning are explored through the use of language and descriptions. Thematic analysis is therefore specifically incorporated within narrative analysis in order to connect overarching themes that are interpreted within the text, through conceptual groupings within the data (Riessman, 2004). Since news reports resemble narrative structures in the way that they enable a wider audience to collectively experience an event (White, 1997; Kitch, 2003; Bird & Dardenne, 1988) the present research treated newspaper articles as narratives. The emotion that is implicit within narratives (Hogan, 2003) therefore relates to the interest that this research has on examining the emotional discourse that is featured within these newspaper articles. These associations that were made between news reporting and narratives meant that the criteria that was set forth in order to create a sample of newspaper articles for each case study incorporated narrative structures. As such, narrative analysis and its accompanying thematic analysis were clearly
suitable for the analysis of these newspaper articles. The analysis of these newspaper articles will be discussed in tandem with the analysis of the testimonies from interviews, in Chapter 6.

3.2.2 Method two: Qualitative interviews

The other method incorporated, and which served as the main point of data collection, was the qualitative interviews with journalists. As previously discussed, an important part of the interviews lay in the opportunity to create an interactional environment with participants that enabled them to construct a narrative of their experiences whilst reporting. In this way the current research utilised a narrative analysis approach, allowing the interviewees to talk through their experiences during and after reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica. Participants had the ability to elaborate as much as they desired in response to general questions about their time reporting, as well as topic prompts in-line with the overall research aims and objectives. This structure permitted a more fluid exploration of events and kept the setting as ‘natural’ as possible for a relaxed, trusting atmosphere for myself as the researcher and also for the participants (Rubin & Rubin, 2011).

Relation to research questions

As previously discussed, the use of two methods for the present research meant that overall the research questions encompassed both the discourse analysis of newspaper articles and the interviews with the journalists. Since there was an emphasis on the emotional experiences as encountered by the journalists themselves, all three of the research questions related to the interview portion of the research. The first part of the first research question focused on the journalists’ emotional experience of on-the-ground reporting during genocide. This question applied directly to the testimonies given by journalists and the way in which they
discussed negotiating their emotion. The second part of this question also referred to how the emotional discourse within the produced text corresponded to the journalists’ testimonies and how the emotional discourse found in the text may be associated with journalists’ own emotional experiences whilst reporting. In this way the interview data was combined with the discourse analysis to provide a more comprehensive view of journalists’ emotional experiences whilst reporting by incorporating their testimonies along with the produced text that was constructed during reporting. The second research question referred to the way that the collective experiences of these journalists related to wider professional and organisational expectations. It encompassed the collective testimonies of journalists in interviews, taken alongside the organisational culture of journalism and what it entails to ‘be’ a journalist and ‘do’ journalism.

**Interview sample**

In the first instance, the interview sample was comprised of those journalists that authored newspaper articles included in the discourse analysis. The sample was therefore comprised of print journalists whose articles on Rwanda or Srebrenica were published via UK newspapers or UK news agencies. These journalists were contacted via details that were provided through an Internet search. For many people it was possible to find contact details through their personal and professional websites. In other instances information was gained via a third party, such as an individual's editor or past work reference. It became possible after some of the initial interviews to utilise snowball sampling and learn the contact information for other journalists from those that had already been interviewed. This technique of sampling is best applied to sample populations that are difficult to locate by drawing on the interpersonal contacts of participants one is able to locate, in order to find other participants (Babbie, 2013). This bolstered the participant numbers since it became difficult in some cases to find contact information as it had been 20 years since some individuals had worked for the newspaper where their article were published. Snowball sampling proved invaluable especially for the Rwanda case study since
there was a small number of Western journalists reporting during the genocide which meant that the group who was there were very familiar with each other.

Between the two case studies, 22 journalists were interviewed within the research. For the Rwanda case study there was a potential for 15 different journalists to be interviewed who had authored newspaper articles included in the DA sample. In the end it was possible to interview nine of these journalists, as well as three more journalists who had reported on the ground in Rwanda but whose newspaper articles were not included within the discourse analysis sample, giving a total of 12 journalists (see Appendix III Table 7-3 Named journalists from sample). Out of these interviews, seven were conducted in-person, two via email, two via telephone, and one via Skype. For the Srebrenica case study there was a potential for 19 different journalists to be interviewed who had authored newspaper articles included in the DA sample. In the end it was possible to interview 10 of these journalists (see Appendix III, Table 7-4 Anonymised journalists from sample), four of which were conducted in-person, four via email, one via telephone, and one via Skype.

**Interview technique**

Face-to-face interviews were prioritised where possible, although in cases where there were travel constraints interviews were conducted instead via Skype or by telephone (Holt, 2010). Skype has a built-in feature to record, which simplified the subsequent process of transcription, and also made it possible for certain journalists to be able to participate in interviews from their work or home if they felt more comfortable or if it was more conducive to their work schedule (Hanna, 2012). Email interviews were also utilised in some cases in which participants were travelling and did not have access or availability that made Skype or telephone interviews possible. Additionally, this option was given to journalists that may have preferred to be able to personally reflect upon their responses away from a traditional interview setting.
Considering the sensitive nature of the research topic, the possibility for email interviews was a useful option for those participants that may not have felt comfortable participating through other means.

The interviews themselves were semi-structured, based on questions related to both the general experience of reporting during either genocide, as well as the more specific emotional context of their time reporting. Questions were set out in a narrative structure that enabled the interviewees to elaborate and elucidate their responses. In constructing the questions prompts and topics close attention was paid to wording structures, especially certain adjectives that might change the meaning of the question. Questions were also piloted, first by asking my supervisors to review them, then subsequently enacting a pilot test with a separate participant from the journalistic field (Gillham, 2005). Both of these preparations made it possible to gain an outside perspective of the construction of my questions and also introduced the interview context itself to a person with relevant journalistic experience. As a result, the wording of some of the questions was changed and the setting of the interview itself was considered so journalists were provided with a calm, comfortable, and quiet atmosphere. In addition, interviews incorporated Gillham’s (2005) questions of inter-subjectivity because of the importance associated with reflexivity within qualitative research: what did I expect to find, prefer to find, and hope not to find? These questions were helpful in being able to identify potential biases that could affect the context of the interview or subsequent analysis of the data. Whilst the research was qualitative in scope, it remained important to be cognisant of the context in which the interview took place so that bias was not introduced in relation to my own expectations of how journalists may have experienced their time reporting. The personal and collective testimonies of the journalists remained the most important part of this method for data collection and so it was crucial that I was certain that my focus was on them and not my own subjectivities.
In interviews journalists were asked questions about their process in reporting the article(s) they wrote about either genocide in relation to their experiences, intentions, influences, and motivations (see Appendix VI; Appendix VII). Since interviews were semi-structured and were meant to act as narratives for the journalists, the question prompts were comprised of different sections of the reporting process from beginning to end. In order to situate what their experiences were prior to reporting on the genocide journalists were first asked questions related to how they came to be reporting on the genocide itself as well as what preparations they had. The logistics of reporting itself featured in the next section of questions so that it was possible to understand the practical issues that may have had a bearing on their reporting in these extreme situations. Aside from these mechanics of reporting participants were then asked about their emotional conceptualisation of the events as they unfolded. These questions provided the chance to understand how these journalists managed the emotional toll of reporting and how interactions with victims and others had an effect on doing their job. To finish the interview, the last two sections of questions focused on the logistics of writing the actual articles and provided an opportunity for journalists to recall what procedures they used in order to produce their reportage, as well as the influence of the news organisation they worked for in the editing process. This enabled participants to integrate the actual written reporting they produced with the experiences that they had on-the-ground. In this section journalists whose articles were included in the discourse analysis were asked about specific parts of their reporting to try to uncover why the emotional discourse of these articles was written the way that it was.

**Coding**

All interviews that were conducted in-person, over the telephone, or via Skype were transcribed whilst email interviews were kept in their original format. Following transcription, the interviews were coded by segmenting the data first according to codes that were constructed in relation to the interview questions that were asked of the participants and which therefore took a more deductive approach to the data
(Babbie, 2013). Following this, the data was also examined with an inductive approach in order to include those codes that were emergent from the data itself. The result of this was first the construction of a series of collective codes that applied to both case studies. These collective codes can be explained by dividing them into three sections: those that pertained to the process of reporting itself, to the emotional conceptualisation of events by journalists, and to the interactions journalists had with the victims.

Collective codes that were related to the process of reporting itself made it possible to understand how journalists manoeuvred through the complexities inherent in the practice of reporting. The code for ‘The art of reporting’ was used in association with the interplay between what was expected of journalists within the journalistic culture and how they ultimately chose to apply these expectations within their process of reporting. The code for ‘Internal conflict’ was used in reference to the overall struggle that journalists had in reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica and was therefore associated with the code for ‘Negotiation of professional role’, which specifically pertained to the mediation between the professional role of being a journalist and one’s own personal experience of reporting. Lastly, the code for ‘Intention’ was used in relation to interview excerpts that discussed the purpose and reasons that journalists had for reporting on these events the way that they did.

Collective codes that pertained to the emotional conceptualisation of events by journalists made it possible to understand the emotional effect that reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica had for participants during and after their time there. The code for ‘Journalism of attachment’ related to discussions about the potential emotional investment that journalists had in their reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica. The code for ‘Emotional toll’ was used in association with interview excerpts that described the consideration of the overall emotional effects of reporting,
whilst the code for ‘Emotional wear and tear’ referred to the specific long-term emotional effects journalists spoke about. The code for ‘Guilt and regret’ was associated with the feelings of guilt and regret that journalists described in relation to the inadequacy they felt towards their reporting of events. Lastly, the code for ‘Legacy of Rwanda and Bosnia’ encompassed those reflections that participants had regarding the lasting effect that reporting on these event had for their life after reporting.

Collective codes that were associated with the interactions journalists had with the victims made it possible to understand the effect these interactions had on the journalists during their reporting. The code for ‘Victims’ therefore pertained to the discussions journalists had regarding their experiences with victims during their time reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica. The code for ‘Graphic descriptions’ referred specifically to the considerations of the graphic violent content within their reporting that journalists spoke about in interviews.

After creating these collective codes it was important to also examine the data for those codes that might reveal data and themes that were distinct between the two case studies (Babbie, 2013). This demonstrated the importance of utilising these two case studies since it revealed the ability to use them as a lens through which broader claims could be made about the emotional experiences of journalists, but also indicated the distinctiveness of each event. Data from the Rwanda interviews therefore produced certain emergent codes. The code for ‘Disinterest in Rwanda’ was used then to describe those interview excerpts that depicted the way in which the disinterest that UK news organisations towards events in Rwanda and the rest of Africa affected reporting in Rwanda. The code for ‘Politics between journalists’ was associated with discussions in interviews that related to the interpersonal politics that existed between journalists that reported in Rwanda. Lastly, the code for ‘Role of the
United Nations (UN)’ pertained to those interview excerpts related to the role of The United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) as an assistance mission only. Together these emergent codes produced a more inductive approach to interviews with journalists that reported on Rwanda. They revealed concepts that had a significant influence on journalists’ reporting of Rwanda, specifically the disinterest of UK news organisations towards Africa and the interpersonal politics that existed amongst journalists that reported there that will be discussed later.

Distinct emergent codes were also determined from the Srebrenica interviews as well. The code for ‘Interest in Bosnia’ therefore was associated with those discussions in interviews that described the interest that UK news organisations had regarding events in Bosnia during the War. In addition, the code for ‘Role of the UN’ pertained to those interview excerpts that were related to the role of The United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) as a protection force in Srebrenica during the War. These emergent codes revealed concepts that proved to be important to reporting on Srebrenica, such as the role of the UN as a protection force, as well as interest that UK news organisations took in news that came out of Bosnia. Both the collective and distinct codes that were constructed from interviews thus represent an important part of the research process and therefore provide a route on the way to the findings as outlined in Chapters 5 and 6.

**Analysis**

The current research took a narrative analysis approach to the data once it was coded that was similar to that used in the discourse analysis method. This analysis approach is used very frequently alongside interviews in order that the data acts as a personal narrative that can create an account of a certain life experience recounted by the participant. This development of a narrative is constructed within the interview setting as the participants make sense of their past experiences and subsequently
narrate them to the researcher (Riessman, 2004). The emphasis of the present research on journalists’ experiences whilst reporting during Rwanda or Srebrenica meant that a narrative analysis was most appropriate since it enables the interview data to be interpreted as a text from which these experiences can be re-imagined to produce meaning. Specifically, a thematic analysis of the interview data was performed because of its emphasis on finding thematic elements across a number of cases, analysing the meanings of the language used by many in order to develop meanings and subsequent theory. In this way, the testimonies of the journalists about their time reporting produced individual narratives that taken together constructed a collective narrative of what it was like for these journalists to do their job in the midst of genocide. This analysis of the interviews with journalists will be discussed further in Chapter 5, as well as in Chapter 6 alongside the analysis of newspaper articles.

3.2.3 Dual methodology

In examining the emotional experiences that journalists encounter whilst reporting, the present research explores an area of study that has been given scant attention and does so through the use of a dual methodology. Prior research of reporting on genocide (Brock, 1994; Meyers et al, 1996; Wall, 1997; Karnick, 1998; Kuusisto, 1998; Auerbach & Bloch-Elkon, 2005; Marinos, 2008; Carpenter, 2009; Vujnovic, 2009; Chari, 2010) has compared and contrasted the genocides in Rwanda and Srebrenica by analysing the way that each has been represented in the media. These studies relied primarily on one method of analysis—discourse, content, or textual—to examine these representations. In its emphasis on the construction of news this prior research has emphasised a more macro-structural approach that mirrors the political economy approach that has remained central to the study of journalism for decades (Herman, 2000; Herman & Chomsky, 2008). The present research, however, sought to extend the more recent organisational culture approach to the study of journalism that emphasises the social dynamics of the newsroom and therefore focused on the role of journalists instead. It incorporated a dual
methodology of interviews with journalists alongside a discourse analysis of reporting from Rwanda and Srebrenica that provided a more comprehensive approach than prior research.

This dual methodology of interviews and discourse analysis was employed as a way to triangulate data through the collaboration of different methods that would serve to strengthen the findings (Seale, 1999). The discourse analysis of newspaper articles provided examples of the emotional discourse that journalists utilised within the text they produced whilst reporting during either genocide and therefore became an important basis from which to construct the question prompts to use in interviews. As a result, the two methods were accomplished in tandem during the research process as an attempt to triangulate the data from each to provide a more comprehensive view of what is was like to report during genocide, from being on-the-ground to the final product of the reportage that came from it. In this way the current research took into consideration both the news product itself, in the form of the produced text, as well as the experiences of the journalists in order to understand the act of reporting in this situation. Though both methods proved useful in gaining an understanding of what these journalists experienced whilst reporting, over the course of the research the interview data took precedence since it garnered the most detailed data regarding the journalists’ experiences. The discourse analysis acted then as a supplementary method to the interviews that made it possible to compare how journalists spoke about their experience reporting in relation to what the actual reportage of these situations portrayed. In the end this enhanced the data, especially in instances where the discourse analysis disclosed certain themes that may have appeared inconsistent in interviews.

This section has discussed the specific research process involved by explaining in detail the steps taken during the employment of the discourse analysis and
qualitative interviews. From the construction of the sample all the way to the analysis of findings, it has described the various stages of the research process and how these two methods were accomplished in tandem. The next section will explain the ethical considerations that were taken during this process in order to ensure that both the participants and myself as a researcher were safe-guarded against any negative effects that this research might have had.

3.3 Ethical considerations

This section will discuss the steps taken in order to ensure that the present research abided by ethical considerations for social science research as well as those more specific to this kind of sensitive research. It will explain how the association of this research with genocide and the emotional experiences of journalists were taken into account to avoid any negative effects of this research on those involved. To demonstrate the seriousness afforded the ethical guidelines for social science research, this section will explain how the research participants (journalists) were treated, as well as steps that were taken towards myself as a researcher in order to maintain a positive ethical scope throughout the research.

3.3.1 Ethical considerations towards participants (journalists)

The British Sociological Association (2002) stipulates that researchers should be expected to maintain the psychological, social, and physical well-being of participants so that they do not experience any harmful effects. Additionally, researchers must uphold the interests, privacy, security, and rights of the participants and maintain integrity and professionalism throughout the study. In order to abide by these ethical considerations an application for ethical approval was made to the Faculty of Arts and Human Sciences Ethics Committee at the University of Surrey which was met with a favourable ethical opinion by the Ethics Committee. This application
highlighted the importance that ethical considerations played specifically in the interviews that would be conducted with journalists since it meant asking these participants to recall and discuss the experiences they had reporting during the genocide in Rwanda or Srebrenica. This application included an information sheet for those journalists that were contacted to participate in interviews (see Appendix III). Potential participants were sent this information sheet via email. Being a sensitive topic to discuss with these participants, it detailed the considerations and precautions that would be taken to make sure that the journalists did not feel any adverse effects during interviews. For instance, prior to each interview the details of the nearest mental health services to the participant was determined in case any negative effects were felt during the interview. In addition, the research process was outlined in detail so that participants were aware that their involvement entailed a semi-structured interview with myself in which they would discuss their experiences reporting on Rwanda or Srebrenica. They were therefore given the ability to refuse participation or else withdraw their participation at any time if they experienced ill effects as a result. Contact details of both my supervisors and myself were likewise provided so that if participants had any problems during or after their participation they could be in contact.

Participants were also given the opportunity to have the interview conducted face-to-face, or via Skype, telephone, or email. Interviews that were done in-person were conducted in London at a location that the participant themselves chose. Providing a variety of interview mediums as well as allowing participants to pick the location of face-to-face interviews meant that these individuals were placed in the most comfortable situation from which to give their responses. Furthermore, participants were each sent a set of the topic prompts prior to the interview so that they felt comfortable and prepared before discussing such a sensitive topic. After the interview a follow-up was also conducted with each participant via email, thanking them for their participation as well as providing them the opportunity to look over their interview transcript. This provided a de-briefing opportunity with participants that
allowed them a chance to communicate any issues they had with their experience of the interview. By allowing them to review their own interview transcript after the interview took place participants also had the opportunity to add or delete anything that was included in this transcript before it would be included within the thesis (Gillham, 2010). In the current research this meant that many times journalists included more detailed information in relation to a point they may have briefly touched upon during the interview, or corrected information that may have been misheard. This was very useful because it gave the journalists an opportunity to reflect on the responses they gave in the interview and in most cases meant that I received more information from participants, rather than had them delete parts of their responses. Implementing these procedures and informing the journalists of them fostered a trusting and honest atmosphere for the participants and myself and promoted their willingness to be involved in the research.

As per the Data Protection Act 1998 (The National Archives, 2013) those that agreed to participate had their personal data kept anonymised, confidential, secure, and safe. Participants also had the right to withdraw at any time if they no longer felt comfortable being involved with the research. Participants signed consent forms prior to the interview (see Appendix IV), either in person or that were scanned and emailed through to myself, in order to be sure of their compliance with data protection procedures related to their involvement in the research. Although all of the journalists signed this consent form, some journalists later personally requested to me that their names be included in the research because they felt it was important that their responses be personally quoted and attributed to them. For this reason, each journalist was then individually contacted via email subsequent to interviewing in order to ask if they preferred to stay anonymous or choose instead to be named. Those journalists that explicitly stated via email their consent to be named have therefore been named within the research. Any journalists that did not respond to the email or had not stated explicitly that they wanted to be named defaulted to anonymisation in the research in order to maintain consistency and also protect the
integrity of the research. Throughout this thesis the participating journalists will be referred to either by their initials if they requested to being named, or else by a random number ascribed to them if they remained anonymous (see Appendix V, Table 7-3 Named journalists from sample; Table 7-4 Anonymised journalists from sample).

Consistency was also ensured in relation to anonymity between the discourse analysis sample and interview sample. Those journalists that were anonymised within the interview sample also had any articles that they authored that were included in the discourse analysis also anonymised. Since these individuals did not want to be identified through their interview responses it was determined most appropriate to maintain any produced text that might be included as anonymous also, to avoid any possibility of identifying their participation in the research. The details of those articles that were attributed to these individuals have therefore been completely redacted. However, those journalists that were not involved in interviews but authored articles that were involved in the discourse analysis remained named since these articles were found via LexisNexis and remain published and in public view. Additionally, those journalists that were involved in interviews and explicitly stated that they preferred to be named also remained named in relation to any articles they authored that were included in the discourse analysis.

### 3.3.2 Ethical considerations towards the researcher

Apart from the ethical considerations that were taken in the current research in relation to the participants it was also important to think about the way that this research could affect myself as a researcher. Recent recognition that reflexivity and subjectivity can benefit qualitative research has prompted a burgeoning acknowledgment of the emotional impact that qualitative research can have on researchers that undertake it. Recent studies have argued that the traditionally extensive risk assessment intended to prevent participants from any harm during
research should be extended, to include a risk assessment for what the researcher may also experience (Dickson-Swift et al, 2007; 2008; 2009). Whilst it is accepted that health and medical practitioners, like therapists, can encounter secondary effects from their treatment of certain patients, it can also apply to qualitative researchers. Those that perform research on sensitive topics are especially at risk for these types of effects. Vicarious traumatisation brought about by a repeated exposure to trauma to distressing research materials, such as narratives or interviews can alter a researcher’s behaviours, beliefs, and perceptions (Dickson-Swift et al, 2009). Indications of this type of vicarious traumatisation could be: disruption of sleep patterns; intrusive thoughts; nightmares; anxiety; depression; physical maladies such as headaches or upset stomach; emotional fatigue or burnout (Rager, 2005). In order to mitigate the onset of these adverse effects, it has been suggested that a qualitative researcher not only assess the emotional risks before undertaking research, but also develops personal coping strategies to hinder the development of these symptoms (Lerias & Byrne, 2003).

For the present research my supervisors and I felt that it was important that I take into consideration the sensitive nature of the research. We agreed that I should take steps to counteract any adverse effects from spending so much time reading about genocide and the intense experiences of the journalists themselves. Reading through over 1,000 newspaper articles in order to create my sample for the discourse analysis, as well as the interviews with detailed testimonies with journalists, meant that the research itself was very intense. As a result, I constructed a work routine whereby I focused my attention on the research and then at a certain time each day set aside some social time for myself. This break up of my workday helped me organise myself so that I approached the research with a mind-set that I was able to then set aside later in the day to allow for a break and loss of intensity. In addition, I wrote a personal reflection straight after each of my interviews that allowed me to de-brief myself emotionally as well as reflect upon the participants themselves. Giving
myself breaks throughout the workday also helped to balance out the intensity of my work so that I did not feel overwhelmed.

This section has evaluated the major ethical considerations of the present research and in doing so reflects the care taken to abide by ethical guidelines for social science research. It showed that there were adequate precautions taken in relation not only to the research participants, but also to myself as the researcher. This demonstrates the seriousness afforded to the present research and the sensitivity associated with the topic of genocide as well as the emotional experiences that the journalists had to recall within their interviews. Following on from this as well as closing this chapter the next section will discuss the main limitations in the present research. This allows a basis from which future research considerations in this subject area can refer to in order to improve upon additional studies.

3.4 Limitations

This section will evaluate the main limitations of the present research. This will demonstrate the areas that are worth consideration for future research and when analysing the present research that has been done. It will therefore focus on issues of subjectivity and accessibility of the sample of journalists in relation to how each affected the research.

3.4.1 Subjectivity

An overarching limitation of the current research is the partial subjectivity of the research. Within the realm of sociology qualitative research is expected to involve the subjectivity of its researcher because researchers are interacting with the
environment they are studying (Pillow, 2003). By utilising reflexivity throughout, researchers are able to recognise the ways in which they have an effect on their study thus maintaining the integrity of their work (Mauthner & Doucet, 2003). Each researcher will bring into his/her work a personal biography that has its own place within the research, perhaps as the motivation for the work. Utilising reflexivity at regular intervals during research allows the researcher to keep track of any particular influences on the study (Finlay, 2002a). As in ethnographic studies, this process can be recorded in a personal logbook and chronicle how the researcher is handling the work, for instance emotionally (Finlay, 2002b). In order to obtain reflexivity with my own research I spent time reflecting upon how my past personal experiences and assumptions may have an effect upon how I interact with my research. I also created a personal reflection after each interview I did that helped in developing not only my investigatory and emotional process as it advanced, but also served as a way to de-brief myself emotionally after the interviews.

In the current research it would be possible to point at the creation of the sample for the discourse analysis as an instance in which there was partial subjectivity demonstrated. There is no completely objective way in which to select an inclusive sample of newspaper articles for discourse analysis because the process of discourse analysis itself is bound to be subjective in some form. The sample taken from the original four months duration of newspaper coverage of each case study was slightly subjective in the sense that the criteria used to choose this sample was based on personal research aims and objectives. In this way, discourse analysis will always have some air of subjectivity in its initial application. Nevertheless, researchers are expected to employ rationality and consistency when determining their subsample. For this research, a specific set of criteria was established based on research into narrative structures and news theory, that when applied to UK newspaper articles and news associations generated a specific sample of newspaper articles that demonstrated an emotional discourse related to the way that victims were portrayed.
3.4.2 Sample of journalists

Another possible limitation for the current research was the sample of journalists that were used for the interviews. When acquiring the participation of journalists there was some difficulty in gaining access and acquiring the participation of all those journalists that I wished to interview. Since the newspaper articles were written almost 20 years ago, some journalists were not interested in being interviewed about these past events. Considering the first-hand experience of the violence, these journalists may not have been interested in remembering the intensity of the events. Likewise some individuals may have merely not been interested in the research or too busy to participate. Tracking down specific journalists also proved challenging because it was not possible to determine their current vocation and location, or find direct contact information for them. As previously mentioned, to help with issues of accessibility snowball sampling of those journalists that I was able to get in contact with was done and in the case of Rwanda this proved helpful in gaining a couple participants. Speaking to the journalists about their colleagues in this informal way also helped build rapport with individuals before the interview since those who reported during Rwanda and Srebrenica in most cases knew and respected each other.

Aside from accessibility issues, another possible limitation in relation to the interview sample was the way it was constructed. Participants were first chosen from the sample of newspaper articles that made up the discourse analysis. From Rwanda the discourse analysis yielded a sample of 24 newspaper articles of which there were 15 possible journalists to make contact with from this. In the end 12 journalists were interviewed: 10 of these journalists had articles in the discourse analysis and two became involved through snowball sampling. From Srebrenica the discourse analysis yielded a sample of 31 newspaper articles of which there were 19 possible correspondents to make contact with from this. In the end 10 journalists were interviewed, all of which had articles in the discourse analysis. There are other ways in which the interview sample could have been constructed, however this seemed to
be the most methodical and consistent way for the current research. Constructing the interview sample in this way made it possible to guarantee that those journalists that were interviewed had been on-the-ground, since this was a crucial criterion for the inclusion of articles in the discourse analysis. This ensured that participants were able to respond to questions about their reporting of Rwanda and Srebrenica from direct experience of being there since the research interest was to explore the ways in which journalists in these situations deal with their emotions and the experience of reporting overall.

Since the sample of journalists was constructed primarily from the discourse analysis this also introduces a potential limitation associated with the use of only those newspaper articles from UK newspapers and news organisations. This meant that the journalists that participated in this research were associated with the UK and as a result their work was analysed within the structure and context of journalism as a professional culture within the UK. Although this may be seen as a limitation to the generalisability of the findings, it could instead provide a basis from which to extend further research that would be able to analyse journalism from other countries and the process of reporting where the journalistic culture may differ from the UK.

Chapter 3 has provided a rationale for the qualitative methodological approach as well as an evaluation of the associated methods of interviews and discourse analysis that the current research takes in its exploration of the emotional experiences of journalists during reporting. Additionally it has demonstrated an extensive description of all stages of the research process for both the discourse analysis as well as interviews. The final two sections of this chapter discussed the ethical considerations put in place within the research, as well as the potential for limitations as a result of the implicit subjectivity of the research and the limited accessibility to journalists. This next chapter will preface the analysis chapters by contextualising the genocide
in Rwanda and Srebrenica. This will provide a basis from which these case studies can then be regarded as a lens from which we can explore the emotional experiences of journalists reporting in these situations.
Chapter 4  Rwanda and Srebrenica: case studies of genocide as a framework for analysis

The present research focused on the extreme nature of reporting during genocide in order to further explore concepts of emotionality in reporting. The case studies of the genocide in Rwanda in 1994 and the genocide in Srebrenica in 1995 were therefore used as a framework for the analysis of the emotional experiences of journalists. Although both of these genocides took place during the 1990s and thus many times have been compared (Meyers et al, 1996; Pieterse, 1997; Wall, 1997), the present research argues however that the different context underlying each of these cases provides a unique framework through which to analyse the experiences of journalists and their produced text. The distinctiveness of these two cases of genocide plays an important part in understanding how the emotional experiences that journalists had whilst reporting during these two different events make it possible to collectively recognise the interaction between emotionality and the act of reporting.

This chapter will serve to contextualise the cases of genocide in Rwanda and Srebrenica in order to explain the socio-political basis for the violence and its continuance in each. A detailed description will be given in regards to the commencement and progression of violence during both. The genocide in Rwanda and Srebrenica will then each be situated in regards to three elements: the international presence in relation to the UN; the UK media presence; and journalistic presence. The interplay of these three elements produces distinct characteristics that, as we will see in the following chapters, had an effect on the experiences of journalists when they reported there. Furthermore, it helps to provide a context from which to outline the nature of journalistic coverage of the two case studies as exhibited through the discourse analysis so that we may examine the emotional experiences that journalists encountered and the effect it had on their reporting of these events.
4.1 Rwanda

Divisions between the Hutu and Tutsi living in Rwanda began when the Belgians occupied the territory of Ruandi-Urundi—now known separately as Rwanda and Burundi. Though the two populations lived together, inter-married, and were difficult to even tell apart, the Belgian occupiers placed the smaller population of Tutsis in esteemed positions because of their ‘European’ qualities. In 1926 the Belgians introduced identity cards that furthered this social segregation: every Rwandan was thereafter identified as Tutsi, Hutu, or the pygmy Twa (Melvern, 2007). After decades of persecution within the social structure, Hutus rebelled and eventually their revolution saw the exit of Belgians troops and the rule of a Hutu King and government. Subsequently, however, exiled Tutsis in Burundi attacked the Hutu government which brought on decades of retaliation massacres of Tutsis in Rwanda by the Hutu. In 1973 Chief of Staff General Juvenal Habyarimana seized power in Rwanda and vowed to return the country to peace. His rule progressed satisfactorily until in 1989 the price of coffee plummeted and Rwanda was forced into economic hardship (Thompson, 2007). Amidst this calamity in the early 1990s the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) based in Uganda attacked the Hutu government, which initiated a civil war between these two sides. During the Rwandan Civil War retaliation massacres of Tutsis took place around the country, though this time the Rwandan army began training a civilian force: the Interahamwe. In the context of Western ambitions for democratisation of the country and in an attempt to end the civil war that waged, President Habyarimana and leaders of the RPF began peace talks in 1993: The Arusha Accords called for a coalition government between the Hutu government and the RPF (Levene, 2009).

4.1.1 International agencies: UN

The implementation of the Arusha Accords was tenuous at times and so both the Rwandan government and the RPF requested UN assistance in implementing the peace agreement. In August 1993 both parties signed the peace accord and by
October the UN had established UNAMIR as an international force to oversee its further implementation under the direction of Lieutenant General Roméo Dallaire (United Nations, 2016). The UN solicited troop contributions, but it was Belgium that contributed the bulk of troops for UNAMIR even though any involvement in peacekeeping missions from countries who acted as former colonial powers had typically been banned. The tragic effect of this decision became clear in the days that followed the onslaught of the genocide. On the night of 6 April 1994 President Habyarimana was assassinated on his way back from peace discussions in Tanzania when a missile deliberately downed his plane (The Prosecutor v. Jean-Paul Akayesu [1998]). Early the next morning the Presidential Guard killed prominent opposition politicians around Kigali as well as Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana. In addition, 10 Belgian UN peacekeepers were taken hostage, tortured, and eventually murdered. Fearing the safety of the rest of their contingent, Belgium withdrew the rest of its troops a week after the genocide began, leaving only a skeleton force of peacekeepers in Rwanda. In the coming weeks General Dallaire asked the UN Security Council for reinforcements and a mandate that would allow UNAMIR to use force in order to protect civilians, however this request was not met until the worst of the genocide was essentially over (Dallaire, 2005).

During the genocide the Rwandan army and Interahamwe conducted group killings of civilian Tutsis by erecting roadblocks that prevented their escape and served as points of slaughter. Countless massacres of Tutsis carried on for the next three months during which many Tutsis fled Rwanda to neighbouring Tanzania and Goma to overcrowded refugee camps. Finally on 4 July 1994 the RPF was able to capture the capital city of Kigali and four days later they had victory over the government forces (The Prosecutor v. Georges Anderson Nderubumwe Rutaganda [1999]; The Prosecutor v. Théoneste Bagosora et al [2008]). Official estimates from the ICTR estimate that between 500,000 to 1,000,000 were killed during the genocide in Rwanda, but typically the number has been specified at 800,000 within the three-month period of April-July 1994 (The Prosecutor v. Théoneste Bagosora et al [2008]).
4.1.2 UK media

At the time of the Rwandan genocide there was an overall disinterest in UK newspapers for stories from Africa since the region was considered to be too foreign and unrelatable for readers. As a result, UK news organisations typically assigned one journalist to cover the entire region. When conflicts occurred there these journalists were ‘parachuted’ into unfamiliar African countries where they were expected to quickly cover the story before being sent elsewhere (Wall, 2007). At the beginning of 1994 amidst apartheid, the multi-racial democratic election in South Africa election was in motion and so news organisations sent their journalists there since they assumed it was the only big story in Africa at the time (Melvern, 2007). Since Rwanda held no commercial or historical links to the UK it did not warrant any political presence there when UK Foreign Office staffing in Africa was cut in the 1980s and 1990s (Dowden, 2004). Furthermore, British troops were not involved in the UN peacekeeping mission in Rwanda like they were during the Bosnian War and also since the Bosnian War waged on close by it garnered more news interest. This demonstrates the impact that newsworthiness in relation to immediacy and proximity of a news story has on the interest afforded to it by news organisations (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Once the violence erupted in Rwanda flights into Kigali were stopped which made it difficult for Western news companies to devote the time and money as well as risk the safety of their journalists to fly there for what was assumed to be no different to the previous inter-ethnicity fighting that had been occurring during the Rwandan Civil War (Melvern, 2007).

4.1.3 Journalistic presence

The journalistic presence related to reporting on Rwanda also acts as an important factor in contextualising this case study of genocide for use in the present research. As a result of the disinterest by UK news organisations and their attention elsewhere there were only a small number of journalists in Rwanda at the very beginning of the
genocide (Hilsum, 2007). Some of these journalists might have had experience reporting on previous conflicts within the region and therefore had some knowledge of regional affairs, though nowhere near as much as in a country that had prolonged UK news media coverage at the time, such as Bosnia. Nevertheless, these journalists that were there from the start were able to witness first-hand the violence suffered by victims that survived as well as those who did not. As a result it was possible for their reporting to include a comprehensive account of all those who suffered during the genocide, the vast majority of which were Tutsis of all ages.

4.2 Srebrenica

At the end of World War II with the defeat of the Nazis, the Communist partisan party within Yugoslavia rallied to gain independence for the country. Under the rule of Communist party president Josip Broz, “Tito”, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was then made up of six republics that existed together each with its own president, Parliament, and primary ethnic group (Hayden, 2002). During this time tensions between the three major religious groups within Yugoslavia—the Roman Catholic Croats, Eastern Orthodox Serbs, and Muslim Bosniaks—were kept at bay by Tito’s strict policies against nationalism. However, after his death in 1980 these tensions again mounted and culminated in 1991 when Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina each declared their independence from Yugoslavia. Fighting between the ethnic groups ensued and what followed became known as the Bosnian War that lasted from 1992-1995. Slovenia became independent but war raged in Croatia between the Serbs and Croats. Extreme violence and ethnic cleansing campaigns on either side were rampant. Continuous fighting went on for several years in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the most ethnically diverse of the republics, between the three ethnic groups living there: the Croats, Serbs, and Bosniaks (Rohde, 2012).
4.2.1 International agencies: UN

Violent Serb sieges of Bosnian Muslim cities were widespread throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina during the War and the town of Srebrenica came under intense pressure from both the Muslim and Serb contingent because of its location. Located in Eastern Bosnia near the Serbian border, Srebrenica was an ideal target for the Serbian army as they attempted to gain control of more strategic territories. Srebrenica was also important to the Muslims as it was a traditionally Muslim city and was also close to others, such as Tuzla and Žepa (Hayden, 2002). Fighting therefore ensued between both sides throughout 1992 and 1993 that ultimately reduced the size of Srebrenica. The town became overcrowded as Bosnian Muslims from outlying areas converged on Srebrenica amidst the struggle until its inhabitants were living terribly under siege conditions. By 1993 the UN began to fear what effect the fall of Srebrenica might have on the sieged city of Sarajevo, as well as the humanitarian disaster that would ensue among its inhabitants who were already living amidst dire conditions. In March 1993 General Philippe Morillon, Commander of UNPROFOR in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, visited Srebrenica and told its inhabitants that the town was under UN protection and that he would never abandon them. On 16 April 1993 UN Resolution 819 was adopted and Srebrenica was declared a ‘safe area’ under UN protection and provided its own contingent of UNPROFOR: a Dutch army battalion referred to as ‘Dutchbat’ (Rohde, 2012). Even though Dutchbat existed as an independent unit with its own logistic arrangements its main lifelines were UNPROFOR and the Royal Netherlands Army. In its mandate Dutchbat was assigned the responsibility of safekeeping Srebrenica in accordance with the Rules of Engagement afforded UNPROFOR. In November 1993 the Mission Statement for UN peacekeeping operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina was updated to incorporate maintaining of the status of the ‘safe areas’ if necessary with force, such as air support from NATO, in order to protect civilian populations against hostile attacks (UNPROFOR, 2015).
On 6 July 1995 shelling by the Serbs erupted south of the enclave that forced around 4,000 Bosnian Muslims to overrun Srebrenica and a few days later General Karadžić ordered the capture of Srebrenica (Jennings, 2013). The fall of the Srebrenica enclave occurred on 11 July 1995 when Chief of Staff of the Bosnian army, General Mladić, marched through the empty town. The Bosnian Muslims that had been there had fled the enclave prior to his arrival: approximately 20,000-25,000 residents, mostly women, children, and the elderly were then crowded at the UN base in Potočari. Elsewhere, some 10,000-15,000 male civilians and members of the 28th Division of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina (ABiH) had fled Srebrenica towards the Muslim town of Tuzla through the woods (The Prosecutor v. Dragan Obrenović [2003]; The Prosecutor v. Momir Nikolić [2003]). Meetings commenced on 11 and 12 July 1995 with VRS and UNPROFOR leaders and on 13 July 1995 Bosnian Muslim women, children, and the elderly were put on buses that left Potočari for Bosnian government-held territory near Kladanj. The men were separated from this exodus however, as General Mladić insisted all Bosnian Muslim males aged 17-70 be searched to locate any war criminals. These men were taken to a house near Potočari where many were beaten or even killed (The Prosecutor v. Radislav Krtsić [2001]; The Prosecutor v. Popović et al, [2010]). Mass executions of the Bosnian Muslim men occurred after they were taken in groups to various schools or warehouses and then later on transported elsewhere to isolated locations where they were lined up, shot, and buried there or in other mass graves. The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in judgments estimated that the capture and subsequent execution totaled approximately 7,000-8,000 Bosnian Muslim men at these various sites in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the hands of the Serb army (The Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić, Ratko Mladić [1995]; The Prosecutor v. Ratko Mladić [2011]).

4.2.2 UK media

For three years prior to the genocide in Srebrenica the Bosnian War had been raging. During this time UK news organisations had been continuously covering the War
(Auerbach & Bloch-Elkon, 2005). Bosnia’s location within Europe, close to major European cities and therefore strategic media bases, meant traveling to Bosnia was a relatively easy journey for both agency journalists and freelancers (Livingston, 2007). Journalists were able to hire cars and drive to the conflict zones without impediments from border controls or the need for permit requirements (Von Oppen, 2009). Its location within Europe also meant that UK news organisations during the Bosnian War and through to events in Srebrenica showed great interest in this European story since a British commander, Sir Michael Rose, commanded British troops as part of the UN force there (Melvern, 2009). This inclusion of British troops in peacekeeping efforts throughout the War meant an even more direct interest in events because of the proximity of culture and geography and that made it more likely for news stories to carry immediacy for readers (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). The transparency of the UN humanitarian mission throughout the War also helped to necessitate on-going reporting of the Bosnian War in UK newspapers since it made it possible to travel to different sides during the conflict, though still at personal risk. This increased coverage of the War meant that the UK media was aware of the situational dynamics between the different groups that were fighting ahead of the reporting of the genocide in Srebrenica.

4.2.3 Journalistic presence

The journalistic presence related to reporting on Srebrenica also acts as an important factor in contextualising this case study of genocide for use in the present research. The continuous UK media presence during the Bosnian War meant that journalists that reported on Srebrenica had likely been working in the region prior to the genocide and for some time during the War and as a result had a grasp of the situational dynamics of the area. However, once the enclave fell to the Bosnian Serbs journalists were barred from entering Srebrenica. Instead of being able to report from the scene itself journalists had to wait instead in the neighbouring Muslim town of Tuzla in the hopes that any survivors were able to make it to this safe territory (Rohde, 2012). As a result of reporting from Tuzla journalists were also unable to
witness any of the violence suffered by the victims first-hand and instead relied on acquiring and corroborating numerous witness testimonies in order to determine what had happened when the enclave fell. This meant that they engaged with a very specific set of victims that emerged from Srebrenica. At first this was only the women, children, and elderly people that the Bosnian Serbs placed on buses to leave Srebrenica. Later on however this also included those men that had fled Srebrenica towards other Muslim territory prior to the fall of the enclave.

Positioning the genocide in Rwanda and Srebrenica in relation to their separate socio-political context makes it possible to better comprehend the distinctiveness of these two case studies, which may prove important when considering the emotional experiences of journalists that reported during these conflicts. On top of this contextualisation the consideration of the nature of the journalistic coverage that took place during these two cases helps to produce a more comprehensive perception of the type of emotional experiences that journalists encountered, and as a result how this may have had an effect on their reporting of events.

4.3 Nature of journalistic coverage in Rwanda and Srebrenica

The previous two sections of this chapter situated the genocide in Rwanda and Srebrenica in relation to three factors: the international presence in the form of the UN, the UK media presence, and the journalistic presence in each. Together this provided a situational context for these two events and the experiences that journalists had when they reported there. This section will build upon this contextualisation of events by providing an outline of the nature of journalistic coverage of these two case studies of genocide as it was exhibited in the discourse analysis. This will allow for further chapters to critically discuss the way in which, for example, the representation of the victims from either genocide helped to create a more comprehensive view of the emotionality intrinsic in reporting.
4.3.1 Journalist as narrator of events and victims’ experiences

The newspaper articles included in the discourse analysis from both case studies demonstrated a narration of events accomplished through the respective reporting of either genocide. As shown in the list of criteria set out in Section 3.2.1 these articles were written using the narrative present and with first person narration. Since these journalists were in the field at the time, this narration of events provided an eyewitness account of the events that retained a sense of authority and persuasion for the audience as a result of this direct vantage point. Together these writing techniques were able to place the journalist, as narrator, at the focal point of experience so as to provide the audience with a sense of immediacy and imminence towards the events. This clear narrative format that the newspaper articles took on was also demonstrated through the linear progression of events as they were described. As we will see in the subsequent analysis chapters, the position of the journalist as a focal point for the reporting in Rwanda and Srebrenica becomes important when considering the emotional experiences that these individuals encountered and the effect it had on the act of reporting.

With the journalist themselves as a focal point for the reporting in Rwanda and Srebrenica the coverage of these events were able to focus on the interactions and experiences of victims. However, the difference in the socio-political context of both genocides and the interplay between international agencies as well as the UK media itself meant that the representation of the victims from the vantage point of these journalists varied between the two case studies. In the discourse analysis this distinctiveness between the victims was presented through the traits of the victims themselves, specifically how their identity was exhibited and the qualities they possessed. Newspaper articles from Rwanda emphasised the experiences of women and children as victims. This complements past research that claims the status of women and children as vulnerable victims whose assumed innocence means that they will typically receive more attention than other victims, such as men, that are instead assumed to be culpable in the violence (Harrison 2009; Chari 2010;
These victims featured in the nested narratives that were incorporated into the emotional discourse of this reporting that allowed personal stories from the victims to be incorporated into the wider narrative of the genocide. Whilst reporting from both Rwanda and Srebrenica used these personal stories to express the personal plight of victims, in the reporting of Rwanda they took on a more hopeful slant that seemed to centre on survival. Within these stories victims possessed qualities that appeared to emphasise their agency in the way that they faced the violence with resilience and steadfastness borne out of a determination to survive. Stories of survival were the focus of most of the nested narratives from victims in Rwanda. Even in places where the deceased were described this was still done with the emphasis on the dignity of these fallen victims in their last moments. Though these stories demonstrated the pain and suffering of the Rwandans they did so whilst at the same time encouraging the perceived strength and agency of these victims.

Whilst newspaper articles from Srebrenica also mainly focussed on women, children, and the elderly who tend to be constructed as vulnerable victims, this was not the same as it was in the reporting in Rwanda. The way in which the Bosnian Serbs divided up the people at Srebrenica meant that the only victims that could be represented in the reporting were the women, children, and elderly that had been bussed to Tuzla. Within these stories the victims possessed qualities that actually appeared to diminish their capacity for strength and agency. Instead the hopelessness afforded them through their continuous suffering during the War as well as the failure of the UN and international community to save Srebrenica meant that these individuals were perceived as lacking the autonomy that victims in Rwanda had to fight for their survival. The use of nested narratives amongst the reporting from Srebrenica therefore appeared to lack the air of encouragement that was present in Rwanda. The misery and hopelessness of the Bosnian Muslims was instead accentuated, as was the continuous struggle that they encountered not only as a result of the fall of Srebrenica but throughout the entire War. These stories
demonstrated the grief and pain of these victims that had been repeatedly left by the international community to fend for themselves and in doing so expressed the misery that befell them and which they were perceived as being powerless to fight against.

4.3.2 Emotional presentation of the events and victims

The discourse analysis of newspaper articles from Rwanda and Srebrenica demonstrated that the narrative techniques used in this reporting extended through to specific representations of the victims, which helped to analyse the emotional discourse presented by each. For instance, the emotional presentation of the events and victims incorporated a mimetic narrative style that relied on figurative language and sensory descriptions for the audience. As introduced in Section 3.2.1 this mimetic narrative style meant that through sensory descriptions and figurative language the audience was brought closer to the victims and their experiences through this feeling within the text. A form of realism, this technique can create texts that reflect reality for an audience (Foley, 1982; Feldman, 2005). For instance, reporting from Rwanda utilised this figurative and mimetic language predominately to describe the graphic scenes of violence and death that the victims had to endure. The pain that was experienced by these individuals was described in such a way that it was almost palpable to feel what the survivors had endure, or what the deceased had succumbed to. Reporting from Srebrenica used similarly graphic imagery and language in order to describe the scenes of misery and despair that enveloped the victims at the camp in Tuzla. This made the suffering that these individuals experienced tangible to the audience in a way that demonstrated the heartache and anguish these people felt for the fallen men and boys left behind in Srebrenica and the terrible ordeal of the War.

Whilst the representation of victims was able to demonstrate a collective emotional discourse that centred on the tangible suffering of the victims, the socio-political
context of each genocide meant that the victims themselves embodied certain distinctive emotional characteristics. Victims from Rwanda, for instance, were described through the perceived control of their emotions. The silence perpetuated by these individuals was not seen by the journalists as the result of a lack of emotion, but was instead portrayed as a resilience and resistance to their situation. The bravery of these Rwandans was demonstrated in their silent fortitude whether in life or on the brink of death. Courage was also shown in the way attempts to flee in order to escape the violence were highlighted as actions taken by the victims. On the other hand, the newspaper articles represented the victims from Srebrenica as impassioned. These individuals were depicted as exhibiting a collective of raw emotion stemming from the grief, anguish, and bitterness they felt after the fall of Srebrenica to the Bosnian Serbs. The victims from Srebrenica were represented as if they were swept up in an uncontrollable wave of emotion, very different from the Rwandans and the stoicism they represented. Victims from Srebrenica were described instead as sobbing, yelling, and falling to their knees en masse, their perceived lack of control of their emotions seen as a direct effect of their abandonment by the international community.

Taking all of the narrative techniques together in the discourse analysis of the newspaper articles from Rwanda and Srebrenica and applying them to the distinct context of each event provided the opportunity to conceptualise the similarities and differences between the reporting. As we have seen, this reporting exhibited an emotional discourse that surrounded the victims and their suffering from both genocides. It represented these victims in the midst of their dire situation and provided immediacy to events that might enable an audience to feel connected to these individuals and what they were experiencing. Overall then the reporting promoted a representation of the victims and their situation for an audience in order to shed light on events as they unfolded. However, as we will see in Chapter 6, the way in which journalists in the present research reported on events to convey these events to the audience did in fact differ. This difference can be extended forward
from the distinctiveness that we have seen in this chapter overall, first with the socio-political context of the genocide in Rwanda and Srebrenica, and following onto the difference in victim representations and narration in the emotional discourse itself. Moving forward this makes it possible to situate these two case studies of genocide first, within the narrative of reporting and the emotional labour it evokes, and second with the distinctiveness that the occurrence of genocide entails and which can be seen through the emotional discourse of the reporting.

This chapter has served to describe and contextualise the genocide in Rwanda and also in Srebrenica in order to demonstrate the distinctiveness of these two cases in relation to their socio-political background. To do this, three elements—the international presence in regards to the UK, the UK media presence, and the journalistic presence—were specifically applied to both case studies. By examining the interplay of these three elements in each case, the chapter sets up the context through which it is possible to comprehend how journalists experienced different situations whilst they reported in Rwanda and Srebrenica and how this might have shaped their emotional experience. This chapter also provided an outline of the nature of journalistic coverage of these two cases of genocide as demonstrated by the discourse analysis that was conducted. This introduced us to the way that coverage of both cases seemed to display a commonality in the way that reporting emphasised the journalist at the focal point of the narration of events. The privileged perspective and sense of immediacy this brought to the reporting provides an opportunity for future discussions regarding the way that the emotional experiences these individuals had whilst reporting may have had an effect on their reporting. For instance, the different interactions with victims that journalists seem to have had between the two cases will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 in order to examine the effect of this emotionality on reporting during these events.
Chapter 5   Emotion and professional expectations: from ‘emotional silencing’ to ‘instinct’

This chapter will explore the ways in which the organisational culture of journalism interacted with journalists’ experiences of reporting in Rwanda and Srebrenica. It became clear that journalists performed emotional labour in ways that demonstrated the distinct usage of this concept within the realm of journalism, specifically in the process of reporting. Journalists interviewed for the study placed particular emphasis on how they upheld their professionalism above all else. Emotions that were deemed detrimental and which could have overwhelmed them were managed so as not to detract from the ability to report, as this ability formed the basis of professionalism for these individuals. This importance placed on reporting also acted as a focus for journalists that enabled them to circumvent the negative effects of the situation they were in. The management of emotions these journalists undertook therefore allowed them to focus on reporting, which in turn sustained the emotional survival they needed to continue reporting. This, I suggest, amounts to a particular manifestation of emotional labour by these journalists that became intertwined with their professional identity as it consistently circled back to this sense of professionalism akin to the ‘cognitive loop’ that Hopper & Huxford (2015) found in their research. This maintenance of professionalism through the management of their emotions demonstrates what I term as the ‘emotional silencing’ of these journalists, both by their industry and themselves, whereby they were expected to quiet their emotions in lieu of their job role.

However, it was clear that attempts at suppressing emotions proved difficult at times considering the horror that they were witnessing. This demonstrated a struggle that these journalists experienced as they tried to maintain their professional identity. The professionalism of these journalists and their emotions may have therefore not been mutually exclusive but instead may have combined to form a sense of emotional investment towards the situation, that reveals how emotional silencing was not
absolute. Similar to findings by Hopper & Huxford (2015), the result was that reporting for these journalists became a balancing act that required them to constantly negotiate their emotions. For instance, this balancing act could be seen in the way that journalists described how they reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica. At the same time as they placed emphasis on professionalism and notions of remaining suitably impartial to the situation itself, they also stressed the reliance on their own instinct and intuition towards how best to portray these events. This demonstrates another instance of the struggle journalists had when they were expected to manoeuvre through the contradictions that exist within this journalistic culture. In describing their reporting during Rwanda and Srebrenica as instinctual, participants again exposed the complexities and contradictions of reporting and introduced the possibility that a sense of emotionality formed part of this ‘instinct’ towards how one reported. However, the introduction of emotionality runs contrary to professional ideals that promote expectations of objectivity and emotional detachment. Perhaps as a way to reconcile this contradiction, the ‘journalistic nerve’ that was relied upon was characterised by these journalists as a focused and professional process that incorporated their perception and judgment of the situation, and which meant that they were able to present events appropriately to an audience. Thus professionalism may be seen as the incorporation of an arsenal of learned behaviours and industry expectations that these journalists employed alongside their own experiences and feelings that together produced the ‘journalistic nerve’ they used to report. The present research demonstrates then how reporting during genocide reveals a reporting context wherein the struggle of facing the complexities and contradictions that are associated with reporting became amplified and even more discernable in such an extreme situation.

5.1 Emotional silencing and emotional labour

This section will demonstrate how the organisational culture of journalism placed expectations upon journalists that interacted with their professional identity. For
instance, expectations to remain emotionally detached and objective meant that journalists performed emotional labour in an effort to suppress their emotions whilst reporting in Rwanda and Srebrenica. This maintenance of emotions was an attempt to preserve their professionalism by avoiding negative emotional effects that might detract them from reporting. The culture of objectivity that underpins the industry of journalism was therefore reinforced through this use of emotional labour and as a result was encouraged through their response to industry expectations. As we have seen in Chapter 2, the social control that exists within the newsroom provides a meaningful perspective of the ways in which journalists become tacitly ‘socialised’ within their job role as part of a dynamic, interactional process (Breed, 1955; Deuze, 2005; Hopper & Huxford, 2015). Their professional identity is therefore constructed around the incorporation of certain ideal traits, such as objectivity and emotional detachment, that journalists are expected to strive for within their job role (Merritt, 1995; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001; Gentzkow et al 2006; Markham, 2011b). However, the process of reporting may not always be straightforward and instead can present a struggle for journalists that endeavour to meet organisational expectations that perhaps are not always so easily met once in the field.

5.1.1 The performance of emotional labour to maintain professionalism

The use of emotional labour to maintain professionalism came up during interviews with journalists that reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica. When participants spoke about reporting they maintained that they focused on their professional expectations and obligations, which meant that they tried to suppress emotions that might have detracted from this. This demonstrated these journalists’ negotiation of their professional role amidst the potential emotional toll that reporting during these events might have introduced and which could have detracted from their ability to report. As journalist 8 asserted, the importance lay in the focus on this professionalism ahead of anything else: “You’re there as a journalist and you’re not there as anything else so your whole life is being a journalist.” The job role itself played a significant part in their focus on reporting since, as Journalist CS stated, the task they were sent there
to do hinged upon this attentiveness to their professional identity: “This was what I was there to do. I was there to see the proof and supply” (original emphasis). Journalist 4 recalled how the professional resolve that s/he relied upon meant s/he was able to report during some incredibly horrific scenes: “Sure, if you saw a church full of bodies including babies and children, it was difficult to express the full horror in words but words are powerful – that was after all our job.” The work structure itself therefore proved useful in maintaining this professionalism during reporting. The constant focus on the reporting itself meant that Journalist ChB, for instance, explained how he was obsessed with his work and constantly preoccupied by the logistics of getting his copy out: “So my priorities were first of all to file copy in plenty of time, and secondly to ensure that I could operate in terms of things like food, accommodation, and thirdly always with a view to getting out. It was not my job to become one of the casualties.” Journalist DO similarly described this structured focus on the logistics of reporting itself: “Then I’ve got to write the story, then I’ve got to phone it out. So those are the things you’re thinking about. So you’re hugely focussed on the mechanics and the logistics.” Since both Rwanda and Srebrenica were fast-moving Journalist 12 recalled how it was possible to restrain emotional responses to what was taking place in favour of the structures, demands, and mechanics of reporting:

At the time, I was a young reporter on a big assignment, the adrenaline was high, the events were unfolding quickly, we worked long hours and, somehow, there was no time to stop and think about the horrors we were hearing… once the adrenaline kicks in on a really big story, it does de-humanize one, in the sense that the job comes first.

Journalist 13 reasoned that the intensity and time constraints of the situation itself meant that emotions were stifled because there was only time to focus on reporting: “But in a situation like that, you don’t think too much – you’ve got no time for it – because you know that you have to gather all the testimonies and information – and file the story.” The structured focus these participants took towards reporting in Rwanda and Srebrenica showed their attempt to suppress emotions so that they could maintain their professional identity and accomplish what they were sent there to do.
The pride that journalists felt in doing their job and reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica was also a consistent theme in discussions related to how emotions were managed in association with the obligation they had to show the world what was going on. As Journalist 10 explained, this element of professionalism meant knowing that one had done the best possible job reporting: “There is that professional obligation to do one’s work, to show up when you’re expected to, to deliver what you’re paid to deliver. And there is the professional pride around doing that as well as you can.” In interviews participants aligned this pride in their reporting with their intention to shine light on what was going on in Rwanda and Srebrenica for an audience that was unaware: “It’s your job. And you think that at least you’re not doing anybody any harm. And you’re probably doing some good. One was always pleased to be—well I was—pleased to be there and thinking I was doing something useful. It must not be allowed to fall out of public view” (Journalist CS). Journalist 4 showed how this professional pride extended into a conviction towards reporting: “We felt on the contrary that we had to write, film, report what was going on. We could not let the West pretend it was not happening and thereby avoid calling it a genocide and so on” (original emphasis). These findings correspond to research by Simpson & Boggs (1999) that found in interviews with journalists that they accept an unwritten code to report on events no matter what the emotional cost may be. Just as journalists focused on the work structure in an attempt to suppress their emotions towards the situation, so too was this conviction and professional pride towards reporting used in this way. For instance Journalist 13 recalled a scene in which a woman from Srebrenica had hanged herself. S/he described how the significance of telling this woman’s story overshadowed any emotions towards the situation:

Others were crying, yelling, sobbing. She decided to kill herself. The picture was spooky, almost. In early morning light, there was a body, almost levitating in the air, among the leaves. It looked as the ultimate act of desperation. But I remember that neither he [a colleague] nor I let our feelings show or take us over. I did not shed a tear, I sat by my computer, I started to write. Describe the scene, describe the background. I never tried to explain why she did it; we simply did not know. I just felt we needed to report about it.

The professionalism that surrounded their job therefore remained paramount to these journalists no matter what the situation and as such they strove to preserve it
consistently. The conviction they held towards reporting in Rwanda and Srebrenica, however, may reveal the possibility that the professionalism of these journalists and their emotions were not mutually exclusive but instead may have combined to form the emotional investment that they took towards the situation. In this way Journalist 13 explained that: “You write almost spontaneously – you know what you heard and saw and you have to tell it. It is probably a subconscious feeling that if as much people as possible know about it, something will be done to remedy it. To stop it. To let it never happen again.” In fact, Journalist 3 acknowledged how this conviction made it possible at times to stem the emotional toll of the situation: “And it is in part a sense of ‘I must tell the world what’s going on’, there is absolutely that, it’s a very important part of the picture in terms of the state of mind…I think that was probably a mitigator in terms of the likely toll” (original emphasis).

However, the emotional labour that these journalists performed as an attempt to suppress emotions in lieu of their professionalism proved to be difficult. Throughout interviews participants recalled instances during reporting in Rwanda and Srebrenica in which they found it difficult to stifle their emotions. This demonstrates part of the internal conflict journalists felt at times during their reporting. For instance, Journalist CaB recounted situations in which she had to struggle with balancing her emotions and her professionalism:

I mean, at the time we tried to do our job… and there’s definitely a case for you have to get on with it and not let your emotions to overwhelm you or you’re not going to get the reporting done… And in fact, you know, in the end the best thing to do is to keep reporting and keep doing your job to the best of your ability and kind of put these things to the side (original emphasis).

Participants acknowledged the empathy that they felt towards victims that they encountered and how hard this could make reporting. Nevertheless these journalists ultimately emphasised how they pushed through these situations and continued on with their work: “Of course, being from the region, I understood and possibly emphathised a bit more than my colleagues from the UK or USA but there was no time for emotions during the day” (Journalist 12). In their engagement with victims
these participants constantly had to manoeuvre through situations that questioned this ability to suppress emotions that they could not help but feeling. For instance, Journalist 13 recalled how even though s/he focused on being professional and was able to accomplish the reporting, s/he still felt horrified when faced with the testimony of victims:

It is, however, only natural, that you do feel for people torn in front of your eyes over their husband still missing, a woman telling you how another woman was raped or how she herself was raped… I remember feeling horrified, but at the same time remembering to keep my head cold and ask all the necessary questions… You instinctively suppress any emotions when you are working on a story because you have to get the story straight. It is your ratio working, not your heart. Your professionalism, not you as a person.

Participants therefore seemed to acknowledge the emotional landscape within which they work, though they remained steadfast in their professional role. As Journalist AnH admitted, this professional tenacity was not infallible and sometimes it was not possible to completely suppress these emotions, but one had to continue on: “And I would just remember thinking ‘what am I doing this for? What is that sort of 800 words of copy really about? And why am I risking my life?’ I don’t think one can actually think like that, one just gets on and does it.”

The performance of emotional labour by these journalists demonstrates, it might be suggested, the commodification of feelings by the industry of journalism, whereby emotions are negotiated, and manipulated in the workplace in order to accomplish the job and in doing so enhance profit for employers (Hochschild, 1979; 1983). This mirrors recent work in a variety of sectors in which employees also perform emotional labour outside of a strictly customer-service environment. For instance, nurses (Mann, 2005) and police officers (Martin, 1999) also find themselves in situations where they may find it difficult to restrain their emotions in the way that they are expected to as a professional. Nurses provide reassurance and care to patients, though they are also expected to suppress negative emotions that might inhibit their ability to care for more difficult patients (Mann, 2005). Police officers are similarly
expected to exercise emotional restraint but also may engage with victims of crime in situations where they provide comfort and compassion (Martin, 1999). Nonetheless journalism remains set apart from these two sectors since nurses and police officers are able to help individuals in their line of work: nurses care for the ill, whilst police officers look after civilians in aiding victims of crime. On the other hand, journalists are not expected to engage with the victims in the same way; in fact, they are not meant to ‘cross lines’ that would mean that their interaction with the victims may bias their work or place them in more danger. As we have seen, so too do journalists mimic this view in their interview responses: “I think it would be presumptuous, almost arrogant… of course you feel compassion. Yes you do feel compassion. I’m not cold-blooded… but does one feel anymore than a doctor? You tend the wounds, don’t you? We report the situation” (Journalist CS). Yet again this perpetuates the continuous struggle that these journalists had as they manoeuvred through their reporting.

5.1.2 The performance of emotional labour to emotionally survive and subsequently maintain professionalism

One manifestation of the performance of emotional labour by journalists in the present research, then, has been demonstrated as an attempt to suppress their emotions in order to maintain their professionalism whilst they reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica. Importantly, as well as relating to fulfilment of professional expectations, this manifestation of emotional labour also made it possible for them to emotionally survive the situation in which they found themselves. Journalism has an organisational culture that is based around implicit rules and which expects its journalists to learn the ropes primarily through experience. In the same way then that participants learned that emotional labour could maintain their professionalism, they may have also discovered it is a tool for emotional survival. This again demonstrates how these journalists mediated their professional role alongside the consideration of emotional effects that this reporting had on them. The process, as Journalist 12 described, therefore was almost subconscious: “There is probably, I never really
thought about this, some kind of subconscious psychological defence mechanism that just tells you to keep going and doing your job, while keeping the immediate emotional impact at a minimum.” Journalist 10 similarly explained how this process became second nature: “So it’s part of the professional approach that you figure out how to encounter such things and analyse them and report upon them without becoming emotionally crippled.” In this way s/he described this professional approach towards reporting as if it were physical tools from which to protect oneself from harm:

Your professionalism is actually a cloak and a shield and you need that. You need that professionalism because it’s what enables you to do your job and be in places that are unpleasant and see things that are unpleasant and behaviour that is really unpleasant, and tell other people about it (original emphasis).

By using emotional labour as a way to maintain their professionalism participants were able to actually continue functioning in a situation that was unceasingly awful for them to experience, as Journalist CaB similarly acknowledged: “At the end of the day when you’re in a situation that is so overwhelmingly awful that’s pretty much the only way you can continue to function. Just to kind of, keep writing or keep reporting” (original emphasis). For instance, Journalist 3 specified that through writing it was possible to balance his/her state of mind that was crucial in surviving the day-to-day horrors:

You’re there as somebody who has a structure, almost a structured day in this chaos... You pretty much have a routine that at the end of the day you write a story, you know so you’re not there as somebody who is wandering around... And for me that was terribly important, to be in a position where I knew there were certain things that were going to happen at the end of the day: that I was going to write a story, I had to crystallise my thoughts... Which I think was a very important outlet in terms of the capacity of the reporter as an individual to operate in a place in which people were tearing themselves or each other to pieces.

The actions of these journalists therefore continuously looped back to the importance of maintaining their professionalism, even in instances where they acknowledged this was a means for them to emotionally survive the situation itself. As Journalist 6
asserted: “It was impossible to report on what was happening without emotionally separating from it.”

The emotional labour performed by participants became a way then for these journalists to emotionally survive by circumventing the negative effects of the situation through their focus on the reporting. This mirrors work by McMahon (2001) that found journalists typically employed avoidance behaviours as a way to deal with traumatic events. Emotional labour made it possible, as Journalist AnH reasoned, to avoid questions that would second guess why she was there: “But I think you do [compartmentalise your emotions]. I remember at one stage being very frightened and thinking ‘what am I doing here? Why am I doing this? What is the point?’”

Likewise, Journalist 12 recalled the difficulty of being faced with victims that s/he could not help and how by managing emotions it was possible to move past this:

I felt sorry for them, for all of them, I kept wishing there was something I could do to help but could not think of anything other than doing my job, telling their story to the world. Faced with thousands of sobbing women who grieved the loss of their husbands of sons, I realized very quickly that it’s just enormous, like an ocean of emotion that could swallow you easily, if you poured your heart out to every grieving woman. So I, and most of my colleagues, had to detach myself. The only way the job can be done.

Journalist 3 explained how this made it possible to avoid becoming depressed and lost amidst the horror of what was witnessed each day:

So those situations where you have a structure and your day has a sort of structure to it in this utter chaos and this horror of the situation… And that’s very important as a way of keeping going in those situations so that you don’t get kind of lost, you don’t just get depressed essentially. And lose yourself (original emphasis).

Here then the performance of emotional labour can be a means to maintain emotional survival for these journalists. This manifestation of emotional labour demonstrates the multifaceted nature of emotion management that Bolton & Boyd (2003) argue towards in their research on airline employees. They disagree with Hochschild’s (1983) traditional concept of ‘emotional labour’ as they believe it
assumes too simplistically that employees’ emotions can become transmuted by the organisation to a point at which they cease to be their own. In the present research I seek to integrate Bolton & Boyd’s (2003) more active and multidimensional concept of emotion management, with the traditional concept of emotional labour in order to expand this original concept by Hochschild (1983) and apply it to journalists reporting on genocide. Taken together, we may then observe the way that journalists reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica may have used emotional labour as a way to avoid negative effects, not as a way to meet organisational demands alone, and perpetuates the fluidity of this complex emotion work.

5.1.3 Emotional silencing of journalists by their industry and themselves

The cumulative effort of emotional labour as a way for journalists to consistently maintain their professionalism, and in some instances also their emotional survival, corresponds to the work of Hopper & Huxford (2015). They suggest that the journalists in their sample engaged in a cognitive loop whereby performing their work allowed these journalists to suppress their emotions, and suppressing their emotions allowed them to perform their work. In the present research the performance of emotional labour was found to create a similar cognitive loop, one I argue specifically relies on the maintenance of the concept of professionalism for these journalists and which demonstrates the fluidity of this emotion management. Furthermore, this emphasis on professionalism that participants tried to maintain when they attempted to suppress their emotions demonstrates an emotional silencing of aspects of these journalists’ practice. This emotional silencing arose from two sources: the industry of journalism as well as the journalists themselves. Participants emulated this concept of emotional silencing in the way that they continuously identified their time reporting with their professionalism. In interviews journalists acknowledged the overwhelming emotional effect reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica could have on them and the long-term emotional wear and tear that could result from it. Nevertheless, participants maintained that these were ‘normal’ cumulative consequences of the job.
Journalist 10 explained this in regards to the way s/he was normalised to stress from reporting during the Bosnian War:

Any sort of war trauma impact had been absorbed in ’92 and by the time ’95 came along I was pretty seasoned and habituated to conflict related stress. You never don’t have work related stress so that was normal, that existed and it was stressful feeling you hadn’t done a good job, stressful feeling that you weren’t reporting it well, stressful that we weren’t ahead on the story and we were behind on the story (original emphasis).

Journalist 5 similarly downplayed the experiences of reporting during Rwanda and the negative effects it had on his/her psyche:

In the end you have nightmares about being chased through banana groves carrying my children in my armpit or finding myself dressed in a military uniform I don’t recognise or want to be in, with a bent gun. Standard. If you’d been in a car crash you’d have nightmares about it.

It appears then that these journalists did not consider themselves exemplary because of their ability to withstand reporting in these situations. Instead Journalist AiH reasoned that the effect of reporting on Rwanda is not much different to the experience one may have of any other tragic situation: “Scar tissue builds up so much that to an extent one doesn’t recall what there was beneath it once. But you don’t need a Rwanda to be scarred: the most mundane lives produce great pain and in a way at least I have an excuse.” In fact, Journalist 5 went so far as to argue that too much attention on the negative emotional effects of reporting serves no purpose other than to fetishise what is ‘normal’ in this line of work:

So yeah, I suppose cumulatively if you cover Africa and particularly through the 90s, you’re going to be exposed to a great deal of pretty significant horror, nothing more horrifying than the murder of a million people in three months. So that should leave you with profound questions and a good deal of scar tissue. I mean if you weren’t rattled by it then you’re a psychopath... I think we were all affected by it emotionally. Of course there was an emotional toll. As there should be. Sort of whining on about the emotional damage, there’s a sort of fetish... we seem to fetishize psychological trauma over physical trauma. PTSD is an extremely unpleasant injury but it’s very easily fixed, pretty much, if rapidly identified. And boo hoo, you covered a fucking genocide, what do you expect? I mean yeah did I have nightmares... but I also covered Syria. I went from Rwanda to Sierra Leone, Liberia, Bosnia. So yeah, in the end you end up pretty fucked up (original emphasis).
Whilst this journalist was in agreement that the experience of negative emotional effects is normal if not expected when reporting during genocide, s/he took it even further and disparaged the notion of psychological trauma that this might result in. As we will see in the next chapter, the admittance to experiencing emotional trauma carries a stigma with it in the industry of journalism that once again demonstrates the pressure of this industry and the emotional silencing it promotes.

The emotional silencing of these journalists demonstrates the complexities that surround the experiences of journalists who report from violent conflicts abroad and during which must cope with professional pressures that affect the way they are able to engage with their own emotions. Whilst their employers did not explicitly state to journalists that they had to suppress their emotions whilst reporting, there was an implicit expectation that shadowed their job role and which mirrors the objectivity and emotional detachment promoted by the industry. Feinstein (2006) explains how this reveals the way in which the industry of journalism consistently expects journalists to place their profession ahead of themselves and their own emotional experiences within their job role. Participants verbalised these expectations and perpetuated this emotional silencing as they disregarded the emotional toll in favour of the tunnel vision of ‘getting the story out’, as Journalist MW explained: “For me as a journalist when you’re on really big stories, that’s all that matters. I don’t really spend too long worrying about the effects on my psychology; I think the story, it sweeps you up with it. I don’t really go in for too much soul searching afterwards.” As a result, these journalists toed the line of this industry by asserting the normalcy of experiencing stress and negative effects whilst reporting. As Journalist ChB remarked: “If you had offered be counselling in 1995 I would probably have run a mile... But we used to have a joke at The Independent: how do you cope with all of the stress of this kind of thing? Answer: black humour and alcohol.”
Overall this section has explored those situations in which participants attempted to suppress their emotions through the use of emotional labour that enabled them to maintain their professionalism and try to adhere to organisational expectations of emotional detachment. The difficulty that these journalists had with this at times, however, reveals the struggle of reporting in extreme conflict situations. Nevertheless participants constantly referred back to the importance of their professionalism, demonstrating a manifestation of emotional labour in which they both internalise the emotional silencing of the industry as well as perpetuate it amongst themselves. The next section will further explore this interplay between these journalists and the organisational culture of journalism by looking at the approach they took when they reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica.

5.2 Negotiating journalistic ideals when reporting in Rwanda and Srebrenica

Whilst journalists in the present research constantly considered their professional obligations, this section will show that in the case of reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica these journalists relied heavily on their instinct and intuition. However, the introduction of emotionality runs counter to professional ideals that promote expectations of objectivity and emotional detachment. Perhaps as a way to reconcile this contradiction, the ‘journalistic nerve’ that was relied upon was characterised by these journalists as a focused and professional process that incorporated their perception and judgment of the situation, and which meant that they were able to present events appropriately to an audience. Thus even in this instance where the emotionality of reporting was discernable, participants were quick to return to the foundations of professionalism as we have already seen them do in the previous chapter. Here then we are able to witness how these journalists manoeuvred through this embedded journalistic culture as they reported. This makes it possible to see the contradictions that exist between how journalists are expected to report versus what their actual experiences might be during reporting.
5.2.1 Journalistic ideals of objectivity and emotional detachment

As we have already seen, journalistic ideals of objectivity and emotional detachment play an important role in the construction of journalists’ professional identity and their concept of what it means to be a journalist (Merritt, 1995; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001; Gentzkow et al, 2006). Participants explained how these ideals became instilled in them through years of experience. For instance, Journalist DO reflected on this tradition in British journalism that stressed the importance of collecting facts and providing balanced and objective information for its readership:

I think, you know, maybe in the grand old tradition of news reporting, and certainly in British news reporting in the 1950s and 1960s and on through the 70s as exemplified by the Times and The Daily Telegraph. A lot of reporting was... basically, the emphasis was on getting the facts and being objective and balanced.

Likewise, Journalist AiH described how the news organisation he worked for had certain standards of reporting that became instilled, which meant that as a collective him and his colleagues sought to uphold these professional ideals: “[Their] news standards were very high and I still feel our coverage sought always to be objective and professional.” Journalist 13 similarly described how the standards promoted by the news organisation s/he worked for encouraged the rationality that meant it was important to remain emotionally detached:

Since I was trained as a journalist [by the news organisation] the way I understand journalism was to be as impartial as you can. To be cold and rational wherever and whatever you are reporting, because you cannot and should not be overtaken by the emotions. Your duty is to report the truth.

For this reason it became a mark of these journalists that they should attempt to be objective in their reporting:

I think they [journalists] live a great deal of time with a lot of different people and they are by and large—especially foreign correspondents—an extremely
intelligent group of men and women who are very brave and have actually
devoted their lives to absorbing themselves into different places... trying to
remain objective, not to get too attached and emotional, but to report it accurately
(Journalist AnH).

This traditional organisational culture of objectivity and emotional detachment
demonstrates an influence on these journalists at the time of their reporting of
Rwanda and Srebrenica. The innate control of the newsroom thus featured in the
way that these journalists acknowledged this effect on their reporting and as a result
situates the organisational expectations participants faced whilst reporting.

However, discussions with journalists revealed the struggle these journalists faced
when trying to apply considerations of objectivity and its accompanying traits of
neutrality and impartiality to their reporting in Rwanda and Srebrenica. For instance,
remaining neutral in reporting and therefore proving a completely balanced account
of either side did not appear possible in their reporting of these events. Journalist 13
maintained that complete balance would have meant disregarding the guilt of certain
groups within this conflict situation: “I do not believe that a report can be or should be
so balanced as to blur the scope or, let’s face it, the guilt. It is true for both the war
zones and everyday reality.” Journalist 10 similarly asserted that balance towards
either side should not be expected during this reporting because the inequality that
existed between them was an important part of the situation that needed to be
reported:

This idea that somehow or another, because you give a quote from one side and
a quote from the other side, that somehow or other that’s you being objective.
You may be balancing good against evil by doing so, that’s not objective, it’s just
poor journalism. So I think I much prefer the word ‘impartial.’ That you’re not
taking a side in a political sense, but I think you can take a side in a human
sense. That you can have a human connection with people who are suffering
unnecessarily and that that suffering needs to be understood to exist and the
reasons for it existing need to be interrogated (original emphasis).
On the other hand, Journalist 9 disagreed with this and instead argued that in reporting s/he strived for objectivity not impartiality, as the latter would imply moral equivalence on both sides that did not exist there:

People make distinctions between objectivity and impartiality. How can you be impartial in a situation like that? You can be objective and say that these people really were killed and that there’s lots of evidence, but that’s different from being impartial. There doesn’t have to be an equal indictment of the other side…. And we’re not expected to be dispassionate when faced with such outrageous acts against humanity… don’t try and pose equivalence where there isn’t.

Journalist 11 vehemently argued that it was impossible to remain entirely neutral amidst the inequalities in these situations at that would have been inappropriate: "Whoever is neutral in these kinds of situations is either evil or crazy. Being neutral and being objective are two different things." Journalist 10 maintained, objective reporting would negate the fact that everyone has his or her own inherent biases towards the situation:

I think the whole idea that journalism can somehow be objective is just a misunderstanding of the word ‘objective.’ You can’t have objective journalism because we all have baggage and perspectives. It’s much better that you interrogate yourself and actually try to understand where you’re coming from and what your biases are and what your perspective is.

Likewise, Journalist 5 remarked that the mere notion of an ‘objective truth’ was unreasonable from the start: “I mean this notion of being objective—there is no such thing as objective truth unless you’re some kind of weird philosopher.” Furthermore, Journalist 6 reasoned that any expectation towards objective and neutral reporting negates the fact that journalists and other news staff are human beings: “I also believe that even the most seemingly neutral, objective reporting is rarely so because journalists and their editors are human beings and much is said by the choice of what is reported and what is left out.” Instead, Journalist 13 emphasised what s/he regarded as the very human aspect of reporting that was important in this reporting because it meant putting blame on those who instigated these situations:

As humans, I believe that we should abide to what Elie Wiesel said: ‘We must always take sides. Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence
encourages the tormentor, never the tormented.’ As journalists, we are obliged not to be silent; to point a finger at what’s wrong or who is wrong or bad. You have to expose the truth and you will not do it by forcing a false balance. In reporting from the war zones, I also learned one thing: There are no innocent sides. There are no completely ‘good’ or ‘bad’ sides. But there is a more good or more bad side. Or, better said, there is always a victim and the perpetrator at least in one event that you are covering. And there must be a clear distinction between them... In regard to the fall of Srebrenica, it was clear that the Muslims were victims and the Bosnian Serb soldiers – or at least some of them – were the perpetrators.

This disagreement amongst the participants demonstrates the struggle they had when they attempted to apply these traditional concepts of objectivity and detachment to their reporting of Rwanda and Srebrenica. This complements other research that has also shown the issues associated with maintaining objectivity in reporting, such as the reflections of these difficulties that journalists that reported during war brought up in research done by Tumber (2006). More recently Skovsgaard et al (2013) also found in a survey amongst Danish journalists that even though the concept of objectivity was supported within their organisational discourse, it was not a uniform concept and instead was shaped individually amongst the journalists. Likewise, Donsbach & Klett (1993) found that the concept of objectivity differed not only between journalists of different political convictions and ages, but also between different countries, which demonstrates the difficulty of defining and applying this concept consistently.

Regardless of the way in which participants strived to meet organisational expectations that promoted objectivity in their reporting, there was an overall agreement amongst journalists that it was impossible to completely distance oneself from the scenes they witnessed during these genocides because even as journalists they are only human. This coincides with past research done by Richards & Rees (2011) that found in interviews with British journalists that professional norms of objectivity and detachment within the industry of journalism at times exist at odds with the emotional engagement that journalists might have whilst reporting. Similarly Willis (2010) found that the notion of objectivity in journalists acts more as a spectrum
that journalists strive to attain in-line with the organisational expectations placed upon them, but which they typically fall short of due to situational demands. In fact, Dworznik (2006) has suggested that based on the way that US television reporters and photographers described their experiences of reporting there remains a probability that they are not detached from their emotions as they claimed to be or might be expected to be within their job role. Instead journalists may internalise these organisational expectations and then apply them to their reporting (Cottle, 2000).

5.2.2 Journalists’ reliance on instinct and intuition

Akin to the notion that journalists exist as critical interpreters (Deuze, 2005) the majority of participants described how their reporting of Rwanda and Srebrenica hinged on describing the scenes as they saw them, even amidst the emotional attachment they may have felt towards events. For instance, Journalist CS explained that writing the scenes of the genocide as he saw them meant that he stayed true and accurate to what he witnessed for his audience even whilst he felt an emotional connection to these scenes: “When I see a church full of bodies? Children, women, hacked. Of course you have attachment, I would agree that you should [have attachment]… but I wrote what I saw” (original emphasis). Journalist LH maintained that describing these emotive scenes for an audience as they happened did not mean that she promoted a certain attachment for the audience: “I think that you should have a journalism of finding out what’s going on and making judgments… I don’t think it’s a journalism of attachment to try and bring out the horror and emotion of the situation” (original emphasis). In fact, Journalist 7 explained that s/he was actually able to communicate to an audience the innate inequality between the two sides just by presenting the events as they unfolded:

I was lucky, in a sense, because the numbers of facts were so overwhelming: that 7,000 men and boys had been lined up and executed in mass graves… So by just presenting the facts I could convey that clearly one side of the conflict acted terribly, the other wasn’t the kind of equivalence.
In this way participants reported on events by taking into consideration their intuition and instinct towards the situation and in that way they determined the most appropriate way to convey the events to an audience. Journalist 13 described this inborn process of reporting as instinctual, as one’s ‘journalistic nerve’: “At the time, I was driven only by a journalistic nerve: The war was going on in front of our eyes and I felt it was my obligation to report about it as impartially as possible.” Thus Journalist DO explained how his reporting was done almost unconsciously: “As a journalist I often used to think that sometimes the phrases chose you, not that you chose them. That you get so inside the situation and the words would just appear… and you’d think ‘okay, that’s the way I’m going to do it.’” This journalist asserted that reporting during Rwanda differed then from the traditional ‘balanced’ reporting of decades prior because of this emphasis on the intuition of the situation itself:

I think by the time the Rwandan genocide came along, and certainly in The Independent, the newspaper in which I was writing, that prided itself very much on... giving something extra that wasn’t just straightforward, ‘balanced’ news reporting... a bit of perspective... And you know, it was such an extreme situation, just to have done, sort of, on one hand a), on another hand b), and then we went and saw c), and d). It was too momentous to just treat it like that (original emphasis).

For instance, Journalist CS described the instinctive way that he approached the situation between the Hutus and Tutsis: “Did I wander around thinking you know, I hadn’t had the Hutu response to this, maybe they’ll tell me it’s all an internal fight... It never occurred to me. And rightly so. My common sense told me that this is what had happened.” Participants demonstrated the way in which their reporting in Rwanda and Srebrenica became an amalgamation of the awareness of organisational expectations placed on them, and their own experience and knowledge of previous reporting in different situations. Instead of blindly abiding by certain implicit ‘rules’ of what type of reporting they should be doing, these journalists relied on the instincts that they had honed over years of reporting and which were developed through their understanding of what it means to be a journalist and how this could be applied in different settings. This coincides with previous work done by Cottle (2000) that maintains that journalists themselves decide how they want to
apply objectivity to their reporting. As Journalist 3 explained: “You can’t learn how to be a foreign correspondent in those places [newsrooms] you have to just do it and hope for the best. And rely on your instincts to sort of see you through, which is what I’d done for five years or four years by then.”

Amongst some journalists it was clear that this intuitive type of reporting resulted from their augmentation of what was expected of them in the field with what they deemed the appropriate way to report on events, all gleaned from their own experience in different types of scenarios. This coincides with findings by Plaisance & Skewes (2003) that suggest that certain principles of reporting are influenced by the socialisation and environment of their industry, whereas other principles stem from experiences on-the-job and personal philosophies towards reporting. For instance, Journalist 4 explained the way that reporting in Rwanda stemmed from his/her own perception of the situation:

I was brought up with the idea of balance in reporting but if one sought to balance what was taking place in Rwanda, i.e. give the Interahamwe equal weight, you were by default not portraying what was happening accurately... Simply put, there was good and evil at work in Rwanda in 1994 and you had to take the side of the wronged or you were as I said earlier effectively mis-reporting it. Concepts such as balance clearly only work when certain fundamental values are respected... This was done ‘instinctively’, I believe. No one sat down and said OK let’s report this differently. It just happened (original emphasis).

Likewise, Journalist DO reasoned that Rwanda was a story that was intuitively very clear for those reporting on it: “I don’t think there was ever any doubt in anyone’s mind that this was a story of good versus evil... I think it was very clear in our minds where right lay and where wrong lay. I would say it was pretty defined” (original emphasis). Likewise, Journalist 3 explained the way that newsroom politics affected his/her time reporting in Rwanda because of the contradictions that were relayed in relation to how his/her reporting should be done, in comparison to how s/he viewed the situation:

The pressure from 3,000 miles away in London was building. The pressure to act in a way which was totally inconsistent with everything I’d learned, frankly,
that I’d taught myself… To be told by outsiders—people who’d never done it themselves, people who were subject to all sorts of pressures within their own offices, people who were perhaps being criticised by others within the office for this that or the other and all sorts of stuff going on (original emphasis).

Journalist 5 also fervently argued against the notion that these situations could be presented as balanced and equalised when they were anything but and the reporting should instead be done with the belief in one’s own perspective:

Well there’s a lot of really, really puerile journalist theory… that treats it as fucking ping-pong. As though there is no truth. The absolute fucking truth is that a million people were murdered systematically in an organised genocide by some really bad people. That’s not taking sides, that’s telling the truth. It’s as simple as that... One of the advantages of being a foreign correspondent is that you know what you see to be true and then you report it (original emphasis).

Respondents therefore acknowledged the part played by their own feelings and intuitions in being able to instinctively know how the story of Rwanda and Srebrenica should be told; this was not something they could be taught, but instead they had to feel through their experience. These testimonies correspond to previous research (Breed, 1955; Aldridge & Evetts, 2003; Deuze, 2005) that has expressed how journalists rely on experience in the way that they learn to report. For instance, Journalist 8 explained how s/he learned by being there on-the-ground and talking to people since it was impossible to learn any other way:

It’s much less complicated when you’re there. You learn. And you just go and talk to people. I used to imagine when I was first a correspondent that there was someone somewhere who had all of these printed sources of material they could read and then I realised that didn’t exist.

As Journalist CaB explained, these traditional journalistic ‘rules’ may not have had a place during such extraordinary events: “And sometimes I think your own judgments should take precedence… we have these rules and for very good reason, to kind of make sure you don’t report inaccurately, but maybe sometimes… you should respond to situations that are so unusual.” In fact, Journalist 14 asserted that the imposition of ‘balance’ on a situation like Srebrenica was much more dangerous than allowing journalists to make instinctual judgments of the situation:
No, I'm not a rock. Am I subjective? I'm sure I am, I’m full of impulses and opinions and prejudices the same as anyone else. But do I try and keep common sense around all of that? Yes I do. Does that preclude me from making judgment or covering stories? No it doesn't. And nor should it. I don't think journalists should feel restricted from casting opinion or picking out a moral judgment in a scenario. Otherwise one goes to every massacre site and says, 'oh, what we don't know is that the guys who did this suffered themselves somewhere else.' Then it gets into a very dangerous sort of altering moral equivalence which is never really going anywhere… I think it's inevitable that there will be some sort of moral judgment or opinion particularly in somewhere like Bosnia where there’s a right and wrong; where clearly there’s a side that are very obviously the perpetrators and another side who are, to a greater or lesser extent, the victims… So it wasn't a war of equals, no.

Journalist LH also argued passionately that her ability to empathise with victims did not detract from her ability to report since it was important to feel something for these people in order to be able to write their story:

Why should you detach emotionally from the victims? Especially since some were my friends. You know, my driver was killed. I was not detached emotionally from that… Of course you feel huge sympathy and pity and distress, otherwise you’re not a human being. That doesn’t mean that you’re overcome by it and you can’t write in a comprehensible and reasonable way. But if you have no empathy for the victims in a situation like that, then you shouldn’t be a journalist. You should be an accountant (original emphasis).

Participants considered the situation they experienced in Rwanda and Srebrenica one that relied more heavily on their own gut feelings than just the traditions of journalism. As Journalist 9 admitted: “So if I had a regret about the first thing it’s that I put that in, because you put all sides of the story and if I have one regret it’s that I did put all sides. Because this was mass murder and everything else is insignificant.” This demonstrates a manifestation of emotional labour in which these journalists trusted their feelings towards the situation, though they maintained that they did so in a focused and professionally appropriate way.

Even though participants relied upon their instinct and intuition when reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica they made sure that they did not use this as a way to campaign for one side over the other. For Journalist 13 this meant that not becoming
involved with the wider politics that existed around the event, but to simply report on events as they occurred: “I wasn’t an analyst, I wasn’t somebody who had a political agenda. I was a reporter, that was my role”; “I wasn’t writing a political analysis. I wasn’t taking sides. I was not charged with explaining ‘the big picture’ of the war. I was there to report.” Journalist 3 emphasised the importance of writing that would serve to inform the reader and allow them to come to their own view of events: “My approach then to reporting was to be very careful always with the language I used. I wanted people to make up their own minds and I see that as the role of a newspaper or the role of any media.” The notion of a campaigning journalists instead seemed to tread on dangerous ground, as Journalist CaB warned: “I think the danger is if you’re a campaigning journalist you might be on the wrong side of the campaign too one day” (original emphasis). This distaste for campaigning journalism shows the professional integrity participants had towards their reporting and staying in line with what being a journalist entailed. These journalists therefore seemed to trust their own instinct and intuition in situations like Rwanda and Srebrenica and with that they trusted their ability to recognise their own subjectivities and not allow them to prejudice their reporting. For instance, Journalist 14 recognised that s/he employed a common sense approach to reporting in Srebrenica that meant s/he was aware of his/her subjectivities and thus did not let them affect the accuracy of reporting:

> Usually I’ve got what I like to think is quite a common sense approach to reporting, I mean, what’s objective and what isn’t. I am subjective but I try and go out to any news story with a common sense awareness of my potential subjectivity and where I might be influenced by various factors. But I don’t think that that precludes one from making a moral judgment or opinion.

Testimonies in the present research showed the high standard to which respondents held their reporting by showing the importance that they placed on telling the audience an accurate depiction of events based on the confidence they had in their own journalistic intuition and instinct. It appears from these discussions then that in such extreme and unusual events as reporting on genocide, respondents favoured their own feelings and perceptions of the situation to lead them. Perhaps then this opens the possibility for journalists’ reliance on their reactions and feelings towards
these unique situations as a demonstration of the emotionality that may be inherent in their work and which then may roll over into their reportage.

This chapter has demonstrated how journalists performed emotional labour as a way to meet organisational expectations, and in doing so maintained their professionalism whilst reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica. This sense of professionalism and their ability to accomplish the reporting was paramount. Participants acknowledged that they tried to suppress the emotions they felt towards the situation because it would have been too overwhelming and ultimately detracted from their ability to report. This shows the professional tenacity of these journalists as well as the circular nature of emotional labour, which always loops back to preserving their professionalism. This reveals the allegiance these journalists have to the organisational expectations placed upon them. As a result then it is not only the industry of journalism that participates in emotionally silencing journalists; the silencing comes from themselves as well, as a way to safeguard their professional identity. In interviews these journalists mimicked the embedded rules they came to learn and which were associated with their job: concepts of balance, neutrality, impartiality, and objectivity. They described the ways in which they strove to apply these ideals to their reporting. However, when discussing the approach they took to reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica these concepts were not easily definable or applicable. Instead journalists explained how the complexities of these situations meant that they relied upon their own instinct and intuition to determine how they should report. This choice to report based on intuition and instinct related to these events shows the interplay between the professional expectations placed upon these journalists and what their own experience of the reporting ended up as, demonstrating the complexities inherent within the process of reporting. Thus, it seems that as much as the socialisation of the newsroom acted as an embedded and strong pressure on these journalists, during reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica the most important metre for depicting events came from within. This warrants further discussion in the next chapter as to the possibility that these journalists’ use of instinct and intuition may have been a way of incorporating their emotionality into their reporting, albeit in a
measured and professional way. The next chapter will extend this notion by examining the emotional discourse that featured in the reporting of Rwanda and Srebrenica, as well as discussing the emotional after-effects journalists experienced once they were done with reporting.
Chapter 6  Emotional investment in reporting and the onset of later emotional trauma

In the previous chapter we saw the way in which journalists managed their emotions as a means to maintain their professionalism and consequently observe the emotional silencing of an industry that promotes objectivity and emotional detachment in its journalists. However, this emotional labour on the part of journalists was found to be much more complex and even contradictory in its use. Participants acknowledged the emotions that they felt towards the events that unfolded and admitted that at times these emotions were overwhelming, which showed that the emotional silencing of these journalists was not absolute. The negotiation of emotion instead became a ‘balancing act’ for these individuals in much the same way as it did for those journalists involved in Hopper & Huxford’s (2015) study. Thus the professionalism of these journalists and their emotions were not mutually exclusive but instead may have combined to form a sense of emotional investment towards the situation. This emotional investment could be further seen in the way that these journalists relied on their instinct, or ‘journalistic nerve’, when reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica. In describing their reporting this way further complexities and contradictions of reporting were exposed that introduced the possibility that a further sense of emotionality was at play, that which formed part of this ‘instinct’ towards how one reported. The concept of professionalism may then be more multifaceted than traditions of objectivity and emotional detachment and instead incorporate the emotionality that plays a role in this struggle for journalists as they report.

Chapter 6 will extend previous discussions that contemplated the emotional investment that these journalists may have taken in their reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica by further analysing their use of emotional labour both during and after reporting. For instance, the emotional discourse that featured in those newspaper articles that were chosen for the discourse analysis demonstrates another instance in
which the inherent emotionality of reporting can be discerned. Here journalists may have outsourced their own emotion by the attribution of an emotional discourse to the victims’ experiences that provided an emotional engagement with the audience through this discourse. Providing an emotional link for the audience so that they felt connected to the victims and their suffering may have served as a way to increase interest and consequently provide profit for the news organisations that published these articles. However, I will argue that instead this emotional connection may have been a way for these journalists to promote interest and action towards these events by the audience and thus extend this thread of emotionality that we saw previously introduced in the way that these journalists relied on their instinct when reporting on events. For example, this chapter will demonstrate how journalists from Rwanda appeared to use this emotional discourse as a way to induce the attention of the audience towards the plight of victims that might encourage some type of intervention to stop to the violence. On the other hand, journalists from Srebrenica appeared to use this emotional discourse as a way to expose an audience to the shame and failure afforded to the UN and other global powers for their inability to help the victims. The emotional discourse that is attributed to the victims in each of these cases may then demonstrate yet another instance of emotional investment by these journalists in their reporting.

This emotional investment exists as a common thread in each of the ways that these journalists express emotional labour and it will be discernible here as we witness how reporting affected these individuals in the long-term. As a result of their continued use of emotional labour these journalists experienced emotional dissonance caused by the disparity between the expectation that they were to remain emotionally silent in suppressing their emotions, and the spontaneous emotions that they felt towards the events that unfolded. We saw in Chapter 5 that there were instances in which journalists found it difficult to mediate this struggle between what was expected of them and their experiences of the situation itself. Whilst these journalists seemed to have endured this emotional dissonance at the time of reporting through their management of emotions, the culmination of this struggle was that they ultimately
experienced burnout in the long-term. The collective incidence of burnout exhibited by these journalists reveals the emotional trauma experienced by these individuals and consequently reveals the continued struggle that is encountered as a result of managing one’s emotions. This struggle extended far beyond reporting, into the personal lives of these individuals and also into their professional lives. The stigma associated with emotional trauma in the industry of journalism prolonged the negative emotional effects these individuals have had to endure in the way that the admittance to trauma symptoms are discouraged. As a result it is possible to circle back to the emotional silencing perpetuated by the industry that we have seen, which is also demonstrated here in the way that these journalists learned not to divulge instances of emotional trauma if they wanted to continue on in their professional role as a journalist.

### 6.1 The use of emotions in reportage

Although we have seen the way in which journalists many times managed and even suppressed their emotions in order to report, in interviews they also explained how emotions were used in reporting as a way to connect the audience with the victims’ suffering. In this way the emotions that featured in their reportage was ascribed in no way to themselves, but to the victims alone. However, I propose that, in some cases, the emotional discourse journalists used in their reportage may also have functioned as an outsourcing of the journalists’ own emotions. This section will examine more in-depth the reporting of Rwanda and Srebrenica through an examination of produced text in the form of newspaper articles written on the events, alongside interviews with participants. It will explore the emotional engagement journalists had with the victims as they reported and how this may have manifested itself into the way that these journalists outsourced their own feelings by the attribution of an emotional discourse to the victims’ experiences that provided a connection with the audience: as in Rwanda, an attempt to persuade the world to care; or as in Srebrenica, an attempt to show the failure of the world to help. This notion of
outsourcing emotions extends the thread of emotionality that we introduced in the previous chapter and therefore reveals once again the contradiction between what is sometimes expected of journalists and what they actually experience whilst reporting.

6.1.1 Journalists’ outsourcing of emotion

Whilst the inclusion of any sort of emotionality within reporting may seem to run contrary to professional ideals of objectivity, journalists in the present research explained how important it was to use the reporting of events as a way to emotionally connect the audience to the situation. This was demonstrated in the emotional discourse that featured in the sample of newspaper articles in the discourse analysis. Past research has shown that the use of emotion within news narratives is done in order to provide the audience with an emotional attachment to events (Grabe & Zhou, 2003; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012; 2013). In interviews journalists from both case studies echoed the significance of using their reporting of the situation since, as Journalist 4 explained, their only opportunity to help victims came from this:

It is called professionalism – it was our job to report and we took it very seriously… we knew it was a big story and would need to be told. That is what we were there for. However later as the killings became more evident we felt more like we were on some sort of moral crusade. Our only way of helping victims as such was to get the story out.

As Journalist 11 asserted: “The people I met and talked to were the focus of all of my interest and thoughts and my only vision of how to move forward from there was to help get this story out and reveal what happened.” This attempt to connect the audience through the stories of the victims provided an opportunity for the audience to become engaged and affected by their reporting and therefore highlighted the experiences these journalists had with the victims. However, participants remained adamant that this emotional discourse was not related to their own emotions. They explained the way that reporting was done from a distance so that the attention was remained on the victims since it was their story. As Journalist 9 remarked: “I think on the whole people don’t want to hear about you the journalist, you get out of the way.”
Likewise, Journalist DO explained that this allowed him to distinguish the experiences of the victims as distinct from his own: “A part of you is outside it all, you know, you’re not living inside it as a victim... you’re slightly divorced from it all” (original emphasis). In addition, journalists were not targets of the violence like the victims were, as Journalist 3 explained:

And also in a sense—and this is probably something which is even more difficult to work out—that feeling of being in a place but not being part of it. Being in a place and not being a target. Not being one of the people who was likely to suffer, literally to suffer, to be killed or to be mutilated in some way (original emphasis).

Journalists made it clear that the victims of the genocide were the ‘true’ victims that directly experienced the violence, as opposed to their own outsider role of observing and reporting events as they happened. By distancing themselves in this way, journalist 8 agreed that the personal experience and emotions one had in this outsider role were compartmentalised so that the focus remained on the victims: “Yeah you did [compartmentalise]. The introspection came afterwards. It was all about them.”

The way that these journalists placed the victims’ emotions ahead of their own mirrors the ethical reporting that Simpson et al (2013) refer to, in which journalists must make constant decisions in the field so that they approach victims in a way that prioritises their suffering in a humane and respectful manner. This corresponds once again to notions of professionalism that the expectation placed upon journalists is to focus on getting the story out, not to be caught up in the story itself. These journalists placed an emotional distance between themselves and the victims that became part of their professional arsenal during reporting. This provides a further example of the way in which journalists in Hopper & Huxford’s (2015) study discussed the constant balancing of emotions that was needed in order to maintain this emotional distance in order to do the reporting. In the present research this management of emotion can be seen as Journalist CaB stated: “I think as a print reporter you’re kind of encouraged to be objective... And to not become part of the
story. To allow other people's emotions to come through, not your own” (original emphasis). This meant participants consistently stressed that any emotional toll they may have felt was incomparable to that of the victims. Anything other than this would be self-indulgent, as Journalist AiH explained: “The people we wrote about were going through all of this. It was their world and we were observing them. Whatever we feel about our experiences the stakes were so much higher for them and the memories and consequences are too.” Journalist 10 even went so far as to say that his/her personal experience reporting did not even beg discussion when considering the victims:

I don’t talk about it to people because I don’t want to. It’s not something that weighed in a measure against the emotional toll of somebody who had their family killed in Srebrenica—it’s insignificant and it can appear self-indulgent... So it’s not something I broadcast, it’s not something I want to make a big deal out of. Because it’s individual and I just need to process it myself and I don’t think it’s something that is necessary. I’m not an attention seeking person for that type of thing.

As outsiders that were placed in this situation for a specific professional purpose, participants deemed it inappropriate to compare their experiences in any way to the victims since as Journalist 14 asserted, this would have been patronising:

I’m not going to try and pretend that I could reach to the emotional plight of what they suffered, I never suffered something like that myself, so I didn’t feel I had to patronise them by saying I shared their pain when I clearly didn’t. It didn’t mean I didn’t understand it or that I couldn’t do a good job as a journalist... I remember being moved by these two little kids and their plight. I’m very defensive about trying to say that the pain of the people in Srebrenica was in any way my pain because it absolutely fucking wasn’t! It just wasn’t... It wasn’t the case then and it isn’t now (original emphasis).

Participants knew that their existence amidst these situations was only temporary which meant that their experiences did not at all carry the same weight as the victims, since as this same journalist later recollected: “I lived in Bosnia, as a foreigner, I could leave at any stage that I wanted.”
Whilst it may appear from the testimonies of journalists that they were able to completely remove their own emotions from their reporting to focus solely on the victims, we have seen how complicated reporting in these situations was. Journalist 1 demonstrated this complexity when s/he explained the importance of providing the audience a connection to the victims’ experiences through their emotions, but at the same time still acknowledged that his/her own feelings at times inadvertently became a part of this:

I write much more fact and—not my own emotion—but the enormity, the importance of it… what it feels like. So, try and give the reader a sense of what it feels like to be there. But it’s not about me. I do occasionally use ‘I’ when that’s the only way to do it. But I think you’ve got to take the reader to what you’re seeing and without ramming it down their throat, what you’re feeling as well. What you’re feeling isn’t as important as what the people around you are feeling because you’re not part of it. But trying to get a sense of the feeling of the people (original emphasis).

This reveals the emotional investment these journalists may have had in their reporting. For instance, Journalist DO explained how his emotions became channelled into the process of reporting and writing as a way to frame the situation for the reader:

You’re thinking wow what do I feel and how can I put this into words, and how can I describe it. But… it’s a professional process. You’re thinking ‘how can I make this work to do a good job and get that story out, and really convey what’s going on here.’ You’re not really thinking about your own emotions, in terms of ‘wow, what am I feeling, in myself?’ It’s like, how can I use this to, as an experience, how can I convey it? The emotion is very, definitely channelled and compartmentalised (original emphasis).

More specifically, Journalist 9 recalled this interplay of emotions between what s/he felt for the victims, alongside how the victims themselves felt, in order to demonstrate the intensity of the grief of the surviving victims as powerfully as possible for the audience:

I think the most traumatising is that you feel the grief, the very live and immediate and raw grief. Bodies on the ground is one thing but people who loved those people and the enormity of the loss when you’re amongst survivors... So you
wanted to try to write it in a way to try to evoke the pain of what these people were feeling. It was all very emotional.

The use of emotional discourse therefore reveals a further complexity associated with reporting, whereby journalists incorporated the use of emotions in their reportage at the same time that they attempted to suppress their own emotions towards events. This seemingly contradictory situation introduces yet another instance of the emotional investment these journalists may have had in their reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica. Here the emotional expression used in this reporting may have been a product of the outsourcing of journalists' emotions through yet another expression of the use of emotional labour. This coincides with recent work by Wahl-Jorgensen (2012; 2013) that asserts that journalists outsource emotional labour through a strategic ritual of emotionality whereby they include the emotions of the key players in a situation in their reporting as a way to emotionally engage with the audience. Reporting is therefore imbued with emotional expression that may seem to run contrary to journalistic objectivity, but instead this emotionality is deemed acceptable because it is attributed to those individuals who, as part of the story, are allowed to show their emotions. This allows journalists the opportunity then to include emotional expression in their reporting in a focused and disciplined way that will emotionally resonate with an audience. This reflects how Steinberg & Figart (1999) describe emotional labour as not only related to maintaining one's own emotions, but also being able to produce an emotional state in others. Journalist 6 embodied this perfectly when s/he explained the way journalists used the emotions of victims as a way to connect with the audience, whilst at the same time they utilised their own emotional capacity:

The power of a journalist is in reporting that can galvanise audiences, politicians and others into the kind of action that could end wars and bring perpetrators to justice. To report requires a distancing, conveying the realities in a way that can press emotional buttons in others. Pressing those emotional buttons cannot be done without calling on one's own emotional capacity—but it is a capacity that has to be frozen in oneself while reporting.

Through their testimonies participants revealed the interplay between themselves, the victims, and the audience that ultimately constructed the emotional discourse
they utilised within their reporting. This interplay may then demonstrate the outsourcing of journalists’ emotions through those of the victims, so that these journalists emotionally connected an audience in the hopes that they became engaged in the situation. The inclusion of emotionality in reporting at the same time that emotionality was silenced within these journalists so that they were able to report shows yet again the complexity of reporting. Alongside interviews with journalists from the present research, the next section will examine the emotional discourse utilised in the reporting from Rwanda and Srebrenica, each in turn, in order to further explore this complexity seen in the possible outsourcing of their emotion.

6.1.2 Rwanda: an attempt to persuade the world to care?

Newspaper articles in the present research appear to have represented the victims of Rwanda in such a way that endeavoured to entice the attention of an audience that might have been persuaded to get involved to end the violence. Since journalists were able to report from the onset of the genocide, depictions of the victims in their articles encompassed eyewitness testimonies of survivors as well as descriptions of the deceased. These victims seemed to be represented by journalists in a way that sought to galvanise attention and action towards their situation: survivors were humanised and relatable, whilst the dead served as a testament to the violent fate of many. These representations therefore reveal the possibility that journalists incorporated this emotional discourse as a way to emphasise the need for action from an audience that could have stopped the horror and saved the remaining survivors from the gruesome fate that many had already met.

The disregard for news from Africa by UK news organisations in the 1990s meant that some journalists had to fight to cover Rwanda. For example, Journalist 3 faced obstacles with the two news organisations s/he was reporting for: “I was in a position of encouragement from [one news organisation], [which] was kind of compensating for the very discouraging and disparaging signs coming from Floor 4 of the building.”
Journalist CaB similarly recalled colleagues who also encountered problems trying to report on Rwanda: “I had other colleagues who had to fight their own battles, they were mostly fighting them with their desks.” As a result of these difficulties, journalists placed a lot of significance on being there for the brunt of the genocide; they constructed a sort of hierarchy amongst themselves that culminated in a sense of ownership for the story. This ownership encompassed their ability to witness these events in Rwanda, a country that few people had seen first-hand. Journalist DO expertly explained these feelings of ownership when he heard about the plane crash that initiated the genocide in Rwanda:

The advantage travelling to Africa as a freelancer as I saw it was that not many people, not many journalists covered that area. There were lots of little underreported stories going on… In 1993 I made my first trip to Rwanda. And no one new where Rwanda was, I say that because no one had ever really heard of it… It made for good stories, at a certain level, about saying ‘look what’s going on in this dark corner of Africa.’ So, for a freelancer it kind of worked. There weren’t too many other reporters there... When I first heard of the Rwandan genocide I was in Croatia doing a story. I heard it on the radio. And I thought, ‘that’s my story.’ Because no one had been there. No one I knew had been there. And people say ‘Rwanda, where’s that?’ God. And so I thought, I need to be there, that’s my story, I’ve been there and I sort of own that story somehow. Because I’d been there before anyone else that I knew, any other journalists. Well that’s the way it felt… there had been a few others of course (original emphasis).

This same journalist also described how this ownership was most felt in instances where he was the first to witness certain events:

So if you’re going somewhere and, you know, you see dead bodies, or you come on a village soon after a massacre, or something... that’s your story. And if you’ve got there first or you’re one of the first persons to see it, then there it is, that’s your story (original emphasis).

These journalists therefore distinguished themselves from those journalists that landed in Rwanda much later on, when the majority of the killings had already occurred. As Journalist CaB explained: “You also grow annoyed that people are coming in late in the game and kind of characterising it in a way that you don’t feel is true to what happened or what’s happening. You grow indignant with something like that” (original emphasis). Likewise, Journalist LH criticised the way that many of these latecomers ended up incorrectly characterising certain people as victims who
had actually taken part in the killings: “There were whole articles that were written that said that those people were victims of genocide… the most unbelievably egregious journalism made. Yeah but I mean, there was terrible, really really terrible shit written. Just like wrong” (original emphasis). The importance that these journalists placed with being there, unlike others, demonstrates a sense of emotional investment towards their reporting. Journalist LH explained her unique situation as the only foreign correspondent on the ground in Rwanda at the time of the genocide and how this separated her from other journalists who had not made it into the country yet:

I was the only English-speaking journalist living in Rwanda at the time… I took a temporary job working with the UN Children’s Fund in Rwanda in February 1994 so I was really the only foreign correspondent… But I mean the difference between me and the others was that I was very much on my own for the first week, in that week (original emphasis).

Throughout other interviews this hierarchy amongst the journalists in Rwanda revealed the interpersonal politics that existed between journalists that arose during this situation. The politics between these journalists even went so far that participants branded certain journalists that also claimed to have been there from the start as ‘bullshitters.’ Journalist 5 argued that some people tended to overstate their presence in Rwanda as a way of managing their own professional identity:

But that’s an interesting psychological thing: people feel the need to exaggerate their [presence]… this was such a big historical event that if you were an African correspondent and you somehow missed it—which a lot did, a lot of media organisations sent [correspondents] into the aftermath but very few invested heavily in terms of personnel on the ground. And it was predominately—I mean I can pretty much name them individually, there were a handful (original emphasis).

Clearly the disinterest by news organisations towards certain events in Africa, particularly the Rwandan genocide, meant that the journalists in the present research felt they had to take initiative and in many cases fought to be able to report on the story— their story. This sense of ownership demonstrates an emotional investment in the story that these journalists may have used in order to describe the victims and their plight to an audience in such a way that it would no longer be ignored.
The emotional discourse featured in articles from Rwanda seemed to portray the victims in a way that sought to emotionally resonate with the audience. In Rwanda surviving victims were depicted as innocent, everyday people plunged into a horrible situation: “Ordinary citizens caught up in a hell not of their own making” (Orr, 1994a, p.14); “The massacres in the city had claimed thousands of innocent lives” (Orr, 1994a, p.14). These depictions revealed the language used to describe the identity of the victims, as well as the qualities that were ascribed to them. As Journalist DO asserted, it was incredibly important to represent these victims in a dignified and relatable way so that an audience would be able to understand their situation:

I mean certainly you want to, as a journalist, treat people as humans as best you can and not just for reasons of their own dignity, but if you’re doing a good job and you’re trying to describe what’s going on there to your readers, you’ve got to try and relate what you’re experiencing to your public and unless you’re representing real people in real situations, how can the reader possibly start to really understand? And you’re saying, ‘Look, these are ordinary people like you and me. They may have strange names and belong to tribes you never heard of, and they may be a different colour. They may be all sorts of things. But basically they’re human beings, thrust into this extraordinary situation and that’s why it’s worth telling what they’re living through, because they’re real people’ (original emphasis).

This dignity afforded to survivors was seen in the way that articles described the qualities of these individuals, portraying them as resistant and resilient as they remained silent in the face of their suffering: “Survivors of the mainly Hutu-on-Tutsi massacres had said that they did not show their feelings, to deny their killers the satisfaction of seeing their fear” (Article 5). Even in their final moments before death these Rwandans conveyed fortitude and heroism through this silence:

The national trauma springs vicious surprises and small incidents of heroism that go almost unnoticed, like the old, ragged man I saw beaten and ground underfoot before being finished off behind trees without a sound passing his lips (Article 5).

Another article also expressed how the resilience of these victims was observed by others: “French army doctors treating the wounded are amazed by their condition after the weeks of privation. ‘They’re very resistant, extremely resilient. They suffer in silence and do not show their pain,’ said one” (Wrong, 1994, p.1). Even amidst
merciless killings in churches and hospitals, articles described how victims fled and endeavoured to take refuge: “Several thousand civilians who had been trapped in Kamenge managed to flee and are now staying in a makeshift camp” (Hilsum, 1994, p.12). These descriptions demonstrated the emotions felt and actions taken by the victims during their suffering. It is possible that journalists perceived the action taken by these victims in order to escape as a demonstration of the agency of these victims to try to survive, even against all odds: “many are finding the courage to flee” (Article 2). In this way, survivors were portrayed through the courage taken to escape this plight: “We drive to the Rwandan border - the bridge across which hundreds of thousands have walked to escaped the tyranny in their land” (Franchi, 1994, p.1). Likewise, the voices of these Rwandans were showcased in some articles through comparably dignified stories of survival:

Valentine Ilibagiza, 16, survived the massacre by fending off the machete blow to her skull with her right hand and then hiding under a pile of bodies, among them her parents, a brother and her sister… ‘They came at about 2pm," she said. "There was shots and we all started running towards the buildings. They ran after us shooting and screaming. This man, a big man, said, ‘stand still while I slaughter you'. His panga was dripping with blood. I put my hand up. When he hit me it didn't hurt much at first but I fell down’ (Smith, 1994, p.1).

Although the trauma that they endured was clear, these articles described the way that survivors remained hopeful amidst their suffering: “Vestine Mukamurenzi, nine, had lost all of the fingers of her left hand but was still able to smile” (Smith, 1994, p.1). Another article even described how the organisation and orderliness of the refugee camp at Benaco mirrored the Rwandans’ tenacious way of life. Refugees at this camp were consequently portrayed in good spirits, not as a mass of depravity: “Joy? Oh yes. We saw so many smiles” (Franchi, 1994, p.22). Survivors therefore remained resilient in these articles in the face of the circumstance they were found in: “I cannot imagine what such suffering must do to the minds and hearts of human beings. All I can say is that Raymond Mdaraga, when I met him again, had a glimmer of life in his eyes. Now and then as he talked a smile came to his lips” (Orr, 1994b, p.14). As a journalist aptly questioned in her article: “If the people in this hell don't cry, what could I possibly weep about?” (Franchi, 1994, p.22). It seems possible then that the emotional discourse served as a way for the audience to emotionally
engage with relatable, strong survivors that these journalists hoped would have enabled an audience to try to stop the violence and save the remaining victims.

Articles also contained descriptions of the deceased victims of Rwanda that equally seemed to be written in order to resonate with the audience with the use of figurative language. Articles made use of vivid and intense imagery as they described the scenes these victims were found in:

If infantile memories are swallowed by time, then so much the better. One child, a baby boy, was found lying naked in a hall, surrounded by the corpses of five adults. The other, a baby girl, was discovered clutching the arm of her dead mother in a chapel not far away. Perhaps her mother had been dead for days - it was impossible to tell (Orr, 1994c, p.14).

These descriptions emphasised images of the brutality of violence inflicted on the victims through their suffering and cruel demise:

At the Nyaribuye Catholic mission in the far east of Rwanda last week we saw the heads of decapitated children lying close to their bodies. The face of a child with half its head torn off is frozen in a terrified scream. An open cloister linking classrooms has so many body parts, attached, dismembered, entangled in a pile of rotting human remains, that it is impossible to estimate how many are there. A hand grips the arm of another body. But it's only a hand. The body it was attached to could be any of the hundreds, thousands even, lying there among the rich red, yellow and white blooms of the church flower garden (Article 7).

Sensory descriptions predominated in these scenes that depicted the dead, for instance the reoccurring smell that emanated from the mass of corpses:

As you approach every village along the way, every five or 10 miles, it hits you, a faint sweet sour smell of rotting meat. The bodies are sometimes by the side of the road, still lying where they were gunned or hacked down nearly a week ago. And wherever you see a little pile of possessions scattered in the road you know that you will smell it again. You stop once to look but not again. Flies swarm away from the bodies and here they have a habit of landing directly on your lips or your eyes (Article 3).

Additionally, sensory descriptions were used to refer to scenes of victims that were being murdered:
The tension heightened near the city. A man was being beaten to death; as he struggled to rise, a long stick dealt his death blow. Government soldiers standing nearby paid no attention…On the outskirts of the city the stream of refugees grew to a tide. Dozens of bodies lay piled up on the roadside. One twitched. In front of us, a uniformed man lifted his machete. We heard the skull crack. In three hours we saw more than 100 corpses (Heseltine & Wanendeya, 1994, p.1).

These repeated sensory descriptions of the stench of corpses and the sound of the skulls of victims being cracked when hacked with a machete were very vivid in their account of the violence, juxtaposed many times with repeated alliteration: “suffocating stench” (Fritz, 1994, p.1); “bloated bodies bobbed” (Heseltine & Wanendeya, 1994, p.1; Franchi, 1994, p.22). The use of graphic descriptions in news media has been included as part of Seltzer’s (2013, p.3) concept of our present day ‘wound culture’ wherein public and private domains converge through the perverse collective observation and fascination of bodily wounds and trauma. For instance, Holmes (2011) found that the BBC employed explicit footage accompanied by graphic verbal narratives in documentaries about the genocide in Rwanda that focussed on the gore and brutality of the situation and dehumanised the victims. Other research has also claimed that victims in Rwanda were perpetually dehumanised through their reference to undistinguished ‘piles of corpses’ (Moeller, 1999; Härting, 2008). Thompson (2007) even goes so far as to claim that if daily news of the genocide had been conveyed to audiences in a different form, without relying on descriptions of disfigured, disembodied, and impalpable corpses, then the media could have helped spark public outcry towards the gravity of the situation.

However, in the present research journalists made it clear in interviews that graphic descriptions were necessary and served an important purpose in reporting on Rwanda. Participants explained that they needed to describe the scenes in as much detail as possible for an audience to comprehend what the victims were enduring:

But in terms of the graphic I feel that it’s very important that people feel like they’re there. That that’s why you have foreign correspondents, that’s why you have witnesses to things. It’s terribly important that people who are reading articles do get a real sense of the reality. And if they don’t like the graphic they can just turn the page (Journalist 3, original emphasis).
In fact, Journalist AiH explained that it would have been offensive to the victims to try to censor the graphic nature of events: “Some commentators have criticised us for the degree of graphic coverage but what are you going to do – soften the impact of genocide? That would be offensive and ridiculous.” Descriptions of the deceased victims were not produced in sensationalist or clichéd terms, as Journalist CaB explained:

Describing the Rwanda genocide, which to this day is described as an ‘orgy of tribal bloodletting’ and that kind of thing by even the most esteemed news organisations, like the New York Times, I mean then you really do feel furious because you know, in a featured, in a long article in several thousand words, in the New York Times magazine, you know there should be space, adequate space to devote a paragraph to what happened during the genocide, and not to reduce it to an ‘orgy of tribal blood-letting.’ Or madness, or whatever the phrase was that the reporter chose to use. So that would help, because if its repeated often enough it becomes common currency… I would say, and other reporters would say, did you need to hype that up? Wasn’t that all enough? Just write it as it is. It was awful enough…I mean that’s really how it looked (original emphasis).

Reporting was therefore not sensationalised because, as Journalist 1 put it: “Rwanda was where those extreme words were perfectly justified” (original emphasis). For this reason journalists defended these intense descriptions of the pervasive smell of death and bodies in their articles. Journalist MW argued that whilst certain phrases may appear clichéd, witnessing these scenes was so distinct and unforgettable they could only be described at their most graphic:

I don’t know if you’ve ever smelt a dead body. But, it really is distinct. It’s incredible, and you immediately when you smell it, you know exactly what it is… So, although it does seem a bit clichéd, that is exactly what it was… you’d be driving through a field and suddenly you’d just get hit by this smell and then you’d stop the car and get out and there would be a body by the side of the road. And it was just nothing else it could be, it was just so completely distinct (original emphasis).

Furthermore, Journalist DO described how multi-faceted certain elements were, such as the smell, and therefore how difficult it was to try to convey this to an audience that was not being enveloped daily by this constant consciousness of death:

The smell of Rwanda. And that’s pervasive. And it lingers for a long time after you’re back. And it’s… well, it’s one of the most disturbing sort of aspects
because I think probably none of us had been in that situation where we’d experienced that before at such a level. And it was extraordinary. It was extreme and it was very, very difficult. And unless you’ve been through something like that, it’s just very disturbing. There’s something very primal and awful about it. And you can never really, I mean you can write about it, but you can never really convey that, because it seeps into your being and your clothes and it’s just awful. And you’re kind of caught up in that and it’s with you so much when you’re reporting… and yeah, during that reporting time it was everywhere. So you’d say, ‘the pile of corpses’ and probably it comes across as being a bit glib, but what you can’t really convey is everything that goes with it (original emphasis).

Journalist 4 asserted that the ‘shock value’ of these descriptions was actually used to force people to acknowledge that this violence was happening and that action was needed to stop it:

We were later criticized for showing bodies lying all over the streets/roads in a way we were told we would not have done if they were Americans/Whites but I am not sure about that. The balance between shock/reality and disrespect of the dead is hard to decide. By showing dead Africans I do not think we invaded their privacy and disrespected them but used the shock nature of the images to drive home what was happening and stop people wanting to sweep it under the carpet as governments at that time wanted to do.

Journalist MW agreed that these graphic descriptions were not disrespectful but were actually part of their responsibility to the dead to report to the world exactly what they endured:

And also, I’d just like to say, for me it’s not disrespectful to the dead. I think the dead want the world to know how they died. I don’t see it as a form of abuse or exploitation… Somebody’s just had their baby killed in front of them, and has then been raped and macheted to death they probably want the world to know that happened… The idea is that you shouldn’t be showing dead Black people because you haven’t asked their names, you haven’t asked their relative. This is just the commodification… another form of racism. And I actually have a different approach and it’s my firm opinion that we should be seeing more shocking images of violence abroad… It has a political impact to not include the gore, it seems to me (original emphasis).

In this way many journalists reflected on their reporting of the situation in relation to rousing attention and help for Rwanda, demonstrating the intention these journalists had for reporting. Journalist CaB argued that their responsibility towards the victims meant that she wanted to use the graphic evidence of the killings so that it would
shed light on the extremity of the situation and help save other Rwandans from the same fate:

And I always felt that the ICRC’s policy to getting the Rwandan Red Cross out onto the streets to take the bodies off so shortly after they’d been killed wasn’t helpful either. Because it was extremely difficult for us to get pictures of these bodies. If they’d just kind of neglected to pick them up for a few days we might have gotten a few more images. I’m talking about people who are already dead, you know. I’m trying to save people who are not yet dead! It was a strange way to think about it, but I remember feeling very frustrated that they were so martinet about body clearance. Come on, nobody is paying anybody any attention! And really the killing was the point, in Rwanda. It was the point. It wasn’t collateral damage, it wasn’t an accident of war, or the wrong thing falling in the wrong place. It was the point of the whole thing. And we really needed to drive that point home to get politicians in faraway capitals to take different decisions. Decisions other than the ones they were taking (original emphasis).

Likewise, Journalist 3 explained the significance of writing about the aftermath of the killings in the most realistic and graphic terms to spur action towards such a horrific situation:

I felt that it was terribly important that it was written about in the most graphic terms, frankly. It was vital. It was vital to tell people. There’s a need to tell people what an event looks like, what an event smells like. You want to be able to take them there in order that when they build up a view, when they talk to their own government, when they make their decisions at Downing Street or the White House about what to do, that they have the most vivid idea of what it is they’re talking about, in order that when they’re making decisions—whether it be governments or military or just readers of newspapers, the members of the public— that they really do have a feel about the place, about what it is that’s happening. And I think that certainly in terms of then describing it in written form was, I mean for me it was driven by two things really. Frankly, primarily, a sense of wanting to do justice for these people. A really strong sense that my god, these people could not have suffered worse. And wanting to be in the position where the horror of what they experienced was known, it was known for the world to see. So that when they thought it was just darkness as they were killed that actually no, a week later or two weeks later or however long it was, somebody was there, an outsider was there to say no these people are not forgotten. That they didn’t just simply die and disappear, they were slaughtered and we could see it. So what does that mean? What it means that they had not been forgotten (original emphasis).

Journalist CS expressed that he wanted to galvanise attention and pressure to the situation by describing what he saw: “I was writing what I saw and I was hoping that it would lead to more pressure for intervention and aid and wanted to make sure it didn’t happen again.” Participants in the present research therefore collectively
declared their attempt to attract attention to the situation in Rwanda through their reporting. The emotional discourse found within the newspaper articles featured in the present research also seem to mirror this attempt to represent the victims in such a way as to promote an engagement and connection with the audience. They wrote about the surviving victims as innocent, relatable, everyday people with the dignity to endure unceasing violence; they wrote about the deceased victims using the most graphic, intense, and realistic imagery in the hopes that it would attract attention and spur action that could end the nightmare. In addition, the ability for journalists to access Rwanda during the killings demonstrates a context in which journalists were able to report first-hand, on the ground where the violence was occurring as opposed to being separate from them. These first-hand experiences meant that journalists were able to report not only the testimonies of victims but also scenes they witnessed, such as the aftermath of killings. As a result, it appears through testimonies as well as the way articles were written regarding the descriptions of victims, that these respondents endeavoured to attract the attention of the world to Rwanda. This demonstrates a possibility that the emotionality that they experienced—the ownership they felt over this story, their story—transcended into their reporting in such a way that the representations of victims appeared to take a stance towards prompting international attention and help.

6.1.3 Srebrenica: an indictment of the failure to act?

Unlike Rwanda, the emotional discourse found in articles from Srebrenica seemed to be used to provide a damning indictment of the failure of the UN and other international organisations to act to prevent or stop the violence. Since journalists were only able to report after the fall of Srebrenica and the subsequent genocide, their depictions of the victims in their articles encompassed only the eyewitness testimonies of those survivors who made it to the Muslim town of Tuzla. These survivors appeared to be represented by journalists in a way that revealed the blame that they afforded to the organisational failure of the UN and others in not acting to
protect the people of Srebrenica. Consequently, the survivors were left helpless and desperate, with no hope of escaping their endless suffering.

As we have seen, the UK’s involvement in the Bosnian War and consequently the interest of UK news organisations on the situation there meant that journalists were continuously stationed there throughout the 1990s. As a result, these journalists were aware of the situational dynamics at play between the different warring factions. Journalists in the present research, for example, had all been stationed in the region and had spent time covering various elements of the Bosnian War. Participants explained how prior to the fall of Srebrenica they had reported on similar policies of killing that had been instigated by the Bosnian Serbs against the Bosnian Muslims. As journalist 8 asserted, the violence in Srebrenica was a continuation of previous assaults of violence by the Bosnian Serbs in other parts of the country during the War:

And wherever we went we talked to refugees and they told us these horrific stories which is why it’s so important to put it into context because it was a continuation of an enthusiastically implemented policy. They didn’t do anything in Srebrenica they hadn’t done three years earlier.

Journalist 14 indicated that having had experience of this continued violence that was perpetrated by the Bosnian Serbs throughout the two years prior to the genocide, s/he was not entirely surprised at the violence that ensued after the fall of Srebrenica:

I’d been in Bosnia for 2 years by then and the majority of the 2 years previously—in fact nearly 2 and a half years—and I wasn’t hugely surprised by what had happened, though I hadn’t seen the scale of something like Srebrenica happen… I could understand the significance of an enclave being captured by the Serbs even though the United Nations troops were there. I was not fully surprised by the scale of the massacre that occurred afterwards, although it was to be another year before I saw a lot of the dead (original emphasis).

As we have seen, it was a direct result of this previous violence by the Bosnian Serbs that the UN had become concerned for the fate of Srebrenica. The UN knew if it fell as some of the other Muslim towns had, it would result in a humanitarian catastrophe on a larger scale than had been seen because of the overcrowded, dire conditions it
was in by 1993. The UN therefore declared Srebrenica a safe enclave in 1993, which meant that with the aid of UNPROFOR the area of Srebrenica was considered under the protection of the UN. However, Journalist 13 maintained that two years later the state of these UN safe havens, especially Srebrenica, was dismal:

In the summer of 1995, we were all reporting about the dire situation with the so called U.N. safe havens – little Muslim-held outlets within the territory seized by the Bosnian Serb rebels - areas that were supposed to be protected by the U.N. from the Serb assaults: Zepa, Gorazde and Srebrenica.

Considering there had been continuous reporting of the violence committed by the Bosnian Serbs throughout the War, journalists made it clear in interviews that the possibility that Srebrenica would fall and result in numerous deaths was to be expected. Instead, the most surprising element was that the Bosnian Serbs took Srebrenica in front of everyone, as journalist 8 explained: “As I say it was no different from what had been done before—but it was done absolutely in front of the cameras” (original emphasis). How the brazenness of this attack was done in the face of the world, on a decreed safe area, and with the level of extermination of genocide was what these journalists found it difficult to expect. Journalist 14 remembered the sense of anger s/he felt towards the UN as a result of this: “I think I felt moved to some degree to the incredible plight of these people. It was a very, very definitive moment in the history of the Bosnian War. And I recall feeling some anger towards a system that had collectively failed the Bosnians in what was supposed to be a safeguarded enclave” (original emphasis). Within the current research, newspaper articles repeatedly referenced the UN and its failed safe area policy: “Now it had happened a second time, in Srebrenica, a place the United Nations had said was safe” (Article 10). Articles disparaged the concept of, “The so-called UN ‘safe area’” (Article 8) and the UN’s policy in Srebrenica: “The UN safe area policy was born and died in Srebrenica… Empty streets mock the whole concept of the United Nations ‘safe areas’” (Article 14).
The suffering of victims in these articles were clearly equated to the failure of the UN to act to protect Srebrenica through the emotional discourse that journalists implement to describe their plight. As one article indicated, the victims had only two choices as the ‘safe’ enclave fell: “As Srebrenica fell, its people could hope UN soldiers could protect them, or try to escape west through Serb-held forests to government territory” (Article 21). However, these victims trusted the UN and the assurance of their protection, which in the end meant certain death for those Bosnian Muslim men that remained in the enclave, and grief and misery for the survivors. One article captured the way this faith in the structure of the UN over and above themselves meant devastation for the victims: “The UN had collected many people's weapons when it had demilitarised the Srebrenica pocket in May 1993, so even if they had wanted to fight the Bosnian Serbs they had no arms, survivors said bitterly last week” (Swain, 1995, p.1). Descriptions of the ceaseless hardships that these victims faced prior to the fall of Srebrenica demonstrated the continuous tragedy of their existence. As one article explained, “Most of all, these people were refugees in the first place - Muslims who fled in the thousands from the Bosnian Serbs during the great onslaught of the summer of 1992, when the war first began” (Article 14). Journalist 8 explained in an interview that the suffering these victims endured up until Srebrenica made their story all the more devastating: “And the tragedy for some of the people in Srebrenica was that they had survived years earlier and they had fled to Srebrenica and then there they died.” The emotional discourse of these newspaper articles therefore made it clear that after surviving years of hardship from the war, after the betrayed fall of Srebrenica these victims were finally left with nothing but despair:

The unknown girl who hanged herself from a tree outside the UN base in Tuzla bears mute testimony to the fact that one can survive three years of war, flee from an advancing army countless times, and then - after all that - die of despair (Article 14).

These articles thus revealed how “the flood of desperate Srebrenica refugees” (du Preez, 1995, p.15) served to illustrate the misery and hopelessness of a people who, “expelled from their ancestral homes, they have lost everything” (Stoddart, 1995, p.4). These descriptions demonstrated the identity and qualities given to these
victims in their suffering. Even after their arrival in Tuzla, these articles made it clear that their suffering had not ended: “They have found refuge on government soil but no escape from a nightmare that for some has lasted three years. Most are in despair, weeping for men left behind in Serb hands and desperate for food and water under the burning sun” (Article 11). The betrayal of Srebrenica therefore acted as a final blow to these victims who endured so much, thus marking their place as perpetual victims: “But, looking into the eyes of these women and children, it is hard to imagine them or their land ever being at peace” (Stoddart, 1995, p.4).

As a result of the UN’s failure, these surviving victims were portrayed as utterly helpless, left in the direst of circumstances as a desperate and hopeless collective: “The smell caught in our throats long before we sighted the first of Srebrenica’s diaspora. Sweat, excrement, and urine, emanating from the 17,000 people cooking beneath a blazing sun; the gagging stench of humiliation and despair” (Article 12). As another article proclaimed, “There can be no more despairing group of people on Earth than the men, women and children who huddle in tents at Tuzla airbase” (Bellamy, 1995a, p.2). Victims were specifically portrayed through their very palpable grief and bereavement, as one article described: “They collapsed in tears and the tents were filled with a hopeless groaning” (Swain, 1995, p.1). Victims were continuously represented as a collective of extreme emotion, whether sobbing or screaming, which showed the emotions and actions attributed to them in their suffering: “Most are in despair, weeping for men left behind in Serb hands and desperate for food and water under the burning sun” (Article 11). Even when represented individually these victims were depicted as miserable: “Each has individual stories of brutality and misery to tell” (Swain & Hamzic, 1995, p.1). Through these descriptions it was clear the observable anguish these victims face:

Yesterday in the northern Bosnian town of Tuzla, which is overwhelmed with refugees, dozens of dirty hands clawed upwards trying to grab a yogurt, a lemon, or a cucumber being thrown to the sweaty, shouting throng of women... On Friday, more than 13,000 women, children, and old men were in the field
surrounding the airbase; the air was filled with cries and whimpers (Bellamy, 1995b p.17).

In an interview journalist 8 also recounted the emotional scene in Tuzla: “And these women and children, and there were thousands of women and children. And these women would fall on these people screaming” (original emphasis). As Journalist 13 recounted of the victims: “They were exhausted, frightened, hungry, desperate.” Similarly, Journalist 14 explained that s/he wrote about the victims in such harsh, degrading terms because s/he wanted an audience to understand exactly how desperate and dismal their situation was at that point:

‘The smell caught in our throats long before we sighted the first of Srebrenica’s diaspora.’ I remember that, the smell. I would have noted down that perhaps one of the 10 things I wanted to say was the smell. And that’s a really good way of translating to a reader who had probably nothing in their life to compare to this experience, what it means to be a refugee in Bosnia. You’re all en masse, the smell of sweat, shit, and piss. And that’s a shocking and dehumanised state for a person or a crowd of people to be in. So that’s probably what I would have picked out: that smell sticks in my mind. Opening that story with that smell because that was how it was to smell these people drifting across the fields there, dispossessed and frightened, exhausted people (original emphasis).

It seems then that these articles incorporated an emotional discourse through which journalists may have endeavoured to emotionally resonate with the audience through the continued suffering, hopelessness, and despair with which the victims of Srebrenica were left after the UN’s betrayal. As Journalist 11 remarked, “I only had one thing in mind: to make this known. Not to allow these people to have died in vain.” Testimonies from respondents as well as the articles that came out of Srebrenica itself thus seem to have represented the victims mainly through their palpable grief and disparaging existence following the fall of Srebrenica and onslaught of the genocide. This could be seen then as an attempt to show the world the dire consequences that the victims of Srebrenica faced as a result of the inaction to stop what had been a continuously waging war, continuously suffered through by the Bosnian Muslims.
Overall this section has explored the incidence of emotionality in the reporting of genocide by examining how journalists may outsource their emotion through the victims and consequently also the audience. The emotional discourse in these articles represent a manifestation of emotional labour in which these journalists essentially perform emotion by trying to elicit an emotional response through the audience, though this emotion is outsourced through the representation of the experiences of the victims themselves so that it is not attributed to the journalists’ emotions. In interviews journalists from both case studies made it clear that they wanted to attract an audience to the situation of genocide that they were reporting on: it was their responsibility. However, it also seems that journalists that reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica became emotionally invested in the story and as such, may have outsourced their emotions through that of the victims in an attempt to emotionally engage with the audience. For instance, reporting from Rwanda shows an instance where journalists may have been attempting to persuade the world to care; or as in Srebrenica, showing the effect when the world fails to care. This extends previous work by Wahl-Jorgensen (2012; 2013) in that the present research argues it is possible that these journalists may have included emotion into their writing that is not solely that of the victims, but also related to their own emotional investment in their job role and the events unfolding before them. This notion complements previous discussions related to the contradictions and complexities that are shown within the job role of a journalist; between what is expected of them in a professional sense by themselves and their wider occupation, and what it is they actually experience once within these intensely emotive situations. The next section will extend this further by exploring the effect that reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica had on journalists in the present research once the reporting was done.

6.2 Emotional dissonance and trauma as a result of reporting

The contradictions and complexities that have been shown to inhabit both the industry of journalism as well as the professional lives of journalists unsurprisingly did not cease once reporting is over. The emotional investment that reporting seemed to
have on journalists in the present research left a lasting mark on their personal lives once they returned home and the cloak of professionalism was no longer there. The cumulative emotional toll of reporting as well as how emotionally overwhelming reporting sometimes was for these journalists means that their use of emotional labour caused them to experience emotional dissonance. This incidence of emotional dissonance was characterised by the disparity that existed between emotions that these journalists suppressed or managed in order to fulfil their job role, and the emotions they genuinely felt about the situation. The discrepancy that occurred as a result of this continuous management of emotions in-line with professional expectations meant that journalists experienced negative long-term emotional effects that culminated in burnout. Furthermore, these negative emotional effects were prolonged by the stigma attached to emotional trauma within the industry of journalism that hinders individuals from admitting to experiencing it. If they wanted to continue on in their professional role as journalists these individuals learned to remain silent about this emotional trauma. Thus the emotional silencing of these individuals by their industry, and consequently themselves, continues after reporting. This final section of Chapter 6 will therefore demonstrate how this collective emotional trauma illustrates the prolonged struggle experienced by these journalists as a result of the emotional labour they used to manoeuvre through the complexities of reporting.

6.2.1 Emotional dissonance

Throughout interviews in the present research it appeared that journalists were not accustomed to being asked about the negative effects their job might have on them. However, the emotional aftermath of reporting was introduced into the journalists’ personal lives through certain negative emotional effects that resulted from the emotional dissonance they experienced. As we have seen, these individuals strived to meet organisational expectations by managing their emotions so that they were not diverted from being able to report. However, this use of emotional labour meant that those feelings they genuinely felt about the situation were at times suppressed,
which resulted in the disparity between what these individuals felt towards the situation and the emotions they exhibited (Zapf, 2002; Zapf & Holz, 2006). This emotional dissonance therefore introduced a psychological discord that had lasting ill effects (Hochschild, 1983).

Regardless of their ability to perform emotional labour that managed or entirely suppressed their genuine emotions, journalists acknowledged how emotionally overwhelming reporting sometimes was. Participants discussed the struggle they faced as they witnessed these scenes, which demonstrated the balancing act that managing their emotions became. For instance, Journalist AiH described the horrific scenes in Rwanda:

But it was all tenuous. At the Christus seminary Centre where we stayed for a time the walls were spattered with teeth and blood and hair. We slept on a mattress on the floor and after a while of having this nagging feeling I raised the bed and found the outline of a human in a dried pool of blood on the cement floor. Go to the loo and you’d find a corpse down the latrine. Everywhere stank. It seeped into you.

Journalist 6 explained how interactions with victims that survived were the most difficult to come to grips with:

The human emotions in all three -- the mother, the people now in the house, the former neighbours -- as I got them to talk, were the most emotionally devastating for me, because each one of them was involved in a horror that goes against every human sense of decency, right and wrong. And each one of them has had to, and continues to, live their own nightmare.

As the only Western journalist living in Rwanda at the start of the genocide, Journalist LH also discussed her interactions with victims that made reporting difficult in the beginning:

Emotionally, it was rather different for me because I had friends that were being murdered. And I had acquaintances and phones ringing me up asking me to come and save them. Which other journalists did not have... So emotionally it was very different, I was not going into a story, I was... in there, in that sense I
was living the story... And yes, I feel that my early pieces are very, very inadequate... in fact they're crap (original emphasis).

Journalist CaB admitted that there were times when she and her colleagues became overwhelmed by their emotions and found it especially difficult to do the reporting, especially without emotional support in the field:

And we all at points, you know, at times allowed our emotion—or didn’t allow it, our emotions overwhelmed us and we found it extremely difficult to function properly and to do our reporting properly... and we should have functioned like reporters. And to some extent, to a large extent, we did. And we weren't listened to and that was very hard for us because it demoralises us—it didn’t mean we stopped but it meant we felt ignored. In those days you didn’t have emotional support. People didn’t recognise that... so you were just kind of left with feelings of injustice (original emphasis).

Here then we can see the struggle these journalists experienced as they constantly manoeuvered their emotions amidst this reporting. The emotional dissonance this caused, reminiscent of that exhibited by the journalists in Hopper & Huxford’s (2015) study, thus reveals the propensity towards emotional trauma that these individuals face in their continued use of emotional labour.

6.2.2 Burnout as a consequence of emotional dissonance

Research by Lee & Ashforth (1996) as well as more recent work by Zapf et al (2001) demonstrate the relationship between individuals who experience emotional dissonance as a result of performing emotional labour and the subsequent link this has to burnout. Burnout is defined by Maslach & Jackson (1981) as having three dimensions: emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, and lack of personal accomplishment. Whilst we have seen that journalists in the present research appeared to have experienced emotional dissonance due to the constant negotiation of their emotions as they reported, interviews also revealed the incidence of burnout among these individuals.
Brotheridge & Lee (2003) as well as Lewig & Dollard (2003) provide a link between emotional dissonance resulting from emotional labour and the subsequent presence of the first dimension of burnout, emotional exhaustion, in workers. Emotional exhaustion refers here to the drain of emotional resources that results in negative feelings such as depression (Maslach & Jackson, 1986). Evidence of post-traumatic depression and other negative feelings that participants experienced after reporting in Rwanda and Srebrenica revealed examples of emotional exhaustion. For instance, Journalist DO explained how returning home triggered negative emotions he had been able to push to the side whilst reporting:

If there’s going to be trauma—and I guess there was, in terms of when I got back to London—but at the time you’re not thinking about that, you’re thinking ‘I’ve got the story! I’ve seen the bodies, I can report it.’ So I think that it’s that that sort of insulates you a bit from the horror of it, and the emotions…you’re definitely protected until afterwards, when you stop, then that’s when the negative emotions [occur] or it really starts affecting you (original emphasis).

Journalist 4 acknowledged that the return to life outside of his/her professional role caused an emotional crisis: “Focusing on the job also kept your mind off the moral questions – in a way it was a defence mechanism. It was later that many of us suffered crises, questions… very rarely at the time.” The emotional crash that occurred when they returned home was also experienced by Journalist 9: “Later on. Later. I got very depressed”, as well as by Journalist 2: “I was absolutely exhausted and utterly miserable. And then that’s when Goma happened and everyone rushed out again to Goma. And I remember just feeling really miserable about that.” Other journalists spoke about specific traumatic emotional effects that mimicked symptoms of PTSD. The potential for PTSD amongst these journalists mimics past research by Pyevich et al (2003) and Feinstein et al (2002) that places journalists who are exposed to trauma whilst reporting at high risk for PTSD symptoms. For instance, Freinkel et al (1994) studied journalists who witnessed a gas chamber execution and argued that journalists can experience traumatic effects from observing violence, as do the victims who directly experience the violence. This also mirrors research findings of McMahon (2001) as well as Simpson et al (2013) that emphasise the way in which journalists are likely to experience lasting trauma symptoms due to their
repeated exposure to violence and grief. For example, journalist 8 recounted his/her personal struggle with PTSD following reporting and the effect this had on blocking out certain painful memories:

Also my brain blotted things out. I remember saying to a friend of mine who also was a correspondent, I said I felt really guilty because everybody has seen such terrible things and I haven’t seen anything really terrible. And he said, ‘But you were in that hospital in Croatia in 1993!’ and I said, ‘Oh my god!’ because I literally had blocked it out… I was treated for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder after Bosnia and I remember my shrink saying, ‘Your poor little brain is so confused about this that it literally doesn’t know what happened.’ So I don’t know what happened but I do know that I couldn’t speak about it for some years without having an attack where I was rocking backwards and forwards. It had a very, very profound effect on me.

Though Journalist DO had been unaware that he was suffering from PTSD after Rwanda he knew that the trauma symptoms he experienced kept him away from returning there to continue reporting:

I now in retrospect, I know I was suffering some degree of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. I was extremely agitated, so I couldn’t sleep. I was having nightmares. I was just in, a sort of, bad mental state and distressed, in some way. I don’t know if we even used that phrase, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, in those days. I knew something was wrong… but I was having difficulty dealing with it because it was quite horrific, what we all witnessed in there…. And then The Independent asked me to go back again, and I said no. I said I just didn’t want to do it… it was a great opportunity to go back in again and report it, for a freelance journalist. But I just couldn’t face it again… I had really had it; I had enough of it (original emphasis).

The presence of intrusive thoughts and other symptoms akin to those of PTSD in the years following his reporting were also featured in the testimony of Journalist 13:

The emotions indeed did come later, even though I pushed most of them into my subconsciousness. They came in the form of some fears that I later experienced; the panic attacks that I had after giving birth to my daughter in 2004. I did not immediately connect the two. But later, I realized that by covering the war and hearing so many stories of utter tragedy that can struck you, me, whoever, at any moment, really, the death becomes so real and possible – not a sort of philosophical concept that you discuss during some intellectual debates with your friends.
The descriptions of PTSD and other related trauma symptoms in these testimonies make it clear that the negative and depressive effects of their reporting resulted in forms of emotional exhaustion for these journalists.

Even journalists that were hesitant to admit to experiencing PTSD or similar symptoms still admitted that the environment of reporting was itself incredibly stressful and intense. This demonstrates other forms of emotional exhaustion that these individuals experienced. For instance, whilst Journalist AnH did not describe her symptoms as trauma related, she shared a similarly negative emotional reaction:

It was very strange. I never had any nightmares, never had anything like that. And I didn’t cry. What I did do is I felt I was in a movie. I felt I was looking through a video camera. I obviously detached myself and I detached myself for a very long time because for about six months afterwards my only symptoms was that the sky didn’t look so blue and the grass didn’t look so green. It was like the colour, the world had been colour-washed. And that was my only thing. So yes there was clearly a sort of emotional reaction, but it was a very detached one. And it was like I cut off. And I watched almost in fascination, I didn’t identify (original emphasis).

As Journalist CS remarked, “I don’t have nightmares about any of the stories I wrote. My nightmares are all about communications going down and not being filed and the story not read and that was the stress.” Thus there seemed to be an incidence of stress symptoms experienced by all of these journalists if not as a result of PTSD and related symptoms from the experience itself, than from the pressure of the work itself. Even Journalist 3 acknowledged that the emotional strain of the job meant that negative effects might still be experienced even now:

I think it’s possible that I’m storing up [something] for the future that hasn’t yet come out. I think probably I’m quite tough actually and I think that I’m very, very sensitive at the same time and very sensitive to what the people I was seeing were going through.

Regardless of the experience of stress symptoms specific to their work, or PTSD and trauma symptoms associated more reporting during genocide, these participants revealed the presence of this first dimension of burnout, emotional exhaustion.
However, the reticence on the part of some of the journalists to admit to experiencing trauma symptoms, or specifically those of PTSD, can be associated with the stigma towards emotional trauma in this line of work that will be discussed in the following section.

The second dimension of burnout, depersonalisation, also seemed to feature in interviews with journalists. Depersonalisation refers to a state in which an individual feels as though their thoughts, feelings, and behaviours are not their own (Maslach & Jackson, 1981). As the individual feels pressure to manage their emotions in ways that are incongruent with their actual felt emotions, they experience a form of self-alienation (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Journalists in the present research revealed the distancing and estrangement they felt that demonstrates this depersonalisation. For instance, Journalist 11 described the way in which during reporting s/he existed as nothing but ‘the journalist’: “I think at the time, there was no me. There was only the journalist.” In this same way, some of the journalists described their behaviour during reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica as almost ‘machine-like.’ This enabled them to exist outside of themselves and the emotions they may have felt towards the situation, so that they accomplished the reporting. Journalist 13 recalled this sense of being outside of oneself when s/he reported: “When you work in such extreme situations as a journalist, you somehow cease to be a human being with its own feelings… you almost become like a machine: You have to get as much information as possible.” Likewise, Journalist 11 remarked that s/he: “worked like a machine. Something switched me off and I turned me into a machine. I did not do this on purpose. I think, some kind of a defence mechanism kicked in.” These journalists, therefore, demonstrated a form of depersonalisation in the way that they described their behaviour as being not of their own during the time that they reported. Though they attribute this to the technique involved in reporting during these extreme situations, it is possible that these were instead instances of depersonalisation related to the overall burnout that these journalists experienced as an effect of reporting.
The third and final dimension of burnout that was revealed in interviews was the feeling of a lack of personal accomplishment. In their research, Maslach & Jackson (1981) found that professional staff in human service institutions tended to evaluate themselves negatively in relation to their work with clients, which demonstrated the dissatisfaction they had with themselves that resulted in feeling a lack of personal accomplishment. Journalists that reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica seemed to mirror this same dissatisfaction as they spoke about the guilt and regret they felt in relation to their reporting during that time period. Though there were times when they defended their reporting, overall there was a sense amongst these journalists that they felt a lack of personal accomplishment related to the way they reported on these events. This lack of personal accomplishment was most notable when participants discussed the guilt and regret they felt as a result of the inadequacy of their reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica. For instance, journalists that reported on Rwanda expressed guilt and regret towards the inadequacy of their reporting which may have meant that audiences had not understood the gravity of the situation and so there was no international intervention as a result. Journalist AiH admitted regret towards his reporting because of the insecurity he had felt reporting on such an enormous event:

I had no idea of the scale of what I was witnessing. And when I did become aware I discovered Rwanda was way beyond my limited talents as a correspondent… Yet given all of this, what we know is that we all failed dreadfully in Rwanda. My inability to perceive the enormity of it, to be able to express it properly in words which was the only thing I could do because it was my job, this failing is what I and others of my trade will carry to the grave with sadness…. All of us would I think agree that we could have done a better job before, during and after the events of 1994.

Journalist LH similarly acknowledged regret towards her inability to adequately express what was going on:

But I think that I utterly failed to convey the horror of the thing because, partly because I was in shock and couldn't really believe the evidence before my eyes...I think that there was a profound ignorance and failure to understand the dynamics at work in Rwanda. And I think I should have been in a position to do that better but I think I failed (original emphasis).
In fact, Journalist 3 pondered whether by reporting the ghastliness of events s/he might have inadequately portrayed the situation to an audience as helpless and therefore added to the lack of intervention: “But certainly the difficulty of doing anything that probably did come across in my reporting because it was so ghastly... And I think that maybe my reporting maybe led to that or supported it, subliminally... On the other hand, my personal view was that an intervention was possible.” These journalists that reported on Rwanda therefore demonstrated what appears to be a lack of personal accomplishment in relation to their reporting and the way that they felt guilt and regret as a result of the inadequacy of their reporting to have stopped the violence. As these journalists recalled the disastrous way the story of Rwanda ended, without international intervention that might have reduced the suffering, they questioned whether the part they played in reporting this event was even useful at all: “Who knows if any of it was useful. But I mean did it even change anything? I don’t know” (Journalist DO).

Journalists that reported on Srebrenica similarly revealed this feeling of a lack of accomplishment on the part of their reporting. Again guilt and regret can be seen in discussions in which participants referred to the inadequacy of their reporting. For example, journalist 10 acknowledged this guilt and the way it was tied the inadequacy of his/her reporting that did not do much during the course of events:

I’ve never been able to come to terms with it as a phenomenon because I was kind of incidentally involved but I didn’t feel I played a particularly worthwhile or effective role as a journalist. I didn’t feel my journalism was good at the time. So there’s a sense of guilt and a sense of inadequacy there... So Srebrenica is not a story that I feel I have any claim to fame on or I have anything particularly to be proud of... But I think if you spoke to other journalists and they were to reflect back they would have some sense of inadequacy. They might not express it and be a bit more or less personal about it. But I certainly felt a sense of helplessness and insufficiency (original emphasis).

For Journalist 8, guilt s/he harboured meant that today s/he helps refugees almost as restitution for the inadequacy felt after reporting on Srebrenica:
So the work I do with refugees now is to try to make them happier and to pay some attention to them to help them overcome... That seems to work for them and it seems to work for me as well because one of the things I found very difficult as a journalist is that you go along and say, ‘tell me all about what you’re going through’ and then you leave. Whereas now I hang around and try to help make their lives less miserable... So trying to give people something (original emphasis).

Journalist 13 similarly described the guilt that stemmed from feeling unable to do much more than report on what the victims had been through:

I also felt that I am privileged at having a home to go back to, at having a hotel room I can go to. Having my boyfriend waiting for me at home, knowing that he is not wandering through the woods or was being shot at and I would only learn it later. I thought that from my position, I should have helped them – take someone with me to the hotel? Give them some money? But I knew that I was a reporter. There are officials and humanitarian agencies in charge of doing that.

Thus the inadequacy of these journalists was mostly clearly felt as a result of their job role, of their ability to relay the suffering of the victims but to do no more than that. As Journalist 12 remarked: “I felt sorry for them, for all of them, I kept wishing there was something I could do to help but could not think of anything other than doing my job, in other words telling their story to the world.”

Like the emotional exhaustion and depersonalisation that participants experienced, the regret and guilt that these journalists harboured in relation to their reporting of Rwanda and Srebrenica reveals the emotional aspect of a job that never seems to stop having an influence on their lives and experiences both in the field and out of it. The incidence of burnout amongst participants can be seen therefore as a manifestation of emotional labour that demonstrates the emotional investment that these individuals have in their reporting. Regardless of how much they may try to suppress their emotions they still encounter the long-term negative effects of this reporting. The present research acts as a narrative for these journalists—a snapshot into the lives of these people who have reported during the unforgottably tragic moments of Rwanda and Srebrenica. Through interviews with these journalists it becomes possible to humanise these individuals whose very profession constantly
seeks to dehumanise them through its innate pressure to maintain objectivity and detachment. In their own words we recognise the emotions that are left behind after the experiences they had reporting during Rwanda and Srebrenica: the guilt and regret that remain with many to this day, as they are able to recall the tragic end to both of these events that their reporting was unable to prevent. As Journalist AiH said: “I don’t think one recovers from Rwanda. It would be rather obscene to ‘get over’ something like that. What I know is that among my colleagues, almost to a man or woman, they carried on working hard on fresh stories. Some died. Some are alive.”

6.2.3 The stigma of emotional trauma in the industry of journalism

The cumulative effect of the emotional dissonance and subsequent burnout that participants experienced demonstrates the emotional investment that these journalists put into their reporting, even to their ultimate detriment. However, this emotional investment contradicts some of the organisational expectations of the journalistic industry and instead demonstrates the emotional effect that reporting can have to the detriment of these journalists. At the time of the genocides in Rwanda and Srebrenica there were barely any tools in place that identified or helped any sort of PTSD or stress symptoms for journalists. For instance, Journalist CaB explained that the potential for emotional trauma was not even immediately recognised by news organisations when she began reporting in Rwanda:

This was way ahead of the press bothering to sort of, help anybody or give anybody any time. I think after the refugee influx in Goma it became sort of, very apparent that journalists needed counseling after this. After witnessing this kind of experience. That they didn’t sort of emerge from it... immune or with their emotions intact (original emphasis).

This journalist questioned how it would have been possible to expect that she in any way would not be affected by what she witnessed: “I remember somebody saying ‘why did it affect you so much?’ And I said ‘cause it was a genocide.’ I mean how could it not affect you?” (original emphasis). Regardless of the extremity of the
situation in both Rwanda and Srebrenica, none of the participants that were interviewed spoke about any sort of services that were afforded them by their news organisations in order to help them through their reporting. As Journalist 10 remarked: “I think the concept of tackling Post Traumatic Stress, that came about in the next decade. I covered Bosnia through ’95 into ’96 and then I covered Kosovo in ’99 and there wasn’t any PTSD device then that I recall.”

This disinterest shown by the industry of journalism towards any sort of emotional trauma is suggestive of the organisational culture of objectivity and emotional detachment. Instead of being accepted in light of the intensity of reporting, especially in such extreme situations, emotional trauma tends to be stigmatised within journalism. Research by Greenberg et al (2009) on journalists and their colleagues’ attitudes towards PTSD and help-seeking behavior found that journalists were more likely to turn to family members and friends for help for trauma-related problems because they were hesitant about asking for formal help from their employers. These findings suggest that there is a stigma related to seeking help within the industry of journalism that is similar to that of the military. In fact, Feinstein et al (2002) found through surveys that those journalists who specifically cover war have similar lifetime rates of PTSD as combat veterans, as well as a rate of major depression that exceeds that of the general population. Likewise, Aoki et al (2012) found in a systematic review of studies on mental health amongst journalists that foreign correspondents tended to have a higher prevalence of PTSD than domestic journalists and this range of PTSD was similar to that shown in war veterans. However, even though they found that journalists were aware of the potential for developing PTSD in their job most were afraid of the stigma attached to disclosing emotional trauma. As a result, they did not divulge issues for fear colleagues and employers would lose confidence in their work. In the present research journalist 8 described the social stigma s/he encountered when s/he admitted to employers that s/he was suffering from from PTSD: “I was very open about my PTSD and very early on people were quite mean to me about it. Then they all began to go mad! And I sort of just came to terms with it and I recognised it.” This social stigma existed then
not just within the industry itself but between the journalists as well: “In those days we would have taken the piss out of each other if we complained about feeling emotionally shaky about what we were seeing. For years afterwards most of us dealt with the consequences in our own private ways” (Journalist AiH). This internalisation of the organisational discourse of what it meant to be a journalist and deal with the effects of the job demonstrates yet again the power of the emotional silencing of this industry on these individuals.

Interestingly, research on military personnel demonstrates a comparable pattern of reticence towards help-seeking behaviour in a culture that similarly promotes emotional detachment. Iverson et al (2005) found that only half of the 496 British ex-service personnel they surveyed admitted that they sought help for problems related to trauma whilst in service. This help-seeking behaviour increased only slightly when they were out of service and experienced trauma related problems, which mirrors the rate of civilians that seek help for mental health issues. Iverson et al (2005) argue that the military culture, of stoicism and masculine stereotypes, intensifies the reticence that military personnel have in terms of not seeking help for trauma-related issues since one of the key attributes of those working in the military is a sense of resilience. Likewise, research by Greene-Shortridge et al (2007) contends that a major impediment for military personnel seeking help for mental health problems related to their job role comes from the stigma associated within the military culture with mental health issues. They assert that the stigma received by military personnel who come forward with trauma-related problems is two-fold, stemming from the societal stigma towards mental health problems, as well as the self-stigma that results from internalising the negative societal stigma.

In the present research a similar stigma was demonstrated through discussions with journalists regarding the opinion of trauma related issues within the industry of journalism: “It was that sort of macho attitude. Counselling? That's for wusses. That
was very much the mood” (Journalist 1). Likewise, the self-stigma found in military research also mirrors the way that these journalists internalised the emotional silencing of their industry. As we have seen, these journalists admitted that they could not help but be affected by the events they witnessed, but they were quick to fall back on the organisational expectation to report regardless. Journalist AiH maintained that: “one does not get over it [Rwanda], but one does have to move on.” This maintenance of the status of such organisational standards mirrors both Breed’s (1955) theory as well as Deuze (2005) and Feinstein’s (2006) more recent research that argues that the hugely effective social control of the newsroom comes from the ethics and expectations that are entrenched within the industry of journalism. Journalists learned to silence any negative emotional effects, both in the short-term and long-term because they regard them as typical and accepted consequences of their industry, one that constantly places them last. These journalists continuously picked themselves up and carried on in their work, as the strength of their professionalism again was demonstrated by their endurance. After all, they recognised the importance of their job, if only to bear witness: "Even if in the end all that they could say was ‘my God, we can’t do anything there because it’s too hopeless.’ Which was clearly the case. Rwanda was left to kill itself” (original emphasis, Journalist 3).

Chapter 5 and 6 have together demonstrated the ways in which journalists in the present research internalised the organisational discourse of their profession and constantly sought to evidence their professionalism both in and out of the field. To do this, these journalists performed emotional labour to meet organisational expectations of objectivity and emotional detachment, as well as to maintain the emotional survival that was interlinked with their professionalism and as a result their ability to continue reporting. These journalists admitted that at times they felt overwhelmed by the emotions they experienced reporting on Rwanda or Srebrenica, though this did not keep them from accomplishing what they were there to do. This perseverance reveals how deeply embedded their professionalism is and explains
why they accept the emotional silencing of the industry upon them, even at times perpetuating it themselves. However, these journalists admitted that they found themselves relying on their own personal instinct and intuition to determine how they reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica. Thus, there exists a complexity surrounding the reporting that journalists do in situations such as these; situations where they consistently need to balance or suppress their emotions whilst they are faced with constant contradictions between what is expected of them and the reality of what they are experiencing.

The present research has explored this emotional labour in-depth in an effort to better conceptualise how the emotional experiences of these journalists relates to the emotional discourse that was utilised in the reporting of these events. These journalists seem to have been aware of the hindrance of a profession that expected detachment from them whilst at the same time it expected them to continuously strive to connect readers to the news at hand. They admitted that reporting from Rwanda and Srebrenica incorporated emotionality around the representations of victims, however they were quick to claim that these emotions were those of the victims and not themselves; to have included their own emotions would have been self-indulgent and disrespectful to the suffering that the victims experienced. In this way, these journalists again fell back on the organisational expectations that their emotions must be silenced. However, in an analysis of the text producing during reporting of Rwanda and Srebrenica, this demarcation may not be so simple. Articles demonstrated an emotional discourse surrounding the representations of victims, one that seemed to showcase an emotional engagement and experience of these journalists with these victims in which they perform emotion. Whilst these descriptions centred on the emotion from the victims themselves, they seemed to also reveal a deeper emotional connection that may be indicative of an outsourcing of emotion on the part of journalists. The emotion and feelings that made up their experiences there and which incorporated the instinct and intuition that they relied on when reporting may form a part of this, may overlap, though almost imperceptibly and inadvertently.
In discussions, the journalists in the present research consistently exuded an air of professionalism and perseverance in relation to their job role. Time and time again they placed their job ahead of themselves as they continuously adhered to the emotional silences perpetuated by their industry. There were some moments in interviews though when this was tough and the professional exterior briefly fell and the psychological effects of the emotional dissonance these individuals faced during their reporting in Rwanda and Srebrenica was apparent. Feelings of guilt and regret that featured in these testimonies in relation to their reporting revealed the constant barrage of emotions that these journalists sifted through both during and after reporting. Yet, these journalists seemed to remain prisoners of the ‘beast.’ They continued to feed the ‘beast’ their emotions, the currency for both their professionalism and their emotional survival in order that they perpetuated what it meant to ‘be’ a journalist, even at their own personal expense. But this is the life they chose, the life they led and maybe still do lead. They do not want any sympathy for this.
Chapter 7  

Journalism and emotion: contradictions and complexities

This research has employed case studies of genocide that took place in Rwanda and Srebrenica to act as a lens through which we could explore the intricacies of the emotional experiences journalists have whilst reporting in extreme situations. It has endeavoured to determine how the collective experiences of these journalists relate to the wider organisational culture of journalism and how this affects journalists in their job role, specifically in relation to how they manage their emotions. The intensity and emotiveness of reporting during these extreme situations made it possible to highlight the challenges that journalists can be faced with. Testimonies from journalists as well as the analysis of reporting from Rwanda and Srebrenica, demonstrated the complex process of reporting and the contradictions that exist within the industry of journalism in relation to the incidence of emotionality. Since the previous political economy and organisational culture approaches to the study of journalism have not delved particularly far into the emotionality of reporting, the development of frameworks that can build on these approaches in order to address this gap is of considerable potential value. Against this context of limited previous research on the emotional experiences of journalists, this chapter seeks to develop from the findings outlined in its predecessors a framework with which to make sense of the complex and contradictory manifestations of journalistic emotional labour. As well as offering the means to make conceptual sense of the current findings, this concluding chapter will introduce a typology that offers a framework that may assist future relevant research on journalists and emotion, for example those focused on reporting situations that might differ from those focused on here. The first section of this chapter will summarise the main findings of the present research in order that it may then lead onto an explanation of this emergent typology in the second section and finish with recommendations for further research.
7.1 Journalists’ emotional experiences whilst reporting on genocide

As the previous analysis chapters have shown, exploring the emotional experiences of journalists that reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica revealed some illuminating findings in relation to the professional and organisational culture that surrounds their job role. In addition, findings have shown the way that journalists manage their emotions and the effects that they experience as a result of this emotional labour they perform. This chapter will demonstrate how these findings come together so as to provide a way in which we can better understand and conceptualise the crucial contradictions and complexities that journalists must constantly manoeuvre through in the process of reporting.

7.1.1 Emotional labour and professionalism

Within their job role journalists are expected to act professionally and thus strive to abide by certain implicit ‘rules’ that have been set out within the culture of what is expected when one is a journalist (Breed, 1955; Aldridge & Evetts, 2003; Deuze, 2005; Markham, 2011b; Hopper & Huxford, 2015). Journalists in the present research described ‘being professional’ as related to their ability to accomplish the reporting, which meant that they did their job no matter the context. This meant that regardless of any potential emotional toll that reporting during genocide may cause, these journalists accomplished what they had been sent there to do. This emphasis on professionalism therefore reinforces the pressure that these journalists place on managing their emotions and relying on emotional labour as a means to do this. In interviews there was a clear theme amongst the journalists from each case study that they managed their emotions whilst they reported during Rwanda and Srebrenica. Where traditional concepts exclusively considered emotional labour as performed in order to meet organisational expectations (Hochschild, 1979; 1983; Steinberg & Figart, 1999), its use among journalists seemed to go further than this. Journalists performed emotional labour as an attempt to meet organisational expectations of
emotional detachment and objectivity, however it also became a tool for their emotional survival. These journalists admitted that it became emotionally difficult at times for them to witness the violence or interact with the victims. Nevertheless, they explained how they pushed through these difficulties so that they were able to report on events because that was ‘being professional.’ In this way the emotional labour performed by these journalists became interlinked with their professionalism as it continuously circled back to their ability to maintain it, demonstrating a cognitive loop similar to that found by Hopper & Huxford (2015), and which perpetuates the emotional silencing that takes place within their job role.

7.1.2 Difficulty in the strive for objectivity

Whilst journalists acknowledged the strive for objectivity as an important journalistic ideal, they were in agreement that it was not entirely possible during their reporting of Rwanda and Srebrenica. Instead they recognised that they relied on what they regarded as their instinct and intuition to lead them towards the way that they conveyed these events to an audience. This demonstrates the difficulty that surrounds notions of objectivity in reporting that the present research applies in the context of reporting on genocide, but which can also be applied to other reporting situations. For instance, past research has found it difficult to apply a universal norm of objectivity since journalists vary in regards to their definition and use of this concept in reporting (Donsbach & Klett, 1993; Cottle, 2000; Ryan, 2001; Ward, 2009; Skovsgaard et al, 2013). Instead of trying to apply it as a universal concept, journalists may instead use it as a metre from which they then assess how best to report according to their own experience (Cottle, 2000; Tumber, 2006). Journalists in the present research showed a similar process in the way that they acknowledged journalistic ideals, such as objectivity, though they ultimately relied on their own experience and judgment towards reporting the situation.
7.1.3 Emotion in the text

As we have seen, journalists become emotionally silenced within their job role: they are expected to quiet their emotions so that they act as observers, removing any of their own emotionality from their reporting. The present research has demonstrated, however, that reporting is a complex and dynamic process for journalists, and one in which emotionality may not be so completely silenced. Journalists are aware certain narrative structures can elicit emotional responses in an audience, which is why emotive language or detailed descriptions are used in reporting as a way to garner interest in a story (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2013). Reporting can be imbued with emotions in this way, as in the reportage from Rwanda and Srebrenica, which incorporated certain narrative structures within the writing that produced an emotional discourse. In this way journalists in the present research may have outsourced their emotion, similar to that proposed by Wahl-Jorgensen (2012; 2013). I argue that they did this, however, as a way to connect the audience to these events in the hopes that it would elicit an emotional response that could serve to help the situation.

7.1.4 Negative emotional effects

Between the two case studies it was possible to observe the emotional toll and long-term effects participants experienced as a result of their reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica. All of the journalists appeared to have experienced negative emotional effects that transcended into their personal life upon their return home from reporting. Though the experiences varied from journalist to journalist, it was apparent that their time reporting on these events was carried with them and remained an emotional part of their life even after the reporting was finished. Journalists discussed feeling at times exhausted, overwhelmed, depressed, detached, and inadequate. These symptoms mirrored those found in previous research that has shown the negative effects of the continued performance of emotional labour, which can cause emotional dissonance and subsequent burnout in individuals (Hochschild, 1983; Maslach & Jackson, 1986; Lee & Ashforth, 1996; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Grandey, 2000; Zapf
et al., 2001; Zapf, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Lewig & Dollard, 2003; Zapf & Holz, 2006) and especially those in certain job sectors (Bellas, 1999; Martin, 1999; Mann, 2005; Bakker & Heuven, 2006; Schaible & Gecas, 2010). Journalists in the present research therefore acknowledged the emotional toll that reporting took on them, though they toed the professional line; they saw these negative effects as ‘part and parcel’ of the job, thus reflecting the organisational expectation that journalists should remain objective and emotionally detached (Merritt, 1995; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001; Gentzkow et al. 2006).

This section has provided a summary of the main findings that Chapters 5 and 6 have produced in relation to the emotional experiences of journalists that reported during Rwanda and Srebrenica. Participants acknowledged that during their time reporting they relied on their intuition and instinct, managed their emotions so that they were not overwhelmed, and also experienced long-term negative emotional effects as a result. Therefore it seems that these journalists were aware of the emotion that was inherent in reporting of these two extreme events. However, since emotion strays away from the objectivity that is encouraged within the professional expectations and ideals of the organisational culture of journalism, these journalists nevertheless attempted to suppress their emotions as they reported. These journalists became emotionally silenced, both by the industry and themselves. These findings therefore make it possible to understand the multi-faceted situation journalists experience in their job role and the way in which their emotional experiences exist as a complex product of these differing expectations, influences, ideals, and perceptions of the job role.

7.2 Conclusions

This section synthesises the previous narrative of findings in order to advance the main conclusions of this thesis. Previous frameworks of the study of journalism
reveal a gap in their ability to research this topic and therefore need to be augmented in order to be able to focus on journalists’ use of emotional labour. The present research therefore indicates that there are systematic ways of applying concepts of emotional labour in order to clarify journalistic practice, which can be demonstrated with the use of an emergent typology that reveals the contradictions that exist within the organisational culture of journalism.

7.2.1 Existing frameworks for the study of journalism reveal a gap

Whilst endeavouring to examine concepts of emotionality associated with reporting, it became clear that the political economy and organisational approaches needed to be extended for this research area to be explored further. Both of these frameworks for the study of journalism reveal a gap in the potential to specifically study the emotionality associated with reporting. The political economy approach to the study of journalism and its focus on the broader context of production tends to overlook the detailed experience and role of journalists in the interest of the wider ‘media machine.’ For instance, the central thesis of Hermany & Chomsky’s (2008) Propaganda Model asserts that news organisations construct the news in ways that benefit political and economic elites that they work in tandem with. In this macro approach journalists are seen as lacking autonomy and are regarded as mechanisms of the news organisation and broader capitalist system. Whilst this approach still retains value and influence in the realm of media studies and provides an important tool towards conceptualising the role of power in shaping journalistic practice, it does not allow for a detailed understanding of the journalists as actors themselves and the significance that their emotional experiences play.

The organisational culture approach, on the other hand, focuses on the role of journalists as part of its study of journalism. Journalists are seen as an important part of the news production process and so a focus on what it means to ‘be’ a journalist and how they ‘do’ journalism is emphasised. The newsroom itself is
considered a dynamic environment whereby social interactions between journalists, editors, and so on are always in motion and which have an effect on the subsequent news product. Within this social control of the newsroom journalists learn the implicit rules that make up their job role, such as the importance of objectivity and other journalistic ideals (Aldridge & Evetts, 2003). Whilst this can be linked in with the macro structural perspective advanced by the political economy approach, the organisational culture approach demonstrates a clear interest in exploring the different players involved within the organisational culture of news production, of which journalists are especially important. Nevertheless, it does not delve into the emotionality of reporting and thus overlooks the complexities and contradictions this area is wrought with and which journalists must continuously manoeuvre though.

7.2.2 Making sense of journalists’ use of emotional labour

As we have seen, previous work in journalism studies as well as in emotional labour research has tended to overlook the emotional experiences that journalists encounter whilst reporting. Traditionally, emotional labour research has focused on employees in customer service type industries that are expected to rely on certain scripts that dictate the behaviour and emotions they are expected to present to customers (Hochschild, 1979; 1983; Leidner, 1999). Journalists, on the other hand, learn to perform emotional labour more implicitly, through experiences on-the-job and interactions with colleagues. Journalism lacks the existence of codified practices that are required by a profession and so journalists learn the details of their job role through embedded rules (Schultz, 2007). As a result, the performance of emotional labour by journalists has tended to remain invisible to traditional emotional labour research. The current research seeks to develop understandings of journalists’ emotional behaviour that cohere with Dickinson’s (2007; 2010) proposal for a sociology of journalists that would incorporate journalists as social actors that engage in a distinctive and changing form of labour that culminates in their ability to do journalism. He argues that the changing context of media industries and production calls for a renewed interest in journalists and the socialisation of these individuals
within their job role that would make it possible to understand more generally how journalism is evolving. In this way a sociology directed specifically at the behaviour of journalists that the present research advocates would be useful in its scrutiny of the complexities and contradictions that exist within the process of reporting in relation to the industry of journalism overall.

7.2.3 Four manifestations of journalistic emotional labour

As we have seen, the analysis of emotion within organisations is a complex one. Bolton & Boyd (2003) have shown how airline employees are active and skilled participants in the multifaceted process of emotion management that takes place within their industry. Their framework for analysis, however, rejects the specific notion of ‘emotional labour’ as it distances itself from the tradition of Hochschild (1983). Looking specifically at journalists, Hopper & Huxford (2015) have been able to demonstrate how these individuals balance their emotions and therefore do perform ‘emotional labour’, but in a distinct way that stems from the multiple meanings and motivations the job elicits. Building upon this previous work, the present research makes it possible to understand the complex and sometimes contradictory ways in which emotions were managed and experienced among journalists reporting during Rwanda and Srebrenica. To further develop this previous work in relation to the cases studies in the present research, as well as to clarify the main conclusions of my research, I present a typology that applies specifically to journalists and the struggles they have during reporting by emphasising four key manifestations of emotional labour that I found within my research. The use of such a framework makes it possible to gain a better understanding of the challenges that journalists face whilst reporting specifically on conflict situations, but potentially also in other reporting situations, by highlighting the complexities and contradictions that exist within this process. Like all typologies, the categories below simplify to some extent the intricacies of journalists’ experiences. Nevertheless, these categories identify four central manifestations of emotional labour that may present a basis for exploring emotional labour within the profession.
1. ‘Emotional silencing’ through the maintenance of professionalism

The first manifestation of emotional labour pertains to the way in which journalists managed their emotions in order to maintain their professionalism and thus adhere to the emotional silencing promoted by the journalism industry. The present research has shown that there is an implicit pressure for the emotions of journalists to be silenced in order that they are able to maintain their professionalism and accomplish the reporting of events. Emotional labour here was used as a way for journalists to try to suppress those emotions that might have detracted from their ability to report and which would have consequently jeopardised their professionalism. This focus on reporting also revealed the effort these individuals made to emotionally survive by avoiding the negative emotional effects of the situation itself. This manifestation of emotional labour thus reveals a cognitive loop, similar to that introduced by Hopper & Huxford (2015), as the management of their emotions consistently circles back to the maintenance of professionalism for these journalists that is embodied in their ability to report. Emotional labour here becomes intertwined with the professional identity of journalists and serves as a way for them to maintain this identity amidst the negative emotional effects that reporting can produce. This maintenance of professionalism through the management of their emotions demonstrates the emotional silencing of these journalists, both by their industry and themselves. Whilst their employers do not explicitly state to journalists that they must suppress their emotions whilst reporting, there is an implicit expectation that shadows their job role and which mirrors the objectivity and emotional detachment promoted by the industry. As a result journalists observed this emotional silencing through this first manifestation of emotional labour in the way that they endeavoured to meet these expectations that have become instilled as part of their experience within the job role.

However, within this first manifestation of emotional labour we observe a contradiction and complexity in this attempt to meet organisational expectations. Throughout interviews participants acknowledged the emotions they felt when they reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica and even admitted how overwhelmed they sometimes were. They even discussed notions of compassion and sympathy felt for
the victims, though they remained emphatic that these emotions did not detract from their reporting. The professionalism of these journalists and their emotions may not then be mutually exclusive, but instead together form a sense of emotional investment that these individuals had towards the situation. As a result the emotional silencing of these journalists was not absolute and instead became part of the struggle of reporting.

We have seen that employees in other sectors such as healthcare (Mann, 2005), the police force (Martin, 1999), and academia (Bellas, 1999) are also expected to maintain their emotions within their job role, though the pressure placed on them is different than it is for journalists. For instance, police officers, nurses, and doctors are all expected to retain a certain amount of sensitivity in their interactions with those suffering, whether from a crime or an illness; their job is, after all, to tangibly help people in need. On the other hand, within the realm of journalism the notion of emotionality runs contrary to objectivity and the traditional concept of the journalist as a detached observer of truth and facts (Wahl-Jorgensen 2012; 2013). The use of emotional labour within the field of academia similarly demonstrates an expectation of detachment since academics are meant to retain objectivity so as not to bias their research in its impact or interpretation (Bellas, 1999). Nevertheless, the recent acknowledgment towards subjectivity and reflexivity within academia in disciplines such as the social sciences (Pillow, 2003) shows the timeliness and significance of extending this debate into the realm of journalism. Journalists may find themselves in other less intense reporting scenarios in which they are also expected to remain emotionally silent, whether in relation to their feelings towards the situation itself or even in relation to their workplace. As a result journalists may attempt to suppress their emotions in order to maintain their professionalism in a multitude of different situations they may report from. Further research that could apply this manifestation of emotional labour to these various reporting scenarios would clearly be of value.
2. The reliance on instinct or ‘journalistic nerve’ to report

The second manifestation of emotional labour refers to the way that journalists relied on their instinct, or ‘journalistic nerve’, to report on events. Whilst it is clear that the strive for objectivity remains an important journalistic ideal, participants also revealed that in their reporting of Rwanda and Srebrenica they relied on their instinct and intuition of the situation in order to determine how best to convey events. The trust these journalists placed on their intuition towards events arguably introduces an element of emotionality into the reporting that extends the previous manifestation of emotional labour and the way that emotions were negotiated. In describing their reporting during Rwanda and Srebrenica as instinctual, it is possible to see again how the complexities and contradictions of reporting are exposed. It is here that the professional ideals that promote expectations of objectivity and emotional detachment are confronted with the sense of emotionality that may have formed part of this ‘journalistic nerve.’

However, even when these journalists admitted to relying on their own instinct and intuition to report on Rwanda and Srebrenica, they made a clear distinction that they did not become too attached in a way that would have biased their reports or promoted a more campaigning sort of journalism. Furthermore, throughout the interviews journalists were adamant that they did not incorporate their own emotions into their writing, which they considered to be self-indulgent. Even in this instance then where journalists began to acknowledge that reporting may have incorporated their own emotions and feelings in some fashion, they swiftly returned to the foundations of professionalism that situate them within the embedded rules of journalism. So as not to threaten their professional identity, the ‘journalistic nerve’ that they relied upon was instead characterised by these journalists as a focused and professional process that incorporated their perception and judgment of the situation. This corresponds with traditional emotional labour research and its notion that emotional labour was done as a way to meet organisational demands from employers (Hochschild, 1979; 1983; Steinberg & Figart, 1999). In addition, it also reveals the multi-faceted nature of professionalism, which could be seen as
incorporating an arsenal of learned behaviours and industry expectations that these journalists employed alongside their own experiences and feelings that together produced the ‘journalistic nerve’ they used to report. This advances previous work by Aldridge & Evetts (2003), who have called for a reinterpretation of the concept of professionalism that fundamentally maintains the dominant idea of what journalism is and should be, but which also exists as a dynamic process that moulds itself in-line with the changes journalists encounter.

Previous research has also demonstrated the issues that are related to journalistic attempts at maintaining objectivity whilst reporting (Donsbach & Klett, 1993; Cottle, 2000; Ryan, 2001; Dworznik, 2006; Tumber, 2006; Richards & Rees, 2011; Skovsgaard et al, 2013). These studies use varying samples of journalists and reporting scenarios, yet they show these same difficulties inherent in defining and applying notions of objectivity. The intuition and instinct that participants relied upon when reporting during Rwanda and Srebrenica could therefore also relate to other news situations in which journalists may find it more appropriate to fall back on their own expertise and feelings towards a situation. It seems that journalists are able to garner a feel for certain situations based on the experiences that they have within a variety of different context and situations, each of which may call upon different parts of their professional arsenal. It may be possible then that the notion of using the feelings and instinctual judgments that one has for a situation, honed over years of experience as a journalists, is possible for individuals reporting not just on conflict situations but many other situations. Events can turn out to be complex even if they are not conflict situations and so reporting from a multitude of contexts would enable this reliance on instinct and intuition that is manifested through the emotional labour of journalists.

3. **Outsourcing of emotion through the audience and victims**

The third manifestation of emotional labour relates to the possibility that journalists may have outsourced their own emotion by the attribution of an emotional discourse
to the victims’ experiences that provided an emotional engagement of this discourse with the audience. All of the articles that were examined prominently featured an emotional discourse in the representation of victims from Rwanda and Srebrenica. When examined alongside the interviews with participants, the emotional discourse within these articles seems to reveal an emotional investment that these journalists had in relation to their reporting of these two situations. It is possible then that these journalists outsourced the emotional investment they felt towards the victims, *through* the emotions of the victims that they portrayed in the text, in order to provide an emotional connection with the audience. In interviews journalists described the importance of providing an emotional link for the audience. This emotional connection could have served as a way to increase interest and consequently provide profit for the news organisations that published these articles. However, this emotional connection could have also been a way for these journalists to promote interest and action towards these events and thus extend this thread of emotionality that the second manifestation distinguished in the reporting of events. In applying this outsourcing of emotions by journalists specifically to these cases of genocide I extend the work by Wahl-Jorgensen (2012; 2013) to demonstrate the way that this may relate to the emotional investment these journalists had towards events, shown through their efforts to make the audience aware in the hopes that something may be done to help the victims.

Revealing the emotional experiences of the victims through this emotional discourse can help the audience to form an emotional association with a news story, especially one that is remote and unfamiliar. Articles from Rwanda were found to have incorporated an emotional discourse that portrayed the victims of the genocide in a way that might galvanise attention and action towards their situation: survivors were humanised and relatable, whilst the deceased were described realistically and graphically, perhaps to emphasise the need for action that might stop the killings. In testimonies, journalists that reported on Rwanda discussed the difficulties they faced as a result of the disinterest by UK news organisations when the violence first began. They emphasised the initiative they took which meant that they were of the few who
were able to report on-the-ground and witness the violence first-hand as they did. As a result these journalists demonstrated a sense of ownership over the story of Rwanda and the part that they had in reporting it from the outset and which appeared to have translated into the passion with which they tried to attract attention and interest towards the victims.

On the other hand, articles from Srebrenica were found to have incorporated an emotional discourse that portrayed the victims in a way that seems to serve as an accusation of the failure of the UN and other global organisations and governments to act to prevent the violence: victims were described as desperate, hopeless, and helpless in their continued suffering. In testimonies, journalists that reported on Srebrenica discussed the interest that UK news organisations had in regards to the Bosnian War which meant that they had previously reported and knew of the situational dynamics at play. They disparaged the UN and other global organisations for neither expecting nor preventing the genocide even though Srebrenica had been decreed a safe enclave as a direct result of the continued policy of killing towards the Bosnian Muslims. As a result these journalists appear to have demonstrated a damning indictment of the ineptitude of the global community in their representation of the hopelessness of the victims in the reporting.

In providing an opportunity to understand how journalists might become emotionally invested in their work, the concept of outsourcing emotion somewhat contradicts organisational expectations that place journalists as emotionally detached from their work. In interviews journalists adhered to these expectations, asserting that any emotions that were incorporated into their text could only be attributed to the victims and not themselves. Yet again these organisational expectations that journalists do not include their own emotions parallel instances where journalists abide by this in their testimonies. However this interplay becomes more complex once the interviews are examined alongside the articles and it is then possible to distinguish this potential for contradictions: the emotions of journalists are disregarded, and yet at the same
time the emotionality of reporting that can interest and push emotional buttons in a readership is promoted since it supports the commercial imperatives of news organisations towards selling newspapers (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012). Thus, the industry of journalism promotes this contradiction in which they endeavour to build the effect of a news story through the collective feelings of the victims, but deny the emotions of the journalists that are themselves engaged with these victims, as Journalist DO explained: “Essentially it was about people slaughtering other people. And that is essentially what happened in Rwanda... And I think the strongest stories are always going to come from the victims, and the most honest stories” (original emphasis).

We have seen the emotional investment that journalists in the present research had in their reporting and how this became transposed into the way that they outsourced their own emotion through that of the victims. Although this specific manifestation of emotional labour is particularly relevant to conflict reporting, outsourcing of emotion by journalists might also occur in other reporting situations as a way to emotionally connect with an audience. Previous research has demonstrated that whilst journalistic ideals of objectivity remain contrary to emotionality, reporting typically features the use of emotional discourse because it allows the audience to emotionally engage with and thus feel connected to events (Grabe & Zhou, 2003; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012; 2013). Journalists are consistently placed in different scenarios in which they are expected to report on events in a way that garners audience interest and so in doing so they may be outsourcing their emotion.

4. Emotional trauma as seen through burnout
The fourth and final manifestation of emotional labour pertains to the incidence of emotional trauma encountered by journalists throughout and after reporting. Although the first manifestation of emotional labour may have made it possible for journalists to provisionally negotiate their emotions in such a way that they
maintained their professionalism and emotional survival whilst reporting, it is here that we can see that the cumulative effect belies this. Instead, their continued use of emotional labour introduced a conflict between attempts to remain emotionally silent and the emotions they naturally felt towards events. This difficulty caused the emotional dissonance that was experienced as a result of reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica. Thus the emotional investment that exists as a common thread between these four manifestations of emotional labour is discernible here in the way that these journalists were continuously emotionally affected afterwards. The present research therefore extends previous work by Hopper & Huxford (2015) that found an incidence of emotional dissonance as a result of the emotional labour performed by their sample of journalists. I argue that whilst emotional dissonance also occurred in journalists that reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica, this emotional trauma extended even further to the experience of burnout.

Journalists that reported on Rwanda as well as Srebrenica presented each of the three dimensions of burnout—emotional exhaustion, lack of personal accomplishment, and depersonalisation (Maslach & Jackson, 1986)—in their discussions in interviews. The first dimension of burnout, emotional exhaustion, was apparent in the collective acknowledgment of PTSD symptoms and other lasting trauma or stress symptoms by participants. Depersonalisation also featured in many of the journalists’ testimonies in the way that they described reporting as though they acted outside of themselves in order to focus on the work and nothing more. As we have already seen, participants centred their professional identity as first and foremost which meant that the reporting was accomplished many times with a machine-like efficiency that cast aside any sense of individuality. The result of this was the deference of those personal traits that journalists thought might hinder the ability to report accurately. The third and last dimension, lack of personal accomplishment, was revealed in the way that participants referred to the regret and guilt that they felt when they thought of their reporting and its inadequacy in being able to accomplish a better outcome for the victims than what occurred. Journalist 11 sums how these emotional effects transcended into one’s personal life: “For 20 years
I am writing about Srebrenica. Srebrenica has put many events in my own life in perspective. I was never upset about my child’s bad grades, about trains that run late, about editors shortening my stories, about divorce... none of this matters.”

The collective incidence of burnout exhibited by these journalists demonstrates the emotional trauma experienced by these individuals and consequently reveals the continued struggle that is encountered as a result of managing one’s emotions. As a result, emotional labour can be seen as a very strenuous activity for those that perform it within their work (Hochschild, 1983; Zapf, 2002; Bakker & Heuven, 2006). For journalists this struggle extends beyond just the reporting itself, into their personal and professional lives. Similar to military culture, the industry of journalism prolongs the negative emotional effects of their work since individuals are discouraged from seeking help due to the stigma attached to emotional trauma (Feinstein et al, 2002; Pyevich et al, 2003; Iverson et al, 2005; Aoki et al, 2012). However, there has been much more research interest on the emotional toll faced by military personnel, whereas the experiences of journalists have been overlooked within trauma research. It is possible then to circle back the emotional silencing we have seen perpetuated by the industry of journalism in the way that these journalists also silence their own emotional trauma so that they may continue on in their professional role as a journalist.

The incidence of burnout in journalists may not be exclusive to those that report on conflict situations even if there is a high incidence of it especially in these types of contexts. Past research has shown that continuous use of emotional labour can lead to emotional dissonance in cases where a conflict arises between the individual’s natural emotions towards the situation, and how they are expected to feel as a result of their job role (Hochschild, 1983; Grandey, 2000; Zapf & Holz, 2006). It is not only in conflict situations where journalists may feel a pressure to suppress or manage their felt emotions in order to meet organisational expectations. Considering that journalists report from a range of different events in which they are expected to
interact with a variety of people, from those involved in the event to those that they work with, it would not be surprising that they might find themselves experiencing burnout as a result of this high intensity work setting. It will be for future research to show whether this manifestation of emotional labour can be seen in other reporting situations, any of which that might cause a journalist to be in an over-stressed, over-worked environment where they might feel emotional dissonance and eventually experience burnout.

**Multifaceted emotional labour**

Journalists that reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica employed emotional labour that manifested itself in a variety of ways, four of which we have focused on as instances that highlight this struggle. The industry of journalism, the journalists themselves, and even perhaps society in a sense, perpetuate the emotional silencing that serves to maintain the professional and organisational discourse that encompasses the role of journalists as unaffected transmitters of news. Whilst journalists attempted to suppress their emotions and adhere to this, the emotional investment that they had was not so easily quieted. The intuition and instinct that these individuals relied upon in their reporting demonstrates the way in which they chose to report based on the trust they placed in their own feelings and judgments of a situation. They maintained that this use of their instinct was focused, however, in an attempt to adhere to the professionalism that they hold so dear. In much the same way these journalists also seemed to outsource their emotion through their descriptions of victims in their reportage from Rwanda and Srebrenica, in order to emotionally connect the audience with events. This demonstrates again the emotional investment that these journalists had but which they attempted to mask in order to maintain their professionalism. However, the residual feelings of stress, trauma, guilt, and regret that these individuals experienced shows the negative side of this emotional investment that can carry on after reporting is which reveals the complexity of this emotionality. All of these manifestations of emotional labour that we have seen therefore reveal the
emotionality involved in reporting that journalists had to manoeuvre through when reporting during genocide. However, this also provides a framework that can be applied to journalists that report in other situations since the inherent contradictions and complexities in relation to this emotionality can be transposed to a variety of reporting scenarios.

The four key manifestations of emotional labour demonstrated by journalists in the present research show how fluid and multidimensional the process of emotion management can be. These journalists demonstrated activeness towards their performance of emotional labour reminiscent of Bolton & Boyd’s (2003) depiction of emotion management in airline employees, albeit at a much more intense degree. Arguably the extreme situation of reporting during genocide has shown how deeply emotional labour penetrates and how far it extends when used during the process of reporting. Emotional labour here became intertwined with the professional identity of journalists and served as a way for them to maintain this identity amidst the negative emotional effects reporting could produce. This shows how the private can become interwoven with organisational life and expands Bolton & Boyd’s (2003) belief that individuals mix forms of emotion management. In the present research journalists specifically combined their professionalism with the emotionality of reporting and manoeuvred through the complexity of their situation to form their own ‘journalistic nerve’, which they used to direct their reporting.

However, the balancing of emotions required by the complexity of the process of reporting represents the difficulty these journalists faced as skilled emotion managers. Hopper & Huxford (2015) discussed this struggle in relation to their own sample of local journalists, however they did not consider the process of writing, nor did they analyse the actual reports of the journalists in their study. In order to create a more comprehensive understanding of this struggle the present research therefore
combined interviews with journalists examined alongside the articles that they wrote, and as a result created a more complete representation of the process of reporting. This approach made it possible to distinguish the potentials for contradictions brought forward when considering both the journalists as well as their writing. For instance, the emotionality of reporting that can interest and push emotional buttons in a readership is promoted since it supports the commercial imperatives of news organisations towards selling newspapers (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2012), though at the same time journalists are expected to silence their own emotions and maintain the thread of objectivity that runs through the realm of journalism. The result of these contradictions that exist within the journalistic field, as we have seen, lies in the emotional strain wrought upon the journalists themselves. Work by both Hopper & Huxford (2015) and Bolton & Boyd (2003) emphasises the emotional burden that may be experienced by employees in industries demanding a repeated management of emotions. The present research, however, extends Hopper & Huxford’s (2015) brief observation of the incidence of emotional dissonance in the journalists in their study. The emotional trauma discussed by journalists that reported on Rwanda and Srebrenica was more extensive than observed in previous studies because the emotional dissonance they experienced tended to extend through to burnout. This burnout encompassed the emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation, and lack of personal accomplishment (Maslach & Jackson, 1981) that these individuals experienced as a result of their continued use of emotional labour and which demonstrates the burden of emotional trauma these journalists endured, to lasting personal and professional effects.

The four central manifestations of emotional labour in the journalistic sphere found in the present research help to highlight the contradictions that exist between different organisational expectations that are placed on journalists and what these journalists actually experience when they are on-the-ground. The interplay between these manifestations of emotional labour demonstrate the way in which traditional notions of objectivity and emotional detachment that are part of this organisational culture
were not so easily attainable during the reporting of Rwanda and Srebrenica. Instead these journalists revealed the emotional investment they had in their reporting and the struggle they faced with this emotionality that runs counter to what is expected of them.

7.3 Further research and recommendations

To end, recommendations for future research and thinking in relation to journalists and their emotional experiences whilst reporting on-the-ground during genocide will be discussed. This section will navigate between recommendations related to the further study of journalists and the emotionality that surrounds their job role, as well as discuss the significance of utilising two distinct case studies of genocide.

7.3.1 Applying this framework to different reporting situations

The typology that emerges from the present research provides a framework that may assist future exploration of the ways in which journalists in different reporting situations may incorporate emotional labour. This could make it possible to conceptualise how journalists reporting on different types of situations may utilise emotional labour, albeit for different reasons than journalists in the present research. Whilst the specificities associated with reporting genocide may not necessarily map onto the experience of reporting other situations, the framework it provides gives a starting point from which to analyse the generalities of reporting that correspond to emotional labour. As we have seen, it could provide useful to employ these four manifestations of emotional labour towards research on experiences in other reporting situations. The contradictions and complexities that have been shown in the present research related to the culture of objectivity versus the emotionality of journalists provide a basis from which to situate other reporting contexts within this debate.
Findings in the present research in relation to emotional dissonance and the effects of burnout on these journalists show room for improvement in relation to the way that the news industry deals with the emotional effects of this job on their employees, especially those that are faced with reporting on such intense conflicts as genocide. Findings in the present research correspond with the recommendation by Zapf (2002) that organisations need to determine whether they are willing to cope with the negative effects of burnout on their employees, or if they are willing to become better equipped to try to avoid such consequences by preventing the onslaught of emotional dissonance. Likewise, Aoki et al (2012) asserted that these issues surrounding the stigma of PTSD amongst journalists might be a result of employers either being reluctant to inform them about the potential for traumatisation in their field, or an indication of the lack of resources and knowledge that employers have in this area. There is also an important opportunity for journalists to become integrated more as subjects of study for both trauma research and emotional labour research. Although journalists have been overlooked within both of these areas of research, it is clear that their job is relevant to these areas of study regardless of the culture of objectivity within which it may exist.

7.3.2 Future debates on emotionality in reporting

The present research raises the discussion as to whether it is realistically attainable for journalists to tacitly adhere to the ‘emotional silencing’ appropriated them by their news organisations. It has demonstrated that journalists’ attempts at managing their emotions were not absolute and that the emotional experiences of journalists may instead extend into their writing and become embedded into the emotional discourse that these journalists utilise to describe the victims and engage the audience. This shows the possible emotional investment that these individuals had for for their reporting on Rwanda and Srebrenica. Thus, there is a potential for future research to further explore the notion that the emotional experiences of journalists may extend into their writing since the objectivity of journalists remains contested (Sigelman,
1973; Donsbach & Klett, 1993; Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2001; Dworznik, 2006; Richards and Rees, 2011; Skovsgaard et al, 2013). Consequently, this may be a crucial area of further study that would do well to encourage a revised discussion of the organisational culture of journalism and the pressure it places on journalists in their job role.

7.3.3 Case studies of genocide as distinct constructs from which to explore elements of reporting

Whilst there are some clear comparative elements between Rwanda and Srebrenica in relation to journalists’ experiences, it proved important to use these as two distinct case studies. Past research (Meyers et al, 1996; Wall, 1997) has compared the genocides in Rwanda and Srebrenica because of their occurrence in the 1990s and the establishment for International Criminal Tribunals for each. Initially the current research attempted to compare and contrast these case studies similar to that done by previous research. However, it became more apparent as the research went on that these two cases should be treated more so as two distinct examples to demonstrate the emotional experiences journalists undergo when reporting during genocide. For this reason the present research focused on three specific elements that served to demonstrate the distinct situation of either genocide: the international presence in regards to the UN; UK media presence; and journalistic presence in each. These three factors emphasised the difference in context between Rwanda and Srebrenica that hinged upon the disparity between how the UK media addressed these two events, as well as the involvement of the UN in each. The implication of this disparity could therefore be seen in the way that journalists addressed their emotional investment in the situation, for instance in the way that journalists appeared to outsource their emotion differently between the two events. These two case studies therefore provided a novel platform to collectively demonstrate the intricacies of reporting, whilst at the same time accentuating the distinctiveness of events that also plays a part in how journalists ultimately report.
This thesis has attempted to provide an innovative platform from which to carry on the study of the emotional experiences of journalists that report on genocide or in other intense conflict situations. As demonstrated in this thesis, participants were often willing to place their own emotional needs second to that demanded of them within their industry. Whilst journalists like the ones interviewed constantly negotiated their emotions in what were markedly traumatic situations to bring us the news, it should be a research priority that we continue to explore the emotional and physical risks of this unique job role. This exploration of the emotional experiences of journalists has before now remained disregarded as a result of an industry fixated on a culture of objectivity. However, with the help of participants as well as the examination of the reporting itself, it was possible to shed light on the complexities inherent in reporting during genocide. A narrative for the emotional experiences of these journalists has therefore been constructed, both during and after reporting, and in doing so has exposed some important debates both within the organisational culture and amongst the journalists themselves.
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Appendices

Appendix I: Sample of newspaper articles from Rwanda case study

Table 7-1 Articles from Rwanda sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Title</th>
<th>Author</th>
<th>UK Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White South Africa watches Rwandan bloodbath in dread</td>
<td>Annabel Heseltine, Mwambu Wanendeya</td>
<td>Sunday Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men mad with killing drown nation in blood</td>
<td>Lindsey Hilsum</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 1</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 2</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortar bombs kill 14 in church haven for Kigali refugees</td>
<td>Catherine Bond, Tom Walker</td>
<td>Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 4</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopeless, helpless, horror beyond belief</td>
<td>Annabel Heseltine</td>
<td>Sunday Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village a scene of human wreckage</td>
<td>Mark Fritz (AP)</td>
<td>Press Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 5</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 6</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyewitness: tide of death from Rwanda</td>
<td>Anna Borzello</td>
<td>Guardian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda’s deadly tide pollutes Lake Victoria</td>
<td>Mwambu Wanendeya</td>
<td>Sunday Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aid workers bury thousands of Rwanda's bloated corpses</td>
<td>David Orr</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In hell the streets are empty</td>
<td>David Orr</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 7</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda's tapestry of misery</td>
<td>David Orr</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life stirs in Rwandan charnel-house</td>
<td>David Orr</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand still as I slaughter you</td>
<td>Colin Smith</td>
<td>Sunday Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The horror of life after Rwanda, and the Scot who brings some hope</td>
<td>Jane Franchi</td>
<td>Daily Record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horror stories and casualties mount on the road to ruin</td>
<td>Sarah Wilson</td>
<td>Scotsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brutal evidence of a reason to fight</td>
<td>Sarah Wilson</td>
<td>Scotsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guided tour through Rwanda's killing fields</td>
<td>Michela Wrong</td>
<td>Reuters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunted Rwandans tell of courage amid cruelty</td>
<td>Chris McGreal</td>
<td>Guardian</td>
</tr>
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</table>
# Appendix II: Sample of newspaper articles from Srebrenica case study

## Table 7-2 Articles from Srebrenica sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Article Title</th>
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</tr>
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<td>Article 9</td>
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<td>Article 10</td>
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<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 12</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee women 'see men folk shot'</td>
<td>Christopher Bellamy</td>
<td><em>Independent</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 13</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 14</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We were all screaming and trying to pull back our boys</td>
<td>Jon Swain, Edin Hamzic</td>
<td><em>Sunday Times</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 15</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodies pile up in horror of Srebrenica</td>
<td>Robert Block</td>
<td><em>Independent</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000 still missing in 'zone of death'</td>
<td>Christopher Bellamy</td>
<td><em>Independent</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 16</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 17</td>
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<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 18</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survivors tell of Serb killing fields</td>
<td>Christopher Bellamy</td>
<td><em>Independent</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass slaughter in a Bosnian field knee-deep in blood'</td>
<td>Robert Block</td>
<td><em>Independent</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He's coming he just hasn't arrived yet</td>
<td>Christopher Bellamy</td>
<td><em>Independent</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 19</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Newspaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bosnia endures more atrocities</td>
<td>Jon Swain</td>
<td>Sunday Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River killings shed light on scale of horror after the fall of Srebrenica</td>
<td>Robert Block</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They shot the mum and dad then set the place alight with their baby still inside</td>
<td>Joan Mcalpine</td>
<td>Daily Record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tragic lives in the dust of Bosnia's tented Hell</td>
<td>Joan Mcalpine</td>
<td>Daily Record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tears for a mother who'll never come</td>
<td>David Williams</td>
<td>Daily Mail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The shadow of cleansing</td>
<td>Tom Stoddart</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thousands slaughtered as Mladic boasts of a 'bloody feast'</td>
<td>Christine Toomey, Almasa Hadzic</td>
<td>Sunday Times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission in a war zone</td>
<td>Nikkie Du Preez</td>
<td>Scotsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 20</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest circle of hell has a tin roof</td>
<td>Christopher Bellamy</td>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 21</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
<td>Redacted</td>
</tr>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix III: Participant Information Sheet

Participant Information Sheet, Version 2.0 (May 2014)

A critical examination of UK newspaper representations of victims of genocide: Rwanda and Srebrenica (working title)

Introduction

I would like to invite you to take part in a PhD research project that is being conducted in conjunction with support from the Sociology and Politics departments at the University of Surrey. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve for you. Please take the time to read the following information carefully and if you have any further questions or concerns please do not hesitate to contact me.

What is the purpose of the study?

My research combines the realms of Sociology and Politics by examining the media discourse of genocide conveyed through UK newspapers. An important part of this media discourse includes the way victims of genocide are portrayed in newspaper narratives. My research concentrates on the relationship between the journalist and the victims of genocide and how journalists emotionally frame the victims within their articles. There has long been uncertainty regarding journalists’ roles, especially when writing about human rights issues. Understanding the emotional impact of journalists writing about these dire situations is crucial to helping future journalists in the field.

Why have I been invited to take part in the study?

You have been invited to take part in this study because of your past experience as a news correspondent reporting on-the-ground in Rwanda and/or Srebrenica during the genocides in 1994 and 1995, respectively. In addition, one or more of your articles
may have been chosen as a part of a sample of UK newspaper articles that depict these genocides and emotionally construct the victims of these genocides.

**Do I have to take part?**

No, you do not have to participate. There will be no adverse consequences if you decide not to participate. Furthermore, you can withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

**What will my involvement require?**

You will be asked to participate in a semi-structured interview with the researcher. This interview will take place face-to-face if you live in London or will be in the area around the time of the interviews. Face-to-face interviews in the London area will take place at a public location chosen by the participant so that it is at the participant’s best convenience. Otherwise, it will take place via Skype. If neither of these methods is possible, the interview will take place over the phone or via email. Although interviews will be prearranged as a one-off event, there is room for subsequent communication with the researcher and participant if the participant agrees upon this and the researcher feels it is necessary. If needed, this would take place either in the form of answering further questions via email or a second semi-structured interview, both only at the convenience and agreement of the participant.

**What will I have to do?**

If you would like to take part please return the attached Consent Form to the researcher. This can be completed, scanned and sent via email to the researcher (see contact details below).

**What are the possible disadvantages or risks of taking part?**

Possible disadvantages related to participation include distress symptoms such as intrusive and disturbing thoughts, disrupt to sleeping patterns, vivid flashbacks,
nightmares, feelings of stress and detachment, panicky feelings, lack of concentration, and emotional numbness. These are all psychological and emotional symptoms that may be attributed to retrieving memories associated with an intense, stressful, and violent event such as the genocide(s) you are being asked to participate in an interview about.

If you feel any of the above symptoms as a result of participation, all steps necessary to provide help for you to identify and obtain support services and discontinue further participation in the research will be taken. If the participant resides in the UK at the time of the interview, support services via the NHS (e.g. a referral by the participant's GP to a mental health specialist for further assessment or treatment) will be liaised with where necessary. In instances where the participant resides outside of the UK at the time of the interview, local support services will be identified prior to the interview and if necessary will be liaised with. Rapid-response via non-NHS (chargeable) services will be identified prior to the interview as a precaution and where necessary they will be contacted by the researcher.

**What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

It is unlikely that you will benefit directly but it is hoped that with your participation the research aim and objectives of this thesis will be furthered through the collection of first-hand narrative experiences from journalists that experienced these genocides.

**What happens when the research study stops?**

After the research study data have been transcribed and analysed by the researcher, the interview transcript will be made available to the participant via email before any of the research is finalised. This will enable the participant to voice any queries or concerns regarding the interview transcript, before the work is finalised and/or published.
What if there is a problem?

Any complaint or concern about any aspect of the way you have been dealt with during the course of the study will be addressed; please contact Caitlin Knight, Principal Investigator on 07772 61 2452 or c.m.knight@surrey.ac.uk

You may also contact the Head of Sociology, Professor Rachel Brooks, on 01483 68 6987 or r.brooks@surrey.ac.uk

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Yes. Data will be stored securely in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998. According to University policies, research data will be stored for a minimum of 10 years. All copies of data will be securely stored and have securely stored back-up copies that are all password-protected. Data will be anonymised and where necessary pseudonyms will be used. However, confidentiality must be breached in the event that serious professional misconduct (i.e. illegal wrongdoing that must be reported to authorities) is disclosed to the researcher.

Contact details of researcher and supervisors:

Researcher: Caitlin Marie Knight

Sociology department (01 AD 03), University of Surrey

C.m.knight@surrey.ac.uk

Caitlin.m.knight@gmail.com

07772 61 2452

Primary supervisor: Dr. Nicola Green

Sociology department (15 AD 03), University of Surrey
Secondary supervisor: Professor Marie Breen-Smyth

Politics department (09 AC 05), University of Surrey

Who is organising and funding the research?

University of Surrey

Who has reviewed the project?

The study has been reviewed and received a Favourable Ethical Opinion (FEO) from the University of Surrey Ethics Committee.

Thank you for taking the time to read this Information Sheet.
Appendix IV: Consent form

Consent Form, Version 2.0 (May 2014)

• I the undersigned voluntarily agree to take part in the study on UK newspaper representations of victims of genocide: Rwanda and Srebrenica

• I have read and understood the Information Sheet provided. I have been given a full explanation by the investigators of the nature, purpose, location and likely duration of the study, and of what I will be expected to do. I have been advised about any discomfort and possible ill effects on my health and well being which may result. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions on all aspects of the study and have understood the advice and information given as a result.

• I agree to comply with any instruction given to me during the study and to co-operate fully with the investigators. I shall inform them immediately if I suffer any deterioration of any kind in my health or well being, or experience any unexpected or unusual symptoms.

• I consent to my personal data, as outlined in the accompanying information sheet, being used for this study. I understand that all personal data relating to volunteers is held and processed in the strictest confidence, and in accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998).
• I consent to my personal data, as outlined in the accompanying information sheet, being used for other research. I understand that all personal data relating to volunteers is held and processed in the strictest confidence, and in accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998).

• I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without needing to justify my decision and without prejudice.

• I confirm that I have read and understood the above and freely consent to participating in this study. I have been given adequate time to consider my participation and agree to comply with the instructions and restrictions of the study.

Name of volunteer ........................................ (BLOCK CAPITALS)

Signed ......................................................

Date ......................................................

Name of researcher/person taking consent

.......................................................... (BLOCK CAPITALS)

Signed ......................................................

Date ......................................................
Appendix V: Sample of journalists for interviews

Table 7-3 Named journalists from sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full name of journalists</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aidan Hartley</td>
<td>Journalist AiH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annabel Heseltine</td>
<td>Journalist AnH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catherine Bond</td>
<td>Journalist CaB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher Bellamy</td>
<td>Journalist ChB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colin Smith</td>
<td>Journalist CS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Orr</td>
<td>Journalist DO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lindsey Hilsum</td>
<td>Journalist LH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michela Wrong</td>
<td>Journalist MW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7-4 Anonymised journalists from sample

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<thead>
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<th>Anonymous journalists</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Journalist 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous journalist 3</td>
<td>Journalist 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous journalist 4</td>
<td>Journalist 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous journalist 5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Journalist 14</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Appendix VI: Interview template for Rwanda case study

Prior to the genocide

1. Please describe your background: how did you come to be working for [newspaper]? What other conflicts/genocides had you reported on prior to Rwanda?

2. When and how did you come to be on-the-ground reporting in Rwanda?

3. Did you have any practical or emotional preparations (e.g. counseling of any kind) from the news agency before going to Rwanda?

4. Discuss any specific experiences you remember about this time period prior to being on-the-ground.

On the ground: practical issues

1. Did you experience issues with the complexity and/or context of the situation and events that were happening in Rwanda?

2. Did you experience issues with language difficulties? E.g. issues with translation, inexperience with French/Kinyarwanda, etc.

3. Journalist Richard Dowden has written an epilogue about his time reporting in Rwanda. He cites mobility issues, saying: “Getting to the action was not easy. There were no flights to Kigali or anywhere else in the country. The route from Zaire in the west was impossible as President Mobutu Sese Seko did not allow journalists into the country except by special invitation.” Did you experience issues with mobility and/or accessibility?

4. Richard Dowden also wrote in his epilogue about communications issues, saying: “It was also impossible to get the story out without leaving Rwanda. Telephones did not work and mobile phones did not reach that far in those
days. To send reports back to the newspaper meant going all the way back to Uganda, another day’s journey on roads where you had to drive permanently in second gear. Once out, it might be impossible to get back in again…” Did you experience issues with communications?

5. Did you experience any other kinds of practical issues? E.g. money scarcity, hunger, cooperation with others, etc.

**On the ground: conceptualisation of events**

1. Richard Dowden also writes in his epilogue about the internal conflict he felt when reporting from Rwanda, saying: “…it was difficult for me to find words to describe what was happening. I had covered nearly 20 wars, but the usual clichés of death and destruction mocked Rwanda’s horrors. I could find no new words to describe what I was seeing. Furthermore, all the usual human and journalistic instincts to tell an important story to the world shriveled in the face of what I was seeing and hearing… How could I tell my wife what I had seen and smelled? Why should anyone at all need to be told these things?” Did you experience any sort of internal conflict such as this?

2. Did you feel any sort of emotional toll during your time reporting on the genocide? What emotions do you remember feeling, or do you feel now thinking back?

3. How did you negotiate between your role as a journalist and your own human experience of the events you were experiencing? I.e. how did you deal with your professional practice of what was expected of you in that job role, alongside you own personal emotional conceptualisation of such traumatic events.

4. Discuss as much as you feel comfortable with in regards to your experiences with the victims.
5. Did you have any experiences with the perpetrators?

6. How do you feel about Martin Bell’s (1998) concept of a ‘journalism of attachment’, wherein journalists are seen as having a moral obligation to distinguish between ‘good’ and ‘evil’ in conflict zones, and if necessary to take sides? Do you think this kind of journalism had a place in reporting in Rwanda?

**Writing**

1. Do you remember writing these articles? If so, describe any events surrounding them that you remember.

2. Did you have any intentions for your audience when writing articles?

3. Excerpts from your articles you could reflect on?

**Editing**

1. Do you know or remember if your articles during the genocide were edited? For instance, did you experience issues with political correctness with your writing? E.g. with the use of the word ‘tribe’

2. Did you experience any sort of ‘ick’ factor with the newspaper, wherein you were expected to sanitise graphic material for the audience?

3. What are your opinions on critiques by past researchers that Western reporting of the genocide in Rwanda was reductionist, racist, and colonialist?

**Conclusions**

1. Any last reflections or comments that you have thinking back to your time reporting on the genocide in Rwanda?
Appendix VII: Interview template for Srebrenica case study

Prior to the genocide

1. Please describe your background: How did you come to be working for [newspaper]? What other conflicts/genocides had you reported on prior to Srebrenica?

2. When and how did you come to be on-the-ground reporting on events in Srebrenica?

3. Did you have any practical or emotional preparations (e.g. counseling of any kind) from the newspaper before going to report on Srebrenica?

4. Discuss any specific experiences you remember about this time period prior to being on-the-ground.

On the ground: practical issues

1. Did you experience issues with the complexity and/or context of the situation and events that were happening in Srebrenica?

2. Did you experience issues with language difficulties? E.g. issues with translation, etc.

3. Did you experience issues with mobility/accessibility in terms of your reporting?

4. Did you experience issues with communications when reporting/filing the story?

5. Did you experience any other kinds of practical issues? E.g. money scarcity, hunger, danger, cooperation with others, etc.
On the ground: conceptualisation of events

1. Did you experience any sort of internal conflict when reporting on the events in Srebrenica? I.e. Finding it difficult to put into words what you were being told about events in Srebrenica because of the extremity of the situation?

2. Did you feel any sort of emotional toll during your time reporting on the genocide? What emotions do you remember feeling, or do you feel now thinking back?

3. How did you negotiate between your role as a journalist and your own human experience of the events you were experiencing? I.e. how did you deal with your professional practice of what was expected of you in that job role, alongside your own personal emotional conceptualisation of such traumatic events?

4. Discuss as much as you feel comfortable with in regards to any experiences with victims that you had during your time reporting on events in Srebrenica.

5. Did you have any experiences with perpetrators?

6. How do you feel about Martin Bell's (1998) concept of a ‘journalism of attachment’, wherein journalists are seen as having a moral obligation to distinguish between ‘good’ and ‘evil’ in conflict zones, and if necessary to take sides? Do you think this kind of journalism had a place in reporting in Srebrenica?

Writing

1. Do you remember writing these articles? If so, describe any events surrounding them that you remember.

2. Did you have any intentions for your audience when writing them?
3. Excerpts from your articles you could reflect on?

**Editing**

1. Do you know or remember if [newspaper] edited articles you wrote during the genocide?

2. Did you experience any issues with political correctness with your writing?

3. Did you experience any sort of ‘ick’ factor with your writing, wherein you were expected to sanitise graphic material for the audience?

4. What are your opinions on critiques by past researchers that Western reporting of the genocide in Srebrenica was reductionist and racist (Orientalist): ‘ancient ethnic hatreds’?

**Conclusions**

1. Any last reflections or comments that you have thinking back to your time reporting on the genocide in Srebrenica?