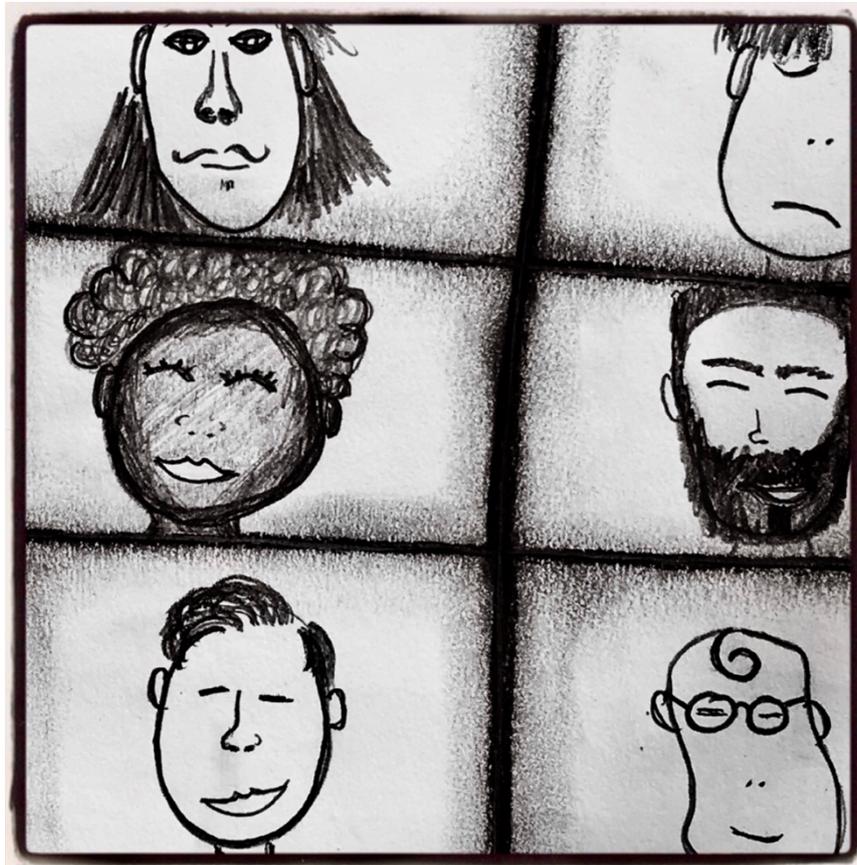


@projectawaiting



#projectawaiting is about movement:
of people with stories;
stories in need of time; your time!
initiated April 18, 2017
as part of a master's @ sh.se

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>> BREAKING NEWS >> BREAKING NEWS >> BREAKING NEWS >>

- Mediterranean death rate doubles as migrant crossings fall¹
 - Spanish boat rescues 250 migrants in Mediterranean²
 - 366 migrants died while crossing Mediterranean in first two months of 2017: UN³
-

1. Introduction

News headlines such as the above are becoming commonplace in today's news reports on migration and since the 'migration crisis' had its peak in European media during 2015. Although numbers of reported dead may have declined in certain areas of the Mediterranean, and in connection to the restricted influx of migrants by EU-policies, updates of people not reaching the other shores are still frequent. But isn't the refugee crisis over by now, at least compared to in 2015? From a European news- and media perspective this may be the message that we are told, but the accounts from witnesses around the Mediterranean tell another side of the story. According to research within journalism studies there might be another explanation to why we don't see the same type of news coverage from the Mediterranean today as in 2015, although we know that people are still risking their lives to cross over. Media researcher Susan D. Moeller (1999) was among the first to note how anxiety and distress among media consumers appeared. As early as in the 90s, she made the concept of *compassion fatigue* known and how these stressful symptoms among readers or viewers could be one of the reasons behind why media reporting has changed focus when the same crises are still prevalent. Simply in order to keep the audience's attention on news on trauma and disasters from getting saturated, or because the audience have already been struck by the fatigue. Lately another type of fatigue has been noticed by media researchers, its called 'news fatigue'. Allegedly it's supposed to be recognised by how news consumers feel a need to mentally distance themselves from the increased news-feed of severe character, especially on social media (Christopher Mele in the *New York Times*, February 1, 2017). More seldom problematised seems to be how the journalistic conduct or responsibilities in the news making process may play a part. What if a different approach to making news would even break the news differently?

¹ Published by *The Guardian* June 3, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/jun/03/mediterranean-refugees-migrants-deaths> [Accessed 2017-06-20]

² Published by *Arab News/AP* March 6, 2017. <http://www.arabnews.com/node/1063841/world> [Accessed 2017-06-20]

³ Published by *ARAnews* February 27, 2017. <http://aranews.net/2017/02/366-migrants-died-while-crossing-mediterranean-in-first-two-months-of-2017-un/> [Accessed 2017-06-20]

A report by the Ethical Journalism Network (EJN) *Moving Stories: International Review of How Media Cover Migration*, states how the media covered migration in 2015 and how it was generally focusing on numbers, threat or emotions. The advantages of migration were, according to the same report, rarely emphasised. For instance, the report suggests a review of newsroom practices in order to remind of existing studies that show long-term financial gains for societies as a consequence of migration (EJN 2015:5-8). Finnish media scholar Karina Horsti describes in her article ‘Visibility without voice: Media witnessing irregular migrants in BBC’s online news journalism’ (2016) with a comparable manner how irregular migrants are not represented proportionally. The results she found among other, was that traditional news formats as well as online news follow a similar pattern, where framing migrants as victims or threats is common in news stories while individual accounts of migrants providing for their families are more likely found in feature genres. And, perhaps, herein lies one cause of the matter: temporality.

Could it be that the many updates and the constant flow of information in a 24/7-news feed is not compatible with stories requiring more attention and more time? According to a seminar held on April 6, 2017 during the International Journalism Festival⁴, news rooms have been trying to challenge the common formats, and topics of fear and sensationalist stories, by pursuing to tell more empathetic portraits of migrants. Suggestions were for instance made to experiment with genres and different media, and strategies how this could be done was recommended by Yasir Khan for instance. Khan is the senior editor for digital video at Al Jazeera English, and he talked about the importance of weighing the right words and definitions in reporting, and especially about focusing more on the stories of survivors, and not only victims. According to his experiences from social media comments contents causing ‘sympathy is exhausting’ but ‘empathy is empowering’, it often moves you to action. So, who are the people forced to flee from war, poverty and oppressing regimes then? What are the survivor stories of migration?

⁴ <http://www.journalism.co.uk/news/the-storytelling-formats-that-are-changing-the-narrative-on-migration/s2/a702268/> [Accessed 2017-06-14]

1.1. Methods of departure

The method of *graphic anthropology*, which I depart from when conducting the journalistic material of ‘Project Awaiting’ and which I also reflect on in this research report, is borrowed from the social sciences. It is a way of doing participant observations in anthropological/ethnographic fieldwork, and the major difference from conventional ways of conducting participant observation in these disciplines is that in graphic anthropology observations, interviews and documentation (often referred to in social sciences as ‘field-notes’, Bryman 2012:450-452) are made with or complemented by the use of graphic drawings. One scholar with a cross-disciplinary approach and who has been spearheading a revitalisation of graphic anthropology is professor Tim Ingold. In his book *Making: Anthropology, Archeology, Arts and Architecture* (2013) he describes the methodology as a creative way of doing and making fieldwork. Its effects remind of the *photo-eliciting* method in visual ethnography (Bryman 2012: 455) where conversations are started from an image, but Ingold stresses the empathetic and *dialogical perspective* of using graphic drawings in fieldwork that conventional ethnographic methodology generally does not bring forth. I was first introduced to graphic anthropology at a workshop by the Belgium-based organisation Expeditions⁵ on Malta in 2016, and it resulted in the writing of a Bachelor’s Thesis in Cultural Anthropology on the same methodology (Johansson 2016).

In a journalistic perspective, one could consider drawings in combination with non-fiction reporting. This genre within journalism studies is called *graphic journalism* or *comics journalism*, and one of its most established practitioners is the Malta-born journalist and cartoonist Joe Sacco⁶. He has received several international awards for his graphic novels and innovative journalistic approach on topics of serious nature. To name but a few of his works he has covered the conflict in Bosnia, a graphic reportage on far-right xenophobia and populism in Malta and a compilation of his biography, works and behind-the-scenes material in *Journalism* (2012). His most famous work to date is the book on *Palestine* (2007). Media scholar Todd Schack (2014), additionally refers to the strengths of the genre of graphic journalism as carrying emotive immediacy and visceral impact. He argues that the format of a dialogical approach between text and image can represent the subject in a story more

⁵ www.xpeditions.be [Accessed 2017-06-14]

⁶ <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2009/nov/22/joe-sacco-interview-rachel-cooke> [Accessed 2017-06-21]

compellingly than conventional genres of journalism, and that the narrative is appropriate for emphasising a particular perspective that might not otherwise get covered, like when source anonymity may be particularly important to guarantee. One work with a sensitive type of context is the illustrated book *Dreamland*⁷ by writer and journalist Charles Bowden. It was written about the drug cartels and commerce in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico, at a time seemingly in a blindspot for more in-depth reporting and public attention (the book was released in 2010).

1.2. Research methodology

The methodology I have used for the journalistic part of Project Awaiting is a hybrid of the two methods I described in the previous section: graphic anthropology and graphic journalism. In broader terminology I'm going to describe a cross-disciplinary approach of *visual ethnography* (Bryman 2012: 455-462), *arts* and *journalistic conduct* to the case study which was recently conducted on Malta.

1.3. Purpose and scope of research

In the spirit of what journalism scholar Barbie Zelizer inquires in 'Tools for the future of journalism' (2013), a part of the purpose of this master's project is to take the debate on epistemological tools for transmission of knowledge between journalistic practitioners, academia and journalism educators one step further in a cross-disciplinary direction. By attempting an empirical experiment on making news through the case-specific intersectional methodology of graphic anthropology and graphic journalism, this research is aiming to seek a more humane and nuanced way of journalistic conduct concerning news on migrant's individual stories. The underlying idea that a hybrid of visual ethnography, arts and journalistic conduct could be a feasible solution to this is an assumption built on aforementioned research and individual experiences of doing participant observations in the graphic method (Johansson 2016).

⁷ <https://utpress.utexas.edu/books/bowdre> [Accessed 2017-06-13]

The master's project in its entirety consists of the practical journalistic work *Project Awaiting* (including four independent genre pieces, plus an Instagram account <http://instagram.com/projectawaiting>) and this subsequent research report.

2. Background

Swedish migration scholar Ruben Andersson describes in the introduction to his book *Illegality, Inc: Clandestine migration and the business of bordering Europe* (2014) 'the spectacle of boat migration' as portrayed in news updates from the Italian island Lampedusa at the time (March 2011). Crowded dinghies with North African migrants fleeing from the popular uprisings in Libya were reaching the shores where aid-workers, police, and journalists were waiting on site. In Andersson's words the mediation of these scenes seemingly lead to "European audiences hardened and blasé" (2014:2). If written today, Ruben Andersson might as well have expressed it as what media literacy scholar Dan Gillmor calls 'news fatigue'. In a *New York Times* article (February 1, 2017) Express Team reporter Christopher Mele writes on the occurrence of how an increased news intake of severe character causes anxieties and worries. In affect it has drawn the reader's emotional engagements further away from human tragedy, distancing themselves from those stories and the resultant fatigue. According to Professor Gillmor, the rapid increase of social media news in addition to already growing numbers of traditional news outlets, is likely the major causative factor in this. Leslie-Jean Thornton, a Professor at Arizona State University, says in the same article 'that even faculty members who by necessity were steeped in news needed breaks from it' (Mele 2017).

2.1. Compassion fatigue

Within media studies the phenomenon of news fatigue is nonetheless new. In the aftermath of September 11, 2001, the increased coverage of the attacks notably led to a higher degree of anxiety and distress among news-consuming adults. These inconveniences appear to have been caused by direct exposure to the tragedy via news media, which also a project by Columbia Journalism School has accentuated.⁸ The term referred to by some other media scholars is

⁸ <https://dartcenter.org/content/trauma-coverage-impact-on-public> [Accessed 2017-06-14]

'compassion fatigue', a concept influenced by behavioural research, and was established during the year of 1991 when 'disasters occurred all over the globe'. In her book *Compassion Fatigue: How the media sell disease, famine, war and death* Susan D. Moeller (1999), argues how the very outlets that reported from and directed the public's attention to fundraising for aid in Africa 1985-1986, couldn't do the same five or six years later. Letters and comments to editors from their readers gave the impression that coverage from the previously aided area was saturated, irrespective of the then growing need of humanitarian aid on the ground. Traditional donors confirmed this thesis by expressing weariness in supporting aid to 'a crisis that didn't seem to diminish'. Moeller argues that part of the fatigue may in fact be a response by the audience to how [US-based] media at the time attempted to top what had already been covered, resulting in more sensational and spectacular content to keep the audience's interest. Emphasising journalistic news values such as 'importance' or 'continuity' could in Moeller's critique of the news media have furthered more humane aspects of the news stories and likely generated a longer attention span among the audience (Moeller 1999:2-5).

2.2. Missing:

2.2.1. Humane reporting

Although journalistic values such as of 'impartiality' and 'autonomy' are seemingly recognised among Western liberal journalists as aspired ethical codes of conduct, journalistic *professionalism* in praxis is far from homogenous worldwide. One example of problematising the do's and don'ts and identity-markers of journalism is found in the article 'What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered' by Professor of Media Studies Mark Deuze (2005). During the conduct of the practical part of Project Awaiting I was asked by some interviewees and got reminded of the relevancy of these questions. Especially concerning the (expected) professional role or behaviour of journalists, which the research report will reflect upon in the analysis part after taking the theories and practical experiences into account.

2.2.2. Epistemological tools

A scholar who has demanded a different take for journalism, and particularly on the production and transmission of journalistic knowledge in relation to time, is Culture and Communication

scholar Barbie Zelizer. In her article 'Tools for the future of journalism' (2013) Zelizer suggests a toolbox for journalism's interpretative function in relation to temporality. Temporality is important for journalism studies and conduct since 'place' is not as prevalent in journalism as in other disciplines' epistemological transmission, she argues. This means there's an abstraction of the reasoning process behind journalistic conduct, which may be difficult to transmit through traditional teaching but dependent on collegial interaction. The methodological toolbox she advocates is for educators, scholars and practitioners of journalism to consciously communicate, agree on and cherish the interpretations of temporalities within the profession. Her demand intends to help journalism professionals and as discipline to be better equipped for change over time. Her suggestion includes a deliberative debate among scholars of how to utilise reflexivity (how journalism interprets its past), transparency (how it interprets its present) and proactivity (how it interprets its future) to meet these challenges. Without strategies to cope with change, mistakes from the past will be repeated and transmission of valuable knowledge hindered. The authority of professional journalism in democratic societies risks erosion, she argues, and mentions how bloggers and the rise of social media commentary (citizen journalism) have challenged and influenced journalists in such way to speed up their publishing of news (sometimes disregarding verification) when they could be leading their audience as an example. What used to be an exclusive role of acting as an information-relayer has since the beginning of the 2000s developed more into a curating role. Zelizer advocates proactivity in journalism to future challenges by suggesting further dialogue on how to interpret its differing temporalities (Zelizer 2013). Her point seems to be that other disciplines have established strategies to prepare and negotiate new challenges due to their practise in relation to space, and with a better understanding of journalism studies' development over time the profession wouldn't have to get behind every time new technology comes knocking on its front door. This apprehensive observation has been accentuated in digital media scholar Alfred Hermida's 'Tweet the News: Social Media Streams and the Practice of Journalism' (Allan 2012:675) but shouldn't have to take any well-read journalist by surprise.

2.3. Global allegiance

Migration as a global concern is demonstrated by the UNHCR (2015) statistics when over 65 million people were forcibly displaced throughout the world, supposedly the highest levels on record. As introduced previously the report *Moving Stories: International Review of How Media Cover Migration* (EJN 2015), indicates that the media hasn't been covering migration in

the EU and 14 countries across the globe in as nuanced a way as it could have. Sometimes the media even fall into the dehumanising rhetoric of politicians (such as referring to the influx numbers of migrants as 'swarms', as made infamous by UK prime minister David Cameron⁹), unintentionally playing into the hands of populists. The EJN-report suggests such unfortunate language has caused public concern and stirred up tensions of xenophobic character. It is, from the different sources above, understandable how 'migration' and the 'refugee crisis' have become one of the main priorities of public opinion, policy-making, and the media's mirroring of our time. The EJN report however suggests a constructive counter-strategy to the development of one-sidedness on the matter, by encouraging the hiring of migration-experts into the news rooms, experts that are able to contextualise complexities and get the definitions right from start and by using official data that looks further into the financial advantages long-term of migration to get the coverage more balanced.

Moreover, in the discussions by journalism ethicist Stephen J.A.Ward, he builds on the reasoning 'that with a global reach, there are also global responsibilities' for news journalists. He calls it a *global journalism ethics*, which engages media scholars who are prompting a re-evaluation of journalistic ethics due to new challenges confronted by journalists working in a more international setting. Ward explains his theorising of how one way to constitute such ethics is by emphasising different aspects of journalistic work: credibility (for the journalist concerning truth and accuracy), justifiable consequences of publishing material (weighing ethical choices of publication in relation to best serving the public's interest), and finally allegiance to humanity (today's more global audience intended, Ward 2005).

There have also been discussions within journalism studies on the appropriateness of so called human rights journalism, introduced and framed in the book *Human Rights Journalism. Advances in Reporting Humanitarian Interventions* by Ibrahim S. Shaw (2012). This approach of journalistic ethics supposedly advocates for the importance of human rights and equality as significant considerations into the journalistic coverage of disasters and crisis, but especially interesting for this master's project is the focus on the responsibilities of journalists and which is described under the five ethical principles of journalism (as presented by EJN).

⁹ https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jan/27/david-camerons-bunch-of-migrants-quip-is-latest-of-several-such-comments?CMP=Share_iOSApp_Other [Accessed 2017-06-14]

Acknowledging the discussions in journalism studies on global ethics or human rights journalism is however not the same as embracing an interventionist approach to journalism. The point is rather to elucidate how discourses regarding journalistic responsibilities and consequences of news selection have been prevalent not merely in relation to the aforementioned fatigues, the EJN report and the BBC-analysis on irregular migrants by Horsti (2016).

2.4. Challenges of perception

Referred to in the introduction, The International Journalism Festival held in Italy on April 6, had a seminar on journalistic narratives and formats on migration, which stated how the pace of migration-related stories usually demands more time friendly formats – like feature genres or documentaries – and that these stories are rarely to be found in social media as it has been. They suggested journalists to experiment with other strategies to get a closer, more empathetic tone to the reporting by lifting the survivors' stories of migration rather than reproducing victimisation.

Another challenge may be to get the message through in relation to the type of media used for transmitting it, and in a way that gives justice to the advantages of a certain method. In other words how to estimate the impact of a method and the medium in which it is being used. According to a recent survey by the European Broadcasting Union¹⁰, the impression among EU-audiences on credibility for a certain content is influenced by the medium in which it is being presented. Trustworthiness for newspapers and social media varies, but trustworthiness for TV and radio generally doesn't. In sum, this particular survey may be an outlook for final considerations on what media channel or platform the journalistic products of Project Awaiting are preferred in rather than the other.

¹⁰ <http://www.journalism.co.uk/news/european-news-consumers-trust-tv-and-radio-social-media-written-press/s2/a704677/> [Accessed 2017-06-14]

3. Theory

According to recently mentioned debates, a nuanced reporting on more humanitarian grounds appear to be insufficient in today's news coverage, and in particular to the representation of migrants' stories. Referring to the questions on awaiting and temporality then, if a humanity nuance is missing in today's news reports, how should we proceed? Let's start with an internal gaze at what some criteria of today's news journalism are regarded as.

3.1. What is news then?

Within journalism studies there are many ways to look at what the role of media is, and especially what role news media play. For instance, one could look at where news values are being constituted and reproduced. Like in newsrooms, journalism education or even by analysing journalistic interaction. Compared to other social sciences, such as anthropology and sociology, journalism has a tendency to focus on occasional events rather than underlying structures or explanations occurring over a longer period of time. This does not have to be a problem but might necessitate clarification due to the ethical considerations the news-valuing may entail if events that require longer time of exposure are not be covered adequately by their medium, such as the proposed case of migrants' in their often extended awaiting process. One could also have in mind what some scholars define as the essence of traditional journalism, 'a discipline of verification' (from *The Elements of Journalism* by Kovach and Rosenstiel 2001, also in Allan 2012:677). The rapid pace of social media and the access to most recent information has seemingly conveyed a 'publish first, verify later' influence on journalistic conduct rather than strengthening professional journalistic verification. What this implicates for the professional journalistic news reporting of today is a competition between speed and verification (Allan 2012:678-680), or as I am going to demonstrate, between pre-existing news values and ethical weighing. Purposely to bring a theoretical basis of understanding for the practical case study, the following sections bring forward scholarly as well as practised and ethical perspectives to news journalism.

3.1.1. The structure of foreign news, news values

Swedish journalist and journalism teacher Björn Häger pictures a varied landscape of news values and definitions of news. Häger describes in his book *Reporter- en grundbok i journalistik* the great variety of news values and definitions of news among journalists, educational tutorials, and journalism scholars. Many of the latter have since the 1960s taken into account the criteria of foreign news-making from the report 'The Structure of Foreign News', written by Johan Galtung and Marie Holmboe Ruge (1965). The authors concluded in their study out of Norwegian newsrooms, a theory of eight criteria for what makes an event more likely to break the foreign news coverage. According to their theory, one or more of the following criteria had to be salient:

1. frequency to the pace of publishing media
2. threshold
3. one-dimensionality
4. meaningfulness/proximity
5. following consonance of expectations
6. being 'rare' but not too strange within the frames of meaningful expectations
7. a matter of continuity
8. considerations to the overall composition of news during the publication/time.

An additional four criteria for countries of 'the Northwest' (such as Norway, Sweden and the US) were added to the basic eight. These criteria represent news about elite nations, elite people/prominence, personalising (one person's impact on the many), and the negativity in content (Galtung and Holmboe Ruge 1965:66-69).

A study on five newsrooms in Sweden summarised by Häger shows the most common news values from a Swedish context (and the same keywords occur in most Swedish and English journalism handbooks). By using the acronym VINKELN (meaning 'the angle' of a story) he spells them out in plain text (2014:108-109, translation by undersigned):

V= vikt/ impact for the audience

I= icke-normalt/ the unusual

N= närhet/ proximity

K= konflikt/ conflict

E= elitpersoner/ prominence of elite persons; celebrities etc.

L= lättbegripligt/ intelligibility

N= nytt/ newness for the audience, novelty

3.1.2. Ethical principles

On the other hand, according to Aidan White, former General Secretary of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and now the CEO of the Ethical Journalism Network (EJN), as a journalist one should always consider and live up to the professional codes of conduct. On EJN.org (2017) they conclude these general 'Five Principles of Ethical Journalism' as recurrent in journalistic codes of conduct worldwide:

1. Truth and Accuracy

Journalists cannot always guarantee 'truth', but getting the facts right is the cardinal principle of journalism. We should always strive for accuracy, give all the relevant facts we have and ensure that they have been checked. When we cannot corroborate information we should say so.

2. Independence

Journalists must be independent voices; we should not act, formally or informally, on behalf of special interests whether political, corporate or cultural. We should declare to our editors – or the audience – any of our political affiliations, financial arrangements or other personal information that might constitute a conflict of interest.

3. Fairness and Impartiality

Most stories have at least two sides. While there is no obligation to present every side in every piece, stories should be balanced and add context. Objectivity is not always possible, and may not always be desirable (in the face for example of brutality or inhumanity), but impartial reporting builds trust and confidence.

4. Humanity

Journalists should do no harm. What we publish or broadcast may be hurtful, but we should be aware of the impact of our words and images on the lives of others.

5. Accountability

A sure sign of professionalism and responsible journalism is the ability to hold ourselves accountable. When we commit errors we must correct them and our expressions of regret must be sincere not cynical. We listen to the concerns of our audience. We may not change what readers write or say but we will always provide remedies when we are unfair.

3.1.3. The tension model(s)

In a world where most recent news appear favoured over news that are weighed for their professional journalistic ethics, what else could we actually expect from journalists who work both in traditional media and for online news outlets than to trade-off some values for others? Compromising values and weighing ethical priorities have always been a part of the journalist's news-making process, but the growing issue of speed and (unverified) dissemination of information via social media is forcing journalists to not just produce news, but also in being a curator of news (Allan 2012:678). A call for new approaches and models of analysis seem reasonable with a changing market, and one scale sometimes applied by media scholars to disclose how news are being prioritised in practise might give us the understanding we are looking for. As explained in his book *Reporter – en grundbok i journalistik*, Häger presents the following model to indicate the tension of driving forces behind the selection of different news:

< Important (normative) --- Interesting (market driven) >

The scale's two ends show that depending on what one considers more newsworthy one gets closer to either end of, or situates oneself differently on the scale. The tension between the ends is a negotiation taking place at newsrooms (by editors, journalists etc.) but also by the audience

(the market). In the case of Sweden, Public Service's Swedish Radio and SVT usually take a 'normative' stance on what they believe are important for the audience to know. This may entail that what's considered 'important' is not always what the audience of tabloid newspapers (market driven or more 'interesting' news, in the Swedish case) wants. The biggest profit the model shows in this course paper is that it seemingly works in accordance to what previously presented approaches of common news values and ethical journalism principles are taking into consideration, namely the important role of selection in news content (Häger 2014:95-96; 108).

3.2. A tentative solution: a furthered humanity dimension

Simple as it may seem, the matter of this research report's introductory news bulletins from the Mediterranean may in light of the above mentioned approaches have been chosen either by a news-editor, journalist or a programmed algorithm/computer software based on sensationalism or 'the unusual'. At least rather than deliberately thoughtful priorities of any of the five ethical principles. Like the EJN report *Moving Stories* has shown, unintended downplaying of the potential consequences of simplistic reporting (such as derogatory or de-humanising terminology) or the prioritising of 'being first' with something (novelty) over verification of facts, tend to complicate everyday experiences for already marginalised individuals in Europe. The humanity principle, as described on the last page, emphasises 'the impact of our words and images on the lives of others' and should thus in my opinion be considered as contextually significant for news reporting journalists as ever. With the immediacy of online publishing the impact of journalists may be massive, but also sensitive as with the example of mobilising protests and sharing eyewitness-reports to journalists during the Arab Spring in Egypt 2011 that were subsequently partially thwarted by authorities' shutting down of national internet servers.

As for now migrants' individual experiences of awaiting resolution have been fragmented and the benefits of migrants to their adopted societies absent in news media (EJN 2015:7). An "awareness of nonviolence and creativity in the practical job of everyday editing and reporting" is therefore a relevant reporting strategy presented by Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick in their book *Peace Journalism* (2005). According to them this deliberate way of reporting may contribute to more peaceful efforts by journalists when covering conflicts, but although they

were primarily intending advocacy for 'ethics of journalistic intervention' in response to war journalism (2005:5), we may still find their suggestion useful outside that genre as a proactive way to more conscious journalism and news gathering when reporting from severe conditions (Nohrstedt and Ottosen 2014:86-87). In hindsight of media's coverage on migration during 2015, an emphasised humanity dimension seems appropriate for bringing about more peaceful awareness to the conduct of news journalism and in the daily creativity of news outlets.

3.3. Cross-disciplinary theory

What about other disciplines in social sciences, use of drawings in society or areas of media studies that use interdisciplinary research strategies for understanding the world? Are there any ways or documentation of collecting data from those disciplines that may forward a creative awareness in the journalistic news process? As we've recently noticed the awareness strategy by Lynch and McGoldrick suggested peaceful measures as well as creativity into the everyday journalistic process. What does for instance *creativity* in the process of making journalism or media studies mean according to media and design scholar David Gauntlett?

"Everyday creativity refers to a process which brings together at least one active human mind, and the material or digital world, in the activity of making something which is novel in that context, and is a process which evokes a feeling of joy."

(Gauntlett 2015:45)

When Gauntlett refers to a 'creativity turn within media and communication studies' in *Making Media Studies. The Creativity Turn in Media and Communication Studies*, he corresponds the contemporary reality of 'the unfinished news process' (2015:3).

On the same creative page in academia is anthropologist Tim Ingold. Known for his interdisciplinary book *Making: Anthropology, Architecture, Arts and Archeology* (2013) and as a proponent for graphic anthropology, the notion of creativity becomes manifest. In graphic

anthropology, drawings are used as a *dialogical and reflexive medium* towards and/or in collaboration with the interviewee/object during participant observations. In comparison to other qualitative methods within the social sciences it allegedly has an empathetic side, such as the 'telling by hand'. Telling by hand is an expression used by Ingold to explain how the hand is not just a body part controlled by the brain, but to describe how it possesses a writing, and telling, substantially human characteristic (2013:109-113).

Like Ingold, Gauntlett emphasises the significance of *a transformational experience* in making research rather than focusing on the documentary product (Gauntlett 2015:3). This correlates to the 'making news' rather than the 'breaking news' as Häger puts it when he is reviewing the daily values of Swedish newsrooms about their strategies to cope with a novelty-competitive news market (2014:108). As we may interpret Gauntlett's initial quote on creativity, it relates not only to a process of novelty but to the transformative emotions and conditions experienced by the researcher, which in my opinion ultimately are reflected through the portraying medium hopefully reaching to the receiving end, similarly perceived by the audience as it was by the expressed by the researcher (Gauntlett 2015:44-45). As I understand it, Gauntlett refers rather to the transformational experiences within the researcher(s) and in relation to the subjects of the process. In the same book he stresses how the creativity turn is more about collaboration and "making media studies together" (Gauntlett 2015: 147), thus a participatory kind of story making rather than a sender-receiver communication like it used to be.

What about temporality then, have we lost it in the process? Certainly not. Considering journalism studies on change in relation to time and today's news, media scholars Deirdre O'Neill and Tony Harcup are joining a processual news choir, bringing to the table how current discourses on newsworthiness, such as the 'frequency' criteria (as in 'The structure of foreign news'), tend to be fumbled in the 24/7 news flow. They suggest the substitution with 'recency' or 'competition' instead, as well as adding a reflecting criteria of 'type of audience' for whatever the news production has in mind (from *The Handbook of Journalism Studies* by eds. Wahl-Jørgensen and Hanitzsch 2009:171).

Interpreting Zelizer's logic of the same article (2013), more transparency in the news-making process and its mediation could be one response to transmitting journalistic knowledge more effectively (depending on how it is taught and documented of course). Additionally, but not least of all, a different approach to the news process could also lead the way for the audience in what making of the news means for a professional journalist, if he/she/they accepts and in other words reflects a transformational transparency (or doing things in real time, such as 'live') during the mediation.

Worth mentioning is also how other disciplines or professions seldom recognised from a journalism perspective have since long mixed sketching or drawings related into everyday documentations and professional relationships. One such situation is during law proceedings, or court processes, where photography or filming hasn't been allowed in many parts of the world. Media coverage is taken for granted to come with photographs or film, so that when images are lacking other than the most common journalistic methodology ought to be considered. The point here is that other research methodology, or professions, may have used drawings or other graphic material combined with media coverage without the media taking notice of it as in fact also a journalistic approach.¹¹ In the article 'Reporting By Drawing' (Fitzsimmons Nov 6, 2013) the American *courtroom artist* Elizabeth Williams states how she sees herself primarily as a journalist when she's sketching something in court, because it is her commitment (when hired for a job by the media) to draw the courtroom scene as honestly as possible. According to another courtroom artist, Finnish Hannu Lukkarinen, drawings can contribute comprehensively and in a more intimate way, than photography. He argues however that for courtroom visitors, this may be perceived as more intimidating by the subject, but sometimes also for the artist, than when a camera lense divides the journalist from the subject.¹²

¹¹ <http://www.dagensjuridik.se/2010/11/hon-har-tecknat-rattegangar-i-20-ar> [Accessed 2017-06-14]

¹² <https://svenska.yle.fi/artikel/2017/05/08/rattegangstecknaren-hannu-lukkarinen-ar-skracken-alltid-narvarande> [Accessed 2017-06-14]

4. Conducting the project

In the following part my ambition is to describe and present how the practical part of Project Awaiting was conducted, what challenges I faced and the results I have found. The concept of ‘everyday creativity’ by David Gauntlett served as an idealistic backdrop for carrying out the practical case study on Malta. The practical part took place in various locations, concentrated on the east and southern parts, of Malta’s main island between April 18 to April 22, 2017. The cross-disciplinary methodology of graphic anthropology and graphic journalism was executed through a combination of using drawings as eliciting conversation into the field during participant observations, and for making documentations of/presenting data during and after the interviews.

During the five days I spent on Malta doing the case study I came across a few categories that facilitated the organising and structuring of my work, and they are as follows: Entries into the field, interviews, narratives and ethnography. I will in the following sections describe each of them more in detail.

4.1. Entries into the field

Several entrance points could be described and suggested to the case study as it was conducted on Malta, below are the ones that served a purpose from day one:

- *Key interviewee/expert*: First interview during the study. Mark Micallef, local researcher on migratory flows and human smuggling in Libya¹³. He has profound journalistic experience from working as news editor at The Times of Malta for several years. An informal interview where we discussed local issues, EU-regulations and where I could turn to get in touch with professionals working with migrants. Gave me several contact details to people to interview. The interview served as an expert introduction to the field.
- *Participant observations* outside Marsa Open Centre. One spontaneous visit with general observations of the area and a spontaneous approach to people around, and the

¹³ https://www.icmpd.org/fileadmin/2017/MALTA_Media_Migration.pdf [Accessed 2017-06-15]

second one planned a bit prior to and by using of *eliciting drawings*. Which means that I placed myself with a sketchbook and among some people to draw the surroundings, like buildings or people, and then as people began to notice what I did informal

- *Cell phone and tablet* by using the phone to email and call people on site it was easy to connect. I called people more often during the project than I usually do at home. The phone was also used to connecting to social media. By phone/tablet it was easy to get introduced, share and introduce my study to people both in the digital field as well as on ground.

4.2. Interviews

I've described the *informal interview* already which mainly went hand in hand by the sessions of doing participant observations and drawings outside Marsa Open Centre and at Hal Far, apart from the two I had booked with Mark Micallef and teacher/activist Jean-Paul Borg. but most of them are presented in the journalistic articles. M There were also the *semi-structured interviews* made as a combination of audio-recording/drawing sessions with Director Mario Schembri and the one with lawyer Neil Falzon. Both of them went well with the drawings.

4.3. Narratives

INSTAGRAM: <http://instagram.com/projectawaiting>

@projectawaiting was used during the process of conducting the journalistic master's project on Malta between April 18 to April 22, 2017. Initially imagined as a behind-the-scenes account, it developed into a platform for announcing and spreading the word of the interviews and articles' coming release even after the trip. I used the account to share updates with followers, and also linked to other social media platforms, such as Facebook. The cover page for this Project Awaiting Research Report has got the same drawing and info as the profile pic and account-info on Instagram. It's a symbolic link between the digital presence of the practical part, the final journalistic outcome and this research report.

COLUMN:

Why Malta should become Europe's empathetic eye may in this project be considered as an opinion-making text, according to what the genre of op-ed/column/chronicle is often associated with. I'm aware it's quite comprehensive, but I've imagined it to be published in one of the Maltese English speaking news papers under Opinion or as Comments on current news or politics (i.e. <https://www.timesofmalta.com/sections/view/opinion>). It carries a picture of an eye, as typically seen on traditional fishing boats, called 'luzzu', in Malta. Some say it is a protective eye for the fishermen who were working at sea, and others claim it has a superstitious connotation to the eye of Horus or Osiris, also common in other parts around the Mediterranean. Nonetheless I thought the local associations and context of a hand-painted eye, watching over people at sea, would be an (implicitly) intriguing entrance to the column.

FEATURE INTERVIEWS:

Maltese Voices On Detention are direct interviews with a few local voices on a specific issue, thus it came to be a feature with interviews divided into three parts together with drawings and one introducing photo, which I thought gave the feature an outside (picture outside the premises) compared to the inside (drawings). It's a dense, facts-based, text without much references to other issues or local events. The three parts are meant to be completing each other, so that the interviews should be read in connection to each other, like a mini-series or so. The targeted audience is likely for the politically concerned in a EU-context, such as published on <https://euobserver.com/eu-presidency> <https://www.blankspot.se/in-english/>

GRAPHIC REPORTAGE:

Marsa Stories (part 1, 2 and 3) is imagined as a pop-cultural, yet sincere reportage with a sense of following up, or visiting one of the locally talked about open centres for migrants. Concerning the current EU Council Presidency and spring/summer season the relevancy of giving an alternative view of the island seemed appropriate. The audience is perceived as young and socially conscious Europeans, where at the same time references to pop-culture is more expected. A graphic reportage built on ethnographic observations and informal interviews made with the help of drawings. Viable platform VICE Magazine. https://www.vice.com/en_uk/topic/new-neighbors

AUTO-ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORTAGE:

DOX AWAITING: Friday in the parallel lives of Hal Far Camp is an ethnographic reportage done during a visit to an open centre/camp/camp for migrants in Malta. In a way it has a notion of social realism to it, where both exterior/interior and people are documented with a close-up angle. A visit off the typical touristy tracks on the other parts of the island. It also brings issues on detention and deportation from Scandinavia to the table, making it relevant to me personally but also citizens or people with experiences from the countries of the region. Who's a migrant and who's not? A central theme and which I reasoned as important both in itself and for the narrative of making myself present in the storytelling. Originally made as ethnographic field-notes, the final version's descriptive reflections and drawings were kept with purpose. I was inspired by a graphic reportage from Calais Jungle camp in The Guardian and the digital concept of Humans of New York. The platform/format is imagined to be digitally transmitted in several ways á la AJ+, Al Jazeera's non-traditional news site for a connected audience.

<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/mar/12/nick-hayes-graphic-artist-pictures-refugees-calais-camp-jungle>

www.ajplus.net/english/

4.4. Ethnography

I wanted to categorise and collect data through by an ethnographic field study because it has certain advantages. One it is a limited case, subjective, but it may still be considered as viable experiences depending on how the collected data is being interpreted and presented. Two, the variety of doing participant observations are many, especially with interviews which often are including in participant observations (although mainly informal interviews should be included here. Three, the cross-disciplinary combinations with journalism and arts are intriguing in the way that the outcome is always different. The latter is however also the main disadvantage since using ethnography, whether as a research method or in written presentation, is subjective and cannot be considered as truly objective or neutral facts.

During the project in Malta *visual ethnography* was useful in three particular ways as supporting the execution of my journalistic project via the use of drawings. In other words I used images in the same way as (photo)-eliciting, to get into open-ended conversations or about certain things (Bryman 2012:455), collaborative/dialogical connotations (empathetic graphic drawings in Ingold's merging of disciplines and by shared everyday creativity according to Gauntlett) and as an alternative documentation during interviewing in closed settings (instead of, or in combination with, photography as a journalistic asset or an *aide mémoire*).

Eliciting drawings were used several times, especially when visiting outside Marsa Open Centre where I met Timo, Yusuf, Walid, the Gateman, Ali etc during two visits of participant observations/informal interviews. I sat down with my sketchbook and began to draw, after a while it sparked curiosity from the people passing by, and our conversations had begun. One could for instance mention the specific method of mind-mapping here, as Timo in *Marsa Stories* took part in by drawing.

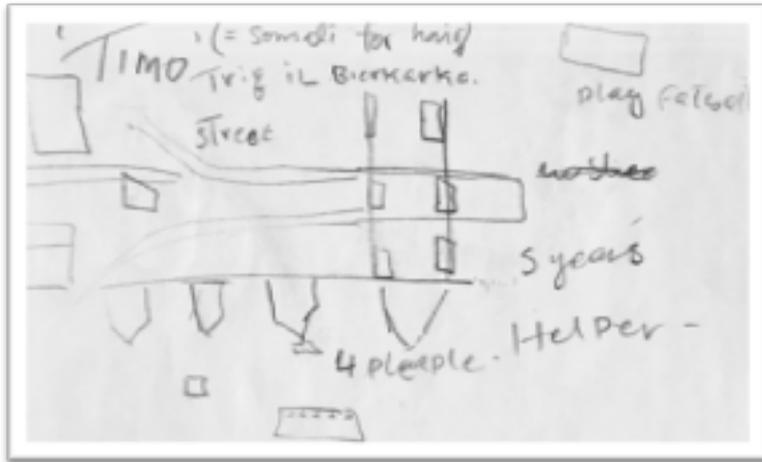
Dialogical/collaborative drawings were used at Hal Far Camp for migrants. As described in the auto-ethnographic reportage from the session, Salim - one of the migrants who stayed there - asked me as he saw me draw if he could join me. It turned out to be a collaborative and dialogical introduction to an experimental, open-ended, type of methodological conduct.

Aide-memoire, which I interpret as when an image becomes like a mnemonic tool or help in your field-notes, in fact even as part of the notes and presentation (Bryman 2012:457), and it was particularly useful in the interview with Schembri at the detention centre since I couldn't take any pictures inside. Images (both drawings and photo) were used when interviewing lawyer Falzon, and worked similarly as during Schembri's session. Meaning that I listened to the audio-recording afterwards and could easily recall the moment later.

4.5. Results

Generally the method of using graphic drawings in relation to interacting with the participants of the study generated a few different scenarios: First. It triggered curiosity about the drawings, about me as a visitor. Secondly, it was inviting for conversations. On the activity of drawing,

on the purpose of my drawing. Thirdly it brought up research-specific topics, such as talks on more personal issues but also about me in the role of a journalist.



One example of the latter scenario is the drawing that Timo did outside Marsa's The Tavern in Marsa Stories. The picture is an example of the 'mind-mapping' exercise, when you draw your social map (the experiences and people of a certain place, a method taught on

the Graphic Anthropology Field school by Maarten Loopmans, human geographer from KU Leuven). Timo drew his neighbourhood on a piece of paper, and the drawing gives a sense of his experiences of being a Somali migrant on Malta. How? 1. You can see how there are both figures and for instance the writing "4 people" on it. 2. The drawing invited to a more personal level of sharing from his life and how he spends most of the time with the Somali community when he's not working as a "Helper". 3. The fact that he explained how he shares an apartment with other Somalis made me able to ask further questions of personal character, like why he had given up on becoming a doctor, and why they do not try to blend in to society any more.



The semi-structured interview with local human rights lawyer Neil Falzon was conducted on the last weekday of the project. It was audio-recorded on my phone as well as documented by graphic note-taking/drawing. The interview was made because Aditus Foundation where he works is directly helping migrants on Malta. Some of the discussions was enhanced by my accidentally reading

one of their reports on poverty among asylum seekers on Malta in advance. The drawing/audio-recording/interviewing was significant for personal understandings of the local context, for a greater understanding of the conditions under which migrants have to deal with. These are for instance xenophobia, discrimination at work, unemployment, poverty and also the aspect of loneliness, thus confirming Abdullah Yusuf's opinion in *Marsa Stories*.

As I describe in the auto-ethnographic reportage *Dox Awaiting: Friday in the parallel lives of Hal Far Camp*, one of the guys whom I interviewed on site wanted to borrow pen and paper to draw, and he collaborated in a way to the outcome by drawing himself into the conversation. If it wasn't for his dialogical/collaborative approach we would most probably not have talked about him being a Tuareg, nor his background from Libya. In hindsight the collaborative drawing/interviewing session at Hal Far became an unforeseen outcome and way to initiate conversations with interviewees while aspiring the ethnographic ideals of 'being there'. Since the outcome is difficult to foresee the collaborative aspect shouldn't be used unscrupulously or else it might accidentally reproduce discretionary interpretations or the sustenance of negative power-structures. An example of such an unwanted outcome is the concept of 'native drawings', previously used in anthropological fieldwork for the study of non-Europeans. The informants/interviewees of those times were asked to draw something from 'their' world and these drawings were after-hand often interpreted as carrying a more primitive point of view than the researcher's. (Soukup 2014:535-538). The collaboration at Hal Far Camp brought about drawings created in the very momentum of our meeting, almost like aide mémoire, but also as an empathetic exchange of experiences, which the final version of the reportage is designed to reflect.

5. Analysis

The reflexive subjectivity in *Friday in the Parallel Lives of Hal Far Camp* was enhanced by the graphic drawings Salim and I contributed with to the reportage, and could be understood as independent reflections of our perceived emotions at the moment the drawings were made or as projections of people's projections around us. As the reportage is now, combined with text in the auto-ethnographic genre, it reflects the session in a genuine way.

Contrary to what the EBU report mentioned previously about the trustworthiness of different media formats, I believe the results of this project should be understood as considering the potential of each media and format rather than the lack of credibility of may influence the content with. One example of a successful, and in my opinion credible, format for telling stories on individual stories is *Humans of New York* (also mentioned in 4.3. *Narratives*), which began

as a photography project in 2010 but developed into a photojournalistic blog and personal portraits/interviews, Instagram accounts and several digital adventures as time proceeded. The idea of using digital platforms in storytelling seems like the most feasible way to develop the methodology and purpose of this masters's project.

Some general conclusions of the research

1. The practise of drawing while doing participant observations and interviewing for a journalistic purpose caused curiosity. They asked what I was doing, why I was doing it and as I've mentioned even sparked some conversations on what a journalist usually does ('aren't you supposed to write a lot on your computer if you really are a journalist?' like Timo said when I was in the process of drawing for *Marsa Stories*). It created a more open atmosphere. Barbie Zelizer desired tools for knowledge-transmission is probably best viewed here as in the present tense, and thus through *transparency*. Not just among other journalists though, but towards the audience. Gauntlett's aforementioned theories on making media studies together is relevant here in my opinion. One- in new media the audience are as much as receivers as sharers of information, and at times contributors. The self-defining role among journalists and the transmission of epistemology is being negotiated daily while at work, but is being evaluated by the audience in a newer way (directly on social media, and sometimes when you meet the reader/viewer) than before social media created the forums and communication-directions that we have in 2017.
2. Personally I think that the method of using drawings created a more open atmosphere than typing on a computer, and a structured interview-approach would have produced. The so called 'fatigue' that I'd been warned of by locally based researchers in advance (a survey/study-related fatigue among migrants) was not something that I experienced in my conduct. Therefore I believe the method was empathetic enough to match Ingold's *transformative experiences* of using the graphic methodology and Gauntlett's idea of *making media studies together* as a feasible alternative to making news too..

To answer one of the main questions of the research: The method of using drawings while conducting interviews can be one creative way of approaching news on 'awaiting' in migration-

related stories. By using the method the common questions on what the interviewees were doing, how old they were and so on, became secondary in the process. I believe this came to be since the attention was rather paid to capturing the atmosphere, and the state of mind of the person or issue at stake, than with conventional interviewing methods. What I'm implying is that what was being expressed verbally, but also other sensory awareness became as important. The creative collaborative participation between me as a journalist and the interviewees became in my experience more manifest than during traditional journalistic conduct.

In my opinion, the strength of using drawings as a way of making news primarily has a transformative function for the journalist in the way he or she usually conducts an interview and that this may, but not necessarily, encourage the 'everyday creativity' of the news process (Gauntlett 2015:3, 45). The process is what is transformative rather than the outcome, and this has to be taken into consideration carefully by whoever would like to try out this or a similar cross-disciplinary journalistic conduct. The dynamics during an interview with the use of drawings is unpredictable compared to more conventional interview methods between individuals. This insight could on the other hand be considered as thoroughly unique since it brings out something novel each interview session. The 'shared experience' and 'the joy' it should bring as Gauntlett put it in 'everyday creativity', may affect the outcome of the method this project has used in ways that they are on the border between *journalism, art and even performance*. The use of graphic anthropology indeed contributes with an empathetic dimension to the process as Tim Ingold (2013) stressed, and according to the introducing research findings on migration this was a very desirable component.

Out of the five ethical principles presented by the Ethical Journalism Network, the humanity principle certainly comes closer at hand when using the method of drawing/interviewing. The journalistic outcome of Project Awaiting has in general also tried to express the principle of fairness/impartiality as an operative advantage. The methodology described in this project is by no means an impartial method in itself, but could come handy as a complement to the generally collectivising news on migration which we have seen so far. It gives another entrance to, or contextualises, the bigger story. However, we should acknowledge that the trustworthiness and skills that the journalist contributes with in each meeting is a significant recipe for a fair outcome of any journalistic method, not just the drawing/interviewing. Eventually, what this research report has found is that the method of drawing/interviewing is dependant on where,

about which topic and on what publishing platforms it is being used rather than on who it is documenting. The method I have used and described in this master's project neither appeals to or suits every journalist nor interviewee, but it is certainly an intriguing way of making, rather than breaking, news on migration.

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