Humanitarian journalists: covering crises from a boundary zone.

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Humanitarian Journalists: Covering Crises from a Boundary Zone. Martin Scott, Kate Wright, and Mel Bunce. Abingdon and NY: Routledge, 2023. 127 pp.

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In today's reality of recurrent global crises and human rights abuses, the Washington Post slogan "democracy dies in darkness" cannot be a more fitting encapsulation of the role and responsibility of journalism. In crisis zones, where democracy is but a distant dream, shining a light on human suffering through bearing witness can be the difference between life and death, or at least between impunity and accountability. These reporting practices are the centrepiece of Humanitarian Journalists: Covering Crises from a Boundary Zone. The authors—Martin Scott, associate professor in media and international development at the University of East Anglia; Kate Wright, associate professor in media and communications at the University of Edinburgh; and Mel Bunce, professor of international journalism at City, University of London—document the important work of humanitarian journalists around the globe through an impressive, empirically rich five-year study involving 150 in-depth interviews and content analysis of humanitarian media coverage. Acknowledging that the uneven news coverage of global crises is the result of rigid formulas of reporting international news, long sedimented into 'news values' that tend to valorize entertainment and domestic issues (Galtung & Ruge, 1965), the authors set humanitarian journalists as an antidote to such conventional reporting norms and practices, showing that "another kind of humanitarian journalism is possible" (p. 6).

The book begins with a short preface that distils the essence of the study through the portrait of Sophia – a fictional humanitarian journalist constructed by the authors. This is an original approach to personalizing the role, identity and struggles of humanitarian journalists, but also a clever way to set the stage for the various themes that the book goes on to explore.

In the introduction, the authors offer a definition of humanitarian journalists – as those reporters who, driven by both humanitarian and journalistic principles, cover under-reported crises, amplify marginalized voices, and actively seek to add value to mainstream coverage of humanitarian crises, which often happen away from the media spotlight. Scott, Wright and Bunce clearly and unequivocally highlight the consequences of (not) shining a light on under-reported crises. The stakes of doing so, or not, the authors argue, are high – political attention, international awareness, levels of financial aid, and not least, what they call a 'hierarchy of human life', where some people's suffering is seen as more worthy of attention than that of others.

The book draws on field theory and its corrective - Gil Eyal's concept of 'boundary zones.' In Chapter 1, the authors conceptualize the work of humanitarian journalists, with their unique, hybrid journalistic-humanitarian values, through the theoretical lens of 'boundary work' and view it as a 'space of opportunity.' Further engaging with the liminal, bridge position of humanitarian journalists between the fields of journalism and humanitarianism, Chapter 2 raises questions about the peripherality, precariousness, and constructive, watchdog function of these reporters. In doing so, Scott, Wright and Bunce make an important contribution to the scholarly debate around the boundaries of journalism (Eldridge, 2018; Schapals, 2022; Schapals, Maares and Hanusch, 2019), by presenting another type or 'peripheral actor' – the humanitarian journalist. Neither insiders nor outsiders (or confusingly, *both-and*), these actors occupy a hybrid position in a 'thick boundary space' between the two fields. Whilst acknowledging their peripherality, the authors also implicitly challenge it: humanitarian journalists are both journalists, and humanitarians, but not quite either exclusively, compared to their mainstream counterparts.

Chapter 3 explores humanitarian journalists' sourcing practices and values, showing how they deviate from traditional journalistic notions of newsworthiness and source

hierarchies. Their liminal status and autonomy give these reporters more leeway to experiment in their praxis, giving rise to novel hybrid journalistic-humanitarian practices, which include 'reporting under-reported crises,' 'adding value' to existing mainstream coverage, and 'amplifying marginalised voices.'

Chapter 4 examines how the concept of 'humanitarianism' shapes humanitarian journalists' practices, showing that these peripheral actors approach it with a 'conceptual ambiguity' that serves as a strategic advantage. This ambiguity allows them to experiment with journalistic norms and practices, and to perform a role mainstream journalism avoids when reporting on humanitarian crises – uncovering the systemic, root causes of a crisis, rather than its sporadic surface-level coverage.

In the final chapter, Scott, Wright and Bunce pose a logical question: if humanitarian journalists occupy the boundary zone between the two fields, but are not recognized as a legitimate part of either, then is humanitarian journalism a nascent field in its own right? Through exploring how these actors relate to each other, the authors find that, despite their unique characteristics, they are still weakly institutionalized and lack a shared identity. Therefore, the authors conclude, we cannot talk about a unique humanitarian journalism field – at least not yet. In their concluding remarks, Scott, Wright and Bunce stress the precarious, marginalized nature of these reporters' work, which comes from their peripheral position at the boundary of two fields. They point to the blind spots of the 'boundary zone' paradigm as the in-between position of humanitarian journalists denies them access to symbolic capital and material benefits associated with belonging to a field.

Yet, we are aware of significant shifts in the field of journalism, where boundaries are ever-blurring and the wall separating traditional from novel actors and practices of journalism becomes *a curtain* (Coddington, 2015), where advocacy and emotions replace the rigid formulas of detached reporting in war zones and authoritarian contexts (Kotišová & van

der Velden, 2023; Medeiros & Badr, 2022), and we are being encouraged to think "beyond journalism" (Deuze & Witschge, 2020). In light of these changes, perhaps the boundaries of journalism are more permeable than imagined and legitimacy in the field is arguably becoming easier to achieve, for better or worse. Shouldn't the legitimacy of new peripheral actors be defined through the prism of their societal contribution and impact, rather than through their peripheral position in a boundary zone? Isn't bearing witness and shining a light on dark corners of the world journalism's raison d'être after all? Humanitarian Journalists:

Covering Crises from a Boundary Zone is a stride towards accepting the important work of humanitarian journalists as an integral part of the journalistic field, pointing to what journalism could be. In the increasingly febrile geopolitical situation that we find ourselves in, with growing risks of more conflicts and humanitarian crises, Scott, Wright and Bunce's book is a timely and important intervention showing us that democracy does not have to die in darkness, if only we recognize the work of humanitarian journalists as a legitimate, and indeed crucial, form of deep reporting, and, following the authors' call, join in efforts to support it.

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