

## The Emotional Toll On Journalists Covering The Refugee Crisis

Anthony Feinstein and Hannah Storm

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A beach on the Greek island of Lesbos is covered with deflated dinghies, tubes and life vests left by refugees and migrants after crossing a part of the Aegean Sea from the Turkish coast September 21, 2015. REUTERS/Yannis Behrakis

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## About the Authors

**Anthony Feinstein** is professor of psychiatry at the University of Toronto and director of the Neuropsychiatry Programme at Sunnybrook Health Science Centre. He has undertaken numerous studies looking at how journalists are affected psychologically by their work in zones of war, conflict, and disaster. He is the author of *Journalists Under Fire: The Psychological Hazards of Covering War* (Johns Hopkins University Press) and *Shooting War* (<http://tgam.ca/ShootingWar>).

**Hannah Storm** is Director of the International News Safety Institute (INSI), a UK registered charity whose members include some of the world's leading news organisations. INSI's work focuses on physical, psychological, and digital safety and it provides a network for members to share information to ensure journalists stay out of harm's way. Storm is author of *The Kidnapping of Journalists: Reporting from High Risk Conflict Zones* (with Robert G. Picard) and *No Woman's Land: On the Frontlines with Female Reporters*. Before joining INSI, she worked for organisations including the BBC, Reuters, ITN, and Oxfam.

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## **Executive Summary**

### *Introduction*

The current refugee crisis reached a peak in 2015 when more than one million migrants arrived in Europe by sea. This report examines the emotional toll experienced by journalists covering a story of such unprecedented scale.

The vast majority of those individuals who arrived in Europe in 2015 were fleeing conflict in countries such as Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan. Many had already experienced significant physical and psychological trauma before embarking on their difficult journeys. And for some, the journeys themselves were so dangerous they ended in tragedy. It is therefore important to acknowledge that what the refugees endured far transcends what journalists as a group experienced.

A number of proposals stem from the data collected, suggesting ways the media can prepare better for similar stories and provide support to those journalists in need.

### *Background to the Research*

The immediate impetus for this research came from an industry-wide meeting of members of the International News Safety Institute held in January 2016. During this meeting, several news organisations noted the challenges their journalist colleagues had experienced covering the refugee crisis which had unfolded on the relatively safe shores of Europe, often close to home and bureaus, and on an unprecedented scale for which many news organisations were unprepared.

It was clear that not all in the media were affected the same way, but among the most common reactions that emerged during a series of conversations with journalists and news managers were feelings of guilt at not having done enough personally to help the refugees, and shame at the observed behaviour of others. Emotions such as these were the unforeseen byproduct of journalists feeling compelled to step outside their traditional role as neutral observer, by helping refugees in ways that ranged from rescuing them from the water to giving them food, clothing, and money.

### *Study Methods and Results*

The quantitative study that underpins this report was carried out by Professor Anthony Feinstein in conjunction with Hannah Storm, co-authors of this report. Data were collected in late 2016.

Nine European and American news organisations took part, each providing a list of their journalists who were covering the refugee crisis. To protect the confidentiality of participants, the organisations are not named.

Of 114 journalists approached, 80 (70.2%) agreed to take part: a sample size and response rate which compares favourably with other studies published on the subject of journalists' emotional responses to their work.

The results revealed that journalists reported few symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression and were not drinking to excess. However, many reported difficulties related to moral injury, defined as the injury done to a person's conscience or moral compass by perpetrating, witnessing, or failing to prevent acts that transgress personal moral and ethical values or codes of conduct. While moral injury is not considered a mental illness, unlike PTSD and depression, it can be the source of considerable emotional upset.

The data also showed that moral injury was linked to working alone in the field, having no previous experience covering war, being a parent, and to significant guilt, which in turn was associated with providing direct assistance to refugees, an increased workload, and a perceived lack of support from the individual's news organisation.

### *The Importance of These Results*

This marks the first time a study of this kind has been carried out looking into journalists' responses to covering a humanitarian crisis. Previous surveys have shown journalists can be adversely affected emotionally by their work, covering war, natural disasters, or local news with a traumatic crime or accident content.

Earlier studies of journalists focused on post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression, highlighting the fact that the proximity to events can cause significant stress to journalists, who are often first responders to a trauma scene. What is unique and unprecedented about the current results is that they show how journalists can be affected by the issue of moral injury, linked as it is to guilt and a sense of having lost one's moral compass.

Research in the military, where extensive work has been done on the topic, suggests that, if moral injury is not addressed, individuals can have trouble reintegrating after a tour of duty. It is also considered a harbinger of PTSD.

Of note is that our empirical data meshed with the content of industry-wide interviews with several journalists and news managers. Taken together, these two strands of information allowed us to formulate a set of suggestions for news organisations, geared towards promoting mental health and resilience in the workforce.

## *Conclusions*

Moral injury rather than PTSD or depression emerged as the biggest psychological challenge confronted by journalists covering the migration crisis. Given that moral injury is strongly associated with journalists becoming actively involved in helping refugees, the industry needs to reach consensus on defining appropriate expectations in situations such as these.

Good journalists will of course feel moved by the migration crisis, but they cannot fix it and should not attempt to do so. Guilt, which is often misplaced, can be a faulty motivator of behaviour. So too can moral injury. Here journalists need to understand where their emotions are coming from and that it is okay to feel distress in the context of what they are witnessing. However, when the lines are blurred and journalists start regularly assisting migrants, emotions can unravel.



A local man helps a Syrian refugee who jumped off board from a dinghy as he swims exhausted at a beach on the Greek island of Lesbos September 17, 2015. REUTERS/Yannis Behrakis

To prevent this happening, it is best that education with respect to moral injury and other potential emotional challenges that come with this work, should begin before deployment and be part of individual debriefings on return.

Senior journalists and managers need to lead by example and have conversations with their staff about their experiences and expectations. Reaching out for assistance in dealing with it should be encouraged and not come at the risk of endangering future career prospects.

While our current findings have been derived from a study of the migration crisis, the conclusions are in principle applicable to other news content as well, for example, domestic terror threats, stories in challenging, but non-conflict areas, or locations of post-conflict or humanitarian crisis, particularly where journalists may be covering a story local to them.



## 1. The Refugee Crisis: An Unprecedented Event

'The migrant is perhaps the central or defining figure of the twentieth century' wrote Salman Rushdie in 1985. Thirty years on, Rushdie's observation is no less true. The twenty-first century has already seen the largest displacement of people ever documented, with more than one million women, men, and children fleeing by sea to Europe in 2015 alone.<sup>1</sup> The majority were escaping wars in the Middle East, in particular Syria, where the conflict was in its fifth year.

In 2015, more than 3,700 refugees are estimated to have died crossing the Mediterranean trying to reach European shores.<sup>2</sup> For many of the survivors, their journey had been one of grave danger, fraught challenges, and heartache, often compounded by the physical and psychological trauma endured before fleeing their homelands. Thus the tragedy, trauma, and occasional triumph of their modern odyssey provided the human narrative for a politically charged news event that was without precedent and one that caught many European-based news organisations and their journalists unawares.



Pakistani immigrants row their engineless dinghy, which was drifting out of control, in rough seas between Greece and Turkey, early May 30, 2015. REUTERS/Yannis Behrakis

Over the course of 2015, several significant events ensured that the story remained in the headlines:

- In April, 600 migrants died trying to reach the Italian island of Lampedusa after their boat capsized in Libyan waters. Responding to the tragedy, Antonio Guterres who was then head of the United Nations

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2015/12/5683d0b56/million-sea-arrivals-reach-europe-2015.html>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.iom.int/news/iom-counts-3771-migrant-fatalities-mediterranean-2015>



High Commission for Refugees, urged the European Union to mount a 'robust' rescue at sea operation.<sup>3</sup>

- In early September, the image of the dead body of the Syrian toddler, Aylan Kurdi, washed ashore on a Turkish beach, came to symbolise the tragedy of the thousands of people who had died trying to make the journey to Europe. The photo of the little boy led to an outpouring of public sympathy and prompted Guterres to call the death a 'defining moment', while noting that 'no country can do it alone, and no country can refuse to do its part'.<sup>4</sup>
- If the image of the dead toddler temporarily shifted public opinion, the mood in political circles became even darker. Tensions grew in Brussels as European countries bickered over a new system of binding quotas for refugees. Thousands of migrants were stranded overnight when Hungary built a barrier along its border with Serbia, calling a temporary halt to two decades of open borders in the European Union's visa-free Schengen zone.
- Away from the borders, on the beaches of Greece, the situation was chaotic. By the year's end, more than half of the migrants reaching the relative safety of European shores had done so via the island of Lesbos,<sup>5</sup> previously better known as a holiday destination. It had become a focal point for the media's attention: images of mountains of abandoned lifejackets offering a potent contrast to a backdrop of beautiful beaches.

### *The Responsibility and Response of Journalists to the Refugee Crisis*

From the shores of Lesbos to the barricaded borders of Hungary, by the end of 2015, the plight of a million migrants had become one of the biggest news stories in recent times. Large numbers of journalists were deployed to cover the movement of hundreds of thousands of people. As the crisis continued, stories and anecdotes started to be shared within the industry suggesting that for some in the media bearing witness to the plight of those displaced was taking an emotional toll.

This observation was the impetus for the present study, the aim of which was to investigate how journalists were reacting psychologically to their work on the migration crisis. In trying to answer this question, there was a clear recognition that the trauma experienced by journalists as witnesses could never be equated with the suffering endured by the migrants.

There were two strands to the data collected. The first encompassed personal reflections from news managers and narrative accounts from journalists in the field. The second was quantitative. Here the approach was

<sup>3</sup> <http://tracks.unhcr.org/2015/12/2015-the-year-of-europes-refugee-crisis>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.unhcr.org/55e9793b6.html>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/22/lesvos-humanitarian-operations-compassion-refugees-continue-to-arrive-by-sea>

to record and quantify symptoms of emotional distress using tried and tested psychometric rating scales developed for conditions such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), major depression, and moral injury.

### *What is Different about Covering the Refugee Crisis: Editorial and Management Perspectives*

The launch of the study was preceded by a series of interviews and cross-industry conversations that INSI began after it was approached by one of its members to discuss some of the safety issues for journalists around the refugee crisis.

It soon became clear from these discussions that this story differed from other major conflict-driven events of recent times. While many of the migrants were fleeing war, the journalists were not confronting war or working in a war zone. As such, their exposure to personal threat was minimal. Instead they were watching the effects of a conflict and disaster, once removed.

Jonathan Paterson, who was BBC World's newsgathering deployment editor at the time of the crisis, described it the following way:

*It wasn't dangerous really. Although people were obviously fleeing a war zone, by the time they reached us, there were no huge dangers, violence, in which these people were moving with [the] exception of obviously the seas. But the experiences that these people had gone through were, nonetheless traumatic. They were refugees from their own country, they were often bringing families and children and that raised all sorts of issues for us and I think the impact on staff was a little bit unexpected.<sup>6</sup>*

'For the combat veterans, I think some of them are particularly hard hit. There's this feeling when you're covering this kind of story in a war zone, you're experiencing some of the same dangers as people around you,' observed Phil Chetwynd, global editor-in-chief for Agence France-Presse (AFP). 'The thing people have found very hard is that there is no danger to you at all, yet you're watching boats being overturned and people drowning.'<sup>7</sup>

Caroline Hawley, who spent many years covering the Middle East and now works as a diplomatic correspondent for the BBC, had just returned from the Greek island of Lesbos when she described the troubling disconnect she and others felt. 'You are seeing death when you're in a holiday destination ... You're prepared if you go into a conflict zone, you take your flak jacket with you ... When you go to a war zone, you really put up the psychological barriers.'<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Phone interview with Jonathan Paterson, May 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Phone interview with Phil Chetwynd, May 2016.

<sup>8</sup> Phone interview with Caroline Hawley, May 2016.



A Syrian refugee family arrives in front of a tavern at a beach on the Greek island of Kos, August 11, 2015.  
REUTERS/Yannis Behrakis

### *The Foreign and the Familiar*

The sheer scale of the migration, coupled with its proximity to the newsrooms brought both opportunities and challenges.

Some, like the BBC, took the opportunity to deploy journalists from many different backgrounds, with varying degrees of expertise and experience, that included veteran war correspondents, relatively inexperienced journalists, those more accustomed to covering EU politics in Brussels, as well as seasoned story-tellers. Paterson said:

*Because you have this huge range and mix of people it is impossible to identify the kind of risks that you might come up against, the kind of trauma you might experience, because if you're dealing with a war zone, you kind of know what you're dealing with but this was unprecedented.*

*A bit like the Arab Spring, it was just one of those things that comes along once or twice in a career, that you see something that was completely unprecedented. We've experienced a war environment, we've experienced natural disasters, but just seeing that sort of and level of migration was kind of unprecedented. And, therefore, I think it's a learning experience for everybody on all sorts of fronts.*

*What was unique about this one was that although we were witnessing this mass migration of people from various conflicts we'd seen in recent years, it was taking place on our own doorstep and I think that raised all sorts of issues for people.*

Paterson from the BBC and Chetwynd from AFP agreed that covering the migrant crisis seemed to take an especially hard toll on journalists who were parents. Paterson commented:

*I think the children thing is particularly poignant for a lot of people because a lot are parents and they found that a little more difficult than they were expecting to, not because we don't see that in war and earthquakes ... but again it's back to that point, it's mainland Europe and you don't expect to see thousands of people walking along a track, crossing a border, heading past all those things that are so familiar to us.*



Idomeni, Greece - A boy faces riot police forces during a protest held by migrants and refugees to call for the reopening of the borders at their makeshift camp in this northern border village with Macedonia, April 7, 2016. AFP/Bulent Kilic

Chetwynd explained:

*People have talked a lot about being impacted by the children, everywhere you go there are children and how distressing it is to see children in those situations and again because you're on safe soil and because you're often going home every day or quite quickly to your family, that certainly seems to have had an impact.*

*Regardless of whether you have been in conflict zones reporting before, the fact there are so many children involved; it's so close to the safety of your own children, it's certainly had an impact.*



## 2. Key Survey Findings

### *Previous Studies and How the Current Study Differs*

There is now a substantial body of quantitative work showing that journalists can be adversely affected emotionally by their work.

Be it covering war (Feinstein, Owen, and Blair, 2002), natural disasters (Buchanan and Keats, 2011), or local news with a traumatic crime or accident content (Pyeovich, Newman, and Daleiden, 2003), their responses range from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and major depression at one end of the spectrum (Feinstein, Owen, and Blair, 2002), to heightened emotional distress that falls short of a psychiatric diagnosis (Feinstein, Audet, and Waknine, 2014) at the other.

What unites this range of experience and response is the fact that journalists are often first responders to a trauma scene and it is this proximity to events that can become, for some, a very significant stress.

The current inquiry, however, encompasses the lesser known issue of ‘moral injury’, defined as ‘the injury done to a person’s conscience or moral compass when that person perpetrates, witnesses or fails to prevent acts that transgress their own moral and ethical values or codes of conduct’.<sup>9</sup> It has been referred to as a ‘bruise on the soul’<sup>10</sup> and is linked to emotions such as guilt and shame.

The challenges posed by moral injury are certainly not new to journalists. However, to date, there has been no systematic research relating to how journalists are affected by it and the topic has gained little traction in the media industry. The data that exist on the subject come from the military, where it is now regarded as an issue of considerable importance. Here research has shown that, if not properly addressed, it can lead to high levels of emotional distress and complicate the successful reintegration of veterans back into society after a tour of duty.

The question of moral injury appears particularly germane to coverage of the current migrant crisis. Here journalists have been exposed to the suffering of huge numbers of refugees while at the same time observing how their own countries, colleagues, and fellow citizens have responded to a humanitarian crisis in their own backyards.

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<sup>9</sup> <http://moralinjuryproject.syr.edu/about-moral-injury>

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.npr.org/2014/11/11/363288341/moral-injury-is-the-signature-wound-of-today-s-veterans>

### *Methodology of the Current Study*

Nine European and American news organisations took part in the study. Each provided a list of their journalists who were covering the migration crisis. Of 114 journalists approached, 80 (70.2%) agreed to take part. This sample size compares favourably with other previous academically robust studies on the subject of journalists' emotional response to their work. To protect the confidentiality of the journalists who participated in the study, the news organisations are not named. A dedicated, password-protected website was developed for the study. Care was taken to ensure the complete anonymity of participants. The study was approved by the Research Ethics Board at Sunnybrook Health Sciences Centre, fully affiliated with the University of Toronto.

The following data were collected: demographic (age, gender, marital status, children (yes/no), level of education) and work (years employed as a journalist, type of journalism) related data. We also asked these additional work related questions:

- Have you previously covered war?
- Have you previously covered disasters?
- How long (in months) have you been covering the refugees?
- Is the location of the refugees close to or within your country?
- Have you stepped outside your role as a journalist and assisted any of the refugees?

Before completing the self-report-psychometric scales described below, journalists were asked whether they had been seen by a psychiatrist or psychologist, the reason for the assessment (personal or conflict related), and the type of treatment received (medication, therapy, or both). The psychological data focused on three conditions.

The first was post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Here a set of 22 questions was asked which closely follow the American Psychiatric Association's diagnostic criteria for PTSD. We looked at whether or not participants had experienced any of the three following symptom clusters in the past seven days in relation to their work covering the refugee crisis: re-experiencing or intrusive phenomena, such as flashbacks or unwanted memories of a traumatic event and related nightmares; avoidance behaviour, where individuals consciously attempt to avoid recollections or images of the traumatic event; and indices of hyperarousal, such as difficulties with sleep, irritability, and concentration as well as hypervigilance, even on return to a safe environment.

The second condition was depression<sup>11</sup> and for this, 21 questions were asked, capturing the full spectrum of related symptoms, including, amongst others, sadness, sense of failure, suicidal thoughts, loss of energy, and changes in sleep, appetite, and sexual interest.<sup>12</sup>

The third condition assessed was moral injury, which is not regarded as a mental illness, unlike PTSD and depression. We recorded symptoms of moral injury using a modified version of a scale developed for the military, which we adapted by removing those questions that pertained directly to service within a military context.<sup>13</sup> The six remaining statements were:

- I saw things that were morally wrong.
- I am troubled by having witnessed others' immoral acts.
- I acted in ways that violated my own moral code or values.
- I am troubled by having acted in ways that violated my own morals and values.
- I violated my own morals by failing to do something that I felt I should have done.
- I am troubled because I violated my morals by failing to do something that I felt I should have done.

Each statement came with six possible responses with high scores denoting more prominent symptoms of moral injury. In addition to this, survey participants were asked to rate their feelings of guilt along a continuum, with a score of 0 denoting no guilt and 10, extreme guilt.

Given that heavy drinking is closely associated with symptoms of PTSD and depression, we also captured details of alcohol and illicit drug use. Finally, the journalists' perceptions of their work environment were captured by seven questions as follows:

- Do you feel the economic pressures of the industry affect your work covering traumatic events?
- Do you have the time and resources to do your job properly?
- Are you under pressure to compromise your personal ethics in the pursuit of meeting deadlines?
- Is your workload greater than a year ago?
- Do editors handling your story/photographs acknowledge the potentially traumatic aspect of the assignment?

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<sup>11</sup>Beck Depression Inventory Revised (BDI-II).

<sup>12</sup>The 21 questions capture the full spectrum of depressive symptomatology such as sadness, pessimism, a sense of failure, loss of pleasure, guilt, self-dislike, self-criticism, suicidal thoughts, crying, agitation, loss of interest, indecisiveness, worthlessness, loss of energy, changes in sleep, appetite and sexual interest, poor concentration, and fatigue. As directed, each question was scored 0-1-2-3 and the individual question added up to give an overall index of depression. By convention, scores from 0-13 indicated none/minimal depression, 14-19 mild, 20-28 moderate and > 28 severe depression.

<sup>13</sup>The Moral Injury Events Scale.

- On average, how many hours of rest (including sleep) do you get in a 24-hour period?
- How much control do you have over the resources (time, decision-making, equipment, deadlines) required to do your job?

Responses to the last question were rated from 1 through 5, reflecting a range of responses from no control to complete control.

### *Breakdown of Results*

Of the 80 journalists studied 47 (59.8%) were male. A similar number were married. The average age of the sample was 42.9 years. Just under 40% of the journalists had children. Journalists had been working for an average of 18 years in the profession. This experience was reflected in the fact that just over two-thirds had previously covered wars or disasters. When it came to coverage of the migration crisis, one-third were working alone.<sup>14</sup>

The psychological data revealed few PTSD-type symptoms. Scores on the intrusion, avoidance, and arousal subscales were low. The same result was found for depression. The amount of weekly alcohol consumed by both men and women journalists was well below the threshold considered medically healthy.<sup>15</sup>

A different picture emerged for moral injury. The most frequently reported difficulty pertained to witnessing behaviour amongst colleagues, aid workers, or the local population that participants regarded as morally wrong. Almost two-thirds of the journalists highlighted this concern. Of note is that journalists in general did not regard their own behaviour as morally compromised, instead seeing such behaviour in others, and yet they divulged experiencing a moderate amount of guilt.<sup>16</sup>

The results from the work survey gave a somewhat mixed message. Although the majority of journalists felt supported overall by their news organisation, approximately 50% believed their editors had failed to acknowledge the traumatic aspect of the assignment.<sup>17</sup>

### *Factors Associated with Moral Injury*

Given the degree to which journalists reported symptoms of moral injury, a closer look was taken at the demographic, work-related, and clinical factors associated with it. Journalists with children recorded more moral injury-

<sup>14</sup>A more complete description of the demographics and work related characteristics of the sample can be found in Appendices 1 and 2 respectively.

<sup>15</sup>The amount of alcohol used weekly was recorded where a unit of alcohol was defined as either a regular-size bottle of beer, glass of wine or shot of spirits. Fourteen units of alcohol per week for males and seven units for females were considered the upper limit of acceptable weekly intake according to the American Medical Association.

<sup>16</sup>A complete breakdown of scores on the Moral Injury Events Scale-revised can be found in Appendix 3.

<sup>17</sup>The complete work survey results can be found in Appendix 4.





Off the Libyan coast – Migrants and refugees wrapped in survival foil blankets rest next to rescue members aboard the Topaz Responder ship run by Maltese NGO Moas and the Italian Red Cross after a rescue operation, November 5, 2016. AFP/Andreas Solaro

related distress, as did those with a higher workload within the past year. Journalists working alone rather than with colleagues reported that they were more likely to have acted in ways that violated their own moral code. Those who had not covered war previously were more likely to record violating their own moral code by failing to do something they felt they should have done. Those who said they had not received the necessary support from their organisation were more likely to admit seeing things they perceived as morally wrong. Less control over resources required to report on the refugee crisis correlated significantly with moral injury and depression.

Moral injury scores correlated significantly with guilt. Greater guilt, in turn, was noted by journalists covering the story close to home and by those who had assisted the refugees. There was no correlation between scores on the Moral Injury Experience Scale and gender, age, education, marital status, or alcohol consumption in men or women.

Finally, the relationship between moral injury on the one hand and symptoms of PTSD (intrusion, avoidance, arousal) and depression on the other were explored. The results revealed that only symptoms of intrusion and guilt were statistically significant predictors of moral injury.

### *Applicability of Findings*

Individuals may develop PTSD in the absence of direct personal threat should they witness people getting killed or being subjected to violence. Thus, while journalists covering the refugee crisis were not in mortal danger for the most part, they were still potentially exposed to the kind of stresses that in some cases might have triggered a PTSD-type reaction. What our findings revealed,

however, was that witnessing the plight of the migrants was more likely to induce prominent symptoms of moral injury rather than PTSD or depression. Equally noteworthy, our data revealed a low frequency of depression, and little alcohol abuse.

We did not embark on this study anticipating that moral injury would emerge as the major issue affecting journalists in their coverage of the migration crisis. While it is important to reiterate that moral injury is not considered a mental illness, unlike PTSD for example, the potential hazards posed by it are all too familiar to the military. Here research has shown that it is associated with significant emotional distress and can compromise a veteran's ability to reintegrate back into society following a tour of duty.

Our data did, however, reveal a complex triad of guilt, moral injury, and behaviour that entailed journalists stepping out their media role to provide direct assistance to migrants. This meshed with a theme that had emerged earlier in discussions surrounding the role and responsibilities of journalists in the refugee crisis, namely where to draw the line when it came to personal involvement. The traditional notion of the journalist as the neutral observer seems to have been called into question in part because journalists – in Lesbos at least – were often among the first responders, in part because they were often reporting on something that was happening on their home soil, and in part because, by providing help, they were unlikely to put themselves in significant danger.



Rigonce, Slovenia - Police escort asylum seekers to a refugee centre after crossing the Croatian-Slovenian border, October 24, 2015. AFP/Jure Makovec

*Personal Narrative in Support of the Data*

Numbers, while informative and integral to quantitative methods of understanding behaviour, tell only part of the story. In the research undertaken for this report, we heard anecdotes of journalists providing money, food, and clothing to refugees, transporting them in their cars, moving the bodies of those who had died, and saving others from drowning.

Aris Messinis, the chief photographer at AFP in Athens, became a story in his own right when he was photographed carrying a Syrian child from the water in Lesbos. Writing in a blog, he explains his decision to get involved: 'But here, there are no dangers for you. That's why there are many times when I drop my camera and I help people. Because you need to.'<sup>18</sup> Chetwynd said:

*We came to the conclusion that we did formally have to say to our journalists in our charter that you are a human being, you are more than a journalist and therefore the instinct to put your camera down and help a child out the water or to buy a pizza or whatever may be completely natural. ... it's not realistic or feasible to try to stick to some very rigid idea of trying to be some sort of neutral observer under these circumstances, and yet the question can be where do you put the cursor because once you creep over that, you can get extremely involved. ... Ultimately, you are talking about human beings on the ground managing their own situations.*

Chetwynd added that it is difficult to 'prescribe too much from an office far away on how to behave'. While advocating a flexible approach, Chetwynd also emphasised that managers had to ensure that the behaviour of individuals did not deviate from the company's code of conduct and ethics. Whilst accepting that everyone is different, it was important that managers were able 'read the signs if something isn't right'.

Another salient point to emerge in our data was the perception of at least half the journalists that they were working harder with fewer resources and finding their editors insensitive to the emotional stress of the work. These factors were also linked either directly or indirectly to moral injury. Phil Chetwynd of AFP for one is only too aware of this:

*I think the state of our industry creates particular challenges because, you know, especially with foreign news, everybody is finding more reasonable and cheaper ways to try and do consistent coverage on big resource-draining stories and that's going to be one of the challenges all the time. We need to rotate our teams, we need to mix it up so that the same people are not constantly doing those stories while having budget pressures.*

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<sup>18</sup><https://correspondent.afp.com/war-peace>



But Chetwynd underlined how critical it was for those deploying people to insist on the continued importance of covering the story, whilst also giving those who are sent into the field the support they needed to step back from the subject, limit their deployments to manageable periods of time, and take on other stories that allowed them a break from the intensity of the coverage, while at the same time ensuring they do not feel like they are being pulled off the story.

It is a difficult juggling act, made more challenging by the current financial constraints facing the industry, particularly in situations where there are limited numbers of people covering the story or where individuals have a potent connection to their work, such as being local to the story.



Syrian refugees arrive on the Greek island of Lesbos in an overcrowded dinghy after crossing a part of the Aegean Sea from the Turkish coast September 22, 2015. REUTERS/Yannis Behrakis



### **3. Case Studies from Journalists in the Field**

The following four cases were chosen because they highlight the kinds of challenges faced by journalists that were exposed by our empirical data. In the case of Will Vassilopoulos and Yannis Behrakis, we see the stress that comes with covering a migrant crisis within one's own country and the moral dilemmas that can ensue when a journalist's work is accorded accolades and awards. Patrick Kingsley's account highlights the professional doubt that can take root in a journalist's mind when the powerlessness of migrants is transferred, albeit transiently, to the journalist. Finally, Alice Petré's story indicates the hazards of blurring the margins between working as a journalist and stepping out that role to offer help to a migrant family.

*Will Vassilopoulos, Freelance Journalist, Agence France-Presse*



Will Vassilopoulos © Enri Canaj

Will Vassilopoulos is a Greek freelance video journalist who works for Agence France-Presse. Between April 2015 and April 2016, he travelled to Lesbos 13 times to cover the migrant story.

He described how he had been affected by his work, and how he tried to manage his responses and his responsibilities to his work and his family covering a story on home soil. Most recently, he recalled the ‘uncomfortable, uneasy moments where I felt ashamed’, adding: ‘It isn’t something that is going to last forever. It is something that hits you.’

‘Experience is something that has helped me deal with it’, he believes. ‘Every time I would gain a thicker skin, then the more easily I could speak with the refugees.’ But to begin with he found the work tough.

*Back in those days, there was very little media coverage, and few authorities and NGOs. So few, that in the early days of April, May 2015 you could find yourself alone on a beach with a dinghy landing in front of you and you had to make that choice to help.*

‘The feeling of guilt was very strong,’ he recalled, when breaking the news to the refugees that despite their joy at arriving on Greek shores they still had 60 kilometres to go to the town where they could be registered. ‘For sure, you’re keeping your journalistic integrity, you’re not changing history,’ but, ‘the problem is there is so much grey.’ Vassilopoulos recognises there were times when that grey threatened to become overwhelming.

In a blog he wrote in 2016,<sup>19</sup> he described filming doctors as they performed CPR unsuccessfully on a young man.

*Once the footage is out, I am furious – the editors cut all of the images of the CPR, deeming they were too harsh for our clients. I tried my best to shoot either from a distance or a super close-up, so that facial characteristics wouldn't be recognised. I would never want some mother to see her son in this state on the screen, I would never forgive myself.*

*But too harsh? My ass. We're journalists, our job is to show what happens and this is what really happens on Lesbos. Not just today. Every day. Why shouldn't the world see this?*

*Yes, I want to shock you, but only to make you understand what is happening here. Something sinister. Something horrible. Maybe if you're shocked, maybe then it will stop happening.*

He went on to explain how he went for a walk to quell his anger on a beach that only the previous summer would have been 'picture postcard', when suddenly the body of a young boy caught his eye.

*It's the first time that I actually see a dead body on the beach. There is no one around. Such a small body. I walk around it. I think of my kids. A little further, I see a body of an old man.*

*Some colleagues show up. Where are the authorities? We can't just leave them lying on the beach.*

*We go up to the road. An undertaker is there and he volunteers to take the bodies. But he can't possibly carry all of these bodies himself. He's one guy with a red van. We reporters end up carrying the bodies to him on the road.*

*I am devastated. This is a beach on an island in a country that's not at war. This should not be happening. It's sinister. It's evil. Why would this happen? Why would this happen to a small boy?*

Vassilopoulos recalls it was hard readjusting to life away from the story in the early days. In May 2016 he said:

*You do feel that with your friends you're on different frequencies, all of a sudden. I hate it when a friend is like – 'OK, what's happening with the migration issue?'*

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<sup>19</sup><https://correspondent.afp.com/ticket-lesbos>

*[I think] you just wouldn't understand. I will give you a sterile generic answer [when they say] 'Is it as bad as they say in Idomeni?' You don't want to put them in your world, may be because you don't want to keep on reminding yourself of this world.*

*If I were to say what is more difficult in this crisis, getting over the images of the dead people, or going on a mission that is long – 10 days long – and then going home, opening the door and automatically being a father and husband, I think that is the most challenging thing.*

One of the ways he dealt with this was by taking his family with him to briefly visit Idomeni, site of a refugee camp, near the Greek border with Macedonia.

*The fact that my wife came to the camp – she only saw half an hour of it, but I think it was something good, because, somehow, she saw my world and I think ever since, she lets me decompress, as soon as I get home, as soon as I reach my safe haven, before I automatically take on the all the responsibilities of the husband and father.*

Speaking again in March 2017 on the eve of his twenty-first trip to Lesbos, he said he had got 'comfortable with feeling uncomfortable'.

But he still didn't feel entirely comfortable with the fact his work had been recognised with the Rory Peck Award for News. 'There is a percentage of me that still feels that this was won on the back of human suffering, but whenever I get that feeling it is something I am uncomfortable with, but the positive aspects outweigh that.



*Yannis Behrakis, Reuters*



Yannis Behrakis © Giacomo Zandonini

Yannis Behrakis has been a Reuters photographer for more than 30 years, during which he has covered conflict and crises around the world. However, during the recent refugee crisis he turned his camera on his home country of Greece where, as chief photographer in Athens, he began covering the story in April 2015.

Behrakis says he has always been clear about his role and responsibilities as a journalist and is passionate about the work he does, but there were occasions during the refugee crisis when he found himself questioning if what he was doing was enough.

*A lot of times you are not sure what to do: leave the camera and actively help people come out of the sea or do practical things for them, drive them up the road, or give them clothes, or take their pictures. Of course, I always think this is the way I help and this is my job to make sure that everybody around the world knows what is happening and that is my mission.<sup>20</sup>*

Even though it is a clear mission, there were personal reasons that this story had such an emotional impact on him.

*I have refugee blood: my grandmother told me stories about escaping Asia Minor, basically making the same trip as the refugees from the Turkish coast to the Greek islands. So, for me it became even more of a personal story. Plus, it*

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<sup>20</sup>Skype interview with Yannis Behrakis, April 2017.



*was the Greek factor, so I was worried that the global community might say 'the Greeks didn't do as much as they could and they weren't good people' ... I was really worried about a lot of things.*

Behrakis says his family was extremely supportive. His wife, a doctor, visited the Greek islands to volunteer and he took his daughter to visit. But even still, after ten months of covering the story, he had an experience that made him realise he needed a break.

*I had this horrific nightmare which basically involved my own family, seeing my 10-year-old daughter drowning in a shipwreck which obviously was the impact of seeing all these people having problems in the sea and drowning.*

Behrakis's previous experiences covering conflict and crisis made him more aware of his reactions.

*I had been in Idomeni nine times and stayed for five days to two or three weeks each time and Lesbos and Kos for long periods of time. I know how these kind of stories, the passion of journalists, can lead you into potentially dangerous emotional situations, where you get angry and aggravated with yourself and everyone around you and this has an impact on your personal life.*

But there was something even more potent about this story that he had not previously experienced.

*This time everything was happening in my own yard and plus it was a kind of continuation of a crisis, because we had the Greek crisis for five years and on top of this we had the refugee crisis, so I was already traumatised by the Greek crisis which affected my family and my friends.*

Behrakis's work documenting the 2015 refugee crisis has been recognised by numerous industry awards. In 2016, he led the Reuters team that won the Pulitzer Prize for Breaking News Photography and he was also awarded two prestigious Bayeux-Calvados awards for his photographs. He decided to donate the prize money for the latter to Médecins Sans Frontières. But he notes that the recognition the award brought created its own dilemmas.

*It is this battle inside me: my work is recognised because I am covering the drama of other people so it is a little bit strange; on the other hand I am happy that my work is recognised because it gives more power and impact to [it].*

*Patrick Kingsley, Guardian*



Patrick Kingsley © Yaseen Kanuni

Patrick Kingsley became the *Guardian's* first Migration Correspondent when he was named to the position in March 2015 after a stint in Cairo. Initially he found 'real psychological respite' from being the newspaper's Egypt correspondent and believed he could make a difference with his work which encompassed all aspects of migration from the personal stories to the political. 'Initially I found switching to migration a relief, like a pressure valve,' he recalled.<sup>21</sup>

*But, as time goes on you are just dealing relentlessly with the same wretched situation: the shipwrecks, the same stupid policies. No one in power is really interested in listening to what is happening on the ground, just answering the anti-immigrant rhetoric.*

Kingsley remembers there were times when he questioned the value of the journalism he and others were doing.

Recalling the image of the dead Syrian toddler Aylan Kurdi whose body was washed up on a Turkish beach, he writes in his book, *The New Odyssey*, about how it was one of the very few pieces of journalism to have an individual effect on the public consciousness that summer.

*Suddenly Europe cares. Aylan's corpse is on the frontpages of dozens if not hundreds of European newspapers the next day, including that of The Sun, whose columnist Katie Hopkins had only a few months before described*

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<sup>21</sup>Phone interview with Patrick Kingsley in May 2016. Since carrying out this interview, Kingsley has moved to the *New York Times*.

*migrants as cockroaches. 'Show me bodies floating in the water,' Hopkins had written in April. 'I still don't care.' Fast-forward to September, and her editors evidently now disagree. In October, they'll be back to their migrant-baiting worst – but for a few weeks in the middle, they're forced to change their minds by the brilliance of one Turkish photojournalist. As a specialist who's failed for months to prompt this kind of shift with my own coverage, it is a humbling reminder of my own insignificance. (Kingsley, 2016: 260)*

For Kingsley personally, some of the more significant moments happened a long way from the beaches of the Mediterranean. 'The most upsetting moment I had was in Libya. There was a guy from Darfur in a detention centre – that feeling of being unable to help him, beyond putting an arm around him.'

For all his experiences, Kingsley remains immensely stoic about his work and grateful for the opportunities it has provided him. His sense is that journalism by its very nature asks a great deal of individuals. 'It's a difficult double bind we find ourselves in and I wonder if the refugee crisis is any different in the toll it takes.' The challenges he faces in his work pale in comparison to those confronted by the subjects of his stories. 'However tough it is to be on the road, it is much easier to be there on a nice aeroplane than on a fishing boat.'

*Alice Petrén, Swedish Radio*



Alice Petrén © Alice Petrén

Alice Petrén is Migration Correspondent for Swedish Radio, a position she has held since late 2015. Prior to that, she was Southern European correspondent for the public service broadcaster, a role in which she frequently covered migration issues. Her current position, focusing as it does exclusively on the refugee crisis, allowed her to cover the story in considerable depth.

She explained how the experience of one family from Afghanistan affected her, in particular.

*They came in April, just after the treaty with Turkey and they thought they would have an interview in the summer, then October and then January. They were transferred to Athens to have an interview and now the father's writing that they will have an interview in the summer 2017.*

*The children didn't go to school and there are two children of school age and the boy is very observant.*

Petrén gave the family a small amount of money on three occasions out of her own pocket.

*He has been writing to me and asking for more money and I told him, 'I am a journalist, not an activist'. I cannot go over that border again. I did it because I felt very much for the family, but then I realised it wasn't such a good idea because it raises expectations and I cannot live up to these expectations so I had better stop it.*



Petrén has noticed that

*migrants are treated by officials mostly as numbers and groups without names. They are Africans, they are migrants, they are black people. I'm in Sicily at the moment and in front of me now I can see six or seven [migrants] walking on the square and people will say 'they shouldn't be here', so that's the attitude and of course when you're a policeman or a coastguard they are no longer individuals.*

*I think it is important to understand that as a journalist my job is to make them individuals, that everyone has a dream of healthy children, nice friends, good economy or whatever it is, on a human level, they are universal dreams.*

## 4. Initial Industry Response

In January 2017, a cross-industry meeting took place to confidentially discuss the initial findings of the research. The discussion was a first positive step in promoting a culture of being able to speak out and not shame those who do, recognising that there is still progress to be made in encouraging journalists to come forward and talk freely on the subject of their own emotions. As one colleague said, ‘journalists are not very good at giving themselves permission to feel or to express that they have had a bad day’.

The meeting recognised that there is still a significant degree of concern among journalists – and particularly those who are still trying to establish their careers – that any admission of distress may be perceived as weakness and affect future assignment prospects. With this in mind, it is clear a cultural shift is still needed in some areas of the industry to let individuals feel comfortable enough to come forward and talk about their experiences. Here journalists need to be reassured that in doing so they are not at risk of being overlooked for the next assignment or jeopardising their careers.

### *The Value of Education*

Our data provide preliminary evidence that moral injury may be less likely to surface in journalists if they understand what their professional role is and do not blur the boundaries of what they are expected to do. Journalists are contemporary historians, not humanitarian workers. If, in extremis, they are called on to provide help, their first impulse, quite correctly, is to do so. This cannot be questioned. However, when these actions are repeated unnecessarily (for example, when aid workers who are better trained and equipped are present) then the door to moral injury opens wider.

This is not to say that journalists should be dispassionate bystanders in the face of a humanitarian crisis, but their passion and commitment should be channelled primarily into their work. This does not deprive them of their humanity. Good journalists will of course feel moved by the migration crisis, but they cannot fix it and should not attempt to do so. Guilt, which is often misplaced, can be a faulty motivator of behaviour. So too can moral injury, hence our finding that guilt was linked both to moral injury and behaviours that extended beyond journalism to providing direct help to migrants. Here journalists need to understand where their emotions are coming from and that it is okay to feel distress in the context of what they are witnessing. However, when the lines are blurred and journalists start regularly assisting migrants, emotions can unravel.

To prevent this happening, education with respect to moral injury and other potential emotional challenges that come with this work should begin early. This should be undertaken before journalists head out into the field. Education is preventative and, as with everything in medicine, it is far better



A Syrian refugee girl cries as she walks through a rainstorm towards Greece's border with Macedonia, near the Greek village of Idomeni, September 10, 2015. REUTERS/Yannis Behrakis

to prevent a problem arising than to have to manage it. Journalists need to understand that this is the 'new' terrain, part of the mental landscape of the profession and that it is normal and appropriate to feel emotional distress in response to situations like the migration crisis. The challenge here is to prevent these emotions from escalating into prominent moral injury given the potential fall-out.

Journalists are often told that they have to be emotionally separate to do their job, so it may be difficult for individuals to recognise if they themselves are off-key. Hence any discussion about managing moral injury needs to be as much about educating journalists as their managers.

Senior journalists and managers need to lead by example, have conversations with their staff about their experiences and what the expectations are. Educational material should also be made available to help individuals increase awareness of the emotional consequences of their work.

There has been a cultural shift in the role played by human resources (HR) personnel and their relationships with editorial staff. A generation ago, the individuals who dealt with personnel issues were more likely to be in the same office as journalists – sharing the same smoking area – and as such were more accessible. Over much of the last decade, this relationship has become more distant, thereby alienating those they were meant to assist. However, the pendulum may be swinging back in a healthier direction. HR employees now appear more actively engaged and interested in conversations around mental health, and managers too are becoming more sensitive to the issues. The need for training and education nevertheless still exists and much work remains in reducing the stigma attached to psychological issues.

Although the risk for moral injury emerged as the main behavioural finding in our study, it is important to remember that moral injury is not a mental illness. As such it is not a clinical diagnosis but rather a term that reflects the person's self-perception that they have lost their moral compass. Reaching out for assistance in dealing with it should be encouraged and not come at the risk of endangering future career prospects.

While our current findings have been derived from a study of the migration crisis, the conclusions are in principle applicable to other news content as well, for example domestic terror threats, or stories in challenging, but non-conflict areas, or locations of post-conflict or humanitarian crisis, particularly where journalists may be covering a story local to them.

### *Recommendations for Consideration*

During the cross-industry 2017 meeting mentioned earlier, news managers and journalists discussed ways in which organisations and individual journalists could work better from a mental health perspective. This interaction should begin with pre-deployment planning, and continuing into the news story and the period thereafter. It was widely acknowledged that any final approach should be well thought out, planned, and coordinated in advance, based on a consensus understanding of what might work. What is not required here is a hastily constructed, ad hoc approach that runs the risk of causing more harm than good. Therefore we list here some guidelines for consideration.

Given the early stages of this research, the points raised should not be regarded as a set of definitive recommendations. We also recognise that these ideas extend beyond the challenges posed by moral injury and address the wider, important question of how news organisations need to look out for the emotional well-being of journalists dispatched to cover a story.

#### BEFORE AND DURING DEPLOYMENT

- News managers, assignment editors, and bureau chiefs should develop relationships based on trust with those they are deploying.
- The planning for deployments should include informed conversations about the potential emotional responses that may arise and what can be done to boost resilience.
- Individuals should try to establish their personal parameters and rules of ethical involvement ahead of time and ensure that they recognise their roles, responsibilities, and the value of their work as journalists (to mitigate any blurring of the fine line between managing their humanity and over-extending themselves).



- Sensitivity is key from managers and those dealing with individuals in these scenarios. News organisations should consider guidelines for news desks about how to respond to calls from the field where people might be troubled by their experiences.
- Managers should be aware that economic pressures and the decisions that stem from this can undermine the emotional health of journalists in the field. We recognise that mitigating this will remain challenging. There are clearly no easy solutions to this conundrum, but rather than gloss over this study finding, we believe it is important to bring it to the attention of news managers.

#### POST-DEPLOYMENT

- Organisations should look to provide support to journalists who may be affected by their work. Journalists should be made aware of what is available if they want help. It is important that managers do not make journalists feel this is compulsory. However, it is also important that there is institutional expertise in recognising the journalists who need help and ensuring they get it.
- Journalists may find it difficult to reintegrate after a deployment and it is imperative they, their families, and their organisations recognise this.
- Organisations might consider the value of educating families about moral injury and psychological well-being in general.
- Managers should recognise that journalists vary in the ways they reintegrate. This underlines the importance of managers knowing individual staff and the fact that some may need time off, whereas others may not, hence the need for some flexibility in the guidelines.

## 5. Conclusion and Next Steps

Journalists are generally resilient. The current study reveals that notwithstanding their long hours in the field and bureaus covering an emotionally wrenching story, as a group they show few signs of PTSD and depression. However, work of this emotional intensity can leave a mark and we have shown that writing about, photographing, and filming the plight of vast numbers of refugees making their way to Europe, has engendered a degree of moral injury amongst the journalists. While moral injury, unlike PTSD and depression, is not a mental illness, it does come with its own emotional fall-out, as data from the military demonstrate only too clearly. Journalists are not soldiers of course, but the challenges posed by reintegrating back into society are common to both professions and it is here that moral injury can prove a significant stumbling block. We hope that the media will see our study as a first step in understanding and addressing a different kind of injury as they look out for the welfare of the men and women working on stories that can prove stressful and emotionally distressing.

This study is the first to explore the important topic of moral injury in journalists and so the findings should be seen as necessarily provisional. But these data should alert journalists and the industry to the condition and the need for further research. This is particularly relevant because the conclusions of this report will be applicable to stories beyond the current refugee crisis.

### *Resources*

The following list, while not comprehensive, includes organisations carrying out work in the field of mental health and journalism safety.

Dart Center for Trauma and Journalism: [www.dartcenter.org](http://www.dartcenter.org)

Canadian Forum for Violence and Trauma in Journalism:

<http://www.journalismforum.ca>

International News Safety Institute: [www.newssafety.org](http://www.newssafety.org)

Rory Peck Trust: <https://rorypecktrust.org>

A Culture of Safety Alliance: <https://www.acosalliance.org>

*Appendix 1. Demographic Data*

Demographic variable	No. of participants (%) / mean (standard deviation)
<b>Gender</b>	
Male	47 (58.8)
Female	33 (41.3)
<b>Age</b>	42.9 (8.4) years
<b>English first language?</b>	25 (31.3)
<b>Marital status</b>	
Single	25 (31.2)
Married	47 (58.8)
Divorced/separated	8 (10)
<b>Education Level</b>	
High school	4 (5.0)
College	8 (10.0)
University	68 (85.0)
<b>Children</b>	
Yes	31 (38.8)

*Appendix 2. Journalism Data*

<b>Journalism variable</b>	<b>No. (%) / mean (SD)</b>
<b>Number of years worked as a journalist</b>	18.3 years (8.1)
<b>Number of print journalists</b>	20 (25.0)
Photographer	15 (18.8)
Online Reporter	3 (3.8)
Other	2 (2.5)
<b>Number of broadcast journalists</b>	60 (75.0)
Reporter	31 (38.8)
Producer	18 (22.5)
Cameraperson	7 (8.8)
Other	4 (5.0)
<b>Number of months covering refugees</b>	19.6 (19.4)
<b>Working alone<sup>¥</sup></b>	32 (40.0)
<b>Previously covered war<sup>¥</sup></b>	55 (68.8)
<b>Previously covered disasters<sup>¥</sup></b>	54 (67.5)
<b>Previously covered humanitarian crises<sup>¥</sup></b>	57 (71.3)
<b>Previously covered the Balkan civil wars<sup>¥</sup></b>	22 (27.5)
<b>Located close to home<sup>¥</sup></b>	57 (71.3)
<b>Received necessary support<sup>¥</sup></b>	68 (85.0)
<b>Deployed too long<sup>¥</sup></b>	4 (5)
<b>Deployed too frequently<sup>¥</sup></b>	6 (7.5)
<b>Assisted refugees<sup>¥</sup></b>	61 (76.3)
<b>Journalists who have seen a psychiatrist</b>	
Yes, related to work in a conflict zone	12 (15.0)
Yes, but for personal reasons (not work)	22 (27.5)
No	46 (57.5)

¥ Number of journalists who responded yes



*Appendix 3: Data from the Moral Injury Event Scale-Revised (MIES-R)*

Moral Injury Question	N (%)
<b>I saw things that were morally wrong.</b>	
Strongly Disagree	2 (2.5)
Moderately Disagree	3 (3.8)
Slightly Disagree	2 (2.5)
Slightly Agree	4 (5.0)
Moderately Agree	17 (21.3)
Strongly Agree	48 (60.0)
<b>I am troubled by having witnessed others' immoral acts</b>	
Strongly Disagree	7 (8.8)
Moderately Disagree	11 (13.8)
Slightly Disagree	4 (5.0)
Slightly Agree	16 (20.0)
Moderately Agree	21 (26.3)
Strongly Agree	17 (21.3)
<b>I acted in ways that violated my own moral code or values</b>	
Strongly Disagree	47 (58.8)
Moderately Disagree	16 (20.0)
Slightly Disagree	6 (7.5)
Slightly Agree	4 (5.0)
Moderately Agree	2 (2.5)
Strongly Agree	1 (1.3)
<b>I am troubled by having acted in ways that violated my own morals or values</b>	
Strongly Disagree	50 (62.5)
Moderately Disagree	15 (18.8)
Slightly Disagree	4 (5.0)
Slightly Agree	3 (3.8)
Moderately Agree	3 (3.8)
Strongly Agree	1 (1.3)

<b>I violated my own morals by failing to do something that I felt I should have done</b>	
Strongly Disagree	36 (45.0)
Moderately Disagree	17 (21.3)
Slightly Disagree	5 (6.3)
Slightly Agree	11 (13.8)
Moderately Agree	7 (8.8)
Strongly Agree	0 (0)
<b>I am troubled because I violated my morals by failing to do something that I felt I should have done</b>	
Strongly Disagree	38 (47.5)
Moderately Disagree	17 (21.3)
Slightly Disagree	6 (7.5)
Slightly Agree	8 (10.0)
Moderately Agree	5 (6.3)
Strongly Agree	2 (2.5)

*Appendix 4: Data with Respect to Journalists' Perceptions of their Work Environment*

Work-related questions	No. (%) / Mean (SD)
<b>Do you feel the economic pressures of the industry affect your work covering traumatic events?</b>	
Yes	43 (59.7)
<b>On average, how many hours of rest, including sleep, do you get in a 24-hour period?</b>	7.9 (2.3) hours
<b>How much control do you have over the resources required to do your job?</b>	
Very little	18 (25)
Some	32 (44.4)
Quite a lot	21 (29.1)
Complete control	1 (1.4)
<b>Is your workload greater than a year ago?</b>	
Yes	43 (59.7)
<b>Are you under pressure to compromise your personal ethics in the pursuit of meeting deadlines?</b>	
Yes	13 (18.1)
<b>Do editors handling your story/pictures acknowledge the traumatic aspect of the assignment?</b>	
Yes	38 (52.8)

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