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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ROLE PERCEPTIONS AND JOURNALISTIC PRACTICES OF WAR REPORTERS IN INDIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM, COVERING CONFLICTS BETWEEN 1998 AND 2003

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वक्रतुंड महाकाय सूर्यकोटी समप्रभ |
निर्विघ्नं कुरूमे देव सर्व कार्येशु सर्वदा ||

This is for Pa and Amma.

Abstract

This thesis presents a comparative exploration of the role perceptions and journalistic practices of war reporters working in India and the UK – covering wars between 1998 and 2003. Adopting field theory and boundary maintenance as analytical tools, it explores how reporters in Indian and the UK enforce their self-perceived identity criteria and occupational practices within the field of war reporting. The thesis traces their normative ideas, cognitive orientations, professional practices and narrated performances. The theoretical framework is developed around concepts of role perception, journalistic neutrality, the social construction of reality and models of news media performance.

The job of a war reporter is defined by the risks and dangers involved in getting the story, and this study explores the motivations through which the war reporter rationalises those risks and dangers while claiming to provide objective eye-witness accounts of the events they cover. It focuses on the ways war reporters claim membership to the elite club of war reporting through notions of self-identification that are based on their understanding of values and norms that provide legitimacy to the field of war reporting. Furthermore, in its comparison of war reporters in India and the UK, this study examines the ways in which war reporters make sense of their reality with objectivity and authority through notions of performance and explores the extent to which these perceptions are embedded in specific cultural context, strategic priorities of the wars they have covered.

Through semi-structured interviews of 17 India-based reporters covering the Kargil War (1999) and 22 UK-based reporters covering the wars in Kosovo (1998), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003), this study uses a narrative approach to form a cohesive story in relation to their understanding of who a war reporter is and what comprises war reporting. The thematic analysis developed from concepts that form the theoretical framework of this research are discussed in later chapters and shed light on the different ways the two sets of reporters understand notions of risk, norms of objectivity, views on military–media relationships and their story focus – within the process of newsgathering and storytelling. Language analysis of the discourses of Indian and UK war reporters allows this research to fill the gap in the literature regarding research on Indian war reporting. Furthermore, it highlights the resilience of the norms and occupational practices among UK war reporters.

Finally, in its conclusion, this thesis presents an internal conversation between the shared normative ideas, cognitive orientations and professional practices regarding war reporting and proposes ways in which the tropes around war reporting in India and the UK have been disrupted or remained resilient.

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Chapter 1.0 Introduction

This thesis presents a broadly comparative exploration of the role perceptions and journalistic practices of war reporters in India and the UK covering conflicts between 1998 and 2003, including, Kosovo, Kargil, Afghanistan and Iraq wars. The four wars were the guiding criteria for selection of war reporters for this study, and this study strives to capture their views across these wars, however their views are not limited to these four wars only. It should be noted that Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) were longstanding conflicts, falling well beyond the year 2003, naturally, therefore, the respondents' experiences and perspectives are not restricted in time and are relevant beyond the year 2003 as they recollect their interactions with soldiers and victims of the wars as well as distil their reflections on other conflicts with their own experiences of these wars. Furthermore, the respondents discuss their experience of other conflicts which this study considers in analysing the wider issues of self-image, news gathering and storytelling processes of reporters who regularly report from war zones.

The generic definition of war reporter is one who covers stories of conflicts and wars first-hand. War reporting entails different routines, practices and experience, requiring reporters to travel to places marred by death, destruction and chaos, making it very different from standard forms of reporting, such as politics, current affairs or other usual beats of journalism. This aberrance grants war reporting its much-claimed unique status among other forms of journalism. While the accounts of William Howard Russell, one of the first war correspondents famous for his dispatches from the Crimean War (1854-56), declared himself to be the "miserable parent of a luckless tribe," expressing his ambivalence regarding the role of war reporters, it was the legendary anchor man Walter Cronkite who gushingly claimed "nothing in the field of journalism is as glamorous as being a war correspondent" (Anderson & Trembath 2011, p. 11).

While there is no dearth of scholarship on British/Western war reporters, there is a considerable lack in the case of Indian war reporters. This study examines whether values and practices shared within this exclusive club of war reporters are universal or shaped by specific cultural factors. Do war reporters in India understand their motivations and practices of war reporting in similar ways as their Western counterparts? Motivating this research is the fact that, despite there being a significant presence of conflict reporting within Indian journalism – within its own "territories," where the Indian reporters claim to have covered internal insurgencies and terrorism in different states and union territories such as Jammu and Kashmir[1], Chhattisgarh, Punjab and the North-Eastern states, an academic study on role perceptions and journalistic values on India-based reporters is missing. Since India's independence from British Colonial rule in 1947, these states have witnessed frequent and deadly conflicts, and as

[1] Prior to 2019, Jammu and Kashmir was the only Muslim-majority state in India. In 2019, the Indian government amended the Indian Constitution which led to the Indian parliament passing an Act to reorganise the state into two union territories – Jammu and Kashmir in the west and Ladakh in the east of the erstwhile state's geographical boundary. States in India have their own elected governments which are vested with the powers to frame laws. However, a union territory is (traditionally and) geographically a small administrative unit ruled directly by the federal government.

observed by Indian reporters, are often more dangerous than covering international conflicts, since there is no clear indication of enemy lines when dealing with internal conflicts. The chances of being killed in action are higher when covering internal conflicts, as the reporter is often the target from both sides – the state police and militant groups. Therefore, despite the absence of a specific war reporting classification for Indian reporters, they claim to fall under the category of practitioners of conflict reporting. A study on role perceptions and journalistic values of India reporters covering conflicts has received limited attention in the Indian context – very little is known about what Indian conflict reporters believe or think about what they do in the process of reporting a conflict. This gap in the literature is present for print and television journalists and is marked by the Kargil (1999) war, the first televised war that was presented as live on the media in India. Kargil plays a significant role in shaping the perceptions of conflict reporters and the way they practice war reporting. While Indian media organisations, unlike in the UK, do not classify their journalists as dedicated war reporters, there is substantial evidence in this research to suggest Indian reporters' notion of self-identification is exemplified in language that claims membership to this elite club of war reporters, who report from abnormal circumstances – survive hardships despite the physically dangerous and mentally challenging situations they find themselves in.

The overarching argument of this thesis is that despite the challenges and disruptions faced by Western journalism, particularly in relation to transformations in the technological and political environments, the tropes around war reporting have remained incredibly resilient. Through an exploration of India and UK war respondents' understanding of their role perceptions and journalistic practices, this thesis will foreground resilience through tropes of bravery, heroism, sacrifice and aesthetics, which the 39 respondents ascribe to and are part of a long tradition of war reporting. In comparing the two sets of war reporters this thesis also highlights the different ways in which they ascribe to these tropes, thereby reinforcing a professional identity of the war reporter.

What is more, this study acknowledges that it does not adopt a strictly comparative design given that the political, media systems and culture of the two countries are markedly different from each other. The dissimilarities between the two countries in relation to technological change, particularly in the media environment and its impact on war reporting is equally felt – India up until 1992 India was "served with just one government-run television network" (Thussu 2002, p. 208). The telecommunications revolution resulted in transforming the broadcasting industry in India "with nearly 80 television channels in operation by 2001" (Thussu 2002, p. 208). This kind of proliferation of channels resulted in 24-hour private news networks that brought colour and drama of the war into the homes of Indian people. Hence, making Kargil the first televised war of India. In contrast to the Indian setting, news agencies in the West – Reuters (UK) and the global television channels of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) – successfully dominated the global flow of news. The latter being a key player in the coverage of strategic stories from the Gulf War I to the War in Kosovo - claiming to provide a "broader perspective than its American counterpart, the CNN" (p. 206). Simultaneously, it has been argued, that Indian television networks during the Kargil war followed the CNN or the BBC model of news reporting "by selling and

broadcasting live pictures from the combat zone" (p. 206). This further enabled Indian news channels to "display their patriotism" (p. 206), but more importantly, gain higher viewership to further their aspirations of achieving the status of a household brand name such as the BBC and the CNN. This thesis acknowledges that these factors played a role in shaping journalistic practices and is aware of the dissimilarities between the two sets of journalists and their organisational and institutional backgrounds. However, this study is equally conscious of the impact of the British imperial rule on Indian journalism (Sonwalkar, 2015; Natrajan, 1962; Bonea, 2014; Aggarwal & Gupta, 2001). Furthermore, globalisation of the Indian media system has equally generated scholarship addressing the ways in which the latter has been influenced by the way journalism is practiced in the West, (Thussu, 2002; 2005; Sonwalkar, 2002; Parthasarathy, 1989; McDowell 1997; Shah; 1998). Hence, addressing the rationale for comparing UK and India war journalists who, even though have not reported on the same conflicts, ascribe to common tropes that are part of the long tradition of war reporting.

The identity of war reporters is intertwined with numerous stereotypes associated with them: the risk takers, courageous, commitment to truth, machismo, ambition and camaraderie. The swashbuckling, camel riding, war-hardened image of the war reporter has inspired contemporary accounts that refer to them as "thrill-freaks," "death-wishers," "wound-seekers," "war-lovers" and "war junkies" (Herr 1978, p. 183). As David Welch (2005) notes in the introduction of his study of war reporting, the 'popular image' of the war reporter in public imagination is one who is "gallant, heroic and impartial" (p. xiv). Other impressions and depictions of war reporters are closely associated with elements of glamour, prestige, a deadly sense of importance, which set them apart from those who do not cover wars; hence, making the war reporter part of an exclusive club where the perceived heroism is believed to be motivated by a number of factors. McLaughlin's (2002, 2016) research on war correspondents arguably tries to get past the legends, myths and cultural representations by aiming to get to the reality of who they are, what they do and why they do it. War reporters, through their own admissions, foreground the fact that, if journalism is all about the "story," then war is a "big story" they want to report on. Their ability to rationalise death, injury, kidnap, harassment and imprisonment among others are done to get that "big story." Furthermore, motivations are also understood through the lens of a higher moral cause – bearing witness to the atrocities in the war zone. It is through this role of an eyewitness that the war reporter can claim their discursive authority in the pursuit of truth and accuracy. Pedelty (1995) encapsulates "professional myth" (p. 128) of the war reporter with these terminologies: "adventure, independence, and truth" (p. 39). It is crucial for the war correspondent and their "perceived heroism" to be viewed as selfless – ever ready to put their lives on the line, and driven by a "higher moral cause" where they are devoted to the cause of reporting facts from a war zone and uncovering its truth to the public.

Although there are myriad perceptions about Western war reporters and their work, this study centres on how war reporters view themselves and their practice of reporting war. The aim of this thesis is to explore war reporters' role perceptions and journalistic practices as understood by them. If war reporting is about willingly going to dangerous places and putting oneself in mortal danger, then the questions

regarding motivation need to be asked. How are they able to rationalise their fear? What are their motivations for travelling to these war zones? This thesis examines whether motivations, as understood by the war reporters, have remained resilient or been disrupted by something new. Therefore, in examining the role perceptions and journalistic practices of the UK war reporters covering wars in Kosovo (1998), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) – this thesis will trace the way they reinforce their professional identity. It also examines their understanding and whether it has altered in relation to the above.

Furthermore, journalistic roles suggest a "circular structure, where normative, cognitive practiced and narrated roles are connected through processes of internalisation, enactment, reflection, normalisation and negotiation" (Hanitzsch & Vos 2017, p. 115). Hanitzsch & Vos (2017) reiterate the point made by other scholars (Aldridge & Evetts 2003; Zelizer 1993) regarding "the way journalists define their relationship with society helps them give meaning to their work and enables them to justify and emphasise the importance of their work to themselves and others" (p.115). Legitimacy contests are a part of the field of war reporting as much as other fields. Boulding (1971) argues that "Legitimacy is centred around acceptance of an institution or organisation as proper and justified". Furthermore, a critical differentiation is made between "internal and external legitimacy" (Boulding 1971, p. 321). While external legitimacy refers to acceptance from the surroundings, internal legitimacy demands that its members ought to provide meaning and justify their work. War reporters constantly try to justify their work through upholding shared values within the field of war reporting. However, the practice of war reporting does not happen in isolation; the shared values and beliefs are constantly being shaped by new members from inside and other close fields. Bourdieu's field theory is crucial in understanding the resilience and disruptions that are found in relation to role perceptions and journalistic practices. Furthermore, to exist in a field is to differentiate oneself – in what ways do war reporters assert their power within the field and outside of it? Moreover, the field of politics and military are equally relevant to war reporting, especially the military, as they both operate out of the war zone. So, to understand the account giver, it is important to understand their surroundings – inhabited by the military, civilians and soldiers – how does the zone of relevance shape the practice of war reporting?

The conceptual enquiries led to two key research questions of this thesis and their sub-questions:

R.Q.1 To what extent have journalists' role perceptions in the UK and India altered since the 1990s?

R.Q.1.1 What are the established role perceptions of the conflict/war reporter in the UK and India? (*Compare and contrast*)

R.Q.1.2 Comparatively, how resilient are these concepts? (*How have they altered and to what extent?*)

R.Q.1.3 To what extent are journalists' role perceptions embedded in the specific cultural context? A comparative account. (*To what extent are the stories that journalists tell about themselves shaped by different cultural contexts?*)

R.Q.2 How has the *practice* of war reporting in the UK and India altered since 1998?

R.Q.2.1 How have traditional journalistic routines adapted to the changing environments of war? (*Compare and contrast*)

R.Q.2.2 Comparatively, what specific news gathering activities have UK reporters, covering the conflicts in Kosovo (1998), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003), utilised?

R.Q.2.3 Comparatively, what specific news gathering activities have Indian reporters covering the conflicts in Kargil (1999) utilised?

R.Q.2.4 Comparatively, how have structures of access changed across these conflicts?

R.Q.2.5 Comparatively, to what extent have the strategic priorities of the UK and India impacted the *process* and *product* of war reporting in this period?

For research purposes, these questions are contextualised by four wars covered by the 39 respondents. The 22 UK respondents covered the wars in Kosovo (1998), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003), and the 17 India respondents covered the Kargil war (1999). Methodologically, these enquiries are approached by qualitative methods consisting of semi-structured interviews. There is demonstration of the conceptual framing of the topic through this thesis, the choice of wars being relevant for the research basis is further elucidated in section 3.2, where the research questions are evaluated.

1.1 The structure of the thesis

Role perceptions of war reporters is one of the central conceptual devices that this thesis' argument is based on; thus, the literature review **[Chapter 2]** begins with an in-depth and comprehensive analysis of role perceptions. The first two sub-sections on role perceptions are based on theoretical and empirical understanding of journalists' roles **[2.1]**.

The next section discusses the historical representation of the war reporters **[2.2]**, highlighting certain aspects of a war reporter's behaviour – role images, working conditions and ethical considerations – aspects that have preoccupied war reporters since the nineteenth century (Korte 2009, p. 62). The section analyses the work of Knightley (2003), McLaughlin (2003; 2016) and Marsh (2010) to trace the ways war reporters have been represented, understood and self-identified.

Bourdieu's field theory **[2.3, 2.31]** and boundary maintenance **[2.4, 2.4.1]** discuss the analytical tools used to explore the India and UK reporters' understanding and beliefs regarding their role as war

reporters. The following sections discuss objectivity in relation to its history, dimensions and performative aspect **[2.5]**. The last section on objectivity in relation to war reporting – the idea of objectivity in a war or zone of conflict has been the subject of several debates. Whether it is considered possible or thought to be desirable by the practitioners of journalism, are questions that have vexed researchers and practitioners alike. Journalism of attachment, as claimed by Bell (1998), is about "journalism that cares as well as knows" (p. 130). The argument is based on the claim that neutral bystanders have no place in a war zone, which is marred with death, destruction and extreme realities.

Moving on, the next section discusses Morrison (1994), who stresses the fact that, to understand the reporting of dramatic events, such as accounts of war, it is essential to understand the world of the account giver – the zone is a factor of several elements including their zone of relevance – the group(s) closest to them have the potential to impact their reporting directly. The war zone, therefore, becomes the zone of relevance (Berger & Luckmann 1967; Adoni & Mane 1984) **[2.6]**.

The section following this discusses embedding as a strategy introduced by the Pentagon and Department of Defence ("DoD") before the Iraq invasion (of 2003). According to Cortell *et al*.(2009), the embed programme introduced during the Iraq war (20030 was partly designed by the Pentagon at the request of media organisations which allowed 600 print, radio and television reporters to live and report with coalition forces **[2.7]**. At the opposite end of embedding is unilateral journalism – where war reporters report on wars independently without any help from the military. However, incidents where unilateral journalists[2] have been shot at, gravely injured or even killed during combat missions at the hands of the military, highlight the nature of censorship that unilateral war reporters experience, thereby making embedding a more practical way of covering wars (Lewis *et al*. 2003) **[2.7.1]**.

The last section discusses the models of news media performance **[2.8]**. The kind of relationship shared between the military and media to a large extent dictates journalistic practices during war reporting and news media performance. The section presents Robinson *et al's* (2010) study on the three models of media performance during the wartime – the elite driven model, independent model, and the oppositional model which draws its inspiration from a previous research done by Hallin (1986) and Wolfsfeld (1997) (pp. 34-37).

While the literature review frames the work theoretically, the fieldwork frames it empirically. **Chapter 3** outlines the research design and methods that were adopted for this research. It starts by presenting the aims of the study and research questions **[3.2]**, followed by the rationale for the study – filling the gap that exists in scholarship on role perceptions and journalistic practices of war reporters in India and testing the resilience of the present role perceptions and practices as understood by war reporters in

[2] John Simpson (2003), BBC world affairs editor, injured during a friendly fire incident in Iraq 2003 (Tumber & Palmer 2004). Terry Lloyd, reporter from ITN, who went as a unilateral journalist was killed by US military troops during the Iraq war in 2003. The government's unapologetic stand to such killings made it apparent that it was not in favour of letting anything undermine the war effort (Gopsill 2004).

the UK. The next three sections **[3.3, 3.4, 3.5]** present the rationale and design of the research methods; technique and research methods – including details of population and sampling, data collection technique – semi-structured interviews based on the snowball technique. Details of the 39 respondents – age, medium of reporting and country of residence are provided in **Figure 3-A**. The following sections provide details of the researcher's background, research ethics and researcher's position – reflexivity (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983) **[3.6, 3.7, 3.8]**. The design of the interview questions is discussed at length, providing justification for the way the two main research questions were converted into interview questions **[3.9]**. The next section **[3.10]** includes the means of analysing qualitative data – the reading of transcripts, process of coding these responses and subsequent thematic analysis (Coffey & Atkinson 1996; Boyatzis 1998; Seale 2004). This is followed by sections that outline the development of the coding sheet, explaining the first and second levels of coding **[3.11.1, 3.11.2]**. Furthermore, examples of how role perceptions and practices were coded are highlighted in the following section **[3.12]**. Issues of validity and reliability are discussed **[3.13]**, followed by the chapter conclusion **[3.14]**. The findings of the 39 semi-structured interviews are presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Chapter 4 presents the political background to the four wars. The journalistic practices of the 39 war reporters cannot be understood in isolation to the strategic priorities of their respective governments at the time of the conflicts. This chapter, therefore, highlights the cultural and political shifts that resulted in the specific foreign policy framings in relation to the UK and India.

Chapter 5 initiates the findings section. This chapter examines the role perceptions of war reporters in India and the UK by exploring the discourses regarding the nature of their attraction for war reporting. These are discussed under motivations – which are further divided into grand and instrumental motivations. While the first category explores respondents' articulations on the notions of risk, thrill and merit, the second category examines articulations that claim a more practical/lucrative reason for wanting to be a war reporter. The chapter foregrounds the ways, in the case of the UK respondents, self-perceptions have been disrupted, giving way to new forms of self-identification. Furthermore, the chapter highlights the ways in which Indian war reporters understand their role perception and, in doing so, demarcate themselves from other war reporters – notions of being a risk taker manifests in discourse that presents them as awe-inspiring and magnificent – therefore suggesting a hero syndrome. Whereas, the UK respondents' understanding highlights a saviour complex – foregrounding their role within discourse emphasising the role of a moral witness.

Chapter 6 explores journalistic identity construction through examining the ways war reporters in India and the UK understand notions of objectivity and attachment. By analysing their discourses on the practice of war reporting through their choices of newsgathering and storytelling processes, the chapter divides the 39 respondents into three categories associated with objectivity – facts and balance, value judgements and brands of objectivity. Some UK war reporters reject aspects of detachment and neutrality as part of objectivity claiming to uphold values of invested reporting, which calls out the evil; this signals a disruption in the accepted norm of objectivity, which relies on neutrality and telling both

sides of the story. In the case of some of the Indian war reporters, values of fairness, accuracy and truth were altogether rejected if found to conflict with the interests of their home country. The chapter also discusses how the respondents understand their subjective social reality (Adoni & Mane 1984) – emphasising their understanding of the relationship between the media and the military, civilians and soldiers who are all parts of the war zone. Views on embedding and unilateral journalism are also taken into consideration to further highlight issues of access and safety. The analytical tools of boundary maintenance and field theory have been applied to highlight the values that are upheld, shared and rejected.

In **Chapter 7**, the attention shifts to the ways the UK and India war reporters describe their experiences of being in the war zones they have covered. The motifs of landscape, food, gothic, transport and sensory perceptions invoke a sense of the place they covered – and further emphasise aspects of their journalistic identity. The UK war reporters' accounts of Afghanistan and Iraq use motifs that emphasise the concept of the Other as exotic, economically starved and as an alien culture (Said 1978). The narrative provided by the UK respondents uses dimensions of 'good versus evil' to describe and authenticate their individual experiences of the war zones in Iraq and Afghanistan. Thus, projecting these war zones as either threatening or in dire need of rescue – by invoking language that is part of the colonial trope – White Man's burden. These descriptions can also be tied to the tropes of risk, hardship and sacrifice that a war reporter must endure to get the story. The India war reporters used motifs of landscape to emphasise the political point within which they hold Pakistan to be responsible for destroying the peace and tranquillity of Kargil. Therefore, emphasising aspects of their journalistic identity as a storyteller personally invested in the war.

Finally, **Chapter 8**, comprising the main conclusions of this study, offers an overview of the key findings of the thesis by presenting a comparative analysis between the 17 India and 22 UK war reporters covering the wars in Kargil, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. The theoretical findings of the study discuss how war reporting is not "just a job" or like "any other form of reporting," rather has a special and elevated place in the mind of the war reporter and in the mythology of journalism. Furthermore, the chapter highlights another dimension of objectivity that is upheld by a section of India-based war reporters. Additionally, it reflects on the conceptual developments within the field of war reporting, by looking at the broader issues related to journalistic identity - of being an eyewitness to history. More importantly, this section presents the reflections on how new technologies have disrupted and facilitated the role of a war reporter. Finally, the future scope of research is discussed; particularly, how the notions of machismo are understood by male and female war reporters and whether the perception of war reporting as a "male-dominated" profession has been disrupted by something new. This is followed by limitations of the study, including hindrances encountered during primary data collection and the researcher's conscious efforts to conduct data analyses and coding in a fair and detailed manner.

Chapter 2.0 Literature review

This chapter starts by examining journalism studies research on role perceptions in relation to Western journalists (sections 2.1, 2.1.1). From there, it presents a historical representation of war reporters (section 2.2). Furthermore, Bourdieu's field theory (section 2.3) along with explicit parts of Boundary Maintenance are utilised here to address the concept of journalism and to investigate how the elements of a journalistic field give a valuable method for understanding the discursive representations and responses of overall, prominent ideas of journalism. Furthermore, Boundary Maintenance is presented in support for that method (section 2.4). This thesis utilises the concepts of field theory created by Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1993) along with aspects of Boundary Maintenance to address the concepts of journalism as a distinct societal field due to its continuous articulation of its normative ideas – the core values attached to it and as understood by journalists. Through this distinction, this journalistic field differentiates itself from another societal field. This chapter then examines the concept of objectivity in relation to journalism studies and uses the research (Waisbord 2013) that investigates the normative roles and apotheosised standard of belonging that are understood as a part of journalism as a profession (section 2.5). Furthermore, aspects of attachment as understood by war reporters are explored within journalism of attachment (section 2.5.5). The chapter then discusses the social construction of reality, which enables an understanding of what constitutes the immediate reality of a war reporter (section 2.6). In order to understand the professional practices (what war reporters really do), the chapter then discusses embedding (section 2.7) and concludes by presenting models of news media performance (section 2.8) that help understand the kind of reporting that has been done from war zones, highlighting the relationship between the field of war reporting and fields that impact war reporting, such as the military and political.

2.1 Role perceptions

It is important to explore the different perceptions of the war correspondent because journalistic practices that result in a certain kind of coverage of wars do not happen in isolation. Role perceptions and self-images as understood by war reporters are relevant as they shape the way war reporters understand their cognitive orientations and professional practices. It can be argued that both have an iterative relationship and constantly influence each other. It is important to highlight at this point that this research does not investigate the war reporters' published work and purely bases itself on the qualitative interviews conducted with 39 India and UK war reporters.

This research focuses on the way India and UK war reporters understand role perceptions and self-images, thereby continuing to negotiate their position within the field of war reporting and society. Deuze (2005, pp. 445–446) states journalists validate and give meaning to their work through dominant journalistic ideology. This shared occupational ideology allows journalists to reinforce their legitimacy through their daily work. Notions of public service, objectivity, autonomy, immediacy and ethics are values and elements that are claimed to be part of journalism's ideology (Kovach & Rosenstiel 2001).

Furthermore, these values are thought to extend credibility to journalism, which lacks certification and formal, theoretical and esoteric knowledge of classic professions, such as medicine or law (Boulding 1971, p. 417). An argument can therefore be made that journalistic practices are constantly in need to be justified based on their utility and legitimised through values that are sacred to the practitioners of journalism (Clayman 2002, p. 197; Hallin 1994, p. 32; Skovsgaard 2010, p. 322).

Role perception is focal to this discussion as it allows this research to examine the ways in which these war reporters understand and legitimise their functions through a set of meanings drawn from specific role/image perceptions. The section below presents the relevant literature on role perceptions of Western journalists.

2.1.1 Role perception of Western journalists

This research is acutely aware of the abundance of literature on role perceptions; it owes a factual and interpretative debt, as any researcher in this area must, to Donsbach's role conceptions (1983; 2008) arguing that self-images as understood by journalists are "generalised expectations," which continue to impact the way they report, thereby normatively acceptable within society and by different stakeholders. Through a comparative study of British and German journalists, he demonstrates how the two sets of journalists understand their professional role/responsibility that directly or indirectly determines their relationship to the public. While the German journalists give priority to the politically active role of "taking up grievances" and the role of "spokesperson of the underdog," implying active participation and intervention in the political and social process, the British journalists stress their role as the "neutral reporter of events," viewing themselves in the role of an "instructor" or "educator," where they are more concerned with conveying knowledge to their public perceiving themselves as a type of "school master for the nation." As demonstrated by Donsbach, British journalists consider their function as imparting knowledge to others to expand their public's horizon (pp. 31–33). These differences imply differing perceptions of the two sets of journalists' relationships with their public.

The theory of journalistic role perception can be understood through the prominent work done by Cohen (1963) which draws attention to the differentiation between neutral and participant roles. Weaver and Wilhoit (1986) further characterise these roles into four categorisations – disseminator, adversary, interpreter-investigator, and populist mobiliser. However, Donsbach and Patterson's (2004) approach in explaining role perception is viewed as grounded where they demarcate between passive and active methods in journalism. A passive journalist is of the view that news is a result of self-generation where events take place and the journalist's role is to observe and report them without any interpretation. Whereas, the active journalist views themselves as "news constructors", hence actively involved in the process of news production. However, this does not imply an absence of reality, but points towards the understanding of journalists who recognise that news emerges as a result of "active intervention" by the reporter. Furthermore, Patterson and Donsbach (1996) and Donsbach and Patterson (2004), through their studies on political journalism in the US, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Sweden,

present a theoretical model that organises professional roles into two dimensions – active-passive and neutral-advocate. From these dimensions, four combinations of roles emerge: “passive-neutral (a neutral reporter, disseminator, broker, messenger), passive-advocate (partisan press, hack reporter), active-neutral (critic, adversary, watchdog, fourth estate, progressive reporter) and active-advocate (ideologue, missionary, interpreter)” (p. 266).

Building on the above research on role perception, Hanitzsch (2007) describes them under institutional roles of journalism in society existing within three basic aspects: “interventionism, power distance and impartiality” (p. 372). The first aspect of interventionism is understood as indicating the degree to which a journalist seeks a particular mission and endorses certain values. The differentiation stresses the divide between two kinds of journalists, those who are interventionists hence are socially committed, emphatic and driven. Hanitzsch echoes the arguments of scholars and notes, “The intervention pole of the continuum becomes manifest in role models like the “participant,” “advocate” and “missionary”” (Cohen 1963; Donsbach & Patterson 2004; Janowitz 1975; Ko¨cher 1986), (p. 373). Resulting in journalists assuming a more decisive and active role in their reporting. For example, an interventionist approach might mean a journalist representing the cause of those living on the margins of society or advocate on behalf of a particular section of society whose interests might be at risk. More importantly, the motivation behind this approach remains in participating, intervening in the events that occur with the expectation of bringing change. Peace journalism, advocacy journalism and or public/civic journalism are some examples where an interventionist approach is utilised. The second kind of journalist is one who is distanced, and dispassionate, committed to objectivity, neutrality and impartiality. Hanitzsch (2007) and other scholars argue that “the passive role of this dimension is typically associated with roles such as the “neutral disseminator” and “gatekeeper”” (Cohen 1963; Janowitz 1975; Weaver & Wilhoit 1991) (p.372). This kind of journalism upholds values of “objectivity, neutrality, fairness, detachment and impartiality” (p.372) – principles that can be traced back to the history of US journalism. Furthermore, the dominant ideology of “professionalism” as endorsed by reporters is a result of the above described professional culture. Journalism within this approach performs the function of informing or transmitting news to its audience. Hence, making the journalist a “disinterested transmitter” (Hanitzsch 2007, p. 372). The second dimension as presented by Hanitzsch (2007) is the power distance. This consists of the “journalist’s position towards loci of power in society” (p.373) which can also be connected to “adversary sequence’’ (Himelboim & Limor 2005, p. 10). This refers to journalism that candidly questions those in power. Liberal democracies view such culture of adversarial journalism as the “fourth estate”. Hanitzsch reiterates Gans’ (1979) and Schramm’s (1964) categorisations of journalists within this role viewing themselves as “watchmen” or “watchdogs” or an agent of social control” (p. 373). Furthermore, he also points towards the opposite end of this power distance dimension which includes what Pasti (2005) calls as journalism that places itself as “loyal” to the powerful, therefore, assuming a role that is propagandist in nature. Adding to this role is Wu, Weaver & Johnson’s (1996, p. 544) journalism that has characteristics of an “agitator” – where journalists are protecting those in power, or appear to be their spokesperson, and therefore agreeable to the practice of self-censorship. Finally,

the third dimension – market orientation – deals with the two different ways of addressing the audience as citizens or consumers. It is argued when journalists see their audience as citizens, they prioritise public interest over other things. Journalism in this case performs the purpose of creating an informed citizenry (Kovach & Rosenstiel 2001). However, when the audience is viewed as consumers, "journalists tend to champion the values of consumerism focusing on everyday life issues and individual needs" (Hanitzsch 2007, pp. 372–375).

Skovsgaard *et al*. (2013) go on to state four role perceptions similar to that of Donsbach and Patterson (2004): "passive mirror, watchdog, public forum and public mobiliser" (p. 27). It is claimed that journalists follow various conflicting role perceptions at once by scholars who are aligned in their conclusion of their research. (Deuze (2002), Weaver and Wilhoit (1996) and Weaver *et al*. (2007). Furthermore, it is argued that these role perceptions that are positioned on models of democracies are never present in their 'pure' form hence taking attributes from different models like the journalists conforming to various roles – this does not negate that journalists believe in different perceptions of their role in society. Skovsgaard *et al*. (2013), which further describes the passive mirror role within which the journalist views themselves as agents of news dissemination – like a mirror the journalist performs the function of reflecting reality by distributing news or information as it occurs. Such an understanding is aligned to the positivist concept which argues in favour of journalists eliminating their personal beliefs from news coverage, thus, reporting the occurrences as they occur. It leaves no room for news construction (Entman 1989; Shoemaker & Reese 1996). The watchdog role consists of journalists that rely on examination of complicated issues hence serving as a critic of those in power, often resulting in antagonising individuals or groups in society. The watchdog role therefore relies on values of objectivity to justify their reporting and it also acts as a tool to safeguard themselves against allegations of having a vendetta against those in power. Objectivity is therefore seen as a crucial tool for protection especially for journalists within the watchdog role (Tuchman 1972). Furthermore, it encourages the journalists to lay an emphasis on facts as opposed to claims within their reporting therefore suggesting the presence of balance which in turn safeguards them against any critique of bias. Finally, the public forum and the public mobiliser role are associated with the surge of public journalism. According to Skovsgaard *et al.* (2013) "The movement was based on a critique of a detached objectivity, which leads to unengaged journalism that does not fulfil its public service obligation." (p. 28). He further claims that despite this, objectivity is not discarded in all its forms. Their study draws attention to the significance of differentiating between public forum and public mobiliser roles. It claims that the former stresses on allowing ordinary people a forum to express their views and opinions, thus adhering to a passive approach, whereas, the latter prioritises on an active approach within which "it leads the public towards a distinct solution to societal problems" (p. 29). Another definition presented by Mellado and Dalen (2014) on role conception is that it is based on journalist's own understanding of how they must report.

The connection between role conception and performance is further evaluated in Mellado's (2015) and Mellado and Lagos' (2014) work on six professional roles – "disseminator-interventionist, loyal,

watchdog, civic, service and infotainment" (Mellado 2015, pp. 603-608). The argument presented in this study suggests that professional role performance is positioned on factors like the shared relationship between journalism and those in power, its approach to the audience and the degree of association of the reporter with their story (Eide & Knight 1999; Hanitzsch 2007; Donsbach 2008). The disseminator-interventionist model adheres to the value system within which the journalist excludes opinions and judgements from their report, they avoid reporting on the basis of personal interpretations and refrain from using a first person or adjectives, therefore maintaining a distance between the reporter and the story. The next model, the watchdog approach, the journalist believes in being critical of those in power by highlighting their wrongdoing. Investigative journalism which relies on comprehensive research is especially considered crucial within the watchdog model where reporting aims at informing its audience about the misuse of power by those in charge (Waisbord 2000; De Burgh 2008). Also referred to as adversarial journalism, it is where the news report shows proof of contention between journalists and person or groups in power, for instance threats, flak or harassment (Ettema and Glasser 1998). The loyal facilitator follows the values of the propagandist. Also known as the guard dog role of journalism, it appears in two ways. The first version has to do with journalism that complies with those in power and works in favour of maintaining the status quo. Therefore, news reports within this version will uphold institutional activities, advance national policies and project a favourable image of the establishment. The second version emphasises the nation-state entity, within which the spirit of nationalism, and national prestige are supported and bolstered. Those who advocate this approach focus on national progress and present the country in a positive and superior light when compared to the rest of the world. The reporting within such a method gives importance to patriotic aspects therefore, concentrating on national triumphs and achievements. The service model of journalism is defined by treating the public or audience as clients, particularly laying an emphasis on an impact driven journalism where the aim is to supply their clients with information that will be both interesting and helpful in everyday life. For instance, consumer advice in a news story suggesting ways of becoming a smart buyer or investor can all be seen within the promotional culture related to the service model (Wernick 1991). From clients to spectators – within the infotainment model of journalism the public is viewed as spectators where journalism relies on the aspect of entertainment that includes within its news stories components of "scandals, sensationalism, emotions, morbidity, personalisation and speculation of private lives" of people in the public eye (Mellado 2015, pp. 607-608). Lastly, the civic model of journalism focuses on educating the public on issues that are complex or controversial. It aims to promote public engagement and participation in social, political cultural activities. The civic model of performance relies on "citizen perspective, demands and questions" (Mellado 2015, p. 608). Furthermore, it also has to do with educating the public on its rights and duties, making them aware of the possible impact of the political decisions made locally, and spreading awareness on the reliability of the public messages.

2.1.2 Gap in the literature

Having presented the literature on role perceptions it is evident the body of work is vast. However, this research aims to build on it by focusing on war reporters, whose nature of reporting is significantly different from political journalists. The existing literature on role perceptions as understood by journalists helps this thesis to investigate the resilience of the above dimensions with UK war reporters by considering the ways they understand their function in relation to their audience. Furthermore, the available literature is focused primarily on Western role perceptions of journalists. This research aims to provide additional insights by examining the perceptions of war reporters in India and comparing them with their British counterparts. Finally, the numerous studies (Donsbach 1983; Donsbach & Patterson 2004; Hanitzsch *et al*. 2011; Skovsgaard *et al*. 2013; Mellado 2015; Mellado & Lagos 2014) on role perceptions have focused on the development of quantitative standardised scales, which does not mean these dimensions cannot be analysed using a qualitative approach. Van Aelst *et al*. (2012) stress the need for a qualitative approach to analyse aspects that are difficult to reach through quantitative study. This research addresses the issue by deploying a qualitative means of investigation; therefore, aiming to bridge the methodological gap.

The next section deals with the image of the war reporter in relation to their historical representations as found in popular culture – where narratives of risk, heroism and adventure are the heart of such discussions.

2.2 Historical representations of war reporters

Historical representations highlight certain aspects of a war reporter's behaviour – role images, working conditions and ethical considerations are aspects that have preoccupied war reporters since the nineteenth century (Korte 2009, p. 62). It is important for this research to review existing literature on such representations as it sheds light on the way war reporters understand their self-image within the field of war reporting. Expectations of adventure, thrill and heroism are some ways through which a cultural image of war reporters is constructed. As argued by Korte (2009), it becomes a part of the war reporter's ingrained habit within the field of war reporting (p. 32). War reporting can be viewed as an atypical form of journalism, "considering it takes place under abnormal circumstances", as suggested by Williams (2012, p. 344), and "bears no resemblance to normal daily routines of the profession". However, if journalism is all about the story, then war becomes the big story that reporters tell despite the dangerous working conditions. It is therefore essential to understand how war reporters view themselves when reporting from dangerous war zones.

Marsh (2010) points towards war reporters and war reporting as "unique". He argues that both are considered to occupy an extraordinary place within journalism. The very nature of the job involves thrill, adventure and glory; hence, it is different from any other form of journalism:

> They “trail clouds of glory”. The only species of mankind that we journalists allow ourselves to revere uncritically. If there is a journalistic Valhalla, war reporters are its Einherjar (in the Norse myth, the heroes who have died in battle): its elite, it’s select. It is almost as if that small handful of our number who choose to risk their lives in the service of journalism validates the career choices of those of us who, in my case at least, have neither the skill nor courage to follow them (Marsh 2010, p. 67).

Marsh’s comment about trails of glory is indicative of a self-perception among many war correspondents about their work and how they view themselves within it. The brave, heroic reporter on the battlefield carves out an image that this is not routine reporting. Marsh clarifies that those who risk their lives and report from dangerous war zones are a separate class, a different breed altogether.

Knightley (2002), discussing the Golden Age (1865-1914) of the war correspondent, refers to the treatment handed out by the military establishment which allowed the war correspondents to report and write without restrictions. The military had failed to realise the power of public opinion despite the events of the Crimea war. What is more, he describes the comfortable position newspapers found themselves in where they were financially and physically capable of printing the stories in a matter of days hence reducing the time spent in getting the news from the war zone. The news reports proved to be in demand as they primarily focused on drama and colourful narratives of action and adventure. Knightley claims that the reports consciously kept political or moralistic commentary out of their stories. Knightley notes,

> It is significant that two of the big-name correspondents of this period, the London Daily News’ representative, Archibald Forbes, and Stephen Crane of the New York Journal, got their jobs because their editors have been impressed by their fictional descriptions of battles (p. 44).

Knightley (2002) further paints a tough and resourceful picture of war reporters as he touches upon the various modes of transport – “horse, donkey, camel, steamer or train” (p. 49) used by reporters who remain focused on covering inaccessible places of disaster and violence. Also, as noted by Knightley the war reporters carried “letters of credit, gold pieces, laissez-passers, and often brace of pistols” (p. 49) tying into the image of them being resourceful and prepared for challenging realities of all kinds. What is more, Knightley (2003) captures the image of a war reporter who is a person who pursues a nomadic and adventurous existence - “Whisky and claret ran like a leitmotiv through their lives, they tended to go to bed with their boots and spurs still on and they had very little time for social graces” (p. 45).

As Knightley (2003) points out, many had been already set on a military life and, for various reasons, this proved impossible, so they took up reporting wars instead. Irrespective of their background, their main motivation was a thirst for battle and adventure or, as expressed by a correspondent of the time, “a search for real romance in the midst of the workaday nineteenth century” (p. 45). These war correspondents, as observed by Knightley, were physically brave like the combatants and considered a colourful crew who treated war as a sport and for whom it was a highly profitable game. They therefore were the thrill purveyors, serving as the author-correspondent “as professional observers at the peep

show of misery" (p. 46). This description of heroism and excitement that relates to the war correspondent is further highlighted by Evans (2010) during the Afghanistan war:

> …So much heroism; so much folly; so many brilliant moves; so many blunders; so many might-have-been. In a current conflict, we fret about loved ones; but in all war, reports we share vicariously in the terrible excitement of combat. We exult in victories; but we want to know whether the cause is just, the means proportionate to the end, and the execution honourable (p. 21).

Evans (2010) here points to the aspect of glory that is attached to the job: how war correspondents do not see combat as something as potentially fatal but exciting. The reporter's focus is on whether the cause of the war is just and honourable. Evans' choice of words such as "just" and "honourable" are indicative of the fact it is not merely thrill that the war correspondent seeks. Unlike soldiers who follow orders, war correspondents while fixated on getting the story are often concerned with why the war is being fought. It can also be argued that popular culture has played a role in shaping the image of war correspondents. Korte (2009) notes how fiction in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has no dearth of "major and minor characters" that are based on journalists – the famous *First Page* (1928) by Ben Hecht and Charles MacArthur, movies and series from the 1970s – *All the President's Men* (1976) or the widely known *Good Night, Good Luck* (2005) and Woody Allen's *Scoop* (2006). According to Korte, these portrayals draw on what it means to be a journalist in their "respective time" (p. 9). Furthermore, these representations also engage with the way journalists understand their own self within modern and postmodern cultures.[3]

According to Korte (2009), public perception and representation of the media and its protagonist is equally relevant for both media scholars and practitioners. Based on the hypothesis that all "notions of identities – images of self and others" (p.10) has an impact on the "prevailing notions of correspondents" further engaging in the "construction of the war reporter's cultural image" (p.10). Korte further argues that the cultural attention enjoyed by war correspondents makes them the "object of cultural representation" – this is not only due to the "charisma" that is linked to their profession but also due to the nature of professional interest of war reporters, (covering events of wars, disasters etc) which straightforwardly concerns the public resulting in scholarly and passionate reactions even where a group of people's countries is not immediately included. It is for these reasons that it commands "high cultural reverence" (p.10). War unquestionably puts reporters in a unique position where on one hand they are a part of a reality, which is filled with death and destruction, and therefore emotionally impactful; on the other hand, their professional code of conduct instructs them to report the facts without bias.

War reporters are required to inform the public by reporting the events that are removed from the audience's reality, however at the same time trying to negotiate access by those who have the power to control information flow. The popular perception of the war correspondent being a witness to history

[3] See Jacobi (1989); Good (1986); Engesser (2005); Lutes (2006); Ehrlich (2006); McNair (2009); Lonsdale (2016) etc.

where they risk their lives to report the events of ground zero forms an important aspect of their role perception. War correspondents therefore have always been recognised as "a group of their own, as special correspondents whose profession is imbued with an aura more intense" (Korte, 2009, p.11) especially when compared to regular, everyday journalism.

Ramsay (2010) states the importance of being a witness as an embed and argues that embedding does not make the principle of bearing witness less significant. In fact, he points out, despite embedding, the war reporter continues to retain the status of a civilian in a war zone. Through citing the wars where reporters have lost their lives – Chechnya, Sierra Leone, Israel, Gaza, Lebanon, Sudan, Bosnia, Kosovo, Somalia and Afghanistan – Ramsay further highlights the civilian status of war reporters and claims the act of reporting wars is about explaining the realities on the ground and putting them in a context for the viewers (p. 89).

Furthermore, Allan and Zelizer (2004) point towards the notion that war journalists somehow "do journalism better" as their experiences entail encountering conditions that are more "authentic, engaged, noteworthy than those of other kinds of journalists" (p. 4).

Providing a historical perspective to the nature of war correspondents, Knightley (2003) notes that prior to war reporting in its "modern understanding", that is by professional journalists, the press was used to employing officers for reporting on wars:

> …Before the Crimea, British editors either stole war news from foreign newspapers or employed junior officers to send letters from the battlefront – a most unsatisfactory arrangement (p. 2).

These soldier-correspondents, as Knightley claims, were "highly selective" in their reporting, and primarily considered themselves "first a soldier and then a correspondent" (p. 11). Furthermore, as stated by Knightley, they had limited understanding of "the workings of the newspapers or even what constituted the news" (p. 11) Therefore, Knightley points towards the presence of a "celebratory ring" within the war accounts written by contemporary journalists which originated from a position of self-perception of their world and is deeply rooted in the identity of a war correspondent.

Most correspondents accept risk as a part of their job while covering war. McLaughlin's (2002; 2016) seminal work on war correspondents examines the role of Western war correspondents – motivations, journalistic traditions they uphold, issues around ethics, their relationship with the military and their reporting within the "War on Terror" paradigm. McLaughlin demonstrates the relationship between war reporters and risk as a natural one. He states, in relation to it, "some [war reporters] celebrate it and others rationalise it in philosophical terms" (p. 18). As cited in McLaughlin (2016), "I think I shall take chances all my life. It's part of my trade" wrote the French reporter Victor Franco (p. 18)

There are many in the field that can easily be described as what McLaughlin (2002) refers to as war junkies. He uses this title to explain reporters who report from one war to another and are fascinated

by the sheer excitement of being able to witness all the action first-hand. Citing Alex Thomson of Channel Four, McLaughlin presents an image of the war reporter that enjoys the thrill and adventure that is linked to war reporting,

> …You travel to interesting, different places. You are there at moments of history. You are there when…the Cruise missiles come over Baghdad, the Scuds in Dhahran, when the Marines come up the beach in Somalia, when the peace treaty is signed at the end of the Gulf War…you know it is a fantastic opportunity, purely selfishly, leaving the job aside, to be at, to be present where things are happening (p. 7).

Another war reporter that McLaughlin speaks of is Mike Nicholson, who reported up to 16 wars in his career for Independent Television News (ITN). In describing his experience, McLaughlin says reporters like Nicholson found the motivation for this kind of a job in the "promise of excitement and the knowledge and the certainty of getting all big stories" (p. 7). The image of the war junkie is further established through reporters such as Nicholson, who admit to having a strange attraction to war and thought themselves lucky to be picked up by chance for conflict reporting, giving them the opportunity to act in similar ways as their predecessors and contemporaries. McLaughlin (2002) quotes Nicholson:

> …I wanted to do all the exciting things I was watching other people do and eventually by luck I was given an opportunity to report from the war field…and once it's in your blood it's very hard to rid of (p. 8).

McLaughlin makes a connection between the excitement and fascination that war reporters associate with this kind of reporting, which can be well-placed in the representations of war correspondents in popular culture. He cites Nicholson saying:

> …I like going to war and you have to be very honest about it…which makes you sound rather inhuman; in fact, you do sound inhuman. And I quite shamelessly remind people of that scene in [the movie] Patton…with George C. Scott, and he goes on top of the hill and after a big tank battle and looks across at the smouldering tanks and he looks up to heaven and says, 'God forgive me, but I love it!'. The motivation is that I did get quite a thrill from being under fire, being with soldiers, watching the fighting (McLaughlin 2002, p. 9).

It is safe to say that the motivation to be a war correspondent includes thrill, glamour and excitement. Another commonly cited trope is that of the role of an eyewitness – someone who is present while history is being made – and war reporters are acutely aware of this aspect of their job. However, it is argued that war correspondents highlight the "social value of their work" hence suggesting this aspect to be equally important as compared to the thrill and excitement which is attached to the job. According to Tumber and Webster (2006), "truth-seeking and a sense of making history are primary motivations, leading to the elevation of the occupation as a vocation" (p. 64).

In short, war reporting "reveals its investment in sustaining a certain discursive authority – that of being an eyewitness" (p. 5) War reporters' accounts of witnessing affirm the privileged position where it is understood in terms of bodily and sensory experience of being in the war zone (Allan and Zelizer, 2004).

Adie (1998) explains why the very act of witnessing plays an important role for war reporters. She says, “It was the only way you can stand by your words afterwards, the only guarantee that you can give your listeners, or viewers, or readers. You saw it, you heard it, and you are telling the truth as far as you know” (p. 23). It is noteworthy that this act of witnessing is what connects journalism to history. Tumber and Webster (2006) highlight the role as understood by war reporters as being in the front row of history and how they see themselves as witnessing it first-hand, hence providing them a privileged position of being able to tell the story.

> …Orla Guerin of the BBC describes the breakup of Soviet Union, the collapse of the Communist Party as, ‘you would wake up every morning thinking what amazing, jaw-dropping historic thing is going to happen today, and every single day something would happen that you just couldn’t have possibly predicted’ (pp. 65–68).

Tumber and Webster present Guerin’s claims in relation to this experience as a great privilege and responsibility because there were many people listening to her. William (2012) notes “journalists’ efforts to present themselves as the servants of history have increased with the profession’s development” (p. 342). Citing the example of “Channel Four’s Jon Snow who titled [his] autobiography – Shooting History” (pp. 342-343), William claims that it is through the “contributions made by modern journalism to historical knowledge” (p. 343) that leads to a connection between the two. He goes on to refer to journalists such as “David Halberstam, Anne Applebaum, Max Hastings and Peter Hennessy” who according to William, “are responsible for generating extensive pieces of historical research” (p. 343). As Hampton notes, there is a rich documentation of the history of journalism as a profession. Such contributions to history by the press in the UK can be traced back to “practitioners such as Ray Boston, Francis Williams and Roy Greenslade” (p. 343). It is not just the act of observing history that the war correspondent takes pride in, but the claim regarding providing an ‘objective observation’ which is seen as the twentieth century ‘ideal’ within Western journalism.

Furthermore, Cottle (2013, p. 242) argues the term “privilege” goes beyond observational capacity and can also be understood as the privilege of being there, witnessing, extreme realities and disasters and still managing to escape either through luck or individual conditions the “terrible fate that has befallen others” (p. 242). Another understanding of the term is related with “social privilege” where the reporter holds a “high-status, well-paid job in the comfortable first world” (p. 242) – this difference of status becomes more evident when the reporter is covering those who often belong to the third world and are directly affected by disasters. Finally, witnessing articulates experiences that have long been invoked in studies of Holocaust witnessing – the privilege attached to “bearing witness” here makes it into a “sacred duty” – where the reporter bears a moral responsibility to convey the sufferings (of those who are “dead and dispossessed”) (p. 243) to the rest of the world – a duty to report on the ordeals of those who are not alive to do so. The third sense of “privilege, to bear witness to pain and loss and communicate this to the world” is particularly relevant to this research and will be further discussed in this chapter in relation to how war reporters in India and the UK understand notions of detachment, value judgements and objectivity. “Humanistic and emotive responses” give way to roles that are more

passionate and attached "and can be taken as indicative of journalism's injunction to care" (Cottle 2013, p. 242). As opposed to traditional responses of compassion which support a detached approach and believe in impartial journalism while covering death and destruction.

Hammond (2007) goes beyond this argument of objective observation to state that several Western journalists who covered the Bosnian war, for instance, came to think that "their role was not simply to observe and report, but to become advocates on behalf of the victims, calling on the West to act against the abusers" (p. 51). Hammond (2007) cites Martin Bell, former British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) correspondent, who coined the phrase "journalism of attachment" after his experiences covering the war in Bosnia. Bell's views (cited in Hammond 2007) clearly reflect how a shift in journalistic practices emanates from a journalist's self-perception of their job. Bell describes the new style of reporting as being "openly partisan and engaged"; "rejecting the 'dispassionate practices of the past'" (p. 51).

However, for Mick Hume (1997), journalists who make claims to "high moral ground, do it not for the sake of innocent victims of some conflict" instead they do it to "fill a vacuum of moral certainty in their own life, work and society". He says,

> these journalists set themselves on a moral mission on behalf of a demoralised society…[war reporting] becomes for them a twisted sort of therapy….a discovery of a sense of purpose for themselves and their audience…it appears to fill a need in journalists to rediscover some value in a profession fatally compromised by cynicism and the profit motive (pp. 17–21).

The discussion above highlights the available literature on self-images and role perceptions as understood by war reporters. It also points towards the change in role perceptions of war reporters covering humanitarian wars – indicating a shift has occurred according to scholars like Hammond as a result of which journalists' perceptions about their job seem to have moved beyond motivations of glory, adventure, thrill-seeking and witnessing history, giving rise to a new facet to their perceptions of themselves – where they no longer see themselves as idle spectators of events, but are unafraid to take sides and see themselves as advocates of the victims. This increased attachment to their subjects is a trend that can be seen across coverage of conflicts in the last decade. This research therefore aims to build on this literature by examining the nuances of this trend and investigate whether it has further evolved into something different or distinct. Motivating this research is the fact that, despite a large body of work available on role perceptions of Western journalists, there is a significant lack of any such research on war reporters in India.

While the earlier section of this literature review has highlighted select aspects of war correspondents' self-image or role perception about the nature of their job, the following section discusses the connection between self-perception and performance of the actors (war correspondents) within the journalistic field. The section below discusses Bourdieu's field theory, which provides a theoretical framework in which to situate contests of power between the players (i.e., among war reporters).

2.3 Bourdieu's field theory

Bourdieu's field theory and his work on the *doxa* and *habitus* are at the core of this thesis's theoretical argument in understanding the concept of journalistic culture. As Steel (2012, p. 173) notes, Pierre Bourdieu has made an invaluable contribution in explaining "news values and production along with procedures and cultures" by examining the way journalists work within ideological and organisational structures. The field theory offers an opportunity to view journalism as a distinct field surrounded by what Bourdieu refers to as the *doxa*, meaning held beliefs and the *habitus*, meaning the commitment to the representation of the cultural capital – skills, deep-rooted habits, therefore, providing a basis to explain identity that is established through the correlation between the journalistic field and other fields and actors in society. Hence, suggesting that identity is not something that develops in a pure or disconnected space. According to Steel (2012), Bourdieu views journalism "within what he calls a field of cultural production or the journalistic field which relates to its relative proximity to the organising rationale of modern liberal democratic societies – capitalist production and accumulation" (p. 173); in other words, how the journalistic field relates to the larger fields of power. In his theory, Bourdieu discusses various fields, such as the religious, educational, cultural and media.

Donsbach (2010) states the field theory contributes towards an understanding of how we make sense of journalism by acknowledging contrasting meanings, conflicting pressures and challenges attached to journalism itself – suggesting that journalism is a societal construct (p. 38). It is argued that Bourdieu's field theory proves to be foundational in gaining an insight on the beliefs about the media field. Neveu (2007) observes fields as distinct domains of human enterprise that refer to literary, economic, artistic, religious, scientific, bureaucratic and journalistic as fields controlled by their own set of rules offering "a particular economy of exchange, a reward" (p. 337). However, he claims that different fields in their basic form and internal oppositions are frequently similar. Neveu reiterates Bourdieu's argument regarding the struggle between the economic and the cultural powers with the latter being weaker – suggesting that this struggle regulates contemporary society. Thus, noting that "fields are spaces of competition, alliances and cooperation between actors" (individuals, companies, institutions, cliques) (p. 337). Benson (2006) agrees with Di Maggio and Powell's (2009) argument on field theory that contemporary societies are controlled through various competing fields that are semi-independent in nature. Bourdieu's field theory asserts that economic fields enjoys some autonomy in relation to the external constrains, irrespective of its status in relation to other fields. What is more, it is argued that once the fields and institutions are formed, they are primarily controlled by inherent rules or laws of action that produce internal uniformity to an extent. As Bourdieu (1998a) reports, "a field is a microcosm set within the macrocosm – it obeys its own laws, what happens in it cannot be understood by looking only at external factors" (p. 39). Two other important terms for Bourdieu are: *illusio,* and *nomos*. The former relates with an actor's emotional and cognitive contributions within the functioning of any fields. What is more, fields seen as worth pursuing by actors will result in a shared doxa – set of assumptions or beliefs that are taken for granted and which help in regulating action within the field. As mentioned

above, this ongoing struggle in society is captured between two forms of power or what Bourdieu terms capital (economic and cultural), which are crucial to the understanding of the field. Each field has a different arrangement of its economic and cultural capital. The economic capital as presented within the journalistic field bases itself on factors like advertisement revenues, circulations, ratings by its audience, while the cultural capital within the field is reinforced through original storytelling, in-depth analysis on news reports which recognise and reward journalistic practices through accolades earned in the form of prizes like the US Pulitzer. According to Bourdieu the journalistic field is a part of the field of power and is likely to acknowledge actors who acquire a large volume of capital. Despite the understanding that the journalistic field is a very weakly autonomous field, Bourdieu insists it can be best understood as obeying its own laws, its own *nomos*.

Markham's (2011) study on the field of war reporting further helps understand the occupation of positions of power (and the lack of it) in the fields (in this case, that of war, journalism and cultural production) and the configurations of symbolic capital associated with these positions. Markham uses the method of political phenomenology with the objective of demonstrating essential motivations of war individual's or in this case a war reporter's conscious experience. The viewpoint does not include the voluntarist conception of consciousness as retained by social actors along with the determinism of the rational actor theory, suggesting that it takes a range of features often unpredictable that eventually shape consciousness.[4]

According to Markham (2011):

> The most immediately relevant field for a war correspondent is the journalistic one, that is, a field within the larger field of cultural production. The journalistic field is discussed, above all, in Bourdieu's highly critical essays on contemporary television, published in Sur La television (1996). Here, Bourdieu characterises the journalistic field as a microcosm with its own laws. These laws are determined by, among other things, such as, the forces of media market which create, for instance, strong competition among the actors in the field, it is manifest for example, in the journalist's hunt for scoops (p. 45).

The journalistic field, as suggested above, is governed by internal and external factors, which result in the way journalists view themselves and their function within and outside the field. Drawing from Bourdieu's theory, each agent or war correspondent, in this case, is either culturally or economically rich and the field of journalism is not free of market conditions. Although there is constant struggle between the economic and cultural fields, the correspondent within the constraints of the demands of editors, foreign news desks, etc., decides whether the field is worth pursuing and what their relative position of power is vis-à-vis the others. This struggle, along with tensions percolating from neighbouring fields such as politics and military, allows the war correspondent to keep pushing the limits to report better.

[4] See "Voluntarism and Determinism in Giddens's and Bourdieu's Theories of Human Agency" (Perez 2008).

The behaviour of war correspondents depends partially on the coherence between their habitus and their specific jobs. While the military is more disciplined than regular societies and runs on the concept of conformism, journalism thrives on the idea of non-conforming, and conforming to any set of beliefs or ideologies is frowned upon as the correspondent loses their independence. However, the matter of war reporting remains complex given the pre-stated theoretical background discussed above. If war correspondents want to reach a certain group of sources or get to the bottom of a story, while in close proximity to the military, coherence with the military is natural – reducing the tension between the two fields – thereby impacting their reporting of the events.

How correspondents relate to the military also depends on their individual background. According to Korte (2009),

> up to the early twentieth century, British war correspondents and officers had been socialized in similar context: there were members of educated upper-class, or upper-middle-class and shared attitudes, including patriotism and generally affirmative view of war as a necessary and legitimate means to enforce political aim (p. 56).

To understand war reporting, it is imperative for this thesis to include the concept of performativity (Schechner 2002) within the field of actions as experienced by war reporters.

2.3.1 Habitus, fields of action and performance

Benson and Neveu (2005, p. 1) suggest that Bourdieu's concept of the "journalistic field" can propose a new method of gaining knowledge about the processes and constraints in news media production. Furthermore, Steel (2012, p. 173) emphasises, in the examination of the dynamics of journalism as a social practice, the notion of the field is closely linked to the "disposition" or "habitus" of journalism as a profession. The notion of habitus is another of Bourdieu's main concepts within his theory of field, capital and habitus. According to Navarro (2006), habitus is "especially developed through processes of socialisation and determines a wide range of dispositions that shape individuals in a given society" (p. 16). Wacquant (2005) argues that habitus refers to

> the way society becomes deposited in persons in the form of lasting dispositions, or trained capacities and structured propensities to think, feel, and act in determinate ways, which then guide them in their creative responses to the constraints and solicitations of their extant milieu (p. 316, cited in Navarro 2006, p. 16).

Benson and Neveu (2005, p. 3) point out the dynamic nature of the concept of habitus as it is constantly changing. Moreover, Steel (2012) stresses that "in relation to journalism, habitus is the special environment in which journalists rationalise their function in relation to other spheres (or Fields) and within their own" (p. 173). This claim is particularly important to this thesis as it explores journalists' subjective understanding and perceptions of change not only in their environment – the journalistic field – but also in relation to other fields, like politics and economics. Bourdieu's concept of culture is also relevant as it helps understand the changing nature of the journalistic field within war reporting.

According to Schechner (2002), the idea of performance is the underlying notion that any action that is "framed, presented, highlighted, or displayed is a performance – showing, doing is performing: pointing to, underlining and displaying doing" (pp. 2-22). Whereas, performativity is, according to Schechner (2002), an even broader term that covers potentials created by a world in which differences between "media and live events, originals and digital clones, performing on stage and in ordinary life" are disintegrating. "Increasingly, social, political, economic, personal and artistic realities take on the qualities of a performance" (p. 110).

The idea of showing or doing explains the behaviour of journalists, in this case the war correspondents. Schechner's (2002) definition of performativity states that the 'act of doing' will mostly include elements of performativity despite its limited display. Furthermore, both Schechner and Korte (2009) agree that "identities are constituted through performative acts" (p. 29). One can also see this in the behaviour of war correspondents who "play their part" based on particular images and rooted cultural frames which aligns the reporter with the established practices and role models of their profession, therefore associating them to the significant aspects of professional identity. Holding this view, it is therefore argued that the concept of performance forms a resemblance to Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* – within which Bourdieu declares that people conform to social routines without being fully conscious and yet it determines their practice. The *habitus* therefore influences individual actions within particular social situations.

At this juncture, it is important to introduce the work of Jenkins (2002), who points towards a shared relationship between the habitus and the body – the physical representation which forms a resemblance to the notion of performance. Jenkins states:

> The disposition and generative classificatory schemes which are the essence of the *habitus* are embodied in real human beings. This embodiment appears to have three meanings in Bourdieu's work. First, in a trivial sense, the *habitus* only exists in as much it is 'inside the heads' of actors (and the head is, after all, part of the body). Second, the *habitus* only exists in, through and because of the practices of actors and their interaction with each other and with the rest of their environment: ways of talking, ways of moving, ways of making things, or whatever. In this respect, the *habitus* is emphatically not an abstract or idealist concept. It is not just manifest in behaviour; it is an integral part of it and vice versa (p. 74).

The *habitus* of a war correspondent is evident in terms of physicality that includes both mannerisms and attire. It is argued that under circumstances where the embodied aspects of a reporter's behaviour are accentuated, the sense of performativity becomes forceful or is felt acutely. The theoretical concept of *habitus* as provided by Bourdieu is therefore accepted as the "social field of actions" – a prerequisite for all actors. In case of war reporters as noted by Korte (2009) journalistic field is the most relevant one, that which is situated within a larger field of cultural production. As described by Bourdieu (1993) the journalistic field is defined as a microcosm having its own laws – one of the factors determining these laws is the pressure of the media markets that constitute for fierce competition among actors belonging to the field, and that which is demonstrated through the hunt for exclusive stories and scoops.

Furthermore, it is crucial to understand that these are not the only laws which govern the actions of the actors within the journalistic field. The field as explained by Bourdieu is autonomous however "its boundaries are porous and shifting" (p. 31). The journalistic field both impacts and gets impacted by other fields. War reporting particularly influences and gets shaped by the military field.

The field theory therefore acts as an analytical tool where the society is structured into distinct but overlapping domains and this research uses it to understand role perceptions and journalistic practices, which are constantly marked by contests to secure legitimacy within and outside the field of war reporting. In addition to this line of enquiry is another analytical tool – boundary work or boundary maintenance – where "attitudes, beliefs and assumptions about journalists are constructed, negotiated and maintained by journalists to make sense of their society" (Winch 1997, p. 17). The next section discusses the relevance of boundary maintenance to this research.

2.4 Boundary maintenance

Carlson and Lewis (2015), in a review of studies of boundaries, note that society is marked by differences regarding notions of deviance, geography, gender or professions. How these social boundaries are erected reveals a complex relationship between cultural understandings and social structures. Lamont and Molnar (2002) emphasise the "search for understanding the role of symbolic resources (example, conceptual distinctions, interpretive strategies, cultural traditions) in creating, maintaining, contesting or even dissolving institutionalised social differences" (p. 168). The constructionist view states the emphasis falls on the way these boundaries are constructed by social agents through various expressive practices adhering to inclusion and exclusion, thus to an extent shaping the social world of the agent through such implicit differences. (p. 3). Gieryn (1995) argues it is through rhetorical means that various groups engage in "boundary work" to compete for "epistemic authority." Meaning, it is the "legitimate power to define, describe and explain bounded domains of reality" (pp. 393-443). Epistemic authority draws from its exclusivity, as exclusivity matters are restricted and available only to some and not to others at a particular time.

The three primary components of boundary work, as noted by Gieryn, are: first, credibility contest between "players and stakeholders" – constructed to include actors laying claim to the mantle of science and those affected by such claims. Second, it involves the "goals and interests" of all those involved in the credibility contest – however, these contests, as Gieryn explains, are not some power-hungry games but take place in "arenas," the third component – arenas where these contestations occur vary from academic conferences to courtrooms to the news media. Furthermore, through three broad genres – expulsion, expansion and protection of autonomy – Gieryn (1995) argues that men and women of science exercise boundary work where they demarcate between "non-scientists (e.g. government or business interests) from co-opting scientists' epistemic authority" (pp. 15-17). Drawing from epistemic authority is Abbot (1988), who argues that "a profession asks society to recognise its cognitive structure through exclusive rights" to its jurisdiction (p. 59). This kind of competition for cultural legitimacy, where

members of the profession seek the right to do a particular kind of work while excluding others from it, emphasises how the work of various professions supports arguments for epistemic authority, which then results in jurisdictional contests producing outcomes with winners and losers.

Boundary work therefore can be better understood through Bourdieu's field theory – to exist in a field is to differentiate oneself. Actors compete internally to impose the dominant definition within the field by shaping its boundaries. For Bourdieu, "the boundary of the fields is the stake of struggles," which requires enquiry grounded in actors' own understanding of such struggles. Carlson and Lewis (2015) therefore summarises it is not enough to merely look internally at a group, but it is equally important to "conceive of any social group as embedded within shifting allegiances with the larger society- It is this line drawn between insiders and outsiders, with its mix of variability and firmness, that defines boundaries" (p. 6).

Focusing on journalists, Singer (2015) highlights the importance of journalistic norms within the media environment which allows anyone to publish in it. The journalistic norms are essential in creating boundaries that distinguish between journalists and non-journalists or citizen journalists. Notions of "independence, verification and accountability" (p. 13) not only govern the way journalists work and "shape their identity but also provide a wedge between other voices" (p. 13). It is crucial for journalists and the media networks they work for, to be recognised as "factual, reliable, timely" and imparting "meaningful information" (p. 23) by their audience; making it necessary for journalists to brand others as unethical - who are less dedicated to the norms of "factualness and reliability" (p. 23). The contests for legitimacy take place inside and out of the journalistic field. Journalists have addressed emerging news platforms (such as radio, broadcast, social media) "with concerns framed in normative terms, applying those terms consistently and explicitly to distinguish themselves" (p. 25) and their news-gathering routines from those who do not belong to the circle or are not "newsroom professionals" (Singer 2015, p. 25).

2.4.1 Contextualising boundary maintenance

Journalistic boundary maintenance is particularly important as it allows this research to examine the way war reporters continue to struggle for legitimacy and authenticity within and outside the field.

Bishop (1999) argues that by utilising boundary maintenance methods that are apparent, journalists demarcate themselves in relation to other professional groups; for instance, the differentiation between photojournalists and paparazzi, or tabloid and quality newspapers. Furthermore, it scrutinises the agents and activities of those who are recognised as part of what is considered to be journalism (newspapers, broadcast) – an in-group, or those enforced from within this framework. Such methods play a crucial role in establishing the meaning of journalism so it can distinguish between good and bad journalism. What is more, it is done with the intent to isolate and identify the "bad" by pointing towards the aspects in which the "good" is different. Professional identity, as argued by Skovsgaard and Bro

(2011), is maintained through a legitimising process through “preference, principle and practice” (pp. 319-331). Journalistic claims to preference can be understood as “directed towards the persons, organisations and institutions that journalists and journalism has worked for” (p. 322). The transference of loyalty from political parties to the public, where journalists tend to claim legitimacy by “working as a proxy for the public” (p. 323) visible through statements such as, “the public has a right to know” (p. 323) has contributed to the “professionalisation of journalists” (Hallin 2000, p. 324). Further, claims to principle which emphasise on “providing information to its citizens, necessary to take part in the democratic process and society at large” (p. 324). Or as noted by Kovach and Rosenstiel (2001) that journalists should “provide information that people need, to be free and self-governing” (p. 12). Finally, claims to practice are executed through balance and putting objectivity into the heart of their enquiry. As Harcup (2004) states that a method for journalists to claim legitimacy is through the interpretation of the principle into their daily journalistic routines, aiming to justify the final product. Furthermore, the ‘ritualization’ (Tuchman, 1972) of their news gathering process which includes the practice of detachment and refrainment from taking sides – news reporters claim legitimacy from their audience. More importantly, it helps them to create demarcations between themselves and those who do not adhere to specific norms of objectivity, accuracy, impartiality and balance. These demarcations within the journalistic field therefore allow this research to examine war reporting as one such field. Boundary maintenance provides another crucial analytical tool to understand the professional identity and practices of British and Indian war reporters in relation to what are good practices while covering wars and who then qualify to be referred to as war reporters.

The next section of this chapter discusses one of the fundamental principles of modern journalism – objectivity. By examining the notions of the objectivity norm, this thesis aims to further understand how journalists view their own role and their obligations to their audience.

2.5 Objectivity

One of the main research questions for this thesis is the practice of war reporting and the ways it has altered since 1998. To examine journalistic practices, it is vital to investigate the concept of objectivity, claimed to be one of the core professional values of journalism, and how it is understood and implemented by war reporters while reporting on wars. The section below provides a brief discussion on different aspects of objectivity – as the literature suggests, there are several distinct descriptions and perceptions within journalism. Hence, it is important to reconsider the literature available on the changing notions of objectivity and how they differ between journalists.

2.5.1 History of objective journalism

This section discusses a brief history of objectivity in journalism, which is required to understand the profession and discover the limits of being objective when covering dramatic and life-threatening events, such as wars and conflicts.

Kaplan (2002) examines the social history of American media. Based on such an overview Schudson and Anderson (2009) identify various orientations to this history. Firstly, progressive historiography, that allows a close observation into the development of the occupational ideology within journalism demonstrating its shift towards social differentiation, occupational autonomy and professional freedom. Objectivity in this case is found to have a regulating effect – where it ceases to be a tool or a claim, but becomes a goal, considered to be "a best practice". Such a shift can be attributed to the ever-increasing social gap between politics, business, and journalism. Secondly, (though not discussed by Kaplan) it emphasises the relationship between professionalism and objectivity – the emergence of objective journalism is presented through the lens of technological explanation. However, this explanation is not accepted by most historical scholars who refer to objectivity as a literary form encouraged by technological developments. Thirdly, the American version of history of objectivity refers to the ideological claim to impartiality, considered as misleading, since it is a result of commercialism caused by economic development. Kaplan (2002) draws attention to The Commercialisation of News by Baldasty in the 19th Century. Considered to be "forceful, and carefully documented" (p. 92), Kaplan notes that the theory presents a contradictory argument regarding the relationship between commercialism and professionalization – "In Baldasty's theory, news content and indeed 'journalistic visions' followed from the [capitalistic] funding machine" (Kaplan, 2002, p. 8). Fourthly, the scholarship focuses on the rise of journalistic objectivity in the United States and links its inception to Schudson's work – *Discovering the News* (1978). To begin with the work explored the origins of professional objectivity at the very core of developments that resulted in a "democratic market society" (p. 92) therefore moving away from earlier proposed technological developments or a natural progression as reasons for the emergence of objective journalism. From an "inevitable outcome" Schudson (2001) traces the emergence of journalistic professionalism to "group cohesion, professional power, social conflict, and the cultural resonance of claims to occupational authority" (p.92). Finally, Kaplan's (2002) fifth overview relates to an understanding which views the development of objectivity as an American professional norm, but more importantly being shaped by the US public sphere – Kaplan argues through his empirical research on Detroit newspapers (1880-1910) – that "specific political consequences of the election in 1896" allowed the publishers, editors, and reporters drive a view of "public sphere" through impartial and independent reporting. The political contention in American history according to Kaplan has an important role to play in the rise of objectivity in America.

Walter Lippmann (1922) addresses the "crisis in journalism" that systematically strips the public of information that is independently accessed. Therefore, threatening the very fabric of democracy (pp. 151–152). According to Lippmann, the ever-growing disagreement within commercial journalism – conflict between the business office and editorial staff over "newsgathering practices and means and end of changing newspaper content" for the sake of a larger readership is responsible for the widening crisis in journalism. Schudson (1978, p. 151) refers to Lippmann as "the most wise and forceful spokesman for the ideal of objectivity" – urging journalists to harness a sense of evidence where they must cut through slogans and abstractions and report facts. Lippmann advocates the importance of

accuracy ahead of moral or personal views therefore infusing professionalism with claims of objectivity. It further safeguarded the commercial newspaper's claims of serving the public interest as opposed to catering to the excitement and titillation of the public.

2.5.2 Objectivity in British journalism

Many view the concept of objectivity in British journalism to be a part of the scholarly legacy shared between the US and British journalistic tradition that was surfacing in the US in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Smith 1978; Chalaby 1998, pp. 130–40; McNair 1998, pp. 64–77; Bromley 2003, pp. 123, 131; Conboy 2004, p. 191). It is worth examining the concept of objectivity in its American articulation as it is a frequently imported concept by media scholars. Schudson (2001) argues that the objectivity norm in American journalism caters to the group that uses it. He refers to the Durkheimian sense – social cohesion where the norm exists for ritualistic purposes and allows for internal solidarity to a particular group. Furthermore, it also serves a way of differentiating one group from another. Schudson also points to the Weberian sense for the emergence of the objectivity norm that gives hierarchical control over social groups where editors can control their reporters – "overt ethical reinforcement" ensuring behaviour that is predictable. Hampton (2008) reiterates Schudson's claim that the origin of the objectivity norm can be traced back to World War I and especially to the lack of trust of the self. The norm highlights the precarious nature of facts, a result of mediation between subjective individuals. The objectivity norm therefore provide practices, rituals that ensure facts and truth in reporting, above all.

Hampton (2008), through case studies on the BBC and Reuters, argues that the above institutions have strongly resembled American style objectivity ideals. He states British journalists emphasise the presentation of facts rather than views. Such insistence highlights the newsroom culture which prefers scoops but also signifies the changes in readers' demands along with available technologies of newsgathering. Hampton further notes such tradition insists on the "primacy of telling the truth" as opposed to strong presentation of opinion (p. 482). The proprietor and editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, while referring to the role of newspapers, said,

> …neither in what it gives, nor in what it does not give, nor in the mode of presentation must the unclouded force of truth suffer wrong. Comment is free, but facts are sacred (Scott 1921, p. 35)

The statement above further reinforces the importance of facts within reporting. Writers belonging to the interwar period - "George Orwell, Harold Laski, Norman Angell and Kingsley Martin" (Hampton 2008, p. 482) are critical of the distortions and lack of truth in the popular press. They hold "press barons such as Lord Northcliff, Lord Rothermere and Lord Beaverbrook" (p. 482) responsible for making news more of an entertainment instead of "instruction" (p. 482) where there was preference for "heavily manipulative language for propagandistic purposes" (p. 482). The lessons learnt from World War I regarding propaganda and censorship resulted in the realisation that the press was capable of

misrepresenting truth by “suppression and misleading language” (p. 482). Hampton (2008) says, that even though readers were cautious of views “argued in editorial columns”, (p. 482) they proved to be more responsive towards “opinions smuggled into news columns” (p. 483). These were some of the criticisms levied against the press by journalists who belonged to the journalism fraternity, hence who “spoke from their professional perspective and not as detached critics” (p. 483). What is more, Hampton (2008) notes that despite the criticism and their emphasis on truth, it remained distinct from the “American style objectivity” (p. 483). As the journalists in their criticism failed to see a “contradiction between truthfulness and commitment to specific political principles” (p. 483), it resulted in journalists contributing to partisan publication without hesitation or dilemma. The fact that the British press continued to include “papers that closely identified with one party or the other” (p. 483) is well established according to Hampton. More importantly, these “sophisticated critics” failed to address the issue of subjectivity which obstructed the process of procuring facts. Critics differentiated themselves from the ‘manipulative press’ based on “intention” (p. 483) suggesting that the use of propaganda in quality press was restricted to “leading articles” (p. 483), as opposed to the “commercially-owned popular press who did not” (Hampton 2008, p. 483).

Historically, objectivity formed a part of British journalism sometime after the World War II. The same cannot be said about “editorial independence” making it a “centrepiece of the fourth estate” (Thomas 2005, p. 9). However, as noted by Hampton (2008) while there was anxiety over press owners’ “illegitimate power” acquired through “manipulative news” and often used to “subvert democracy itself” (pp. 483-484), any serious consideration of the “objectivity norm” within newspaper journalism during the twentieth century seems to be missing. While critics belonging to this period were opposed to newspapers’ “overtly political line” the idea of “fair play” (p. 484) was commonly agreed upon. Hampton (2008) exhibits the norms propounded by the Press Council and National Union of Journalists (NUJ), the way they maintained professional standards - highlighting the failure of the Council in “holding the press accountable on issues of objectivity, political balance, civility or accuracy” (p. 486). He claims that the Council primarily concerned itself with “reinforcing perceptions of fair play that centered heavily on questions of privacy” (p. 486). Furthermore, regarding the NUJ’s code of conduct he declares that even though it had undergone changes it “strikingly avoids the term objectivity” and emphasises the “practice of independence, fair play and commitment to truth” (p. 488), hence ignoring any kind of discussion on “professional ritual” altogether.

The present code of conduct in relation to “objectivity,” as seen within the Independent Press Standards Organisation (IPSO) which replaced the Press Complaint Commission following the Leveson Inquiry in 2012, is tackled under the code of “accuracy”. This Code propounds that the press should refrain from publishing “inaccurate, misleading or distorted information/images/headlines,” and if found to be in the wrong, they should correct their inaccuracy “promptly and with due prominence, and where appropriate publish an apology”. More importantly while the Press is “free to editorialise and campaign they must distinguish between conjecture and fact” (Editor’s Code of Practice 2017). The NUJ comprises 12

directives in relation to the code of conduct for journalists. Fourth on the list of directives states that a journalist is one who differentiates between facts and opinions (National Union of Journalists 2018). The BBC's editorial guidelines especially deal with terms such as "impartiality," "balance" and "truth"[5] – stressing the importance of accuracy and discouraging practices that allow for personal views or opinions expressed as beliefs as part of the news output.

2.5.3 Objectivity within journalistic practice

While the historical aspect to the objectivity norm is important, equally imperative is the academic research by scholars on how journalists within the profession understand the concept of objectivity.

Donsbach and Klett (1993), through a comparative scrutiny of news journalists in daily newspapers, radio and television, examine the approach and significance of objectivity for news journalists in the US, the UK, Germany, Italy and Sweden. The study presents four aspects of objectivity – no subjectivity, balance or fair representation, hard facts and value judgements. The first dimension of objectivity – no subjectivity – is where journalists recording the events must practice distance and become "detached observers", hence not letting the journalist's own political beliefs to impact the treatment of the subject (Westerstahl 1983; Chalaby 1998; pp. 130–133; McNair 1998, p. 68; McQuail 2005, p. 200). The second dimension – fair representation or balance – is where news media is the common carrier, therefore presenting balancing accounts of a story leaving judgement to the receiver (Tuchman 1972; Chalaby 1998; McNair 1998; McQuail 2005). The third dimension – hard facts – relates to notions of accuracy, truth and factuality, and it is their task to dig out facts (Chalaby 1998, McQuail 2005, Westerstahl 1983). Finally, the fourth dimension – value judgement – is where objectivity as a notion of detachment has been criticised, giving way to news reporting that goes beyond mere descriptions of reality and recommends journalism that advocates the stance of marginalised groups in society (Waisbord 2009). Such a dimension does not criticise the truthful and accurate side of objectivity but argues in favour of value judgements according to political, social or moral standards (Donsbach & Klett, 1993, pp. 63–64). The researchers found, in the case of British journalists, the first three aspects of

[5] BBC editorial guidelines:

> Stresses on the values of impartiality being the fundamental principal that which is applied to all its services and outputs of television, radio, online and international services along with commercial magazines. The BBC within its guidelines also lays emphasis on inclusivity as another of its core principals, thus claiming a presence of a range of views in its news and programs. Drawing attention to the BBC Charter which makes its mandatory for the BBC to practice due impartiality when dealing with controversial subjects, such as, public policy, political or industrial controversy. Furthermore, it explains impartiality under the personal view content – stating that the channel and its various services allows individuals, groups or organisations that are wide ranging in their personal views, often expressed as opinions or beliefs, they serve the purpose towards public's understanding of issues as they are original perspectives on issues that are familiar. However, the BBC highlights the importance of signposting these for the benefit of the audience, it also lays an emphasis on factual accuracy and fair representation of opposing sides demonstrating the channel's impartial attitude towards a broad range of views and perspectives. It goes on to emphasise the standards expected from its staff, presenters and reporters while discussing topics that are controversial to express professional judgements that are based on evidence rather than personal views. Finally, pointing towards The BBC Agreement which forbids expression of opinions on current affairs or public policy matters. (British Broadcasting Corporation, 2017).

objectivity are equally important; therefore, claiming the value judgement aspect of objectivity must be left out of news reporting.

Skovsgaard *et al's* (2012) note, in relation to the above-mentioned research, their most consistent finding was that journalists who support an impartial and unbiased news media over advocacy news media showed greater support for objectivity. This finding can be used to understand the variations in perceptions that journalists have in relation to their role in society (p. 5). The discussion on role perception, therefore, may be tied up with the dimensions of objectivity where active or passive journalists (Johnstone *et al*. 1972-1973) believe and uphold a certain meaning of what journalism must do and understand their role as interventionist, advocate, passive mirror or watchdog. An argument can therefore be made that how they understand objectivity and their relation to their audience can determine their professional behaviour (Donsbach 2008).

Skovsgaard *et al's* (2013) study on the role perception of Danish journalists demonstrates the way it influences their application of objectivity. The study highlights the relationship between role perceptions and national journalistic culture therefore pointing towards varying role perceptions across countries. (Patterson 1998; Weaver & Wu 1998; Deuze 2002).

Tuchman (1972) refers to the journalistic tools that allows them to be viewed as unbiased and assert legitimacy to their audience. However, she reiterates Schudson's argument that merely using these 'tools' does not ensure objectivity but certainly allows the media organisations to safeguard themselves against lawsuits and legal trouble. Moreover, Tuchman argues that journalistic practice which includes: reliance on reporting both sides of the story; using terms such as news analysis that allow separation of opinions from facts along with the use of quotation marks can be viewed as methods journalists follow in order to claim objectivity within their reporting and also to safeguard themselves against any criticism (pp. 660-678).

Korte (2009) is of the view that objectivity has become part of the journalistic code of honour, especially in English-speaking countries (p. 32). Citing war reporter John Simpson, for instance, who notes, good war reporting must respect the line between the story and the storyteller, it must be critical and should not take sides. However, it is has been argued that while claims to objectivity by media organisations helps to assert themselves as reliable, legitimate and trustworthy brands in the eyes of their audience, the absolute perception of objectivity which demands equal time to both or various sides, maintaining a distance as a person from the story is a task that is inexecutable.

2.5.4 Objectivity in war reporting

The idea of objectivity in a war or zone of conflict has been the subject of several debates, highlighting the relevance of documentation of human tragedies and extreme realities (Bell 1998). Whether objectivity is considered possible or thought to be desirable by practitioners of journalism are questions that have vexed researchers and practitioners alike. It was not until the nineteenth century that

objectivity was regarded in its full scope – potential benefits and harm, thus, duly legitimised as a neutral medium during the war. McLaughlin (2002), pointing towards Howard Russell covering the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny of 1858, says he knew whose side he was on when he reported these wars, but in the American Civil War he posed as a neutral observer, "a dangerous role in any civil war where an impartial comment will always look like hostility to the protagonist" (p. 153). Russell declared to be a free agent, keeping an open mind about the conflict, "vowing to ascertain and tell the truth without fear, favour or affection, and declaring that he had no theories to uphold, no prejudices to sub serve, no interests to advance, no instructions to fulfil" (p. 153). However, as pointed out by Hankinson (1982), despite Russell's professed neutrality, his political sympathies were very much inclined against slavery and the Confederacy. Martin Bell, former BBC correspondent, says he was trained in the tradition of objective and dispassionate journalism, in which he used to believe once, but does not anymore. According to Bell (1998), objective reporting is like bystander journalism that ill-equips the reporter for "the challenges of the times and insists that he still believes in impartiality and facts" (p. 162). McLaughlin (2002) finds himself agreeing over Bell's remark about the act of reporting being a 'subjective' exercise. Therefore, questioning both the meaning and existence of objectivity.

2.5.5 Journalism of attachment

Journalism of attachment has been proposed as an alternative to objectivity, especially when covering wars. Martin Bell (1998) argues it as being a "journalism that cares as well as knows" (p. 130). Journalism of attachment, like the work of aid agencies, is not about picking sides. It is however conscious of the moral ground and hence does not shy away from taking such a stand. He points towards conflicts like Bosnia (1992-1995) which according to him cannot be reported through the lens of objective storytelling, as it abstains from taking a moral position hence presenting merely an empty spectacle. Bell urges war reporters to move beyond the norm of neutrality and self-promotion: "They need to ask themselves can and do they want to make a difference in a turbulent world? And what difference should that be? Should journalists be objective in reporting war? Is it possible? Does it really exist?" (p. 164). It is not without criticism that Bell's advocacy for a more subjective, 'partisan' approach to reporting has been received, which this literature review will return to, but first it is essential to establish why this kind of journalism is seen as a significant development within war journalism. It is also important to note that although Bell does not view the subjective approach as being 'partisan', the criticism levied against journalism of attachment has remained. This has given rise to the contestation and problematisation of the whole issue.

Ryan (2001) states that values such as accuracy, balance and fairness have become the focus hence suggesting a shift from the traditional understanding of the norm of objectivity as that which is neutral, thus giving way to a different model of objectivity. Whereas Ruigrok (2008) argues that journalists covering wars are essentially neutral bystanders as they are reporting on a dreadful situation of which they are not a part of, but simply reporting for their audience in the outside world. However, he does

maintain that practitioners of journalism of attachment will take side with those whom they view as the victims of the war.

Reiterating Bell's stand, Ruigrok (2008) says journalism in some sense can be viewed as a moral pursuit and not a task that which is neutral or mechanical. Citing the example of the war in Bosnia (1992-1995) – where the prime focus of news coverage by journalists practising attachment was to advocate for a military intervention, which, would ensure the freedom of victims of the war. This clear sightedness of the purpose behind their news coverage displays a functional model of journalistic practice. He further draws attention to patriotic journalism which according to him has emerged from journalism of attachment – for instance, the Global War on Terror involves journalists from nations that are a part of the campaign against terrorism, that often find journalists' coverage supporting their nations' stance without proper scrutiny or that which is lacking in robust criticism. Ruigrok (2008) therefore argues in favour of a theoretical distinction to be made between patriotic journalism and journalism of attachment. Bell (1998) makes a distinction between the two, stating journalism of attachment primarily focuses on taking a moral stand whereas, patriotic journalism arises out of motives that are nationalistic. Hume (1997) is accepting of journalism of attachment only if the facts are not suppressed by journalists who believe in attachment. According to him attachment can lead to journalists mixing emotions with facts and in such instances, it is the audience that suffers. He therefore warns journalists against the risk of presenting personal passion or prejudice as objective news. Furthermore, he emphasises the difference between the story and the storyteller – cautioning journalists and their feelings itself from becoming the news (p. 5).

Bell and others who share his general view reject the idea of objectivity, which is attached to neutrality, and support the aspect of impartiality, hence suggesting that care for accuracy is still possible even if the reporter adopts a moral standpoint on the rights and wrongs of the conflict. Cottle (2013) notes the reporters covering death and destruction understand their role as a "privileged witness" – and this goes beyond witnessing in terms of bodily and sensory experience. The argument presented by him suggests one of the ways of understanding such a "privilege" of "bearing witness" is a "sacred duty" – where there is a an obligation to those "whose plight and suffering has been observed and must be communicated to the others because the dead and dispossessed" cannot do so. The privilege referred to by reporters then goes beyond that of being simply an eyewitness, occupying a crucial intermediary role and becomes a physical and morally infused position (p. 242). Such a position also allows for a humanistic and emotive response, thereby disrupting the practice of a detached approach.

Another perspective on bearing witness is in relation to an ethical engagement with suffering. Rentschler (2004) argues that media's representation of suffering reduces the audience to passive consumers where the representations deliver suffering that is removed from them and for which they are not responsible, this while advancing "narcissistic identification with victims rather than reflection on participation in systems of structural inequality or state violence" (pp. 300–302).

It is important for this research to take such discussions into account as it allows for further investigation into how Indian and UK war reporters understand the privilege of being an eyewitness, which is directly related to their understanding of notions of objectivity and/or journalism of attachment. While putting them in the context of the war reporter, it is essential to understand at the root lies the concept of the reality which the journalist tries to present to the audience using tools such as being eyewitnesses, objectivity, use of narrative in deliberate and strategic ways, which establish them as an authoritative spokesperson for the story to which they have been assigned.

Morrison (1994) reiterates a similar point in noting the significance of the first-hand account or being an eyewitness for a journalist – allowing them their claim on truth with authority. In other words – reality construction (p. 306). However, Morrison argues there is much more to this simplistic role of the journalist as someone who witnesses things first-hand and reports what they see or do not see. The journalist is a social agent, who in the act of reporting a crisis, like war, is not disconnected from his surrounding which includes extreme realities such as death and destruction. Therefore, becoming a part of the crisis, they record. According to Morrison, to understand the reporting of dramatic events, it is essential to consider the journalist as a person who is impacted by their surroundings (p. 306). Hence, in such a situation, the observer must be observed and, in order to grasp the narratives of war, it is imperative to grasp the surroundings of the narrator. The next section presents a discussion on the social construction of reality to further examine the world of the account giver and the factors that contribute to the reporter's experience of reality as understood by them.

2.6 Social construction of reality

Morrison (1994) stresses the fact that, to understand the reporting of dramatic events, such as accounts of war, it is essential to understand the world of the account giver. Rightly so, as the journalist's reality in a war zone is a factor of several elements including their zone of relevance – for example, the groups closest to them that have the potential to impact their reporting directly, such as the foreign policy of their governments, which they are conscious about or is communicated to them from time to time; the military with which they are embedded for long periods; or the victims of war with whom they begin to associate themselves. Their reporting has a direct relation to their zones of relevance, on the basis of which they construct a reality. We discuss the three types of reality given by Berger and Luckmann (1967) immediately below, including subjective social reality, which is relevant to this research.

The three types of reality as mentioned by Berger and Luckmann (1967) includes objective, symbolic and subjective social reality. While the objective social reality consists of reality that is acknowledged in a common-sense manner – a fact that does not require authentication or evidence other than it being there. Symbolic social reality concerns itself with literature, art or media themes that are recognised as symbolic articulation of the objective reality. Whereas, the subjective social reality integrates both the objective and symbolic realities, that acts as a contributor towards the development of individual's

personal subjective. In other words, the individual consciousness is a combination of the objective world and its symbolic depiction.

Furthermore, Berger and Luckmann's argument relating to zone of relevance, is mentioned by Adoni and Mane (1984) to further describe subjective reality where it is arranged in terms of zone of relevance,

> Those social elements and actors with whom the individual interacts and experiences frequently in face-to-face situations are part of 'close' zones of relevance. The 'remote' zones are composed of general, more abstract social elements that are not accessible to direct experience – like public opinion (p. 326).

The concept of zones of relevance is important for this research because it will allow the researcher to understand the nature of their reality and what impacts it. Morrison (1994) notes regarding the nature of wars – "War is not a random act of aggression, but has a purpose and point" (p. 308) – he highlights the importance of explaining the purpose of wars to those whose support is deemed crucial for the successful completion of the policy. There is an instant need for approval, like any political policy. Furthermore, Morrison finds that the burden of legitimisation falls on the performance of the media, especially the television, in times where wars have been chosen as a political response to certain situations (p. 308).

Furthermore, there is an argument to be made regarding the beliefs about the value of war, and the sensibilities around it – the transformations that have occurred within it are crucial to the coverage of modern wars. Morrison (1994) claims that there is an absence of discussion on questions of sensibilities while viewing performance of the media. The "perception and reception of violence" (p. 309) – how the audience receive images of the war and what is the nature of impact on the war reporter amid violence are relevant to the understanding of media's performance. Institutions, like television or otherwise face challenges in moving rapidly from dominant understanding of set of acts and values of the social order to those that are antithetical. The fact that war is "an act to protect civil society, part of legitimate values" (p. 310) does not make the act that constitutes for the definition of war less problematic hence not easily legitimised. The war zone according to Morrison demands quick adjustment to these sets of contradicting values and sensibilities – and even though when certain behaviour, values and attitudes are approved during a war time, it is not without a "legitimation struggle" – in making journalists agreeable with violence (p. 310). The justification of violence as apt in resolving disputes during war is further legitimised citing reasons of protection of national interest. However, this does not result in altering sensibilities around violence itself as these set of values are attached to a moral structure, which in turn continues to make such acts of violence and images related to it upsetting. Morrison further explains that although images of war and acts of violence will result in upsetting sensibilities, the degree to which they remain distressing depends on "the acceptance of war as morally correct" (p. 312).

Hence, the zone of relevance and the concept of values and sensibilities discussed above have an impact on the war correspondent. For the correspondent functioning in a war zone along with the military

and witnessing the action, expectations are that they get accustomed to the routines of war consisting of extreme realities and experiences once thought to be impossible, now become expected and taken for granted. The war correspondent therefore becomes acclimatised with the reality of the military and it would not be too far-fetched to argue that the constructed reality of the journalist is a shared one with that of the military.[6]

2.7 Embedding

The environment and setting in which the journalist covers a conflict has a direct impact on their news gathering methods, nature and choice of sources, role perceptions, and the final output or story published.

Ramsay (2010) argues that war reporting since the War on Terror campaign in 2001 has come under new pressures where the reporter is viewed equivalent to the enemy. Furthermore, speaking on the embedding process that enables reporters to get access to the frontline while living in proximity with the military units, in wars like Afghanistan and Iraq, he draws attention to the responsibility that comes with the embedding arrangement – the reporter must be able to differentiate between the propaganda that is being fed and the facts and be able to report the truth. According to him, the embed is here to stay and journalists should not be fearful of it, but he states those "who get involved owe it to themselves and their viewers, readers and listeners never to let their guard down and always ask this basic question: are they lying?" (p. 31).

According to Cortell *et al*. (2009), the embed programme introduced during the Iraq war (2003) was partly designed by the Pentagon at the request of media organisations which allowed 600 print, radio and television reporters to live and report with coalition forces. As embeds the reporters got unprecedented access, "the war theatre was opened for the media, not the first-row seats but behind the curtains" (Tumber & Palmer 2004, p. 67). Schmickle describes the response of embeds as having a great advantage due to the direct access to the story therefore enabling them to produce reporting that was well versed. The programme was a success as far as access was concerned; in the words of a reporter from *Star Tribune*, "it couldn't be much better than this" (p. 67). As per the works of Ganey (2004), Kelley (2003) and Ricchiardi (2003), embedding allowed reporters to get unprecedented access to the troops hence resulting in first-hand accounts of the war that incorporated detailed coverage and dramatic visuals. However, the programme is not without its set of criticism. According to Brandenburg (2007) embedding while allowing increased access and sensitive information to the journalists resulted in self-censorship where the journalists were making decisions regarding what to report based on military rationale as opposed to journalistic logic giving way to censorship that was both personal and patriotic. Despite the assurances from the government regarding the programme being unrestrictive in nature therefore allowing for free and independent journalism, it drew a contract which was a guidance

6 See Robinson et al. (2010; pp. 34-63)

for the media that was embedding with the troops. The Public Affairs Guidance was published by the Pentagon and was made compulsory to sign and follow before embedding.

There are different forms of censorship that can hinder independent journalism, for instance control on operational security and equipment. As noted by Lewis *et al*. (2006), journalists who accepted the embed position could produce first-hand accounts from the war zone. However, this also meant that their access was limited to merely one side of the story, thus, it was crucial for these accounts to be balanced if they were to be accepted as trustworthy. What is more, the briefings made by the US DoD laid out the rules regarding restrictions on free movement of the reporters once assigned to a troop, therefore leaving no room for independent journalism. One of the rules of DoD of 2003 (cited in Tumber & Palmer 2004) made it mandatory for reporters to exit the war theatre if they expressed a wish to leave their positions as embeds.

Smith (2010) refers to embedding as a necessary evil due to the war reporters' need for access to the frontline. He highlights the lucrative aspect of embedding, which makes it desirable despite the media management:

> It is easy to find British journalists like myself who criticise the practice of embedding but jump at every opportunity to accompany British troops at war. Space with the British army is at a premium and so if you can get there you won't face too much competition. Compared with other foreign trips it is relatively easy to acquire strong stories supported by exceptional pictures. One can win awards (pp. 42–43).

Smith (2010) also argues that embedding was financially viable for the media organisations as the military was responsible for food and shelter, further highlighting the practical aspects of embedding within which reporters do not have to worry about security, food, shelter or modes of transport.

Marsh (2012) claims that embedding has resulted in constraining the media by curtailing its journalistic freedom which is useful to the notion of keeping watch on power. Despite the criticism he does find embedding relevant in wars like Afghanistan where it is impossible for journalists to get access to the frontlines without the help of the military.

Also found in the studies Bennett *et al*. (2007), Entman and Page (1994), McChesney (2002) and Moeller (2004) is the view that over reliance on elite/government and official sources during war or any national crisis can hamper dissenting voices which could have acted as a counterbalance to the spin presented by the government. Miller (2004) argues that proximity between the reporters and the troops where they had shared experiences of living and facing risks together further helped in managing the media. The embed programme resulted in genuine friendship between the reporter and the soldiers which culminated into coverage that had strong elements of cheerleading. Miller makes a special mention of the young and inexperienced embeds who were attached with the US military during the Iraq war in 2003.

Altman and Taylor (1973) explain through the theory of social penetration, how embedding yielding in proximity between the military and the media can result in increasing the interpersonal bond between the two parties. Kim (2012) claims that during the Iraq war (2003) embeds went to the war zone with the agenda of featuring their local heroes of the war as opposed to giving their audience an expansive view of the war zone. As cited in Pfau *et al*. (2004) and in Tumber and Palmer,

> We knew generally what we were going to write about before boarding the plane to Iraq. I am the guy who tends to know what's going on and so I am going to be the one who comes forward and says, 'these are my story ideas' (Tumber and Palmer 2004, p. 67).

Hayward (2010), makes allegations against the programme of embedding as not only curtailing media movement from within the war theatre, but more importantly such restriction resulting in limiting the reporters from giving accounts of the war that is fair, clear and impartial. He highlights that embedding is necessary to gain safe access to the frontline, however, he reminds readers that it allows access to a small part of the war. Therefore, according to Hayward, it is important to report from various points in order to give the audience a sense of the wider picture. While there are different opinions on embedding and its impact on war coverage, most practising war correspondents agree it is the best way to get to the zone of action. However, there also exists the unilateral journalists who get to the war zone without military assistance.

2.7.1 Unilateral: Fearless reporting at any cost

The US military referred to the independent journalists as the unilateral – who did not accept the official status of an embedded journalist. The unilateral journalists experienced hindrances, lack of access to the war zone, which impacted their ability to cover wars and also compromised their security. The safety of journalists reporting from areas of conflicts and crisis has received much attention from within the industry and continues to be a subject of review. The issue of safety of the unilateral journalists has been a matter of great debate, especially because of the way military treats them. The policy of "shoot-first-and-ask-questions-later" as highlighted by McCreary, cited in Lewis *et al*. (2003) meant that many independent journalists covering the war became casualties at the hands of the US forces. Furthermore, the strategy of embed-for-life used by the unit commanders has been attacked. The strategy formulated within the Pentagon Contract forbid the embed reporter from being further attached as an embed if they chose to leave their current arrangement. It also made clear to journalists who wished to cover the war independently that the military or the government was not responsible for their security and safety, hence, making the unilateral journalist accountable for their own security. There have been incidents where unilateral journalists[7] have been shot at, gravely injured or even killed during combat missions at the hands of the military (Lewis *et al*. 2003). This highlights the nature of censorship that independent war reporters experience, making embedding a more practical way of covering wars.

[7] See fn 2.

Knightley (2003) refers to the Pentagon attitude towards unilateral journalists in the Iraq war, where not only were they viewed as the enemy but also cautioned against reporting from the enemy territories. Gopsill (2004) quotes the Pentagon's chief spokesperson: "journalists not embedded with the army were putting themselves at extreme risk…appealing to the media to exercise restraint, especially to those who are reporting freely" (p. 101). The discussions provided above are relevant for this thesis as they draw attention to the relationship between the military and media who are required to work closely in a war zone.

2.8 Models of news media performance

The nature of the relationship between the military and media to a large extent dictates journalistic practices during war reporting, and news media performance as described in this section directly impacts the final output of coverage. To further establish this argument, it is imperative for this literature review to analyse the various models of news media performance. Robinson *et al*. (2010) build on the research of news media performance, previously visited by Hallin (1986) and Wolfsfeld (1997). The three models as suggested by Robinson *et al* are: the elite driven model, the independent model, and the oppositional model.

The elite driven model as proposed by Robinson *et al* (2010) is similar to "sphere of consensus" presented by Hallin (1986) and the description of media as a faithful servant conceived by Wolfsfeld (1997). The media in all the above roles is found to be assenting of the government and its plans. The second category suggested by Robinson *et al* constitutes of the independent model that is similar to the "sphere of legitimate controversy" as described by Hallin (1986) along with the concept of "semi-honest broker" as coined by Wolfsfeld (1997). Within this model the media is expected to exercise a balanced approach while covering events. It also allows for perspectives other than official therefore resulting in coverage that is described as negotiated. Finally, the last category, the oppositional model can be classified under "sphere of deviance" put forth by Hallin (1986) and "advocate of the underdog" as suggested by Wolfsfeld (1997). The media within the above is expected to be critical of the government's conduct and reasons for the war therefore supporting the anti-war views and opinions.

Robinson *et al* (2010) claim that media performance during war time is expected to be aligned with the elite driven model. Hence, resulting in coverage that not only relies largely on official sources but is equally supportive of the war effort. Although it has been found that journalists are increasingly relying on official sources, Wolfsfeld (1997) is of the view that news media rely on information from the side that gives access. This not only places the governments in an advantageous position as they hold control over access and events but also allows them to manage the media to their benefit. Such an analysis does well in explaining the recent wars where western capabilities have overpowered military resistance. Furthermore, it is argued that critical or independent coverage is possible when there is disagreement of the political elites on policy matters. Robinson *et al* (2010) are of the view that news media through negotiated coverage can offer its audience a more critical view of the war – this can be

achieved by focusing on military problems and failures[8] and refraining from coverage that has the echoes of jingoism, for instance, *our* military victories. Negotiated coverage unlike supportive coverage would incorporate a more dispassionate tone towards the critical question of the merits of the war especially, in its justification provided to the larger public (p. 45).

Finally, the oppositional coverage, while it may allow reporting on military failures and represent non-official or the opposing party, even the enemy by giving them space, it is not ideal as explained by Zandberg and Neiger (2005). They argue that it is possible that the reporter, upon finding himself in a situation where the existence of his nation or society is in jeopardy, may be overwhelmed with feelings of fellowship, thus, compromising their role of a professional journalist. Such a view might be challenged by some journalists however, Bennett, Paletz & Freedman (1995) claim that for the commercial news media the oppositional model is not an ideal way of reporting the war as it makes them susceptible to criticism and unpopularity among the patriotic public supporting the war effort (p. 284). Models of news media performance help this research put into perspective the various kinds of reporting done from the war field. It further allows for scrutiny regarding how information is collected in the war zone and how the process of news gathering is not conducted in isolation, but elements of the war correspondent's surroundings have a bearing on their work.

2.8.1 Gap in the literature: Indian media coverage of the Kargil war

Much of the research discussed so far in the literature review has been concerned with western journalists, however, as the research focus is on both UK and Indian journalists, it is necessary to discuss the extant literature on the latter. Rai (2001) explores the issue of the military–media relationship, news agenda and television news images in relation to entertainment or enlightening their audience. However, Rai focuses mainly on aspects of military and political strategy during the war. Furthermore, his work examines the nature of coverage in relation to this being India's first televised war and concludes that "reporting of the Kargil war was free and fair", and that "Indian media did not become hapless tools in the hands of the military" (pp. 115–118). However, Rai's work does not examine the role of Indian journalists regarding their normative ideas, cognitive orientations and professional practices. This research aims to fill this gap by examining how war reporters in India understand their role as war reporters and their professional practices by focusing on their narrated performances.

It is also important to mention Thussu's (2002) research in relation to the Kargil war, also known as the first televised war of South Asia, where he examines how the US approach to news management was adapted. Thussu traces the growth of Indian media, which, as a result of the telecommunication revolution, transformed the broadcasting industry in India, playing an important part in bringing the war into people's homes (pp. 207–208). Furthermore, his research focuses on the ways the political

[8] Examples of this approach relates to the editorial choices made by the BBC during the Falkland War which meant abstaining from terms such as 'we' and 'us' when reporting on the British troops (GUMG 1985).

establishment managed and controlled the Indian media. He argues that media coverage was mostly patriotic, which highlighted the “atrocity story” – focusing on the massacre and mutilation of soldiers and civilians; hence, playing the patriotic game. Further, Thussu notes that tele-jingoism presented the army’s version of the war during which television images of emotionally charged funerals of soldiers, footage of coffins coming home and grief-stricken family members of the killed soldiers with emotional crowds at the funeral could be seen as key elements in retaining public support for the war. He concludes with observations that Indian television avoided critical questioning regarding the breach in military security and intelligence failures that eventually led to the war. It is relevant for this research to keep these observations in mind, as it examines the nature of coverage as understood by the 17 Indian respondents (print and broadcast) covering the Kargil war.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter examined discussions on role perceptions that are considered as generalised expectations understood as normatively acceptable by journalists. Furthermore, the role perceptions as demonstrated by journalism studies’ scholars influence the journalists’ behaviour. However, while the argument that active and passive roles impact the way journalists understand their roles with regard to their job, in the case of war reporters, their self-image is further shaped by historical representations that configure them as heroic and adventurous beings who are willing to take enormous risks in order to bring the story to their audience. The exploration of the above enables this study to present the ascribed role perceptions of 39 respondents, which relates to reinforcing a professional identity – for instance, both sets of reporters continue to invoke traditional tropes of bravery, heroism and adventure within their articulation on their self-image as a war reporter. Additionally, this chapter discussed the relevance of how war reporters understand what they do – by placing it within the parameters of objectivity and attachment. This discerned the ways war reporters view their newsgathering and storytelling process. As demonstrated in the findings, while values of neutrality, impartiality and fairness have remained resilient, aspects of objectivity, where a new dimension of objectivity has emerged within which truth and facts have been rejected if found to be hampering national and military prestige. Furthermore, this chapter looked at the relationship between normative ideas and cognitive orientations that are based on discussions of professional practices, such as embedding and unilateral journalism, where war reporters’ reality is constantly challenged and shaped by their zone of relevance. As a result of this, their coverage of wars and conflicts can be further explained within the elite, independent or oppositional models. The analytical tools of field theory and boundary maintenance explain these discussions in relation to their different parameters, definitions, historical baggage, ideological groundings, debates and criticisms as upheld by war reporters. The legitimacy contests that happen within the field result in demarcations where attitudes, beliefs and assumptions about what is war reporting and who is a war reporter are constantly constructed, negotiated and maintained by members of the field. Through this process, journalists make sense of their purpose within society.

The next chapter sets the analytical ground for the development of the research questions and outlines the research design and methods that were adopted for this study.

Chapter 3.0 Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research design and methods adopted for this study, including the rationale behind them. The chapter opens by describing the aims of this research, including the research questions driving this thesis. Furthermore, the challenges faced by the researcher during the fieldwork are laid out, including those of access to the interviewees and the researcher's own experiences and biases. Then, the processes used for strengthening the reliability and validity of the data, including its interpretation, are discussed. During this research, particular attention was paid to the role of the researcher in handling the ethical implications of interviewing journalists who continue to work with Indian and British media organisations and shared sensitive information during their interviews.

Numerous studies (Donsbach 1983; Donsbach & Patterson 2004; Hanitzsch *et al*.2011; Skovsgaard *et al*. 2013; Mellado & Lagos 2014; Mellado 2015) on role perceptions have been conducted focusing on the development of quantitative standardised scales. Van Aelst *et al*. (2012) stress the need for a qualitative approach to analyse aspects that are difficult to reach through quantitative study. The present study addresses the issue by using a qualitative means of investigation to bridge the methodological gap. To examine the two overarching research questions regarding the role perceptions and journalistic practices of war reporters in India and the UK (collectively referred to as the "respondents"), it is vital to highlight the relevance of the thematic coding strategy (Boyatzis 1998) used in this thesis. The literature on news media and war has been qualitative to an extent (Morrison & Tumber 1988; Tylor 1997; Mclaughlin 2000, 2016; Knightley 2003; Tumber & Webster 2006; Cortell *et al*. 2009; Markham 2011). While different qualitative approaches have been adopted – ranging from phenomenological, case studies and grounded theory – this research focuses on the qualitative method of narrative through a systematic social scientific exploration using semi-structured interviews conducted with the 39 respondents. As demonstrated in the literature review (Chapter 2), to develop the conceptual framework, the researcher conducted a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006) by developing a particular approach to coding the interviews. The approach, as indicated within this chapter, is highlighted by several themes – motivations, practices of war reporting and status of war reporters – represented in the next sections of the thesis. The order of these themes into subsequent chapters is a result of the qualified thematic coding strategy – where the narrative approach was utilised to develop themes from the interview transcripts based on the respondents' discourses. Furthermore, this thesis utilises Bourdieu's (1998) concept of habitus, a "conceptual tool for analysing how social agents have different positions in the social space, and how these serve as different dispositions for social actions" (Schultz 2007, p. 193). The concept enables the researcher to understand journalistic habitus but more importantly, it allows this study to examine "more specific forms of journalistic habitus within journalistic fields" (Schultz 2008, p.16). For instance, the presence of a war reporting habitus with its own set of rules and which is unique from other forms of reporting further signals towards the

presence of other specific forms of habitus that include India and the UK war reporters where the agents/reporters understand and master the game (war reporting) differently and occupy different positions. Schultz (2008) states, “different forms of habitus can help to explain seemingly different or even contradictive practices within the newsroom” (p. 16). In addition to the above, Bourdieu’s concept of doxa, - “set of professional beliefs which tend to appear as evident, natural and self-explaining norms of journalistic practice” (Bourdieu 1998, p. 25), is equally important to this study as it allows the researcher to explore “taken for-granted social practice” within the field of war reporting and examine “the dominant point of views which present itself as a universal point of view” (Bourdieu 1998, p. 57).

It is important to highlight that semi-structured interviews allow this research to focus on journalists’ roles with regard to normative ideas, cognitive orientations, professional practices and narrated performances with clarity that is not possible with survey questions – where journalists might find it difficult to respond as they are not completely sure if they are meant to describe normative, cognitive, practiced or narrated roles.

3.2 Aims of the study and research questions

This research explores role perceptions and journalistic practices during war reporting between 1998 and 2003 by recording and analysing respondents’ experiences as war reporters. It is important for this research to explore the different perceptions or self-images of the war reporters because journalistic practices (as discussed in Chapter 6) result in a certain kind of coverage of wars but do not happen outside the journalistic field (Bourdieu 1998). By exploring journalistic practices and role perceptions of journalists from the UK and India, reporting a range of international conflicts, this research examines the extent to which practices and role perceptions have altered since the 1990s within the journalists’ different cultural settings and environments. Research questions ought to expand from the literature belonging to critical studies (Creswell, 2009). This research is therefore informed by two overarching questions:

1. To what extent have journalists’ role perceptions in the UK and India altered since the 1990s? (Compare and contrast)

2. How has the *practice* of war reporting in the UK and India altered since 1998? (Compare and contrast)

To address the issue of understanding change, Abrams (1982) points out that

> Doing justice to the reality of history is not a matter of noting the way in which the past provides a background to the present; it is a matter of treating what people do in the present as a struggle to create a future out of the past, of seeing that the past is not just a womb of the present but the only raw material out of which the present can be constructed (p. 8).

He urges researchers to look for connections between past structures, present action and future structure. This approach, according to him, helps to put the pieces together and make sense of the resilience and disruptions – a "constant blend of what changes and what endures" (p. 8).

Furthermore, he argues,

> …Finding a way of accounting for human experience which recognizes simultaneously and in equal measure that history and society are made by constant and more or less purposeful individual action and that individual action, however purposeful, is made by history and society (p. xiii).

Abrams' argument coincides with the core of this thesis – the goal is to understand the different journalistic practices present within the field of war reporters and the relationship between the actions (India and UK journalists in the context of the four wars that are part of this study) and their perceptions. The aim of this study is not only to observe and describe the changes that have occurred from another perspective but, by including this additional perspective, to find a reasonable explanation for them. According to Corbin and Strauss (2008, p. 55), descriptions pose a danger of interpreting the data too broadly but can be helpful to the researcher in developing a theory or, as Corbin and Strauss note, it could explain the "what, when, where and why of something".

To achieve this, Abrams (1982) notes that research should seek to "understand the relationship of personal activity and experience on the one hand and social organisation on the other as something that is continuously constructed in time" (p. 16). The research methodology will do this by developing causal explanations that show not only are the journalists' normative and cognitive ideas being constantly shaped by the journalistic field, but also how they shape their professional practices.

3.3 Rationale and design of research methods

As stated earlier, this thesis is conscious of the unique political, cultural, technological and media systems in the two countries, hence, acknowledging the fact that the study does not adhere to a strict comparative design. What is more, the technological differences between India and the UK are particularly more glaring within the field of war reporting where developments in technology have impacted the way war reporters from the two countries approach their newsgathering and storytelling practices. It further shapes their understanding of the image of a war reporter. This study has sought to briefly capture these aspects in the findings and analysis chapters on Role Perceptions (Ch 5) and Practices of war reporters (Ch 6) – thereby acknowledging that these factors have played a role in shaping journalistic practices of war reporters working in India and the UK.

Highlighting the relevance of the telecommunication revolution in India in the mid- to late-1990s, Thussu (2002) states that the broadcasting industry in India, limited to "one government-run television network" (p. 208) till 1992, saw a surge of television channels such that by 2001 there were "80 television channels in operation" (p.208). The emergence of private news networks, producing content round the

clock, meant that news channels could now telecast important events as they were happening – including the Kargil war – making it the first televised war of India. While the Indian news broadcast industry was reaping the benefits of the telecommunication revolution, the Western news agencies (Reuters (UK) and the BBC) were well recognised brand names and considered vital players in the global flow of news. The BBC's coverage of strategic stories from the Gulf War I to the Kosovo war allowed the brand to claim a broader perspective in its reportage of the wars, something that was lacking in American news brands such as the CNN (Thussu 2002). What is more, the Indian news networks, particularly during the coverage of the Kargil war, seemed to draw inspiration from the BBC and the CNN model of reporting which included "selling and broadcasting live pictures from the combat zone" (Thussu 2002, p. 206). This resulted not only in an atmosphere where the Indian news channels could openly declare their patriotism and support for their country's military, but also command a higher viewership and popularity, similar to their western counterparts (Thussu 2002). Thus, the telecommunication revolution in India coupled with the influence of international news brands, played a role in shaping journalistic practices in India. This also sheds light on the significant differences between the two sets of journalists on how they see themselves and how they approach their jobs. Additionally, this study considers the British imperial legacy of India and is aware of the presence of scholarship on the impact of the British colonial rule on Indian journalism (Sonwalkar, 2015; Natrajan, 1962; Bonea, 2014; Aggarwal & Gupta, 2001). Furthermore, the subject of globalisation of the Indian media system has equally inspired scholarship evidencing ways in which the practice of journalism in India is influenced by Western journalism (Thussu, 2002; 2005; Sonwalkar, 2002; Parthasarathy, 1989; Mcdowell 1997; Shah; 1998). Such influences demanded an enquiry specifically into the field of Indian conflict reporting to examine whether reporters in India ascribe to tropes of bravery, heroism, sacrifice, etc., which continue to be part of the long tradition of British war reporting.

Despite an abundance of research, as presented in the literature review (Chapter 2), a gap exists in journalistic role perceptions and its performative aspect in relation to war reporting in India. This study aims to fill that gap by explaining the phenomenon of media transformation in terms of its meaning for one of the major actors in the process – the journalist. In relation to the UK war reporters, it is equally vital to test the resilience of the present research on role perceptions (Donsbach 1983; Donsbach & Patterson 2004; Hanitzsch *et al*.2011; Skovsgaard *et al*. 2013; Mellado & Lagos 2014; Mellado 2015) and journalistic neutrality (Tuchman 1972; Smith 1978; Bell 1998; Chalaby 1998; McNair 1998; Bromley 2003; Conboy 2004; McQuail 2005). This study, by focusing on India and UK respondents' understanding of their role perception and professional practices, seeks to draw a comparison between the two sets of journalists. Further, meaning is rooted in culture, which makes it reasonable to study the media environment through meticulous exploration of the role perception and interpretations of the experiences of India and UK journalists, and identify the relationships within which journalists' perceptions and interpretations are embedded.

De Vaus (2001) argues that “the function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible” (p. 19). To answer the research questions convincingly, it is necessary to specify the type of evidence the researcher must obtain. This research adopts an interpretive approach to bring meaning to the data and present that meaning to the reader. It interprets and reports journalists’ perceptions of themselves within a war zone, their subjective understanding of conflicts/wars and their reasons for choosing specific newsgathering and storytelling methods. This study is also interested in the war reporters’ relationships with those within the war zone, primarily the military and civilians. The research was designed to gain further knowledge about the present self-images and practices of India-based reporters as there is a shortage of study regarding this field but also to test the resilience of the ways the UK respondents understand their self-images. Hence, equally important for this study is to examine whether the UK respondents continue to uphold notions of risk, thrill and adventure as stated in earlier research or whether these have been disrupted or evolved. In order to compare the two groups of war reporters, it was important to enquire in detail the perceptions and practices present on both sides, to understand the phenomenon of transformation taking place within each of these countries. Benson (1998) has utilised Bourdieu’s concept of “field” and “*habitus*” to locate the journalistic field “in its most immediate environment, which is the field of cultural production” (p. 465). According to Benson, the field of cultural production also includes writers, artists, musicians and scientists engaging in symbolic production. This field in turn is part of the field of power, dominating the all-encompassing field of social classes. As documented, cultural capital is governed by economic capital – the field of cultural production is ruled by fields of economic and political. Benson argues that the “mediating role” of the media field – its authority to penetrate and probe other fields and consequently share its discovery publicly, permits it to actively impact the relations of power throughout contemporary societies. This approach can be useful in understanding the relations of power in the war zone context relating to the journalistic field and the “disposition” or *habitus* of war correspondence as a profession within the Kosovo (1998), Kargil (1999), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) war zones.

3.4 Research technique

This study is situated within the interpretive research model. It adheres to a qualitative approach based on thematic analysis for the purpose of generating data and its analysis (Namey *et al*. 2008; Guest *et al*. 2012). The approach based on qualitative research is considered suitable to explain the meanings of actions, as presented by research participants, and to demonstrate their connections to the contexts (Jensen 2002; Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Creswell 2007). The perceptions and practices of war correspondents are fundamental to this study, along with their understandings and opinions on institutional rules which instruct news reporting within traditional media organisations. Research presented by Baxter and Babbie (2004) on the meanings and commonly held beliefs regarding the rules within particular social groups are viewed as fundamental operators of research that is interpretative – a tradition dedicated to the demonstration of the rules. The structure of the methodology remains

inductive as this research takes an exploratory and explanatory direction and aims to develop an account of role perceptions of India- and UK-based war reporters.

3.5 Research methods

The study complies with a developing and flexible design where some decisions regarding data collection and analysis were made on the basis of responses received from the research participants – that is after the researcher had entered the fieldwork and could interact with the participants (Creswell 2007). The subsections below will explain and justify these choices. It will also present explanations and justifications for choosing semi-structured elite interviews as a method for data collection. Furthermore, the nature of the sample, along with details regarding the research participants and how they were contacted and subsequently invited for an interview are discussed. The sections also present details on ethical considerations and the steps taken during data analysis.

3.5.1 Population and sampling

The selection of respondents for this study, from the population of war reporters in India and the UK, was based on the stratified random and snowball sampling techniques. As Robinson (2014, pp. 34–36) states, in a "stratified sample, the researcher selects categories or groups of cases that are considered purposive to be included in the final sample". While these categories can be geographical, demographic, socioeconomic, physical or psychological; it must fulfil the only condition of having a "clear theoretical rationale for assuming the resulting groups will differ in some meaningful way" (p.32). For the purpose of this study, the category of having reported in the English-language on one or more of the wars under consideration was essential. Additionally, the selection of research participants was defined by the criteria of experience and knowledge in the area investigated (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009). The relevance of the interviewees was assessed in connection to the category of war reporting and based on the specific wars (Kargil 1999, Kosovo 1998, Afghanistan 2001, Iraq 2003) they had covered. The four wars mentioned were the guiding criteria for primary selection but not a limitation as the study focuses on wider issues of self-image, news gathering and storytelling processes of journalists who regularly report from a war zone.

An alternative recruitment strategy was also adopted – "snowball sampling" also known as referral sampling or a chain. This involved asking participants for advice on candidates who might be eligible for the purpose of the study, leading to "referral chains" (Heckathorn 2002, p. 36). The semi-structured style of interviews chosen for this study would yield rich data only if the participants were willing to talk about their experiences by revisiting their memory of the wars they covered. This study was acutely aware of potential restrictions in place as a result of such an exercise, as it involved detailed descriptions of their experience when surrounded by extreme scenarios of crisis and violence. This technique was only used when the research participant was comfortable recommending their fellow war correspondents for this study. It had the added benefit of gaining relatively speedy access to those who

were recommended by their peers since the recommended individuals noticed the researcher's attempts of establishing contact with them when their peer or friend had referred them.

Additionally, the researcher utilised her background as an Indian journalist and her contacts to gain access to Indian journalists, which meant access to Indian journalists was obtained relatively quickly compared to the UK journalists. To establish contact with the UK correspondents, contact information was obtained through the internet and, after an initial brief introduction by email, outlining the aims of the research and requesting an interview, face-to-face meetings were set up. Of all the journalists contacted from India and the UK, barring one journalist in India, all others agreed to be interviewed.

One difficulty the researcher encountered was the last-minute cancellation of four interviews (one in New Delhi and three in London). The interviewees had to travel for a story and, while the researcher was prepared for such issues, it resulted in expensive yet futile trips to these locations. At least three participants initially stated they were unsure that they had anything valuable to contribute to this study but once the interview began, they were extremely eager to talk and share their experiences. In most cases, the interviewees did not rush to end the conversation despite having busy schedules.

3.5.2 Data collection technique: Setting of the interviews

Data collection took place in the cities of New Delhi, London and Oxford between January and May 2016. Geographically in the northern part of the country, New Delhi is the political capital of India and houses the Indian parliament, Supreme Court, federal government ministries and other government institutions, including the armed forces' headquarters. As such, the majority of mainstream media's political and defence journalists reside in the city, which also houses the headquarters of all major print and broadcast news organisations. The capital of England and the UK, London houses the BBC's headquarters along with being home to several war correspondents reporting for print and broadcast. Oxford is approximately 92 kilometres north west of London and is home to the famous war correspondent John Simpson.

Between January and May 2016, 39 journalists were interviewed: 17 Indian journalists (N=17) and 22 UK journalists (N=22) (see Figure 3-A for a snapshot of the respondents). The duration of each interview varied between 30 and 75 minutes, with the average being 45 minutes. After obtaining prior consent from the respondents, interviews were audio-recorded and later, fully transcribed for analysis. Additionally, notes were taken during and immediately after completion of each interview for an initial assessment of the data obtained and to capture the respondents' body language and other indicators, which would otherwise not be captured in the audio-recording. Some interviews (N=13) were conducted in a professional setting; that is, at the offices of media organisations such as the New Delhi Television Limited ("NDTV"), a private Indian media organisation popular for its English and Hindi news broadcasts in India, and the BBC's office in London. Other interviews (N=21) were conducted in less formal spaces, such as cafés or the respondents' personal offices. The benefit of conducting most interviews in less

formal settings was to receive the respondents' undivided attention, and not be interrupted by their colleagues. A few interviews (N=5) with respondents in the UK were conducted using the video-based networking platform Skype, as they were travelling on assignments and unable to meet in person.

The strategy of conducting qualitative interviews as the primary method for this research originates from the nature of the research questions this study undertakes. These questions seek to produce viewpoints, impressions, convictions, interpretations of the Indian and the UK war correspondents during their coverage of the four wars mentioned in this thesis. The data generated as a result of the interviews conducted could otherwise not have been obtained and analysed. Research within the social sciences view qualitative methods of inquiry as productive. Interviews are considered as a competent tool to generate data that meaningfully captures the viewpoints of those who are interviewed. The constructionist model views knowledge via interviews as "constructed and generated through the interview process" – resulting from the communication between the researcher and those participating in it, as opposed to knowledge being uncovered and detected (Mason 2002; Charmaz 2006; Kvale & Brinkmann 2009.

Bryman's explanation of the approach was followed in the choice of semi-structured interviews (2001). The researcher developed a guide for interviews which included topics that had to be covered during the interviews with the respondents. The guide allowed for a degree of flexibility – to pursue the topics of interest based on responses elicited by the interviewees, as well as to articulate questions based on interviewees' specific experiences and backgrounds. The majority of the questions asked were common across respondents, however, some questions were unique to respondents based on their experience during the wars. To reiterate, in addition to obtaining responses to formulated questions, semi-structured interviews allowed for adaptability and receptiveness to reflect and investigate various issues and aspects that surfaced during the interviews. While the respondents were free to raise specific issues that were important to them but not directly covered under the researcher's questions, the interview guide was an important tool to keep the respondents from digressing from the topics.

Silverman (2007) points out that "interviews give us direct access to people's perceptions" (p. 51), and for this study, perceptions and interpretations form the framework of analysis and are the core of the research design. Berger (2001) notes that interviews "provide us with information that we cannot obtain any other way" (p. 113). Kvale (1996) describes the semi-structured interview as "an interview whose purpose is to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect of interpreting the meaning of the described phenomenon" (pp. 5-6). He argues that qualitative research interviews present an opportunity for the researcher to understand something from the interviewee's perspective, and in their own words, to uncover the meaning of their experiences. However, Kvale notes an interview is not merely a conversation, as in an everyday exchange of views, but "a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge". Further, since this study is based on journalists' perceptions of their roles within a war, it demanded a method that would allow insights into the journalists' environment, including their work, personal lives and individual perspectives.

Journalists see themselves as independent professionals, free of media, political or corporate allegiances, or as part of media organisations that are dependent on political or military structures and have a direct impact on the boundaries within which journalists can work and the lines of enquiry they must follow. Therefore, semi-structured interviews with practicing journalists was decided as the most suitable method of enquiry, aimed at understanding the evolving journalistic culture throughout the period of the four wars mentioned earlier.

A snapshot of the 39 respondents is presented in figures 3A and 3B below.

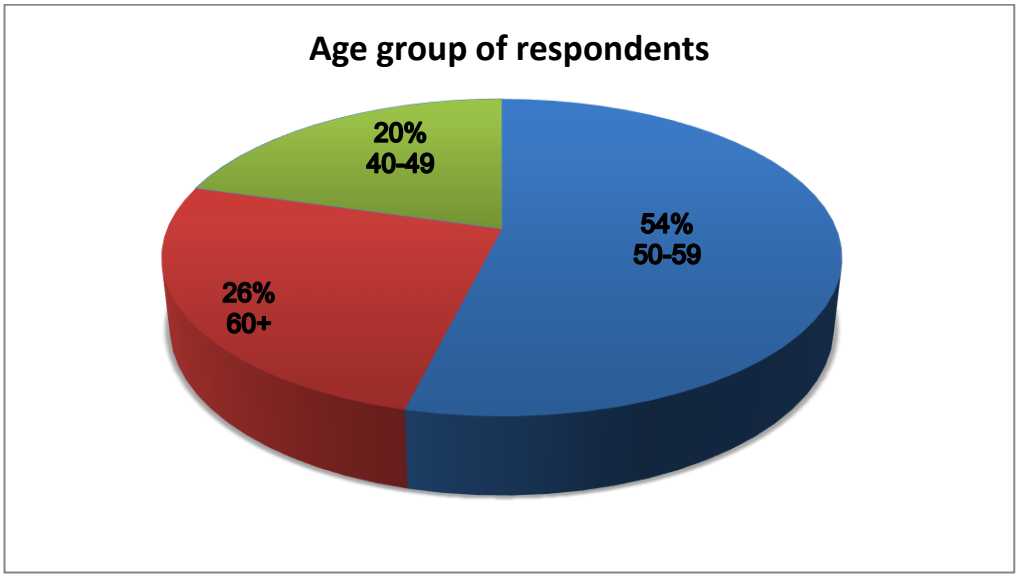
Figure 3-A: Respondent name, country of residence and medium of journalism

Respondent number	Respondent name	Medium of coverage of war	Country of residence
1	Anthony Loyd	Print	UK
2	Caroline Hawley	Broadcast	UK
3	Caroline Wyatt	Broadcast	UK
4	Catherine Philp	Print	UK
5	Christina Lamb	Print	UK
6	Frank Gardner	Broadcast	UK
7	Ian Pannell	Broadcast	UK
8	Jonny Dymond	Broadcast	UK
9	Jeremy Bowen	Broadcast	UK
10	Jim Muir	Broadcast	UK
11	John Simpson	Broadcast	UK
12	John Pilger	Print and broadcast	UK
13	Kate Adie	Broadcast	UK
14	Kim Sengupta	Broadcast	UK
15	Lindsey Hilsum	Broadcast	UK
16	Martin Bell	Broadcast	UK
17	Martin Patience	Broadcast	UK
18	Orla Guerin	Broadcast	UK
19	Patrick Cockburn	Print	UK
20	Paul Wood	Broadcast	UK
21	Quentin Sommerville	Broadcast	UK
22	Vaughan Smith	Broadcast	UK
23	Ajmal Jami	Broadcast	India
24	Barkha Dutt	Broadcast	India
25	Ajith Pillai	Print	India
26	Gaurav Sawant	Print	India
27	Harinder Baweja	Print	India
28	Nitin Gokhale	Print	India
29	Prashant Panjiyar	Print	India
30	Praveen Swami	Print	India
31	Rajesh Joshi	Print	India
32	Richa Pant	Broadcast	India

Respondent number	Respondent name	Medium of coverage of war	Country of residence
33	Samiran Saha	Broadcast	India
34	Sankarshan Thakur	Print	India
35	Shekhar Gupta	Print	India
36	Srinjoy Chowdhury	Print	India
37	Sujan Dutta	Print	India
38	Faisal Ali	Print	India
39	Vishnu Som	Broadcast	India

In their interviews, all 39 respondents presently (as of 2016) across age-groups 40-49, 50-59 and 60+ years, from India and the UK, made some form of comparison between their early reporting years, when they had just started reporting from war zones without any prior experience, and their later years, becoming experts at handling their surroundings in the zone of war.

Figure 3-B: Respondents' age group at the time of the interview (as of 2016)



Experiences and perception of their early careers and the comparisons drawn by the India and UK respondents are important for this research as they shed light on their evolving self-perception and journalistic practices. Further, it was found that respondents also made demarcations through the medium they covered the wars. For instance, respondents from India working in print media at the time, claimed the Kargil war (1999) was covered in an impressionistic and exaggerated manner by broadcast reporters in India. Therefore, the medium of reporting became important in shaping journalists' normative ideas and professional practices as the research will demonstrate below.

3.6 Researcher's background

The research method of semi-structured interviews was also chosen for this study because of the researcher's experiences as a journalist in New Delhi and Mumbai, a south-western city in India and

popularly referred to as India's financial capital, having reported on several internal conflicts (in the conflict-ridden states of Chattisgarh, in central-east India, and Jammu and Kashmir, a union territory in the north of India). Reporting on a range of different topics, including crime, civil aviation, health and Indian politics, and working with a variety of journalists have given the researcher valuable experience and skills in interviewing. From a wealth of practice as an interviewer, having conducted numerous interviews throughout her career as a journalist, the researcher deemed one-on-one semi-structured interviews as the most appropriate means to build rapport with the respondents, who are generally busy individuals and hard to gain access to, either by virtue of their seniority in the profession and/or because they often do not respond to requests or decline to take part in academic research. From the researcher's experience, having expressed their verbal or written commitment to an interview, such elite participants are considered most likely to talk openly, honestly and at length when meeting face-to-face, thus providing comprehensive accounts of their experiences.

3.7 Research ethics

As Fontana and Frey (2008) argue, "because the objects of inquiry in interviews are humans, extreme care must be taken to avoid any harm to them" (p. 142). The research ethics application form, mandated by the University of Sheffield, was approved by the research supervisor and ethics committee. The researcher followed the University of Sheffield's procedures in this regard. Anonymity was granted to respondents where it was requested; however, all respondents consented to be identified, except one respondent who requested anonymity for a particular response, rather than the entire interview.

3.8 Researcher's position, reflexivity

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, p. 14) argue that it is vital to identify the "reflexive character of social research": in other words, to identify that we are part of the social world we study (Gouldner 1970; Borhek and Curtis 1975; Hammersley 1992). They insist that researchers should embrace their common-sense knowledge rather than reject it, but at the same time bear in mind this knowledge might be wrong and must be questioned when there is doubt. It is possible to derive hypotheses from the researcher's own cultural knowledge, which should then be tested and compared to more data. "They are hypotheses subject to evaluation against the evidence currently available and against further evidence that will become available in the future" (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983, p. 17). They further emphasise that efforts to remove the effects of the researcher are pointless and point out the focus should instead be on understanding those effects.

It is very important to stress, however, that the researcher was constantly aware of her bias as a former journalist in India, being familiar with the background of the India-based respondents and their coverage of the Kargil war, throughout the research process, including the collection of data, subsequent analysis and presentation of the findings. Finally, Corbin and Strauss (2008, p. 31), offers a very useful guide to reflexivity as a tool to: (1) examine the position of the researcher; (2) gain understanding of personal

responses and dynamics between the researcher and participants; (3) evaluate the whole research process, including the methods and findings; and (4) ensure transparency by keeping a log of all research decisions to ensure the integrity of the research. To prevent the research from becoming an account of the researcher's opinions, Corbin and Strauss encourage the researcher to record detailed field notes and admit their subjectivity.

To ensure subjectivity and personal values did not affect this study, the researcher took steps to monitor her bias. This included making notes after each interview to record and critically evaluate: a) reactions to what was heard and seen; b) participant observations; c) environmental setting observations that affected the interview and provoked a reaction or feeling in the researcher; d) the researcher's personal feelings and judgments arising during and after each interview; and g) the researcher's self-awareness and assessment of thoughts.

Kvale (2007) notes the qualitative research interview has often been accused of lacking objectivity due to "the human interaction inherent in the interview situation" (p. 67). However, he states the interview can be objective "as a linguistic, interpersonal, interpreting method", which then takes the form of an objective method in the social sciences as opposed to the strategies of the natural sciences, which were cultivated for a space that is for a nonhuman object. Based on this viewpoint, qualitative research interview claims a position of 'privileged access' regarding objective knowledge of the social world. "The interview is sensitive to and reflects the nature of the object investigated; in the interview conversation, the object speaks" (p.67). Kvale also argues the interview is neither objective nor subjective, and "its essence is inter-subjective interaction" (p.67). According to the qualitative research model, the researcher is a vital element of the process and it is impossible to fully separate or distance themselves from the subject or participants even if they try. It is inevitable that some bias will be involved despite attempts to "remove" it.

Corbin and Strauss (2008, p. 32) regard objectivity as a myth in qualitative research because it is impossible for researchers not to implicate their background, knowledge, values and some bias. What they suggest is not focusing on what the researcher is bringing to the research process but on the researcher's sensitivity to what the participants are saying. Sensitivity, according to Corbin and Strauss, means "being able to pick on relevant issues, events and happenings in data" (p. 32) Furthermore, they argue in favour of being able to present the participants' views where the issues and problems are seen from the participants' perspective. The authors insist that strong awareness of the subjectivity involved in data analysis can help the researcher see how they are influencing the findings. It can also remind them to focus on the data and the participants' perceptions rather than their own. Rossman and Rallis (2003, p. 50) make a similar point in relation to reflexivity – it begins with the researcher, but it also involves the study of participants, as they react to the researcher; this captures the "reciprocal reactions" between the researcher and the researched in the setting.

In this study, the researcher makes a conscious effort to behave in a friendly, but not informal fashion, throughout the entire interview. Remaining friendly but distinctly professional with the interviewees was also an important strategy in reassuring them about the research objectives. Using formal language was also a helpful tool to keep a certain distance. In the researcher's favour, journalists did not appear to see her as a potential threat nor as someone on their "side," but as a neutral party. Therefore, the researcher was able to achieve professional distance and objectivity as the participants did not place her in a negative or positive context, thus approaching the interview without any preconceived bias or animosity.

Analytical distance was also important as the researcher was part of the Indian media community and has professional journalistic experience as a print and a broadcast reporter. During subsequent stages of the study, the researcher analysed the data through a personal lens; at the same time emotionally distancing herself from it to ensure the research findings were not overly affected by her own values and judgments. As noted previously, during the fieldwork, the researcher kept a log of the process and made notes after each interview to ensure her reactions, emotional responses and feelings, or useful ideas and hypotheses that emerged, were accurately recorded.

3.9 Design of the interview questions

Obtaining meaningful information is one of the key challenges in qualitative interviewing (Mason 2002; Kvale & Brinkman 2009). This challenge was addressed through – ensuring an alignment between the questions asked during the interview and the research questions of this thesis; and evaluating the interview questions based on information gathered by the researcher on the respondents prior to the actual interviews.

A stratified system of questions was developed for this research to ensure that the interview questions supply the context and facts required to discuss the research questions. Each research question branched into sub-questions also treated as 'guide questions' that was used for developing the core questions of this research. While the main research questions and the guide questions were not intended for the interview process while questioning the interviewees, its function was to communicate the purpose of the interview and to act as a guide for the researcher. It is important to note that core questions did not comprise of all the questions that were asked in the formal interview, as the flexible nature of semi-structure interviews permit impromptu questions depending on the nature of conversation. Some of the interview questions are outlined below to demonstrate the structure of interviews conducted for the two sets of war reporters – India and the UK – who were mostly covering different wars.

Research question 1: To what extent have journalists' role perceptions in the UK and India altered since the 1990s?

Sub-divided guide questions for research question 1:

(1) What are the established role perceptions of a conflict/war reporter in the UK and India? (*Compare and contrast*)

(2) How resilient are these concepts? (*How have they altered and to what extent?*)

(3) To what extent are journalists' role perceptions embedded in the specific cultural context? (*To what extent are the stories journalists tell about themselves shaped by different cultural contexts?)*

Core interview questions for research question 1:

(1) How did you get into journalism? Was it a matter of choice or chance?

(2) How did combat/conflict/war journalism come about in your career? Was it something planned or by chance?

(3) How do you handle the uncertainty, danger and risks attached to this kind of reporting?

(4) Do you feel fear while covering conflicts/wars? When travelling to cover a war or conflict, what are your concerns? What is the thought process when you are packing your bag for a war zone?

(5) There are many other beats within journalism – politics, sports, features, etc. – why did you stick with a beat that has its list of obvious concerns?

(6) What does your family think about your line of work? Do they worry a lot about your safety? How do they handle it?

Justification: The interview questions intended to delve into the perceptions of journalists in India and the UK involved in war reporting. The researcher's use of open-ended question as mentioned below was done with the aim of encouraging the interviewees to share their personal wisdom and experiences connected to the research question. The researcher was interested in the self-image of the war reporter; therefore, the questions were designed to probe the experiences and choices made by the journalist to become a war reporter. This research is aware the process of piecing the various perceptions of the war reporter does not solely happen in the war zone but also in their private life. Hence, question six addresses the role of the respondent's family and the impact of their choice of profession on their personal life.

Research question 2: How has the *practice* of war reporting in the UK and India altered since 1999?

Sub-divided guide questions to research question 2:

(1) How have traditional journalistic routines adapted to the changing environments of war?

(2) What specific news gathering activities have the UK reporters used, covering the conflicts in Kosovo (1998), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003)?

(3) What specific news gathering activities have the Indian reporters used, covering the conflict in Kargil (1999)?

(4) How have structures of access changed across these conflicts?

(5) To what extent have the strategic priorities of the UK and India impacted the *process* and *product* of war reporting in this period?

Core interview questions for research question 2:

(1) What are your memories regarding the first war you covered?

(2) When Kargil/Kosovo/Iraq/Afghanistan happened, at what stage were you in your career? How did your choice to cover the war come about?

(3) Can you describe getting to the war zone? How did you travel? What do you remember of that journey?

(4) Once you were in the war zone, where did you sleep and eat; who did you stay with; how did you move around within the war zone?

(4.1) How do you view embedding? Do you think it is alright for journalists and soldiers to be within close quarters in a war zone?

(4.2) How do you view unilateral journalism? Is it practical?

(5) Were all the journalists who went to cover the war grouped together or mostly moving about as they liked?

(6) How was your relationship with the Indian/British/American/Kurdish/Iraqi troops and officers?

(7) What was your experience of sharing the war zone with the military?

(8) Kargil was India's own war, a war that mostly journalists describe as a forced war on India by Pakistan. Keeping the history of the two countries in mind, did that make you doubt your own storytelling skills? Did you consciously think of your role within the war zone? What does the term "objectivity" mean to you in the context of war reporting?

(9) UK was a major ally during the Iraq intervention with heavy participation of British soldiers. Did you happen to interact with them? What was it like? How did you feel interacting with the men and women of your own country in a foreign land so far from home, and more importantly in a war zone such as Iraq? How did they treat you and vice versa?

(10) War zones are unreliable, unsafe places. You are meeting young men and women in uniform every day, some of whom might not make it back. Did you ever think like that? How did that make you feel? Was there any incident or interaction with the military that you can remember, only if you are comfortable talking about it?

(11) What kinds of stories did you do from the war zone?

(12) Who were your main sources for stories from the war zone? Where there any other sources geographically out of the war zone in your stories? If yes, can you please mention those sources.

(13) What kind of relationship did you have with your fellow war reporters? Did you help each other and share information from the war zone? Did your colleagues also act as your sources in the war zone and vice versa?

(14) How do you feel when you finish covering a war and go home? Does the nature of your job in any way impact your personal life?

(15) Was any safety training provided by your organisation before they sent you to these assignments? If yes, how helpful was this? If not, why not? How should matters of safety be taken by media organisations in relation to conflict coverage?

(16) God forbid, if there is a war tomorrow, will you go and cover it?

Justification: The interview questions were aimed to explore the respondents' various newsgathering and storytelling processes from their respective war zones. The interviewees were encouraged to share their experiences and knowledge of various journalistic practices used from the war zones (refer to the first, second, third and fourth questions listed above). However, as this research is aware, like any kind of reporting, war reporting does not happen in isolation; questions four, five, six and seven listed above encouraged the interviewee to give detailed descriptions of those around them and the nature of the relationship forged with other stakeholders within the war zone. Questions eight to 12 further helped the researcher understand the respondents' various role perceptions, covering specific wars where their countries were involved. Interviewees were encouraged to describe their experiences and expand on the kinds of stories they produced from those war zones. Finally, the remaining questions encouraged the interviewees to illustrate their rich experiences from the war zone and explain if these impacted them personally or professionally. Through this, the researcher was further able to understand the choices made by the respondents when choosing newsgathering and storytelling methods.

3.10 The means of analysing qualitative data

This study draws upon qualitative research method as its main method of analysis therefore making it crucial to provide the approach used for the analysis of the data collected. Qualitative data in its original form cannot be analysed and frequently necessitates the method of encoding as noted by Miles and

Huberman (1994). This study uses semi-structured interviews as the main method to collect data hence making data analysis critical for this research. Scholars (Byrne, 2004; Rapley, 2004) suggest that raw transcripts do not provide prompt explanations of facts and events. What is more, it is essentially a description of experiences of the interviewees that does not reveal their perspective and beliefs, making it necessary to uncover their accurate meaning. Therefore, a fitting approach for deciphering and examining the qualitative data is fundamental for this research. Different strategies have been suggested by scholars for the purpose of examining raw data from interviews. For instance, according to Mason (2002) the interview transcripts in the form of their raw content must be encoded by going through each sentence in order to gain the true meaning of what is being said by the interviewees. A more comprehensive approach is put forth by Silverman (2006) for examining the data produced from the interviews. For the purpose of analysing interviews, he advocates the use of three points of view – positivism, emotionalism and constructionism. Each of the views specialises in distinctive elements of an interview. Positivism highlights the ability of an interview to produce data from acknowledged information about the world; in comparison, emotionalism as a perspective shifts its aims from gaining objective information to extracting "authentic accounts of subjective experience". Finally, Constructionism offers a scrutiny of positivism and emotionalism for their failure in acknowledging that the accounts provided by interviewees signify a part of the representation of the actual world as opposed to the only representation present. Whereas positivist and emotionalist perspectives view the constructionist approach as refuting the importance of treating interviews as data which can uncover other realities. Furthermore, Constructionism is criticised as a strategy wherein it is unable to find answers to "what" questions like positivism and emotionalism. The study by Mason and Silverman is helpful in the ways to analyse the interview transcripts, where the means to approach facts, beliefs and opinions is through encoding and compressing the raw data from the transcripts. The research approaches mentioned above are not without certain drawbacks – the recommendations regarding examining information collected through qualitative interviews tend to detach the research method of interviews from the theoretical structure that contributes towards the background for determining areas connected to the research work. It is vital to acknowledge the importance of previous studies and the guidance they provide **(**Byrne, 2004; Mason, 2002; Rapley, 2004; Silverman, 2006) without which many research topics would not be able to develop grounded theory – an idea that is disregarded by various scholars including Mason and Silverman. What is more, the proposed methods – positivism, emotionalism and constructionism for analysing the interview transcripts is not without its set of limitations. An interview is an amalgamation of both positivist and emotionalism method where it concerns itself with set questions in its former method and open-ended questions in the latter. In doing so it highlights the limitations of examining the raw data using any one of the three methods. A suitable way forward towards data examination would enable a link between the earlier scholarly research that provides its basis of the theoretical framework and the encoded data as found through the field work of the researcher. For such a connect it is crucial to develop a coding scheme that manages the method

for examining qualitative data. Development of a coding scheme is the first step towards handling the raw data generated through interviews, Seale (2004) notes,

> The initial stage when faced with an interview transcript, or with a set of notes describing observations, or some other qualitative material, is to develop a set of codes that both reflect the initial aims of the research project and take into account any unexpected issues that have emerged during data collection. That is to say, a coding scheme emerges both deductively from pre-existing concerns, questions and hypotheses, and inductively from the data itself (p. 313)

Seale insists on a development of a coding scheme which incorporates earlier research that is relevant to topic in concern. A view that is supported only moderately by Mason and Silverman. It is argued that thematic analysis proves to be an important means of methodically arranging qualitative data (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Boyatzis, 1998; Seale, 2004). The premise upon which this argument rests are as follows. According to Boyatzis (1998) thematic analysis is one of the foremost and commonly utilised methodologies in social science research where it is viewed as a trustworthy way of examining qualitative data by researchers belonging to areas of media studies, psychology, sociology, etc. Furthermore, as claimed by Miller and Crabtree (1999) the methodology can be adopted by any qualitative research irrespective of its tradition, (case study, phenomenological, ethnography etc) ontology and epistemology in order to examine and make sense of data. As Seale (2004) notes that thematic analysis not only explains the work of the researchers but also authorises legitimacy to their method of data encoding. What is more, Boyatzis (1998) notes that such a methodology permits the coding process to be informed by the “themes” that are produced with the help of earlier studies or through the raw data of the interview transcripts. The method’s duality comes into existence where it analyses previous theories in a particular research scenario and also assists with producing fresh data that enhances previous scholarly understanding and develops theories that are original. A component of the theoretical background present in this thesis has to do with research on the western media. It is therefore required to include theory-driven and data-driven approach to not only assess the relevance of previous studies in a specific Indian framework but also to potentially contribute towards more theories that are derived from a recent compilation of fresh data.

As indicated by Boyatzis (1998), an efficient thematic code should consist of five components to permit “the maximum probability of producing high inter-rate reliability and validity” (p. 31). The components are as below:

> 1) A name, 2) a meaning of what the topic concerns, 3) a depiction of how to know when the topic happens, 4) a portrayal of any capability or prohibition to the ID of the subject, and 5) models, both positive and negative, to kill conceivable disarray when searching for the topic (p. 31).

The analysis was conducted using manual methods. The researcher did not use any computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software program. While the manual procedure is time-consuming, it has been

noted that software programs centre the researcher around the software rather than the data itself (Bazeley and Jackson 2013 p. 92). As pointed by Graue and Walsh (1998),

> "Touch the data…Handling the data gets additional data out of memory and into the record. It turns abstract information into concrete data" (p. 145).

3.11 Development of the coding sheet

Coding can be understood as an examining technique that does not entail the use of algorithms or formulas. It is considered to be the first step in conducting an accurate investigation and explanation as suggested by Saldaña (2013). Pointing towards the exercise of coding he says that it is a cyclical act that rarely ensures accuracy in its first cycle of data coding. However, a repetition of the coding which brings it to a second and subsequently third cycle accomplishes, separates and identifies noticeable aspects of the data at hand, aiding the process of producing themes, categories, meanings and new theories. To code is to arrange data in a systematic order, where its essence lies in reducing the data without losing its meaning. Coding leads to capturing the significant ideas or issues within the data that address the research questions. Saldaña argues in favour of qualitative codes and describes them to be fundamental in a research as they pick up the substantial aspects of the data. This can be achieved through the process of assembling codes that are similar or share a common pattern that helps generating classifications and examination of the way they are connected. According to Bernard (2011) this approach allows the researcher to combine and arrange similar codes into classifications or "families" that are common in nature hence suggesting the onset of a pattern. It is therefore important to point towards the iterative process; meaning, a systematic, repetitive and recursive process that is followed in the analysis of the qualitative data.

Each of the 39 audio-recorded interviews with the India- and UK-based war reporters were transcribed by the researcher. Subsequently, the transcribed interviews were reviewed and edited for accuracy (matching the transcript with the audio recordings) before being available for coding or analysis. These interview transcripts, also referred to as the raw data, required coding to identify the themes within.

In the coding of the data, the researcher was mindful of the pre-existing labels that were part of this research from the beginning. For instance, the research sets out a framework within which certain concepts – such as the field theory, objectivity, journalism of attachment, embedding and unilateral journalism – were identified as useful and necessary for the study on war reporters, as also highlighted within the literature review section. The semi-structured interviews with 39 respondents also incorporated these concepts within the questions, to gauge the participants' responses through narrative accounts. The first cycle of coding included the pre-existing concepts (from the literature review and semi-structured interviews) and converting them into codes. Each of the 39 interview transcripts were read individually, and codes were assigned against the narrative accounts. For instance, where the narrative accounts included discussions on objectivity, or a reference to the respondent's views on the concept, the code "OBJ" was assigned and marked on the transcript.

Similarly, where there was reference to journalism of attachment, the code “JOA” was entered next to the text on the transcript. Embedding and unilateral journalism were assigned the code “MMR” on the interview transcripts. This will be further clarified through the explanation of the coding sheet, which was subsequently developed by the researcher.

The objective of developing a coding sheet was to break down the large amount of information available in a narrative form (as raw data) into different, easily recognisable categories, with details in each category entered by the researcher in the form of codes – short sentences or 1-3 words to describe a phenomenon, event or description – to bring out similarities and differences between the participants' responses in each category. For this purpose, a coding sheet was developed after several readings of the raw data, working and then re-working the coding sheet, so it closely represented the respondents' views. The categories in the coding sheet were developed based on respondents' views across the concepts of objectivity, journalism of attachment, role perceptions, etc., and through a review of their responses regarding the questions that were posed to them. This is discussed at length below.

The second cycle of coding consisted of categorisation of the various codes (through reference, occurrences, frequencies and emotion coding), as identified by the researcher. The coding of the data was done through an iterative sequence of actions, where a segment of data was selected, conceptualised, and tagged or labelled with meaningful codes. This sequence was executed multiple times in the same way.

After a first version of the coding sheet was prepared, it was observed that respondents did not provide the same amount of detail in relation to each of the wars they discussed during the interview. Hence, to accurately cover each respondents' views on the wars they discussed, the researcher developed multiple coding sheets – each representing views of several respondents in relation to one war. The Iraq war was discussed by the majority of the UK respondents, followed by the Afghanistan war. This process allowed the researcher to observe trends in responses (found within the stories and events described by the respondents) under each category for the wars and further correlate observations across categories and the wars. Therefore, the same respondent can be found in several coding sheets, depending on which wars they discussed and the depth they provided in relation to each war. Where a trend – be it a similarity or difference in view – was observed, to present details in relation to the findings within the thesis, the researcher went back to the raw data to extract suitable portions of the interview. This is discussed further below.

The final coding sheet (attached with this document – as a spreadsheet – is provided as a hyperlink to Google Drive in Appendix F) was developed after several iterations, depending on the nature of information the raw data brought forth. Prior to arriving at the final coding sheet in spreadsheet format, the researcher hand-coded the views of the 22 UK respondents across the Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq wars. The hand-coded versions are also attached as hyperlinks to Google Drive under Appendix G. Refining the hand-coded version for accuracy and conciseness, the researcher referred to the raw

data for each respondent (attached as hyperlinks to Google Drive under Appendix H) before arriving at the spreadsheet (final) version of the coding sheet. Once the coding sheet was finalised, it captured the following information:

- The name of wars discussed by each respondent during the interview. While the aim was to cover the Kosovo (1998), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) wars for the UK respondents and the Kargil (1999) war for the India respondents, respondents voluntarily shared their experiences of other wars and not all UK respondents covered the three wars that are the subject of this research. Hence, the researcher first coded the names of the wars that each respondent discussed during the interview.

- A master coding sheet with the objective of capturing all respondents' information on one sheet across the various interview themes, including respondent profiles, their views on embedding, their relationship with the military, their views regarding different stakeholders in the war and views on objectivity. However, capturing detail was unmanageable in the master coding sheet, given the multiple wars each respondent spoke about; this meant having several rows of information for each respondent, each row depicting details of one war; and the respondent's feedback across wars also varied significantly. To counter these issues, the researcher broke down the coding sheet by war.

- Four coding sheets were developed – each representing one war – and, within each war, the researcher coded the views of those respondents who discussed that particular war.

3.11.1 First level coding for each war

Taking the example of the Iraq war, 16 UK respondents discussed the war since they had covered it. The first level coding sheet captures not only their profile, but their views across categories. To make coding as simple as possible so the researcher could easily identify trends – similarities and differences in respondents' views – simple and consistent codes were used for all respondents, and in several places, a yes or no response was coded.

Using the Iraq war coding sheet as an example, the following information points were captured for each of the 16 respondents:

- **Theme or category discussed during the interview:** Information points captured in coding sheet – *codes assigned*.

Similarly, the information points below represent only some of the major categories the coding sheet attempts to capture. For the full coding sheet, refer to **Appendix F**.

- **Profile of respondent:** Does the respondent have a previous military background – *yes/no*; Position of reporting – *embed/unilateral/mix of both*; If embed, with which military was the respondent embedded – *British/American/other*

- **Views on embedding:** Three key views of the respondent – *short sentence response*; Was embedding restrictive for the respondent – *yes/no/not completely*; Is embedding generally restrictive – *yes/no/not completely*; Which military was the most restrictive in Iraq – *British/ American/other*

- **News gathering methods:** How did the respondent gather news – *military embedded with/ locals/both/other*; Which stakeholders did the respondent have access to – *British troops/ American troops/both/locals/Iraqi government/other*

- **Nature of stories done:** What kinds of stories did the respondent claim to have done – *five-six options for coding based on review of the raw data*

- **Description of military:** Words used to describe the British military – *short sentences or 2-3 words coded for each respondent*; How was the respondent's relationship with the British military during the war – *short sentences or 2-3 words coded for each respondent*

- **Journalism of attachment:** Which stakeholders does the respondent sympathise with – *British troops/American troops/other country troops/own government/locals/Iraqi government/any other*; Which stakeholders does the respondent not sympathise with – *British troops/American troops/other country troops/own government/locals/Iraqi government/any other*; Whether the respondent stood for attachment with war victims – *yes/no/not completely/did not take a stand*; Top three views regarding journalism of attachment – *short sentence*

The first level coding sheet is based entirely on the information available in the raw data. See the Iraq coding sheet extract in Figure 3-C. The first row indicates the information points developed under each category and the second and third rows present the responses of R1, Loyd, and R2, Hawley.

Figure 3-C: Extract of the Iraq coding sheet – depicting some of the information categories

Respondent Number	Name of respondent	Military background of respondent?	War discussed during interview	Position of reporting	Embedded with which military?	Three key views on embedding	Was embedding restrictive for them in that war?	Why?
1	**Loyd**	Yes	Iraq (2003)	Embed	British	Never had a problem with it. Only nomenclature has changed in relation to 'embedding' - its gone on throughout history of journalism - its a trade. Its also important to move around with the military. And now its increasingly difficult to move around because of safety.	No	Claims to understand the British soldiers well. 'Not creeping, crawling around them'
2	**Hawley**		Iraq (2003)	Embed	American and British	Necessary for safety, access is on their terms.2 allows you to view and report on the military. 3. Allows access to a small part and not the whole war. EMBEDDING opened up a window - you could go with Americans - they were keener on showing things - it was necessary to do as it sheds light on what was going on - part of the picture.	Yes	Americans more keen to show you things. More confident about their message. depending on who you embedded with, not so much with the Americans. More managed with the British.

There is, however, some element of subjectivity involved when coding, because the researcher is responsible for making a decision regarding the nature of the responses under each category/ information point discussed during the interview.

3.11.2 Second level coding

The second level of coding was done by analysis of a set of responses presented as codes in each category; hence, also involved a degree of subjectivity by the researcher. For example, under the category "views on embedding," four information points are captured in the coding sheet – (1) **Three key views on embedding**, (2) **Was embedding restrictive for the respondent**, (3) **Is embedding generally restrictive**, and (4) **Which military was the most restrictive**. Based on the responses of all 16 respondents across these four information points, the researcher came up with a fifth column in the coding sheet to depict whether the respondents' views on embedding are positive, negative, positive-neutral or negative-neutral. This analysis and judgment were done in a consistent manner for each respondent.

Figure 3-D: Extract from the Iraq coding sheet to depict second-level coding

A	B	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Respondent Number	Name of respondent	Position of reporting	Embedded with which military?	Three key views on embedding	Was embedding restrictive for them in that war?	Why?	Do they think that embedding is generally restrictive?	Which military was more restrictive and why?	View on embedding (Analysis)
1	**Loyd**	Embed	British	Never had a problem with it. Only nomenclature has changed in relation to 'embedding' - its gone on throughout history of journalism - its a trade. Its also important to move around with the military. And now its increasingly difficult to move around because of safety.	No	Claims to understand the British soldiers well. 'Not creeping, crawling around them'	No. According to Loyd, if reporters approach it with a degree of confidence and common sense, the right attitutde matters.	British	Positive
2	**Hawley**	Embed	American and British	Necessary for safety, access is on their terms.2 allows you to view and report on the military. 3. Allows access to a small part and not the whole war. EMBEDDING opened up a window - you could go with Americans - they were keener on showing things - it was necessary to do as it sheds light on what was going on - part of the picture.	Yes	Americans more keen to show you things. More confident about their message. depending on who you embedded with, not so much with the Americans. More managed with the British.	Yes	British. More suspicipious of the journalists. American more confident about their message during the Iraq war 2003.	Positive

As seen in the figure above, for each respondent, columns A to K are coded according to the raw data. However, column L is based on the researcher's analysis of the data in columns E to K and, in the case of these two respondents, has been assigned the code "positive."

3.12 Coding role perceptions of British and Indian war reporters

One of the most important goals of this study is to determine and classify the ways in which war reporters' (from India and the UK) role perceptions have altered since 1990. To answer this research question, it was pertinent for the researcher to understand how war reporters perceive themselves in a war zone.

The literature review (Chapter 2) presents a historical overview of war reporters. Commentators like Marsh's (2010) description of "trails of glory" describing war reporters and their self-perception indicates a certain way of looking at those who cover wars. McLaughlin (2002, 2016) gives a detailed description of various British war reporters who explain their attraction to the field of war reporting. Interviewees responded to this question in exceptionally different ways. When respondents' responses were categorised in the coding sheets, the researcher found four main ways in which role perceptions of war reporters can be categorised: 1) Privileged position of witnessing history being made; 2) Telling relevant stories of human suffering and extreme realities; 3) Natural risk takers looking for adventure, glory and glamour; and 4) Willingness to sacrifice personal relationships and comfort for war reporting – "a calling, not a job."

Based on the respondents' responses regarding why they chose war reporting over other genres of reporting, the category of motivation was included in the coding sheet. Within this category, responses indicating the reasons why participants continued to cover wars – be it a means to do meaningful stories, give voice to victims of extreme realities such as death and destruction, or the personal sacrifices involved within the genre of war reporting – were coded as phrases or single or multiple words.

Respondents' related imagery, analogies and discourse for each war were also coded under this category, albeit in a separate column. Similarly, descriptions of the war zone, victims, local people and their culture were coded under a different category – geography, including descriptions of the way they viewed the war zone, country, culture, local food, local people and victims.

Figure 3-E below illustrates how respondents' views were coded for role perceptions.

Figure 3-E: Extract from the Iraq coding sheet depicting respondents 1 and 2's views on role perception

A	AG	AH	AI	AJ	AK	AL	AM
Respondent Number	How did they describe their job in Iraq	Job motivations	How do they describe the war - imagery, analogy, discourse	Demotivations	How do they describe the other war reporters?	Positive words/ adjectives used to describe war reporters	Negative words/ adjectives used to describe war reporters
1	Learn to manage fear in a reasonable way. Description of Basra Palace.	I have known wars all my life, prior to this I was in the military. I understand the environment quite well, have had a relationship with it. Been doing it for 20-23 years, in the military five years before this.	Frontlines are active and quiet. Syria and Chechnya - the extremes. Wars are controlled by the dynamics of chaos. Iraq War was highly controlled during the occupation - till 2005. Then control was less, press minders less. 2009 was a bloody year - Brits did everything to win a situation through whatever means.		Far more personal and acute than before.		
2		Tell stories of people going through hard times - wanted the world to know their stories; she was interested in human rights organisations and development works. Witnessing history first hand - I really felt that we were doing that through broadcast aftermath of the war - a monumental thing - something that will have repercussions around the middle east - watching history unfold - fantastic.	Went to Iraq before the war and then got kicked out. Desperate to go back. Saw the statue fall on TV - went back on her own - driving around. Exciting to cover wars - both exhausting and depleted adrenaline - so many bombs going off - daily occurrences. Summon the energy, emotionally, physically draining. Saw bloated bodies of woman suicide bombers - did 2-3 embeds with the Brits in Basra. BASRA life became more constricted post 2003. It became dangerous, kidnapping started. Our movements were curtailed quite a bit. Early days when movement wasn't restricted, journalists could see mass graves being dug up - people were openly talking about what is happening - people who were silent for 30 years were talking openly - watching history unfold.	Emotionally, physically draining. PTSD - imagery about a man running down a corridor with his 5 year old son whose legs had been blown off.	Reporters sometimes pressed for telling a different story.		

Additionally, the coding process for Afghanistan, Kosovo and Kargil is explained in Appendixes C, D and E, respectively.

See figures 3-F, 3-G, 3-H and 3-I 7 for extracts of the coding sheet for Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq and Kargil. The top-most row in the figure depicts the various information points/categories that were coded with the views of each respondent. For full coding sheets on each war, refer to Appendix F.

Figure 3-F: Coding sheet extract for Kosovo (1998)

Respondent Number	Name of respondent	Military background of respondent?	War discussed during interview	Position of reporting	Embedded with which military?	Three key views on embedding	Was embedding restrictive for them in that war?	Why?	Do they think that embedding is generally restrictive?	Which military was more restrictive and why?	View on embedding (Analysis)	How did they gather news?	Which stakeholders did they have access to and hence used as sources?	How do they view/describe the British military?
3	**Wyatt**	No	Kosovo (1998)	Unilateral	Neither	1. Long lasting friendships out of the Kosovo military experience.	N/A	The NATO forces allowed the journalists in Kosovo to cover the aftermath of the massacre. Went in with the German army into Kosovo.	Yes, to an extent		Positive-neutral	Mostly victims and NATO forces.	Serbian victims and Kosova Albanian victims.	
8	**Dymond**	No	Kosovo (1998)											
9	**Bowen**	No	Kosovo (1998)	Unilateral	Neither	It is restrictive. Allows for a narrow focus.	N/A		Yes	N/A	Negative	Eyewitness reports and talking to civilians	Civilians	
11	**Simpson**	No	Kosovo (1998)	Unilateral	Neither		N/A	N/A						

Figure 3-G: Coding sheet extract for Afghanistan (2001)

Respondent Number	Name of respondent	Military background of respondent?	War discussed during interview	Position of reporting	Embedded with which military?	Three key views on embedding	Was embedding restrictive for them in that war?	Why?	Do they think that embedding is generally restrictive?	Which military was more restrictive and why?	View on embedding (Analysis)	How did they gather news?	Which stakeholders did they have access to and hence used as sources?	How do they view/describe the British military?	How was their relationship with the British military during that war?
3	**Wyatt**	No	Afghanistan (2001)	Embed	British	Lack of interpreters; moving with soldiers on patrol for access			Yes		Positive-neutral				
4	**Philp**	No	Afghanistan (2001)	Unilateral, briefly with Afghan army	Briefly moved around with Afghan army	It was very restrictive.	Yes	The pooling system as it was called, did not allow much access to the frontline.	Yes	British	Negative	Afghan military and other civilian sources. At times the American military.	civilians , soldiers Afghan and American.	Controlling	Not involved
5	**Lamb**	No	Afghanistan (2001)	Embed	Americans, British, Canadians.	1. Felt a lot less safe as an embed as the patrols were constantly attacked and land mines were used to ambush the military vehicles.	Yes	Safety reasons.	Yes	N/A	Negative	American troops and Afghan civilians and eyewitness reports.	American troops.	N/A	N/A

Figure 3-H: Coding sheet extract for Iraq (2003)

Respondent Number	Name of respondent	Military background of respondent?	War discussed during interview	Position of reporting	Embedded with which military?	Three key views on embedding	Was embedding restrictive for them in that war?	Why?	Do they think that embedding is generally restrictive?	Which military was more restrictive and why?	View on embedding (Analysis)	How did they gather news?	Which stakeholders did they have access to and hence used as sources?	How do they view/describe the British military?	How was their relationship with the British military during that war?
1	**Loyd**	Yes	Iraq (2003)	Embed	British	Never had a problem with it. Only nomenclature has changed in relation to 'embedding' - its gone on throughout history of journalism - its a trade. Its also important to move around with the military. And now its increasingly difficult to move around because of safety.	No	Claims to understand the British soldiers well. 'Not creeping, crawling around them'	No. According to Loyd, if reporters approach it with a degree of confidence and common sense, the right attitude matters.	British	Positive		British soldiers	Uptight, restrictive, far less appealing. Yong boys serving their country.	Well versed with the army as former military himself. Strong sense of familiarity with the military world. 'Straight up and honest'- is reciprocated. Without striking the right balance with the military; no scope in war reporting.
2	**Hawley**		Iraq (2003)	Embed	American and British	Necessary for safety, access is on their terms.2 allows you to view and report on the military. 3. Allows access to a small part and not the whole war. EMBEDDING opened up a window - you could go with Americans - they were keener on showing things - it was necessary to do as it sheds light on what was going on - part of the picture.	Yes	Americans more keen to show you things. More confident about their message depending on who you embedded with, not so much with the Americans. More managed with the British.	Yes	British. More suspicious of the journalists. American more confident about their message during the Iraq war 2003.	Positive	Soldiers and Iraqi victims. Especially, children and women. Interested in how the war was affecting Iraqi people.	Iraqi civilians. American and British soldiers.	A bit more controlling. Feels sympathy for the soldiers.	It's a necessary requirement for access to parts of war zone where the journalist cannot go unassisted.
3	**Wyatt**	No	Iraq (2003)	Embed	British	1. Embedding is restrictive to a degree as it intimidates civilians talking to journalists who travel with armed soldiers. but an essential part of war reporting. 2. access to certain parts of war zone impossible without embedding 3. Military is keen to get its message out, so a level of propaganda at work. Generally, it's not easy to be covering a war when your own military is involved, as there is a level of attachment involved especially if you are living and moving with them.	Not totally	Iraq was a dangerous war zone, hence patrols were the only safe way to cover the war, but it intimidated civilians who viewed the journalists as an extension of the coalition army. 2, it is difficult to be completely unattached in case of one's own country being involved in war.3. Had to sign the Green Book which allowed the MOD to look into reports beforehand it was filed.	Yes, to an extent	British a bit more suspicious than Americans.	Positive-neutral	British troops experience in Iraq.	Coalition army, civilians Iraqi to an extent.	Brilliant experience. British armed forces extremely professional and good with journalists. They fed us, took care of us. British forces tried to get the message out regarding the campaign going very well.	Brilliant, professional. Would often have 'interesting' meaning heated discussions when the military tried to use OPSEC as a reason for censorship. 2. Level of attachment natural as one's own country involved in the war. So embedding definitely brought out feelings of attachment.

Figure 3-I: Coding sheet extract for Kargil (1999)

Respondent Number	Name of respondent	Print or broadcast journalist during Kargil?	Military background of respondent?	War discussed during interview	Position of reporting	Three key views on embedding	Was embedding restrictive for them in that war?	Why?	Do they think that embedding is generally restrictive?	View on embedding (Analysis)	Who within the military, political elite and media restricted them the most during Kargil?	How did they gather news?	Which stakeholders did they have access to and hence used as sources?	What is the level of access they got to the military and political elite?	What is the level of access they got to the combat zone?
1	**Baweja, Harinder**	Print	No	Kargil	Embedded with Indian Military	1.Never had a problem with it. 2.Got a lot of access during the war as had worked with the same unit in J&K. was privy to war as it unfolded. 3.Could move freely from one unit to another during the war. Ready made sources in the military as had worked with them for long.	No	No	Somewhat	Positive	no one	Mix of military and soldiers	Indian military	high	High
2	**Gupta, Shekhar**	Print	No	Kargil		1. You can take the army's side as long as they are fighting for a good cause. 2. You still must tell the truth of what you see while you are with them. 3. Reporting yet must be tactical. Telling truth when necessary is also an important part of covering the war.	Not totally.	It was not restrictive for us.	Somewhat	Positive-practical	Political elite and military elite	Mix of military and locals. Kashmiri Police.	Civil administration, police, military.	High- Military. Medium- Political elite.	High.

3.13 Ensuring validity and reliability

Grinnell and Unrau (2007, p. 247) describing the ability of the researcher maintain that they should be both self-aware and knowledgeable of their area of research. The researcher has previously worked as a journalist for eight years and spent at least two years familiarising herself with literature on the subject, hence showcasing considerable experience in conducting interviews and a grasp of the research topic, thus, fulfilling both criteria as mentioned above. According to Rossman and Rallis (2003), "the qualitative researcher's task is to render an account of participants' worldviews as honestly and fully as possible" (p. 65). However, they express caution that the researcher's learnings of the description are their own interpretation. The evaluation of the truth value of the research is conducted by those who read it through the process of relying on various understandings, including the researcher's analysis

that is sufficiently presented within the study. The truth value of the research can then be assessed to determine if they “hold up” or are valid (Rossman & Rallis 2003, p. 65). This study demonstrates the validity of its findings through various phases of the research process with the intention of achieving consistency between the aims and outcomes of the research, as well as the production of findings that can initiate a dialogue with the current literature.

In his guide to research methods, Denscombe (1998) poses an important question that was carefully considered by the researcher: “Is it reasonable to rely on information gathered from a small number of informants?” To explore the India and UK journalists’ understanding of role perception and journalistic practices over a period of the four different wars, the personal experience and accounts of journalists who have continuously reported from a combat/war zone were invaluable. This view is also supported by the fact all interviewees still hold or have held key positions as war reporters in print and broadcast media and gave the researcher elaborate first-hand accounts.

In other words, the journalists interviewed for this study provided privileged and detailed information that people outside war correspondence simply could not. On the issue of sample reliability, Denscombe (1998) stresses “there’s no absolute way of verifying what someone tells you about their thoughts and feelings” (p. 200). Corbin and Strauss (2008) prefer the term “credibility” instead of “validity” in qualitative research. According to the authors,

> the term credibility indicates that findings are trustworthy and believable in that they reflect participants’, researchers’, and readers’ experience with a phenomenon, but at the same time explanation is only one of many possible plausible interpretations possible from data (p. 346).

It must also be stressed the researcher’s goal was not merely to report on events and people’s opinions but to analyse and interpret them in relation to the theoretical and analytical framework.

Corbin and Strauss (2008) contend that credible findings are “trustworthy and believable if they reflect participants', researchers', and readers' experiences with a phenomenon but at the same time the explanation is only one of many ‘plausible’ interpretations possible from data” (p. 44). The strength of a study that is qualitative and explanative cannot depend on reproducibility. In order to assess the credence of findings, they must be presented before experts for evaluation (Pierce, 2008). This study therefore follows the approach within which it aims to achieve verification by presenting its findings. The purpose of these various methods is to ensure uniformity and authenticity of the research findings and the research.

3.14 Conclusion

This chapter illustrated the empirical structure of the thesis, described the scheme for the methodology used within and is positioned on the conceptual framework that guides the researcher to conduct a thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke 2006). This was done by developing a coding approach through examination of the ways through which the 39 war respondents articulated their choices for being a war

reporter – coded as self-images and provided under the theme of motivations. A similar strategy was used to analyse their understanding of occupational practices – coded as objectivity, attachment, military-media relationships, embedding, and story focus – further provided under the theme of practices of war reporters. Finally, their accounts describing the food, landscape and sensory perceptions of the war zones were coded as motifs – provided under the theme of status as they emphasise aspects of their journalistic identity. The chapter also underlined the processes of data collection and analysis for the above and presented the reasoning behind chosen techniques as well as the analytical framework this thesis depends on, paving the way for the presentation of findings in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4.0 Political background to the wars

This chapter sets the political context within which these wars took place. In doing so it provides important political background to the events that the war correspondents interviewed for this research have witnessed. To understand and analyse war reporting journalistic practices and the role perceptions of war correspondents, this research discusses four wars or conflicts covered separately by British and Indian reporters. Furthermore, the chapter traces the cultural shifts that occurred during the period of these wars as a result of the country's foreign policy (UK and India) – that in turn influenced the coverage of the four wars. War correspondents do not operate in isolation and are impacted by both the military and political fields that are closely associated to the field of war reporting. Hence, it is crucial for this thesis to examine the political context of these wars, especially, when the responses received through the interviews conducted for the purposes of this thesis reflected and, in some cases, supported the justifications that were offered by the respective governments for these wars. The first three wars were covered actively by the UK war correspondents, while the fourth was actively covered by the India-based respondents:

- Kosovo (1998-1999)
- Afghanistan (2001 onwards)
- Iraq (2003 onwards)
- Kargil (war between India and Pakistan in 1999)

4.1 Kosovo: A new kind of journalism

The argument that the West finds its purpose lacking in meaning post the Cold War is further emphasised by Laidi (1998) who claims, "the end of Cold War buried two centuries of enlightenment" (p. 1). Simply put, the "West has lost its cohesion because it lost its enemy"; or to put it in postmodernist terms, "one might say the end of Cold War represented a collapse of grand narratives" (p. 8). Laidi refers to this as a "crisis of meaning," which he claims affected Western societies and those who governed them. Hammond (2007), a strong critic of the postmodernist argument, highlights that one of the dominating reasons behind the wars and interventions since the Cold War is the need to revive a "sense of purpose and meaning" by Western leaders for their societies and themselves, leading to an environment that fiercely insists on media output, spectacle and image (p. 11).

It is argued that post-Cold War conflicts can be understood as an instance of "postmodern war" – not due to the emphasis on them being projected as a high-tech media spectacle, but mainly as a need to find its lost sense of purpose and meaning; therefore, addressing the "Western elite's post-Cold War crisis of meaning" (Hammond, 2007, p. 17). Hammond does not entirely dismiss the argument – "that postmodern states undertake intervention for values and fight wars of principles" such as the Kosovo

war – he instead reiterates Laidi's argument that, instead of being led by values and principles, to achieve security, the Western leaders pursue war and intervention with the aim to "forge a sense of shared values and [a] collective project" (p. 27). According to Hammond, "war becomes not the ultimate means to achieve an objective, but the most efficient way of finding one" (p. 27).

The 1990s witnessed the Western elite pursue new meanings within the humanitarian interventions, however they were not alone in this endeavour. Journalists too were committed in a quest for meaning. Continuing the critique of the postmodernist argument, Hammond (2007) points out that the end of the Cold War period also witnessed a shift in journalistic practices and journalism. These post-Cold War conflicts, which were at least in terms of how they were justified by the nation states based on humanitarian grounds, saw a different kind of journalism – rather than journalists being neutral spectators in international conflicts, events and opponents were portrayed in clearly distinguishable ways, such as the "good guys" versus the "bad guys" or "good" versus "evil," and the media was also taking sides with the victims and urging the states to act, giving rise to "journalism of attachment" and "something must be done journalism." Von Oppen (2009) puts forth two principles on which wars tend to be covered – the "bystander" and "journalism of attachment" reporting. While the former refers to a style of reporting that puts objectivity at its heart – maintaining a distance between the story and storyteller, separating personal views, opinions or judgements and providing its audience with only facts relating to the events unfolding, the latter, as coined by war correspondent and former BBC employee Martin Bell, concerns itself with taking a moral position where the reporter covering the war is actively engaged in their surroundings and not afraid to call out the evil. Bell's critique of objectivity is obvious when he advocates the practice of "journalism of attachment" as the right way to cover the suffering, death and destruction that takes place in a war zone. How these concepts influenced journalistic practices has been elucidated later in this chapter.

4.1.1 The Kosovo war and UK foreign policy

The Kosovo conflict (1998-99) witnessed the Kosovar Albanians oppose the Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic's decision to alter the status of the region by taking away its autonomy and directly bringing it under that control of Belgrade, the Serbian capital. The open clash between the ethnic Albanians and ethnic Serbs and the then government of Yugoslavia (former federal state which included the republics of Serbia and Montenegro) resulted in human casualties of more than 1,500 Kosovar Albanians. The widespread attention it gained amongst the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the international community was due to the nature of violence and repression against the ethnic Albanian community which remained in Kosovo; a description provided by refugees who successfully fled the mass execution, rapes, burning and looting of homes and villages, suppression of identity and origins strongly suggesting "abuse of humanitarian rights and international norms of civilised behaviour" (NATO, 1999). The conflict was resolved with the help of NATO's intervention. The air strikes by NATO in March 1999 were followed soon after the failed attempts at diplomatic negotiations in France in February 1999. The period saw further displacement of hundreds of thousands of Albanians from their

homes into Albania, Macedonia and Montenegro by Yugoslav and Serbian forces. The peace agreement signed between the NATO and Yugoslavia was a result of 11 weeks of NATO bombing leading to substantial damage to Serbian infrastructure. The peace treaty agreed on an immediate end to "violence and suppression along with unconditional return of all refugees" and persons that were displaced as a result of the conflict (NATO, 1999). The peacekeeping forces under the United Nations (UN) were deployed in Kosovo with the signing of the Kumanovo Treaty,[9] that directed Yugoslav forces to retreat from Kosovo and further agreed to have an international presence in the region.

The UK saw an end to 18 years of Conservative government making way for the Labour Party which was in spirit rebranded under Tony Blair as the 'New Labour party'. It came into power in 1997 following a thumping victory wherein the Party won 418 seats of the 659 seats in parliament; its greatest electoral majority since 1945.[10] The victory which followed the 1992 election defeat was to a great extent ascribed to policy changes that invigorated the New Labour party. Dunne (2010) claims that not only did 'New Labour' position itself towards the centre of the political spectrum, but the transformation of the Labour party into 'New Labour' could directly be linked to two driving figures – Tony Blair, the Labour prime minister and Alastair Campbell, his press secretary. The foreign policy under 'New Labour' witnessed a marked shift of stance – unlike the "Old Labour" that followed an isolationist strategy in Bosnia, the New Labour subscribed to an interventionist approach therefore becoming integral to NATO's campaign in Kosovo. It was during this time that newly appointed foreign secretary, Robin Cook, the then Foreign Secretary known for his international idealism, argued in favour of following an ethical foreign policy.

This received flak from within the party as it was considered both naive and simplistic. Jonathan Powell, Chief of Staff to the prime minister also regarded as an authority on foreign affairs was a critic of the "ethical foreign policy" suggesting a more 'softer approach' when dealing with powers who abuse human rights – thus having a foreign policy that was not without moral contributions (Dunne, 2010). In search of a new identity for Britain which would mark its departure from a declining imperial power, the Labour leadership ascribed in favour of a foreign policy that found morality at its heart – an opportunity to expand its influence beyond the Commonwealth nations. It was imperative for Britain to become "a force of good in the world" wherein it was seen as promoting human rights, helping the poorest nations by tackling debts and backing progressive multilateral initiatives on the world stage, for instance, the

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9 The treaty commonly known as the military technical agreement between international security force ("KFOR") and the governments of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia ("FRY") and the Republic of Serbia was signed on 9 June 1999 in Kumanovo, Macedonia bringing an end to the conflict. The treaty agreed upon a number of significant provisions which included an immediate end to hostilities and bombing between the involved parties, it further recognised a 25 km air safety zone and 5 km ground safety zone around Kosovo, into the FRY and gaining access required NATO's permission otherwise prohibited to the FRY forces. Furthermore, it was agreed that all military assets in the region – FRY forces including mines, booby traps etc would be withdrawn and information regarding potential hazards would be supplied to the NATO. The United Nations Security Council sanctioned NATO's presence therefore authorising member states and concerned international organisations to keep an the KFOR – security presence till the time the treaty was fully implemented (NATO, 1999).

10 According to a report available with the UK parliament, Labour won 418 seats of the total 659 seats in parliament, making it the largest number of seats the Party won since 1945.

International Criminal Court and the Kyoto Protocol on climate change. The language used in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office mission statement in 1997 stated the above with the purpose of giving Britain an identity of an ethical state." According to Dunne (2010), the Prime Minister argued countries must "fight for values, not for territory" and "we must be prepared to act forcibly when genocide or ethnic cleansing have occurred, when refugee flows threaten international peace and security, and to deal with undemocratic and barbarous regimes" (p. 88).

Article 2.4 of the UN Charter enlists the non-intervention policy wherein, all members must refrain from using threat or force against any state thus it was clear that humanitarian intervention stood in breach of the UN principles as stated above. Tony Blair recognised the importance towards an international consensus which would agree on defining legitimate conduct by the member states. The Kosovo conflict witnessed Blair's "third way" foreign policy strategy come into play where initially reluctant to send British troops to action saw the UK Prime Minister argue in favour of an international doctrine supporting intervention to stop sovereign nations from committing human rights abuse on its own population.

4.1.2 Research on the media coverage of Kosovo

As argued by Knightley (2002), wars like the Falklands, Grenada, Panama and Gulf wars were tightly controlled and censored; however, this was not the case in the 1990s. The relationship between the military and media, especially from the period of the Vietnam war to the Gulf war, was extensively considered as antagonistic, however, that changed to a more symbiotic relationship in the 1990s, where both parties appeared to be working towards common goals (pp. 484-485). The media by the end of the First Gulf War went through a change where it played a vital part in forming an atmosphere within which humanitarianism could be adopted as a promising cause upon which the Western elites could revive their purpose and significance. Conflicts such as Bosnia, Somalia and Kosovo saw the media as broadly supporting the idea of stronger intervention. As Hammond (2007) states, these humanitarian conflicts (Somalia, for example) showed the West was moving towards a new role, which the media (*The Independent*) described as "noble – guarding innocent civilians from the grossest abuses of criminal governments and warlords" (p. 49). Hammond sums this phase of humanitarian interventions and reporting rather succinctly:

> If Western governments had little strategic interest in Somalia, news editors surely had none. But in a sense, they too were trying to find a role for themselves in the new post-Cold War landscape: as professional mediators charged with the task of explaining the world to their audiences, journalists were also responding to the crisis of meaning…The overall approach to international intervention was essentially narcissistic. The sudden interest in "rescuing" Somalia had less to do with the country's actual problems than with the opportunities it seemed to offer Western societies (p. 49).

Several articles and books have dealt with the subject of the conflict in Kosovo with special focus on the way media covered the crisis. Those considered most relevant to this research are discussed immediately below.

Edward Herman along with Philip Hammond are critical of NATO's war in Kosovo and its subsequent coverage in the UK and US media. Their jointly edited book *Degraded Capability: The Media and Kosovo Crisis* includes a chapter, *Third Way War: New Labour, the British Media and Kosovo*, where P. Hammond (2007) argues:

> Although every British newspaper except The Independent on Sunday took a pro-war line in its editorial column, there were two types of press support for the NATO attack. Politically conservative newspapers, such as The Times, Telegraph, Express and Mail, voiced their customary stout support for the British military. At the same time, however, these papers expressed a certain caution about the wisdom and goals of NATO action, particularly in the early days of the war. By contrast, for the more liberal section of the press, particularly the Guardian and The Independent, to whom a pro-military stance is not such a traditional reflex response, it was NATO's proclaimed moral mission which captured the imagination (p. 57).

According to Hammond the NATO campaign in Kosovo was an opportunity to accomplish what remained unfulfilled during the conflict in Bosnia. In his article *Reporting Kosovo: Journalism vs. propaganda*, he declared, "that one casualty of the Kosovo war was British journalism, although some sources maintain it was already long dead" (p. 5). P.Hammond (2007) further notes, regarding the general perception, certainly in Britain regarding the Kosovo conflict,

> Western policy in the Balkans is well-intentioned; some may complain that it has been inconsistent, short-term or ill-conceived, but there is a widespread consensus that, potentially, the West is a force for good in the region, and for years before the Kosovo war, liberal opinion complained that the West was not doing enough to help (p. 1).

Hammond argues that this criticism of the West can be directly held responsible for the destruction of Yugoslavia. A justification presented on grounds of a "humanitarian" and "ethical" intervention, which was primarily guided by morality as opposed to national self-interest.

However, not all writers support Hammond's criticism of the media. McLaughlin (2002) rejects Hammond's propaganda theory and claims that the evidence "suggests that in the case of the British news media, at any rate, there was real media counterweight to NATO spin..." (p.122). Keeble (2010) claims that "33 out of 99 prominent columnists opposed military action against Serbia" as found through a survey he conducted, but he also noted "virtually all of Fleet Street backed the action, even calling for the deployment of ground troops" (p.51). Furthermore, the former editor of *The Observer*, Donald Trelford (1999) found himself supporting Campbell's view that "NATO blunders" were permitted to remain high on news agenda by the British media for a long time, a view equally shared by BBC Radio's Michael William and *The Observer*'s John Sweeney. In other research conducted in 2002 on Swedish and Norwegian war correspondents' journalistic practices during the coverage of the Kosovo war, it was ascertained that this war was unlike the Persian Gulf War (1990-91) as the media were free to witness the plight of the civilians. The Kosovo conflict presented the journalists with an opportunity to realise their aspirations of depicting the "real face" of the war. The coverage by the media regarding the loss of lives, destruction and plight of civilians was compatible with the frames of "worthy victims"; "the Kosovo-Albanians were depicted as victims and it was a campaign like massive message repeated

again and again" by the journalists - Höijer *et al*. (2002, p.12). Their suffering and plight were presented through images of helpless women and children, thus capturing the dread and the desperation of the region; this also ensured that it was an engaging news piece. Hence, the media was no longer a neutral bystander during the Kosovo war; the nature of coverage shows that taking sides was seen as the "right" and "ethical" thing to do. The foreign policy that argued for humanitarian interventions to rescue the weak agreed with the "activism" journalism that left notions of objectivity behind.

Justifications for international interventions, although presented through moral claims of "good versus evil", Hammond (2007) points out that they are "simultaneously de-politicised" on the basis of technicality, within which adoption of "correct legal frameworks" must happen. Citing the example of Bosnia and Kosovo, Chandler (2006) argues, that there was an emphasis on "doing the right thing" by the international administrators in these regions. Furthermore, he notes that often in such situations claims of "doing the right thing" are synonymously assumed to "coincide with the interest" of those who are suffering as a result of such a crisis. Hence, suggesting that during such events "international rule gets cast not because of politics but ethics and norms" which embodies the "personal conscience" of those in positions of decision making (p. 53).

Dunne (2010) points out that the Kosovo conflict allowed for a pro-intervention debate which was led by the UK prime minister Tony Blair, seeking to emphasise the values of justice and fairness equally important as environment and global poverty. By the end of Blair's first term in office not only was he successful in being viewed as a significant global statesman but in comparison to the previous Conservative governments, the New Labour relations with other European members were more effective.

4.2 9/11 and the New World Order: Security and vulnerability

The 11 September 2001 ("9/11") attacks on the Manhattan Twin Towers and Pentagon dominated Western foreign policy and decided what role the media would play in such a New World Order. Dunne (2010) refers to Blair "as having found the right words to describe the shared sense of outrage and concomitant duty to stand shoulder to shoulder with the USA in its hour of need" soon after the attacks (p. 427). He further claims that following these attacks the nature of debate regarding security threats had changed for the UK prime minister. This paved the way for an argument which supported the need for pre-emptive actions against nation states in order to stop potential threats from becoming real.

Hammond (2007) draws attention to the next phase of Western foreign policy, which was based on "fear" and "threat" rather than humanitarianism. It was yet another attempt to resolve the crisis of meaning. The frames of "good" and "evil" – "us" and "them" – were far more obvious and applicable

within UK/US foreign policy. Highlighting "Baudrillard's[11] sarcastic description of the first non-war on Iraq", Hammond argues the same logic was applicable to the 2003 Iraq sequel (p. 59).

In another study, Ruigrok (2008) describes the new framework that came into existence after the 9/11 attacks within which journalists eagerly recognised the need to define "friends" and "enemies" of the state. The War on Terror in its new framework not only divided the world in the above categories but also resulted in an atmosphere where journalists were found to be in support of these definitions. Giving the example of a radio journalist, Ruigrok says, "Mike Hennessy from WFLA Radio positioned himself as a patriot: 'I am an American first, a journalist second'" (p. 311). Furthermore, Ruigrok (2008) finds himself in agreement to Tumber and Prentoulis' (2003) arguments involving the nature of the traditional journalism increasingly losing its ideological framework, giving way to a new culture that prefers emotions and trauma. Such a culture according to Ruigrok (2008) supports the journalistic practice of involvement as opposed to detachment and is therefore comfortable with journalists being subjective rather than objective (p. 311). An example of this shift is seen during the build-up to the Iraq war in 2003, where most of the Western media indulged in one-sided news coverage and, as stated by ombudsman Daniel Okrent (2004) regarding the *New York Times*, the newspaper "fell for misinformation and concluded that the failure was not individual, but institutional" (p. 311).

4.3 Afghanistan 2001

The background to the war traces itself to the terrorist attack on the USA: the 9/11 attacks. The attacks led the American government to claim the right of self-defence against its enemy. In this case it being the Taliban and the terrorist camps in Afghanistan as identified by the US. The air attacks, also known as Operation Enduring Freedom, was launched on 7 October 2001 – the US was supported in these attacks by British and Australian forces. The operation did not have a clear UN sanction, even though the security council had supported the people of Afghanistan in their wish to replace the Taliban regime (Nohrstedt & Ottosen 2014). However, the war was primarily justified as an act of self-defence. As argued by Hammond (2007), the Western leaders sent contradictory signals regarding their intentions towards the Taliban, where some official statements suggest the Taliban were as much the enemy as the Al-Qaeda and overthrowing the Afghan government would be justified in its own right. The Global War on Terrorism commonly noted as the War on Terror is a figure of speech used by the then US President George W. Bush during a formal address in the US Congress soon after the attacks on the American soil. The term at first came into play targeting countries that were connected to the Al-Qaeda. The term drew criticism from the internal quarters of the then US administration and therefore was discarded from official discourse, however, it gained popularity among the media that used it synonymously while referring to the US-led military campaign which included the coalition forces, and

[11] The French philosopher Jean Baudrillard was the centre of criticism aimed at his 'hyperbolic claims' regarding the Persian Gulf War (1991). His analysis since then has been regarded as useful particularly in the context of the Iraq war (2003). See Hammond, P., (2006)

was launched after the 9/11 attacks (Hammond 2007; Tumber & Palmer 2004). Among the reasons stated for the war in Afghanistan, one was to deliver a fatal blow consequently destroying Al-Qaeda – the terrorist organisation responsible for the attacks on the United States. Furthermore, it aimed at dethroning the Taliban regime that was viewed supportive of Al-Qaeda, thus, dismantling a haven for any future operations. The UK played a decisive role in supporting the US' war in Afghanistan.

In August 2003, NATO was immersed in the alliance, taking the centre stage of the International Security Assistance Force. Soon after the 9/11 attack, the war on Afghanistan seemed inevitable. Marsh (2010) points out, regarding the events that led to the war in Afghanistan:

> It is easy to forget how rapidly the bombardment and invasion of Afghanistan followed the attacks on New York and Washington on 11 September 2001 – and how unexamined, by politicians and media was the case for and road to war. From the moment the BBC's Frank Gardner attributed the September 11 attacks to Al-Qaeda and Osama Bin Laden, war in Afghanistan seemed inevitable – an inevitability that effectively silenced proper examination of the case for that war (p. 75).

Griffin (2011) stating the events leading up to the war in Afghanistan following 9/11, highlights the Bush government's statement that it will produce evidence in form of documentation proving links between Osama Bin Laden and the 9/11 attacks on the US. However, this statement was retracted the next day by the US Secretary of State Colin Powell in a joint press conference with President Bush, saying most of the evidence is classified. Griffin further notes that the defence correspondent Seymour Hersh, claimed the reason for withdrawing the pledge was the "lack of solid information"; Hersh attributes these claims to officials from the CIA and Department of Justice (p. 7). Griffin (2011) also draws attention to the British government's actions soon after the 9/11 attacks. The week following the attack, then British Prime Minister Tony Blair issued a document to show "Osama Bin Laden and Al-Qaeda, the terrorist network which he heads, planned and carried out the atrocities on 11 September 2001" (Griffin, 2011, p. 8). However, the report also acknowledged that it did not have a case against Osama Bin Laden which could be prosecuted in the court of law. Hence, highlighting the duality of the situation where according to Blair the case against Osama Bin Laden was "good enough to go to war with, but not good enough to take to court" (Griffin, 2011, p. 8). Griffin notes that although the BBC highlights the lack of evidence in the public domain linking Osama Bin Laden to the terrorist attack, there was an absence of a robust parliamentary and media scrutiny thus failing to hold government to account. Marsh (2010) admits:

> Yet there [was] much we journalists could and should have scrutinised. The extent to which Britain's haste "to take down the Taleban regime" – the phrase that became common currency at the time – aligned itself with what we knew about Tony Blair's declared principles of foreign intervention, for example. Since 1997, Prime Minister Tony Blair had been straining both to define – and exercise – what had become known as post-modern / humanitarian foreign policy – broadly, the criteria on which the UK might choose to project its power into another state to right those things which, according to British values, were wrongs (p. 75).

The war in Afghanistan saw the use of the pool system. The pool system involves an arrangement where a small number of reporters, video journalists, camera persons, technicians are allowed to cover an event that for reasons of security or lack of space cannot be made accessible to a larger number of journalists. The pool system allows for sharing of material in such arrangements. However, such an arrangement during war reporting comes with its own set of controversy. Originally planned by the Pentagon in the mid-1980s – the national press pool came into practice during the 1990 invasion of Panama where it was criticised for blocking the press pool access to the combat zone for most part of the invasion. Further damning assessment of the pooling system was highlighted during the Persian Gulf Crisis (1990-1991) – where the journalists were given limited access to the war zone. Pooling arrangement was therefore seen as a tool in the hands of the military and the government to control the news coverage rather than facilitating it. As pointed out by Cortell *et al*. (2009) the pool system which eventually became the "embed" program was attributed to the advances in communication technology – the ease of carrying satellite transmission devices curtailed military's control over the information from the war zone. Technology now available to the media outlets outside the US made it possible for an anti-war reporting narrative. It was a far cry from the pool arrangement of the past, which was often made available to the journalists on short notice, therefore maintaining military operational security during the early stages of the conflict. Furthermore, the pool system ensured that journalists accepting the pool status agreed on sharing their notes, images and news reports with other media persons interested but unable to directly cover the event. Although the arrangement did not leave any scope for exclusive coverage, it allowed media access to newsworthy events.

Hammond (2007) puts forward Kieran Baker's[12] point that the immediate criticism regarding the reporting in Afghanistan war in 2001 was that journalists were suffering from "rooftop journalism" – bound to their hotel, forced to cover the early days of the war through live shots from the rooftop of the Marriot Hotel, thus highlighting the limitations and frustrations of covering the war. In Baker's (2005) words, "In fairness, this was the closest logistical spot we could get to in a timely fashion" (p. 244). Reinforcing the "number one priority" of being able to access the frontline to cover the story. Marsh (2010) argues that somehow the conflict in Afghanistan opened a spot for embedded journalism:

> But the reality of the conflict in Afghanistan is that embedding is virtually the only means Western journalists have of getting anywhere near the frontlines of Helmand and Sangin. Independent operation is at best impractical, at worst suicidal. Does that matter? In theory, of course…but in fact? (p. 89).

As argued by Allan and Zelizer (2004), framing the world into "us" versus "them" is not a novel occurrence; the Cold War stands testimony to this fact. However, it is important to note that the significance of the Cold War surpassed the stereotypes it offered in the form of "good guys" and "bad guys". Principally, it outlined those who enjoy US support and those who would be omitted. The 'camps'

12 A former senior International editor with CNN and an experienced field editor having served in Israel, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

that came into play during the Cold War period made it mandatory to pick sides between the United States of America and the then USSR. Hence conveying the message that anyone who was sympathetic to the USSR and its cause would not be viewed as a friend by the Americans. Similar representations of 'good' and 'evil' were emphasised in the framing of the Afghanistan war and its naming as, 'the War on Terror' – making it a battle between the two forces – a narrative that was clearly reflected in President Bush's speech: "Every nation in every region now has a decision to make, either you are with us or you are with the terrorists" (p. 63); turning it into a test of loyalty and friendship, and an exercise to discover the enemies across globe. The foreign policy under the Bush administration successfully included the war against terrorism in its overall goals within which the attackers of 9/11 were described as "a movement, an ideology that respects no boundary of nationality or decency" (p.64). A comparison was drawn between the perpetrators of the attack and the villains of World War II, declaring common traits between the two - "will to power," "the same disdain for individual," "the same mad global ambitions" and "celebration of death" like the fascists who must not be appeased but defeated (Allan and Zelizer, 2004, p. 64). Furthermore, as widely recognised in a statement to the nation post the 9/11 attacks, Tony Blair, the then prime minister of Britain affirmed mass terrorism as a current source of evil in the world. The underlying narrative as emphasised by Blair being that this was not merely an attack on the US, but a war between the free and democratic world and terrorism, therefore promising his full support to the US in defeating the evil of terrorism which is a threat to all. The narrative therefore allowed for a definition of the enemy beyond the conspirators of the 9/11 attacks and applied to all those with an ideology that stood against the values of the free world; hence, posing a danger to ideals such as democracy, liberty and freedom. This was a global war against those who threatened the core values the West represented.

Interventions during humanitarian crises can be distinguished from the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Operation Allied forces in Kosovo (1999), reportedly a humanitarian intervention, rarely involved the deployment of troops in major combat roles and involved human rights issues rather than matters of national interest. The so-called humanitarian wars raise a question for media-state relations, where it is argued that the news media coverage of human plight and suffering has encouraged Western governments' involvement in these crises (Robinson 2002). Wars like Afghanistan and Iraq are considered "limited wars" (Carruthers 2000), at least from the British perspective as the mobilisation of armed forces for relatively short periods without the nation being placed on a war footing. Carruthers argues the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq also represent "wars of choice" distinguishable from "total wars," such as World War II, which involved a direct threat to national survival and, consequently, little expectation of an independent news media.

4.4 Iraq invasion 2003

The Iraq war is also referred to as the Second Persian Gulf War (2003–2011). The pre-emptive strike that allowed for military action by the US-led coalition forces was validated through allegations that were

later found to be false. The invasion was justified on three grounds – first, possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs); second, Saddam Hussein's alleged links to the terrorist organisation Al-Qaeda, making it part of the war against terrorism; and third, the Iraqi people, who needed to be rescued from the brutal and tyrannical regime of Saddam Hussein, "setting a positive example for the world" (Hammond 2007) – hence, it was named Operation Iraqi Freedom. The invasion unfolded in two phases starting with a conventional combat situation from March to April 2003 where US and UK coalition troops along with smaller military units belonging to other countries defeated the Iraqi military and paramilitary forces. However, this brief invasion phase was soon followed by a long and a bloody battle with Iraqi insurgents, who were against the Western coalition forces – the violence and bloodshed eventually subsided allowing for a smaller military presence by the US in the region and marking a formal withdrawal in December 2011.

The Iraqi invasion, which subsequently marked an end to Saddam Hussein's regime, has been viewed as one of the most significant military actions by the UK government in the last 60 years, resulting in direct involvement of British forces (Robinson *et al*. 2010).

Dunne (2010) states, the period post the terrorist attack of 9/11 witnessed the forging of a new and what has been argued is a 'special' relationship between then US President George Bush and then UK Prime Minister Tony Blair as a result of their close working relationship on international issues further strengthening their positions domestically – Blair was considered to be an important figure within the Bush administration, as suggested by the US media. Furthermore, it has been claimed, since 9/11 up to 2002, Iraq was projected to be a threat to the international community; hence, the need to eliminate the danger it posed (Woodward, 2001) – "After the defeat of the Taliban, the neoconservatives increasingly viewed Iraq as the next front in the War on Terror" (p. 428).

Before the invasion of Iraq, the allegation that Saddam Hussein possessed WMDs was first projected as an issue of national interest where it posed a direct and severe threat to the UK. The Iraq war is important also because its invasion phase represents a moment of unprecedented media attention, with blanket coverage and massive resources being devoted by the US and UK governments and news media. Furthermore, Tumber and Palmer (2004) argue that the invasion phase, which comprised a direct involvement of British forces in Iraq, proved to be critical, where on the one hand the government was trying its best to influence the stories that were being written, and on the other hand, a significant level of elite and popular dissent was testing the very fabric of news media and its claim to non-partisanship (p. 6).

Tumber and Palmer's (2004) claim regarding the Gulf War II being the most media-covered in recent times is supported by the fact more than 3,000 journalists covered it – the number of embeds was as high as 500, who lived with various coalition military units, while others covered it independently as regular staff belonging to an organisation or freelancers. This was a strategic decision regarding communications by the military, who allowed for embedding on a huge scale. The decision to embed

reporters with soldiers was intentional and a result of dialogue with news organisations regarding the process. This was different to wars of the past, such as the Falklands conflict (1982), where embedding happened as a mere accident. Tumber and Palmer (2004) argue the decision on behalf of the US DoD should be viewed in relation to wars like Vietnam, which made the governments and military explore ways through with they could exert tighter control over journalists covering wars.

Another important aspect of the war worth pointing out at this stage is the embedding program[13] designed by the US DoD and UK Ministry of Defence. Embedded journalists had to adhere to special guidelines regarding how to conduct themselves. The Green Book (Department of Defence 2003), which was released in February 2003, provided a list of guidance, policies and procedures on the embedded journalism arrangement. The comprehensive set of rules outlined what was permissible for the media – for instance, the media could not report on future operations or disclose levels of security. They were also refrained from showing the faces of war prisoners that were detained. Furthermore, the journalists could not carry private satellite telephones or any other mobile phones during their status as an embed and were barred from using personal vehicles. The rules included accepting news embargos to protect operational security. It was required for news organisations and media personnel to sign this document before they could be embedded with the military (Tumber and Palmer 2004). The unilateral journalists stood in contrast to embedded reporters, where they refused to be officially attached to any military unit and covered the war independently. The Western coalition discouraged independent or unilateral reporters from entering Iraq, citing safety as a major concern. The independent reporters' movements were often hampered by the military during the war.[14]

Wars are not solitary events and are often used to decipher structures within society, local idioms, national myths and commonly used frames as ascribed by journalists to make sense of the world. As argued by Hall *et al* (1978) (cited in Allan and Zelizer 2004), the media's power lies in further establishing cultural definitions by constantly drawing from it and reinforcing accepted norms, giving its "taken for granted" aspect in the "spiral of amplification" (p.249).

It is argued the combination of a human face and fabled storyline is what the news organisations pursue to captivate commercial values and community interest. The troops became an underpinning to Gulf War 1 and the Iraq war. Embedded journalists in the Iraq war further highlighted the human face of the US and UK troops. This thesis finds the use of colonial tropes within the UK respondents' discussion of their own war reporting practices that invokes travel writing tropes of motifs, landscape, food, culture and the civilians. The language used within the UK narratives often conforms to the tropes of "colonial cultural formations of the past" (Griffiths 2012, p. 76). The sympathetic view of the plight of the civilians

13 Embedded journalism is a well-known military practice that enables journalists to be placed in proximity with soldiers in war situations, allowing the media to accompany specific military units as assigned to them into war zones. The practice was initiated by the US DoD during the Iraq war (2003-11) in response to the backlash it faced on accounts of diminished or controlled access granted in previous wars – the Persian Gulf war (1990-91) and Afghanistan war (2001).

14 See fn 2 and BBC News 2006.

often coupled with the need to save them is yet another reminder of the White Man's Burden from the past. Furthermore, it is important to state the presence of narratives that have relied upon the use of othering as a reductive tool. Although, such narratives were sparse, the common descriptions of the Iraqi war zone as provided within the narratives of the UK war reporters seem to align with the justification provided behind the war at the time.

4.4.1 Previous research on media's representation of Iraq

There are four major studies of news coverage of the 2003 Iraq war – one examining coverage in the US, and three examining coverage in the UK. The first is Aday, Livingston and Herbert (2005), followed by Tumber and Palmer's (2004) *Media at War*, moving on to the study conducted by the Cardiff School of Journalism by Lewis *et al*. (2006), and finally the study by Robinson *et al*. (2010).

The first study (Aday, Livingston and Herbert 2005) examines and determines US broadcasters' – ABC,[15] NBC,[16] CBS,[17] CNN[18] and FOX (FNC)[19] – coverage of the invasion. The study also presented an international parallel through its analysis of Al-Jazeera, the Middle East-based English-language broadcaster. Their method focused on labelling the subject matter within news reporting to provide a large-scale description of how the US television channels reported on the war. What is more, the study also assesses the tone used in individual news stories. The primary objective being the evaluation of the degree of objectivity accomplished by the various news media organisations. The news reports were classified as – neutral, critical or supportive of the Iraq invasion. In relation to this study, Robinson *et al* (2010) argue that it "operationalised objective (neutral) coverage as involving the absence of clearly evaluative and value-laden reporting by journalists" (p. 19). The study was of the view that the coverage mainly focused on the issue of battle itself, mostly omitting discussions on domestic dissent and foreign policy. Furthermore, its focus on casualties was also assessed to be in the minimum. Aday, Livingston and Herbert's (2005) investigation regarding the 'story tone' was indicative of having a neutral tone in majority of its coverage (p. 12); with the exception being FOX News, which failed to fit this model:

> The overwhelming number of stories aired during the war on American networks and on Al-Jazeera – with the exception of FNC – were neutral at the story level but that the general picture of the war presented by the news focused primarily on its whiz-bang aspects at the expense of other important story lines (p. 14).

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15 ABC – American Broadcasting Company – is an American commercial enterprise and subsidiary of the Walt Disney Company.

16 NBC – National Broadcasting Company – is an American television network involved in commercial broadcast. It is owned by Comcast Corporation, a global telecommunication conglomerate.

17 CBS – Columbia Broadcasting System – is an American television and radio network owned by CBS Corporation, which is involved in publishing and commercial transmission.

18 CNN – Cable News Network – is an American pay television news channel, which is a subsidiary of Warner Media LLC, owned by AT&T Inc., the world's largest telecommunications company.

19 FNC – FOX News or the Fox News Channel – owned by the Fox Entertainment Group, is an American cable and satellite news channel. It is the subsidiary of Twenty-First Century Fox Inc., a multinational mass media corporation.

While this research is interested in the journalistic practices of UK-based war correspondents, it is useful to mention literature on studies of the US media and its coverage of the Iraq war as it helps this research further the argument regarding the degrees of difference and nuances between the media organisations in the UK and US, which otherwise are collectively referred to as the Western media.

Tumber and Palmer's (2004) – *Media at War* examines the way war was covered by the British television and press. Furthermore, it also included a brief review of the pre-war and post-war coverage by the British news media. Robinson *et al*. (2010) highlight the "four indicators developed to measure the relative objectivity of British news outlets" (p. 20). Through their assessment of news reports focusing on the way war was conducted or the purpose it served politically in the long term, they found heavy reliance on the progress of the military campaign by television news media. The study further established the newspapers' continued focus on the war's long-term political purpose, identifying that news media across the board relied heavily on coalition sources. The study, in its evaluation of positive and negative mentions of coalition activities, ascertained that positive commentary regarding the war's progress was far less as compared to negative mentions. For instance, Tumber and Palmer (2004) discovered that only 35 percent of BBC reports presented good news for the coalition, while 60 percent of reports presented bad news; in case of ITV reports, 43 percent included good news and 53 percent included bad news. Lastly, they evaluated the tone to determine if news reporters were being objective, sceptical or heroic. Their findings were compatible with that of the study conducted by Aday, Livingston and Herbert (2005) – establishing an overwhelming presence of an objective tone present within television news. However, in their examination of the press it was found that the likelihood of the right-wing press embracing a positive-supportive-tone was higher hence less sceptical towards coalition when compared with their left-wing titles. The overall evidence presented in the study by Tumber and Palmer (2004) indicates a heavy reliance on the coalition sources (on television), where the tone used by the British news media was "largely objective", the coverage however remained mostly negative from the viewpoint of the coalition. Furthermore, it is important to mention that Tumber and Palmer (2004) highlight that international survey which compared television coverage (which included the surveys done on the UK television) found the UK channels to be less anti-war than their German counterparts and less pro-war when compared with the US television channels. However, when the focus is turned internally, the UK channels offer obvious distinctness between each other:

> Our own survey of television news bulletins shows high degree of homogeneity between the two main terrestrial channels (ITV and BBC) except in one respect: the BBC appears to have been more alert to bad news in this respect than to good. All indicators used show that both channels switched focus in the same way after the fall of Baghdad (Tumber & Palmer 2004, p. 112).

The Cardiff study (Lewis *et al*. 2006) led by Justin Lewis appears to be forthright in its criticism of news media coverage during the Iraq war. Their study offers a dissection of the coverage of the war by the British television news and includes an evaluation of various factors within the media reports. They explore the "authorship" of the media reports produced during the war and discovered that

approximately 48 percent emerge from journalists whose function is limited to the studio, also known as the “studio anchors”. Whereas, only nine percent of all news reports originated from journalists who covered the war as embeds. Furthermore, the process of quantification of various sources used by television news demonstrated that 46 percent of all the sources used on television news belonged to the side of the coalition, “with the Iraqi sources representing 30 percent of the total sources” (p. 120). To evaluate bias, they analyse “two long-running stories that were central to the government’s case for war: claims about Iraqi possession of WMD and the attitude and welfare of the Iraqi people themselves” (p. 121). News media reports were scrutinised to determine the total number of mentions attributed to WMD which insisted or hinted at the possibility of these chemical-biological weapon’s existence in Iraq. The study also included “reference that cast doubt on Iraqi WMD capability” (p. 121). Resulting from this due process, Lewis *et al*. (2006) uncover that the likelihood of television news media indicating the presence of WMD in Iraq was eight times more than them doubting it. What is more, the study through coding news reports, analysed the way those reports presented the Iraqi people – as “welcoming the troops as liberating”, hence supportive of the invasion or presented them as “less enthusiastic or even antagonistic” (p. 123). The coding of the above indicated that the news reports which presented Iraqi population as “welcoming” were “twice as much” in comparison to them as being portrayed as “less enthusiastic” (p. 123). Lewis *et al*. explain their findings by inferring that the utilisation of embedded sources along with a preference for “coverage that was dramatic”, served as essential factors in bringing the focus of news outlets towards the war’s progress, thereby leaving very little room for more objective and critical reporting (pp. 188-197).

Finally, the Robinson *et al*. (2010) study concluded that representation of the Iraq invasion (2003) by the British news media was not “uniformly consistent with the elite driven model” (p. 130) (various models are explained in a later section of this chapter). They argue, that in relation to “specific subject areas – notably civilian and military casualties, humanitarian operations” (p. 130) – the coalition appeared to be less in control. Therefore, making the coverage “more negotiated and oppositional” (p. 130). What is more, the study claims that media outlets produced generalised coverage than significantly deviating “from the predictions of the elite-driven model” (p. 130). Following the example of Channel 4, the study demonstrates that the coverage produced by the channel was “largely negotiated” which has been attributed to a “strong culture that emphasised commitment to professional autonomy” (130). Simultaneously, within the British press, there was evidence of coverage that was wide ranging and that which included “strongly anti-war element” (p. 130). Robinson *et al*. (2010) keeping this “diversity of coverage” at the heart of their argument point towards the presence of “high levels of pluralism and independence across the UK press, even in war time” (p. 130). Furthermore, the study draws attention to the centrality of the ideological process – be it anti-communism in the Cold War or the War on Terror since 9/11 (Hallin 1986; Herman & Chomsky 1988; Domke 2004; Chandler 2005; Jackson 2005; Hammond 2007), hence referring it as a “ key determinant of coverage” (p. 170). The argumentation suggests that “ideological or political meta-narratives” give an expansive and constraining structure to decide how the vast majority see specific wars. The study goes on to say that

despite there being few reasons to "understand the invasion as principally humanitarian," the problematic humanitarian rationale used to justify the uniform reinforcement only furthers the influence of a humanitarian warfare ideology where the surveyed television and newspaper outlets were largely accepting of the "official rationale for war," as showcased through their reportage of the events (p. 170).

The shadow of communism may have left yet it seems to have been taken over by newer approaches to simplify the world, which produce an alignment of ideology shared between policymakers and journalists. While the Vietnam war was justified on the grounds of the US fighting communists irrespective of the high casualties, the Iraq war witnessed further reinforcement of a similar idea by most British journalists, who found the government's stand on the invasion justifiable given the nature of Saddam Hussein's tyrant regime, which was littered with human rights violations. Similarly, in the case of the Vietnam war, the decision to fight communists was viewed as a greater good and hence the consequences of the war which resulted in death and destruction of the common people was merely seen as unavoidable and regrettable**.** The narrative that shaped perceptions associated with post-Cold War conflicts is compelling, as claimed by scholars Hammond (2007) and Chandler (2005) in this regard and supported by the findings of the study by Robinson *et al*. (2010).

4.5 Kargil war of 1999

As noted by Krolikowski (2016), the Kargil War (1999) occurred in Ladakh, an Indian Union territory – Kargil being the second largest city in Ladakh – and began when the Indian military discovered infiltration by the Pakistani soldiers who had occupied "strategic points along the Srinagar-Leh Highway in Western Ladakh (in Kargil, Dras, Mushkoh valley, Batalik and Chorbalta) (p. 403). The Pakistani military disguised as "mujahideen, operating on their own initiative" seeped across to the Indian side of the Line of Control – "Badr – code name for the Pakistani infiltration operation" (p. 403) was conducted with the agenda of destroying links between Kashmir and Ladakh. The purpose of such an agenda was to ensure withdrawal of "Indian troops from the Siachen Glacier" (pp. 403-404). Krolikowski further states the Kargil war had three phases,

> The first one was the Pakistani forces infiltrating the territory of India and penetrating into Kashmir to gain positions, enabling them to put NH1 highway under artillery fire. The second phase started when Indian troops discovered the fact and started mobilizing their forces in order to take countermeasures. The last phase was the clash between the Indian and Pakistani forces, with the former regaining parts of the occupied territories and the Pakistani troops withdrawing beyond the Line of Control as a result of international pressure (p. 404).

According to Zins (2007), the "undeclared war," televised live from India, witnessed a large mobilisation of regiments along with "heavy artillery" with threats of a nuclear war as both nations had tested nuclear weapons immediately preceding the war (p. 22). Zins notes, even though the Kargil war at the time was declared as "quasi-war" by the Indian Prime Minister, also known as a "Operation Vijay" (meaning victory) by the Indian army, it continued to be understood as a war that resulted in high casualties on

both sides. Further, India was not new to such armed conflicts with its neighbouring states: Pakistan in 1947-1949, 1965 and 1971, and China in 1962. Referring to India's previous conflicts, Zins writes,

> Each conflict produced many tales of heroism eulogizing the patriotism of the soldiers and their officers…Kargil war resembled this patriotic tradition except on two counts: first, the insistent and systematic manner in which the Kargil dead were all qualified as heroes and/or martyrs by the (Indian) media and the political establishment; second, the manner in which appellations of hero and martyr coexisted and then merged (p. 22).

Zins (2007) further writes that the international community's stance on the war was to avoid a "full-scale war" between India and Pakistan; therefore, not allowing India to "deploy its firepower" to assist its ground troops, which resulted in heavy foot soldier casualties. However, according to Zins, this "martyrdom" was blamed on the Pakistani government, which had infiltrated Indian territory. The media was invited to the last rites ceremonies of the soldiers, Indian bodies which were repatriated as well as Pakistani bodies who were unclaimed by their government, and it worked to glorify the dead and make "India appear so civilized, dignified and humane in the face of death" (p. 33).

The Indian media also worked in tandem with the government to cover up the shortfalls in the government's official line of communication. Zins illustrates this by citing the Indian prime minister's speech on 15 August 1999, when he proclaimed that he saw the entire country during the war, naming the Indian states that had the lowest representation of soldiers in battle first as opposed to the states that had a higher representation, which were named later in his speech. Zins (2007) observes:

> By strategically mentioning those states that were least affected by the war (in terms of soldier casualties), the Prime Minister chose to establish the Indian-ness of the soldiers. But the media coverage given to each funeral ceremony by the national press in a follow-up of the regional press rectified this shortfall in the collective imagination (p. 34).

Further, it is important to highlight the importance of semantics – hero and/or martyr – as pointed out by Zins (2007). Words like "hero and martyr" during the Kargil war were borrowed from "dramatic plays about war and death" and instrumentalised for political ends by political leader.[20] The political declensions of these terms, therefore, must be understood through these dramatised references rather than religious definitions. Furthermore, they have a place within the realm of "theatrical play" within which the government and opposition used the Kargil war for "electoral impact" and its effect on public opinion. More importantly, as argued by Zins, the Kargil hero-martyr is a secular figure,[21] whose bravery

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20 The archetypal hero belongs to the drama genre where a "legendary figure" of unbelievable courage and mental fortitude occupies centre stage. The character is intensely action oriented with qualities that empower them to change and impact the course of events (i.e. the Kargil war). Contrary to this figure stands the archetypal martyr, which is rooted in the tragedy genre and vulnerable against predetermination, thus "helpless." While the martyr is "doomed to die" irrespective of their actions and resigned to the "implacable logic of his role," the hero has the ability to rescue themself from perilous circumstances on account of their "extraordinary abilities" (Zins 2007).

21 Although Muslim soldiers are "well-represented" among the Kargil dead, the army website lists of dead soldiers and officers establish a high casualty rate belonging to Hindu and Tibetan origin. The survey claims less than three percent among the dead soldiers can be emphatically recognised as Muslims. Despite these numbers, the press and political leadership claimed the Kargil war had an equal share of

and sacrifice were celebrated with pomp and show through "public rites and patriotic funerals" displaying the bodies of dead soldiers to be viewed "by the maximum number of people" (p. 39).[22] Zins (2007) and Swami (2009) highlight the symbolism of Kargil war funerals, where the coffins, covered with the flag's tricolour, were paraded and put on display where hundreds of people came to pay their respects while military honours were rendered. These events were covered and reported by the press – many events were broadcasted live on television sets and contributed to the development of patriotic death imagery,

> The Kargil public mourning bestowed the first real patriotic funerals organized by independent India. This shows how deeply rooted the nationalist dimension of Indian culture has become and how it is reinforced (Zins 2007, p. 40).

Shendurnikar (2009) reviews the work of Subarno Chattarji (2008), saying it

> highlights how the media came to be the force multiplier and worked in tandem with the government to create an enemy image of the other – in this case Pakistan. It consolidated the idea of a nation under threat from the enemy and did not pose any questions which would challenge the government's official line (p. 2).

The focus of Chattarji's (2008) work in relation to the Kargil war is limited to the critical analysis of the reportage produced by print media in India – particularly, the political magazine – *India Today*. The chapter on the Kargil war within his book – *Tracking the media* – provides an analysis of the coverage of the war and claims that media's representation of Pakistan remained "stereotypical and uniform" (p. 5). Furthermore, he criticises the print reportage for "reiterating national purpose that united the country during war" (p. 5). What is more, his study offers a critique of the print media who according to him failed to inform their audience regarding the "nuclear, human and economic consequences" of the war. There was also uniformity in the way the Indian print media represented the army where "they refused to portray them in a negative light" (p. 10) thus failing to hold the military to account on serious intelligence failures which led to the infiltration in the first place. Finally, in his scathing analysis, Chattarji declares that for most part of the war the Indian print media was aligned to the then government's narrative of the war (pp. 3-29).

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martyrdom from Hindu and Muslim communities; therefore, both similar in courage and patriotism. Special efforts were taken to "cover" Muslim funerals, like Lieutenant Haneefuddin, turning him into a "celebrity." The Kargil war "hero-martyr" was aligned with the religious profile in India (Zins 2007).

22 Operation "back home" pursued a similar design as other military operations – the display of dead soldiers' bodies and the importance of public rites and patriotic funerals to the operation was primarily aimed to further the deep patriotic and nationalistic agenda, where these bodies were purposefully displayed to be viewed by a great number of individuals. Further, the theatrics of the war, continued through pictures of dead bodies being carried by their comrades, found wide coverage in the press at the time. Airports became the transit point to receive bodies in a "coffin draped in national colour" – bodies were transported throughout the country by military or civil planes. While there were no arrangements at the beginning of the war to receive bodies, this gradually changed and a special zone within the airport was designated – a "small catafalque" was constructed as a mark of respect to those who had made the supreme sacrifice for their nation and the mourners who were part of the ceremony (Zins 2007).

The political context to wars is important as it provides relevant background to the events witnessed by war correspondents interviewed for this research. Furthermore, it highlights the political justifications and narratives offered by the respective governments at the time and which influenced coverage of these wars. It also sheds light on the newsgathering and storytelling processes of the 39 respondents and emphasises aspects of role perceptions and practices of war reporting as understood by them. The next three chapters present the findings from the interviews with the respondents in relation to their motivations, practices of war reporting and status as war reporters.

Chapter 5.0 Role perceptions of war reporters in India and the UK

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the respondents' role perceptions and identity. The following two chapters discuss journalistic practices (Chapter 6), which reinforce the role perceptions and aesthetics of war reporters' self-identity (Chapter 7). This chapter examines one of the overarching questions of this research – the role perceptions of the India and UK respondents who identify themselves as war reporters and who covered international conflicts between 1998 and 2003. Their understanding of their professional role is presented in this chapter by tracing the self-representations of the 39 respondents – 17 Indian respondents who covered the Kargil war (1999) and 22 UK-based respondents who covered two or more of the Kosovo (1998), Afghanistan (2001) or Iraq wars (2003). As a basic criterion, the war reporters selected for this study had to cover one or more of the four wars which form part of this thesis. While the objective of this research was to capture the views of the respondents across these wars, this study is not limited to analysing the reporters' experience of news gathering and storytelling from these four war zones only. Wars have a significant impact beyond their official timeframes and generate significant personal legacies for individuals involved. Respondents voluntarily discussed their war reporting experience more broadly, speaking of other wars and their impact on the reporter. Additionally, respondents who discussed Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) wars, conflicts which went on for several years (nearly a decade), did not restrict themselves in time when articulating their experiences. This study therefore considers their experience, irrespective of the official timeframes of the wars, in analysing their role perceptions and journalistic practices. Bourdieu's field theory is critical to this research as it acts as an analytical tool to explore the respondents' understanding and beliefs regarding their role as war reporters. It helps shed light on values and norms that have gained currency within the field of war reporting over the years. A set of shared values and norms are upheld and reinforced by the respondents to evoke professionalism and are used as a means through which war reporters create demarcations between the field of war reporting and those who do not practice it (Bishop 1999).

The self-perceptions of the 39 respondents allow this thesis to explore ways in which war reporters claim to understand themselves and the way this relates to or shapes their practice of war reporting. Furthermore, it enables the researcher to probe established role perceptions, the resilience and the extent to which these perceptions are embedded in specific cultural contexts, and the strategic priorities of the specific wars they have covered as war reporters. This chapter demonstrates the political framing of the aforementioned conflicts, which also plays an important role in influencing how war reporters understand themselves within these war zones – that Indian and British governments' foreign policy stances play a role in shaping the understanding of the journalists' description of their role as war reporters. The Kargil war, being India's war against Pakistan, was perceived as forced; hence, respondents described themselves as being part of the aggrieved side. Similarly, the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, which involved the participation of the UK military, were viewed by the 22 respondents as an

opportunity to bring stories of suffering and hardship of both victims and (their) military to the forefront. However, Kosovo was viewed by the respondents as relating to humanitarianism, where the UK journalists claimed to focus on issues such as ethnic cleansing, death and devastation. Such views indicate the respondents' understanding of their role as war reporters is constantly shaped by the nature of wars they cover.

Motivating this research is the fact, despite there being a significant presence of conflict reporting within Indian journalism – within its own "territories," where the India-based respondents claim to have covered internal insurgencies unfolding on various domestic fronts such as the Naxalite Maoist insurgency,[23] separatist movements[24] and domestic terrorism,[25] a study on role perceptions and journalistic values of the Indian reporters covering conflicts within the Indian context has not been realised on a wide scale. Apart from a handful of studies that examined the Kargil war in relation to the Indian media's relationship with the military (Rai 2001) or the role of media in the Kargil war (Thussu 2002), there is an insufficient grasp on what Indian conflict reporters believe or think about what they do in the process of reporting conflict. This gap in literature is clearly pronounced for print and television, and Kargil, being the first war to be televised and presented live in India, plays a significant role in shaping the perceptions of conflict reporters and the way they practice war reporting.

This thesis places itself within larger research available on Western (UK) war reporters (McLaughlin 2002, 2016; Carruthers 2000, 2011; Korte 2009). Although there is no dearth of literature on the role perception of Western war reporters, one of the aims of this thesis is to test the resilience of established role perceptions within the UK context and compare and contrast them with their Indian counterparts. Indian media organisations, unlike in the UK, do not classify journalists as dedicated war reporters, yet there is substantial evidence in this research to suggest Indian respondents claim membership to this elite club. Indian respondents interviewed for this research primarily claim to have covered domestic insurgencies, riots and domestic conflicts. Their lack of coverage of international conflicts can arguably be attributed to India's negligible participation in international conflicts in the last three decades, with such conflicts being too few and far between. As observed by the 17 respondents, the nature of conflicts reported by the Indian media has been largely determined by the issues that directly impact the Indian civil society. Therefore, while the Kargil war – India's war with its neighbouring country Pakistan – was

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23 The Naxalite movement owes its inspiration to Mao Tse-tung thought. The movement can be traced to May 1967, when it first erupted in India. Also known as the peasant uprising against the landlord in the Naxalbari bloc of the West Bengal state, it quickly spread to rural and other Indian states, resulting in the launch of the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) in April 1969. Soon the movement spread like wildfire among urban-based "idealistic youth and students." Although the Indian state managed to crush the uprising using military force by the mid-1970s, it soon gained momentum, rooting itself within the tribal communities in India. The state continues to view the Naxalite movement as one of the "biggest internal security threat" where attempts to crush it are ongoing (Singh 2016).

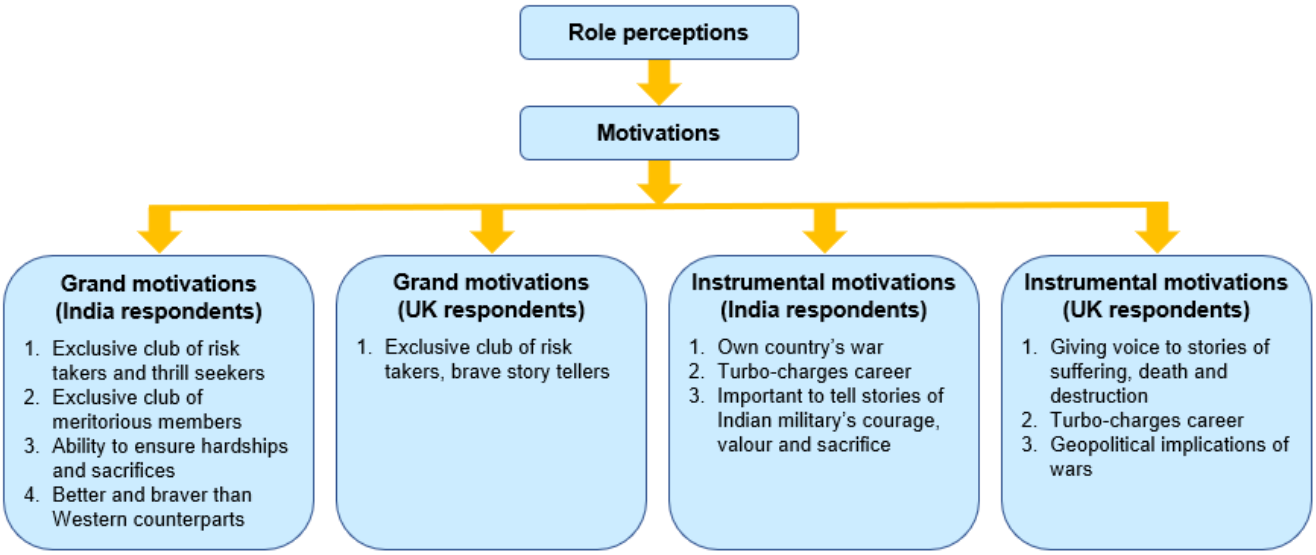
24 Separatist movements in India are violent secessionist movements comprising groups within different Indian states that are fighting for secession from the country.

25 Transnational terror groups, like Al-Qaida and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, are globally recognised as terror outfits. However, the Indian security forces in Kashmir continue to fight the lesser known Pakistani-based terror organisation like Lashkar-e-Taiba, Harkatul Mujahideen, Al Badr, Jamat-ul-Mujahid and Hizbul Mujahideen.

widely covered by Indian media organisations, wars such as Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq did not find similar coverage. Nine of the 17 Indian respondents prior to covering the Kargil war claimed to have had extensive experience covering domestic insurgencies and terrorism in different Indian states and union territories, such as Jammu and Kashmir, Chattisgarh, Punjab and the north-eastern states. Since India's independence from British Colonial rule in 1947, these states have witnessed frequent and deadly conflicts, and as observed by several respondents, are often more dangerous than covering international conflicts, since there is no clear indication of enemy lines when dealing with internal conflicts. Chances of being killed in action while covering these are higher as the journalist is often a target from both sides – the state police and militant groups – according to one of the senior Indian respondents. Nonetheless, despite the absence of specific classification of war reporters within Indian journalism, respondents interviewed for this thesis are experienced in covering conflicts and, like their UK counterparts, claim allegiance to a special club of reporters who report from an abnormal set of circumstances and survive hardships despite the physically dangerous and mentally challenging situations they find themselves in.

"War reporting is often considered an aberrant form of journalism as it takes place under an abnormal set of circumstances, which bear no resemblance to the normal daily routines of the profession of journalism" (Williams 2012, p. 344). The semi-structured interviews held with the 39 respondents in relation to their role perception can therefore be examined through the nature of their attraction for war reporting, which demands putting their lives at risk. This chapter discusses these attractions under the theme of motivations, as it sheds light on the reasons behind their choice of wanting to become war reporters. The motivations of the 39 respondents for covering wars for the purpose of newsgathering and storytelling can be further divided into: (i) grand and (ii) instrumental, as shown in Figure 5-A.

Figure 5-A: Respondents' motivations categorised under grand and instrumental motivations



The cultural and historical image of swashbuckling, camel riding, gunslinging war reporters travelling through a war zone is one of the ways war reporters are projected in popular fiction (Korte 2009, p. 56).

The implied notion is that the war reporter is naturally attracted towards danger; therefore, is heroic in nature. It is vital for this chapter to enquire whether the self-representations provided by the respondents are equally embedded in a similar magnified narrative as the ones found in popular fiction. The grand motivations identified through this research explain the attraction towards war reporting within narratives that are inflated in the sense where the respondents present a heightened self-perception of themselves. For instance, the grand motivations are further divided into sub-codes, such as an exclusive club of risk takers and thrill seekers, where the respondents claim to be a part of a special group who, for the sake of newsgathering and storytelling, deal with danger and risks regularly. Notions of risk and being a risk taker are further manifested in the narratives of the India and UK respondents through their language, where their vocabulary relies on phrases and descriptions such as "thrill," "bravery," "being a maverick" or a "fool" – all the above are ways through which war reporters evoke notions of heroism, adventure and courage. The language used by the respondents to explain their self and what they do in war zones is laden with descriptions of abnormal occupational tasks, herculean challenges, and episodes of living and working in extreme and unthinkable situations, which they claim are attractive features of their job. The grand motivations, therefore, comprise Indian respondents demonstrating a hero syndrome,[26] as outlined later in this chapter, where they claim to be braver than their Western counterparts, whereas the British respondents understand risk and danger as pre-requisites of the job without which access to the war zone will prove difficult. Nonetheless, thrill and adventure are considered appealing elements of war reporting by the UK respondents. The difference is the manner in which they invoke notions of risk and thrill, as opposed to their Indian counterparts.

The categorisation of instrumental motivations relates to narratives of the 39 respondents who understand and describe their attraction towards war reporting, which serves as a means to pursue their aim or plays a part in bringing something about. The instrumental motivations of being a war reporter varied from seeing war reporting as a means to "turbo charge one's career" to "reporting on wars which involved one's own country." While the India respondents mainly describe their instrumental motivations through vocabulary that supports the above, the UK respondents understand and describe their instrumental motivations through language that reinforces their role of a moral witness or saviour of the victims of war. The saviour complex,[27] outlined later in this chapter, is based on the descriptions provided by the 22 UK respondents, who claim to project themselves as reporters who have the responsibility of telling stories of suffering and extreme realities. Respondents' reliance on phrases such as "telling stories from dark places,"[28] "giving voice to suffering" and "hopeless and helpless people"

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26 Hero syndrome is explained through behaviour that looks for heroism, gallantry and or recognition. It is found that public profiles like civil servants, fire-fighters, nurses, police officers and security guards tend to showcase signs of this syndrome (Crossgrove 2004; Fortgang 2012)

27 Saviour/Messiah complex in psychology is implied when referring to a state of mind that is convinced of its inevitability of emerging as a saviour (Staughton, 2019)

28 The phrase originally occurs in biblical context where the "dark places of the earth" were understood as places on the globe that were oblivious to the gospel. Significantly finding a place within religion-colonialist discourse to describe parts of Africa and Asia in the mid- and late- nineteenth century. Therefore, invoking a sense of superiority of the "enlightened" Christian cultures over others. (Stape, 2004)

projects a particular understanding of their image as war reporters as well as the practice of war reporting.

This chapter, in its determination of role perception, argues this understanding marks a shift from the swashbuckling and thrill-seeking image of the war reporter, as the UK respondents claim these extreme experiences also have had an emotional impact on them. The UK respondents within this research openly admit to having suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD); hence, present themselves as human and vulnerable people. Whereas the Indian role perception to a large extent is presented through language that suggests an enlarged self-view, where the India-based respondents claim to be more heroic and hardworking than their Western counterparts. The Indian and UK role perceptions can therefore be seen as juxtaposed within their presentation of grand and instrumental motivations. The main impetus of such narratives presented by both sets of respondents is that it further sheds light on the cognitive structure or collective portrayal, that entails "shared values, norms, attitudes, opinions, knowledge, and personal and contextual models (experiences, intentions, plans etc.)" (Van Djik 1998, p. 23). Furthermore, this thesis also found the argument presented by McLaughlin (2002, 2016), that those who practice war reporting tend to understand it as just a job, appears to be outright rejected by the 39 respondents. There is a sense of unanimity in their understanding, where they frequently compare war reporting to other forms of reporting within journalism, to reinforce their belief of war reporting being an exceptional kind of reporting. Their use of adjectives such as "special," "not trivial" and "not just a job" demonstrate an acute sense of pride of belonging to an elite club of reporters and distinguish themselves from those who are not war reporters. This chapter situates role perceptions at the centre of its research and provides an original exploration and analysis of how the India- and UK-based war reporters understand their professional selves within a war zone.

5.2 Grand motivations of respondents in India

The dictionary meaning of the word "grand" is magnificent, imposing or awe-inspiring. This thesis defines grand motivations as those within which narratives on self-representation, desire and willingness to report from conflict zones as provided by the India and UK respondents explain their attraction to the field of war reporting using language and imagery that highlights similar imposing and awe-inspiring elements of the respondents' job. This category can be understood in relation to the experiences war reporters claim to have while reporting, which is foregrounded as exclusive and attractive, and acts as a motivating factor for being a war reporter. Based on the interviews with the 39 India and UK war reporters, this section examines their articulations in relation to their understanding of what makes war reporting exclusive and special – notions of risk, thrill and adventure as understood by both sets of respondents are relevant as these are inherently tied up with war reporting. Through these articulations, this research will draw out the respondents' views in relation to their self-image. For instance, it was found all 17 India respondents covering the Kargil war described themselves as "brave," "mavericks," "thrill seekers" and "foolish" – language used by the respondents to highlight how notions

of being a risk taker manifest in their discourse. These claims are made in relation to their risk-taking ability or attitude towards danger – as reporters who cover wars and conflicts, which requires them to be present in the face of mortal danger – hence, the term "foolish" insinuates that, despite knowing the risks, the India-based respondents willingly choose to be a part of dangerous war zones, thus their claim to being "mavericks" and "thrill seekers." The phrases where they emphasise their fearlessness and ability to take risks tie into narratives of grandeur for reasons that explain the attraction of the respondents towards war reporting through narratives that are inflated, thereby presenting a heightened self-perception.

The respondents interpreted their (grand) motivations for war reporting through similar descriptions and phrases such as – "risk-takers," "thrill-seekers," "adventurous" and war reporting being an "exclusive club of journalists" who can "manage fear without letting it impact their work." The India-based respondents argue the job of a war reporter is "something special" and the reporter being assigned such a role sets them apart from other journalists. The grand motivations of the 17 India respondents are divided into four sub-categories – (i) Exclusive club of risk takers and thrill seekers; (ii) Exclusive club of meritorious members; and (iii) Ability to endure hardships and sacrifices. These sub-categories relate to the India-based respondents' exclusive experiences, who through their articulations claim war reporting sets them apart from other forms of reporting due to the nature of thrill, risks, adventure and sacrifices or hardships involved; hence, only those who are meritorious belong to such a "special club." The articulations above signify the presence of an Indian war reporting habitus within the journalistic habitus (Schultz 2008) which refers to an "understanding of the journalistic game, and being able to master the rules of the same game", however, as stated by Bourdieu (1998/1996) "the game can be played from different positions and different dispositions point to different forms of mastering the game" (p. 26). More specific forms of habitus can be imagined within the journalistic habitus, for instance, in this case it points towards a presence of an India war reporting habitus within the journalistic field, where the India respondents' claims of being meritorious sets them apart from other journalists in India who are not war reporters. According to Bourdieu (2005) "to exist in a field is to differentiate oneself" (p. 39). For the fourth sub-category – (iv) Better and braver than Western war reporters – 11 of the respondents (R24, R26, R27, R28, R29, R30, R33, R34, R37, R38, R39) demonstrate their heightened self-perception through discourse claiming to be hard working; hence, they see themselves as superior journalists who have performed well within conflict zones without safety training, combat pay, hi-tech gadgets or personal security. The 11 respondents present themselves as war reporters who have "great instincts" and are therefore "skilful storytellers." Similarly, the claims of the 11 respondents is indicative of a habitus (Bourdieu 1998) that comprises both India and the UK war reporters within the journalistic field (Bourdieu 1993) where the India respondents present themselves as better and braver war reporters in comparison to their pampered western counterparts. Schultz (2008) draws attention to the fact that "different forms of habitus can help explain seemingly different or even contradictive practices in the newsroom," (p. 16) or in this case the field of war reporting.

5.2.1 Exclusive club of risk takers and thrill seekers

This categorisation of an exclusive club of risk takers and thrill seekers is based on textual analysis (Fursich 2009, pp. 240–242), where the focus is on underlying ideological and cultural assumptions of the articulations as provided by the Indian respondents. The 17 Indian respondents claim to be part of a special club of people who for the sake of newsgathering and storytelling are required to deal with risks and danger – notions of risk and being a risk-taker manifest in the narratives of the India-based respondents, which appear as different adverbs, pronouns and adjectives, and create a sense of how they understand risks and dangers within war reporting; therefore, it acts as a motivating factor in becoming a war reporter.

Respondents' descriptions of who a war reporter is and what they understand as war reporting are crucial to this research as they help shed light on their role perceptions. R23, Jami, a senior video journalist from NDTV with experience of international conflicts in Afghanistan (2001) and Jordan (2009), describes war reporting as "unusual" in the sense that war reporters do not work within a normal set up with regular rules. Danger and adventure are part of war reporting, where the war reporter is expected to put themself in the midst of it, as opposed to run away from it. Outlining a personal experience from the Kargil war zone, R23 states,

> …Being scared did not matter because at that point of time fear is suppressed, adrenaline is uppermost and there is the excitement of being on the tail of a good story and a sense of being in the middle of history in the making, which is a very strong and a potent driving force. It thrusts people in mostly very unlikely situations, so if somebody is running east, you would have a war reporter running west, which is usually the case (R23, Jami).

The articulation above is indicative of a brave self-perception that exists among war reporters. R23 uses imagery that represents war reporters as fearless, willingly embracing danger for the purposes of newsgathering and storytelling. Concerns of personal safety are not equally applied to war reporters as it does to those outside the field. Furthermore, the narrative reinforces the prevalent perception among journalists about war reporting being exclusive and special, as it allows for storytelling of an event that will be remembered in the future. R23 claims all these factors make war reporting an attractive field for him, claiming membership of a club that sets him apart from journalists who are not war reporters.

R24, Dutt, a junior reporter in 1998-1999 for the prominent Indian English news channel NDTV and freshly out of the Columbia School of Journalism at the time, reinforces the exclusive nature of the field of war reporting, when she describes it as a "calling." She states,

> …It was almost like a calling, there is no other way to describe it. I could not sleep at night thinking of this [Kargil] war that was unfolding in the upper regions of the mountains while I was sitting in Delhi. I knew, to be an honest reporter, I could not possibly cover the war from the confines of the studio (R24, Dutt).

The narrative spells out the respondent's understanding of war reporting. The choice of the word "calling" can be understood as a priority or fundamental for R24 and rational thoughts of personal safety are less relevant, suggesting that her lack of experience in conflict reporting did not deter her from covering the combative environment of the Kargil war. Therefore, the need to cover the war was stronger than her concerns for safety. Such articulation relates to an exclusive club of journalists where their self-perception is tied to notions of risk and bravery – they are unable to refuse this "calling" despite the mortal danger to their lives. It also qualifies the practice of war reporting to be something more than a regular job. The "special" aspect, which is reiterated by other Indian respondents (R26, R27, R29, R30, R31, R32, R35, R36, R37, R38 and R39), is significant to the understanding of the field as it sheds light on the manner in which Indian war reporters perceive the practice of war reporting. The narrative also highlights R23's understanding of a war reporter. According to the respondent, someone who can command discursive authority – that of an eyewitness – is fit to be called a war reporter. The use of the word "honest" demonstrates the importance of storytelling that is a result of being physically present in the war zone – a belief found to be commonly held among the 17 India-based respondents. The role of an eyewitness, therefore, is crucial to the understanding of being a war reporter (Zelizer 2007; Peters 2011).

While there is unanimity among the respondents that a war reporter must claim discursive authority - the presence of this implicit understanding of being able to provide eyewitness accounts as a war reporter further highlights the presence of a journalistic doxa which is a "system of presuppositions inherent in membership in a field" (Bourdieu 2005, p. 37). The idea of a risk taker and thrill seeker as innate characteristics of a war reporter is understood differently by the 17 respondents. While R23, R25, R27, R28, R29, R30, R31, R32, R34, R35, R37 and R38 understand risk, danger and adventure as essential constructs of being a war reporter, their narratives regarding their experiences from the Kargil war did not place them as "heroic." Although these respondents are aware of the dangerous and exciting elements of their job, they do not speak of themselves as "heroes."

R30, Swami, a journalist for the Indian English-language newspaper *The Hindu*, describes himself as the antithesis of a hero, lacking in the bravado often claimed by those who cover wars. R30 recounts his experience of conflict prior to the Kargil war in the state of Punjab[29] and explains his relationship with storytelling from a dangerous place. He states,

> …I have never been a great fan of being a hero. I adopted this as a principle many years ago when I was covering in Punjab. I am not sure what I am achieving by getting a picture of someone getting their head blown up nor do I see how the world of my readers' knowledge is

[29] This domestic insurgency involved an uprising in Punjab where a segment of Sikhs used violence against the Indian state to demand an autonomous state of Khalistan. By 1985, Punjab was marred with militancy where a group of Sikh insurgents shot six Hindu passengers travelling in a bus. This was soon followed by killings of Indian officials by other radical groups in Punjab. The then government of India, led by Indira Gandhi of the Congress (I), imposed a state of emergency in the state, dismissing its own state government in the region. Incidents of violence rose sporadically all over the region resulting in hundreds of human casualties. Operation Blue Star, from 1 January 1984 to 3 June 1984, was preceded with further killings of 48 people.

> enhanced by an up-close combat point. I really don't see the point of some of this and honestly far too many journalists have given up their lives in search of basically what is ticklish rather than providing any useful information. So, if I can get that information from a safe distance, well and good (R30, Swami).

The articulation above considers risk to be an important aspect of war reporting. R30's admissions regarding his relationship with danger in a combat zone can be further understood through his language where he rejects aspirations of being termed as a "hero." In relation to this category, the choice of word – "hero" – can be understood as someone who is fearless or does not care for their own safety. The rejection of this title sheds light on R30's self-image, which is less amplified; nonetheless, it projects an image of someone who still chooses to be a part of violent combat zones. Although R30's narrative attempts to view his own role as less heroic, during the interview he admitted entering the Kargil war zone through unofficial means as he was not granted permission by the military. He also claims to have crossed the border under constant shelling by the Pakistani military at night with vehicle headlights switched off. Through these thrilling descriptions of his experiences, R30 makes no gushing attempt to establish himself as the hero of his story. Both narratives reinforce the compulsory and inevitable relationship between danger and war reporting, something that cannot be avoided by those who practice it. R30 not only describes himself as un-heroic but makes a larger point regarding the practice of war reporting. He raises concerns over the dramatisation and sensationalism of the war zone, which according to him is often constructed by young enthusiastic reporters for personal fame and entertainment, which creates demarcations between himself and those war reporters who view risk and danger as elements that make their reporting more sensational than meaningful (Bishop 2004). R30 is critical of any reporting from a war zone that takes away the focus from the real story (facts and context of the war) and fails to fulfil its function of providing meaningful information to its audience. The respondent's understanding of danger is essential for storytelling; for instance, taking risks to enter the war zone illegally despite it being dangerous is considered by R30 as part of his job of a war reporter.

To tell the story of the Kargil war, certain risks had to be taken; however, he does not support storytelling that believes in turning the reporter into a story. However, R27, Baweja, a political correspondent for the reputed English news magazine *India Today,* with over 15 years' experience in conflict coverage in Kashmir and Punjab prior to covering the Kargil war, reminds the reader of the common spirit of fearlessness – a character trope attached to the practice of war reporting. While she does not consider herself to be a hero, she is conscious of her bravery, which she claims comes naturally. She explains her relationship with danger as a war reporter,

> …I have to say this because I know it is true and it is very intrinsically me that, when it comes to my work, I do not have fears. I have personal fears, but I do not have professional fears. It sounds foolish, but it is true (R27, Baweja).

R27's use of the word "foolish" (meaning lacking in good sense or judgement) is symbolic of the accepted and legitimised character trope found among war reporters, as it reinforces the theme of war reporting being an exclusive club of people who unlike others with good sense, place themselves in

mortal danger. Hence, “foolish” can be understood as language often used by journalists to point towards the underlying claim, which is viewed as synonymous with being brave but more importantly a necessary characteristic for the practice of war reporting. Bourdieu’s field theory, a fundamental analytical tool for this research, can therefore be used to explain respondents’ reported experiences of war reporting. Through these discourses, where similar language is invoked to describe reporting experiences, an explanation of attitude and assumptions can be presented in the form of shared beliefs among those who are part of the journalistic field of war reporting. The shared assumptions in relation to risks and danger allow this thesis to understand the resilience and disruptions with regard to journalistic codes and their practice of war reporting. Therefore, for instance, being able to take risks and manage fear is seen as a mandatory characteristic of a war reporter by all 17 India-based war reporters, even by those who claim to reject the title of hero as synonymous with a war reporter. The self-perception of war reporters, as suggested by the respondents, is much more than their personal beliefs; it becomes a commonly held set of ideas and behaviour by war reporters that has gained legitimisation by the members who belong to this group.

R28, Gokhale, a conflict reporter for the popular English-language magazine in India *The Outlook*, with over 11 years’ experience in covering domestic insurgency in Assam prior to covering the Kargil war, shares details of his long encounter with militant groups in Assam, which at one point resulted in his kidnapping, and compares that with his experience in the Kargil war zone, calling the latter a “cakewalk” as it was not as terrifying as his earlier experiences. Speaking on the topic of fear, he says,

> I think I was a natural at it. I was twice kidnapped by a militant group in Assam and both times it was scary. I did not know why it was happening or how it will pan out…You might think that I am being brave after it, but Kargil war was a cakewalk. At no point did I feel scared while covering the war. Maybe once when a shell fell about 15-20 metres away when I was crossing some road. But otherwise I am not able to understand why people have made the war into a big deal; maybe because they have covered this one conflict? (R28, Gokhale).

The respondent’s claim to be a natural risk taker yet again is indicative of his relationship with risk, the self-claimed title of a “natural risk taker” describes how he views himself amid danger. R28’s claim of being able to manage fear despite his kidnapping is supported by his choice of language where he refers to himself as someone who is naturally able to take risks. While he does not present himself in a grandiose manner of being a hero, his articulations signify his understanding of fear and what is defined as dangerous within war reporting. He argues that danger and risk are relative terms; therefore, they are directly related to the journalist’s experience. Such discourse can also be understood in relation to boundary maintenance, where R28’s definitions of mortal danger and risky situations are defined by his experiences covering domestic insurgency in Assam for over 11 years, which made the Kargil war in comparison a “cakewalk.” The expression “cakewalk” in its noun form means something that is informal and easy, signifying his views on the danger he experienced in the Kargil war zone. The reference to his vast professional experience in conflict reporting is indicative of his editorial capital within the journalistic field (Bourdieu 1993) of war reporting that gives him an edge over other inexperienced war

reporters within the journalistic habitus of Indian war reporters. R28 points towards his "unique position" that allows him to "master the game" (Schultz 2008) – [that is war reporting] – and further differentiate himself from other India war reporters who according to him, due to their limited exposure, viewed the Kargil war as a "big deal". Additionally, it allows the respondent the autonomy to shape understanding regarding the war due to his position of experience within the journalistic field (Bourdieu 1993). Furthermore, R28 also demarcates or maintains boundary (Bishop 1999) from his peers, who according to him cannot claim as rich an experience as him, asserting his superior position (on the basis of his expertise and experience in conflict areas) within the field of war reporting. Similar views on dealing with danger in the war zone without claiming to be superheroes were presented by R32, Pant, and R34, Thakur. Both respondents spoke of danger as an intrinsic part of what they do. R32, a mid-level reporter at the time who covered the war for NDTV, recalls Kargil as the first war she reported on, yet she did not feel like she was playing "GI Jane." She claims witnessing impressive things, but unlike others, did not get caught up with feelings of bravado. R34, a senior conflict reporter with 15 years' experience in covering domestic insurgency in Kashmir, reported on the war for national newspaper *The Telegraph*. He distances himself from other reporters who were in the Kargil war zone, referring to them as the "rest of the gang," thereby also invoking the image of a loner. He also claims he does not "make too much of the risks involved as Kargil was an artillery war and danger to an extent was to be expected." Such expressions are one of the ways risk and danger are viewed by Indian reporters. However, this is not the only way it is understood by those who covered the Kargil war. In the section below, this thesis presents expressions based on magnified views of the Indian respondents in relation to their experiences in the war zone, assigning different meanings to risk, danger and self.

Having presented respondents who claim to understand danger and risk as an essential construct of the practice of war reporting, it is equally important for this thesis to consider respondents who readily present exaggerated views of themselves in relation to the risk and danger they experience within the war zone. This thesis categorises these respondents as having a hero syndrome.[30] R24, R26, R33, R36 and R39 in their articulations subscribe to this exaggerated self-perception. This notion of self-identification is exemplified in the language used by the five respondents that invokes a sense of heroism or acute bravado while sharing their experience of covering the Kargil war. R24, Dutt, speaks of her experience as a young reporter with no prior background in conflict or war coverage. She states,

> …I did not have any cognisance that if I stand on the highway, I can actually see mortar shells falling right on my foot. Then I have seen grown men collapse and I would spend most of my time just running on the chase trying to just survive. That survival would be such a key part of the experience. I did not know what to expect. I was in my mid-20s and just returned from Columbia a few months earlier and I had not reported anything like this before (R24, Dutt).

While the narrative highlights lack of practical experience, it also projects her in a heroic light where, despite her inexperience, she was able to perform and adapt to her dangerous surroundings. The

30 See fn 26.

imagery of the war zone as claimed by R24 places her at the centre of mortal danger where the mere act of survival was not achieved by "grown men." It is relevant to mention that R24 was among the few journalists who rose to instant fame due to her reporting on the Kargil war. The respondent's views on self are demonstrative of the hero syndrome, where, according to her, she was able to function well in a desperate situation. Not only does she emphasise her dauntless spirit of survival but also mentions her self-claimed superior training at the Columbia School of Journalism. This elite school of journalism is seen by R24 as a place that brings notions of esteem and, by mentioning her training, she signals towards her cultural capital (Bourdieu 1993) within the framework of her role and uses it as a marker of her status as a highly educated journalist within the habitus (Schultz 2008) of war reporters. The language used by the respondent invokes a magnified view of herself in terms of her risk-taking ability and her esteemed position as a well-trained journalist. The narrative, therefore, might be seen as an attempt by the respondent to place herself above her peers by creating demarcations between her and other reporters who covered the Kargil war.

Another respondent, R39, Som, a junior broadcast journalist at the time of the war with no prior experience of war coverage, also stresses his academic background, claiming to have earned double honours in history and political science and a postgraduate degree from Carlton University. He admits to aspiring for war reporting even when a career in academia would have been easily achieved. He recalls his first experience as a war reporter from the Kargil war theatre,

> …It was my first experience of being shot at, my first experience of being in an area under active artillery shelling. It was my first brush with death in terms of reporting and being in places where honestly angels fear to tread…I did a lot of stupid things (R39, Som).

Like R24, R39 distinguishes himself by sharing his academic achievements. The expression touches on his inexperience but magnifies his bravery and valour. His account of the war zone and experiences of being shot at and caught up in active shelling is exemplified in language that presents him with superhuman abilities – where he refers to the war zone as a place where "angels fear to tread." This notion of self-identification can be seen within R39's discourse, where he chooses the phrase "angels fear to tread,"[31] connotes inexperienced people attempting things that experienced people would avoid. As suggested by R39's admission regarding doing "stupid things," he attempts to demonstrate his heroism, which according to him was not rooted in years of experience but can be traced to a more valiant spirit. Another respondent, R36, Chowdhury, a print journalist at the time and junior in age and experience of conflict reporting as compared to the others, recalls a "kind of machismo" hitting him while covering the Kargil war. He says,

> …It has to be said that half-way through my stay in the war zone I got used to it. A certain kind of machismo hit me. There were guys [other reporters] who took cover and hid behind rocks

31 Alexander Pope is attributed with coining this phrase in his 1711 poem, *An Essay on Criticism*, where he refers to inexperienced or ill-considered actions by people who are foolhardy and indulging in behaviour that sensible people would abstain from. The phrase "fools rush in where angels fear to tread" has since been commonly used as an idiom in the English language.

> while the fighting was going on. I never did that. I used to just stand in the open and laugh at them. So, you learn something about yourself (R36, Chowdhury).

R36's expression further personifies him as gallant, providing a self-image that is invoked through language and imagery that embodies meanings of risk and danger in a hyperbolised sense. It is demonstrative of the hero syndrome found among the five India-based war reporters covering the Kargil war.

It is not merely the ability to handle risks that makes the practice of war reporting attractive for Indian respondents. Another reason provided by the respondents is that of merit. The 17 respondents within their narrative claim they were chosen by their respective media organisations to cover the war based on their previous performance, their passion for reporting and/or their organisations' faith in their abilities as capable journalists, suggesting they were hand-picked from among their peers (defence and political reporters). Meritocracy is, therefore, a further demarcation within the professional group of journalism – a special, exclusive club of war reporting to which these 17 reporters claim membership, which sets them apart from journalists who were not given a similar opportunity.

5.2.2 Exclusive club of competitive and meritorious reporters

The section below highlights the fierce competition synonymous with the practice of war reporting. It also reinforces the 17 respondents' constant desire to establish themselves as the best in the business. This section analyses their discourse by exploring the different adverbs and pronouns they use that demonstrate the respondents' self-identification as superior to other India-based journalists, who either lack conflict reporting experience or were not chosen to report on a war like Kargil. R37, Dutta, claims to be no stranger to conflict reporting, which according to him made him a suitable candidate to cover the Kargil war. He refers to his experience of covering the deadly Maoist insurgency in the Indian state of Chhattisgarh,[32] trying to establish his merit on the grounds of prior conflict experience.

> The news editor asked me if I was going to go and cover the [Kargil] war. He knew I had covered insurgencies in Chhattisgarh, the north-east and Jharkhand. I said, of course! But I wanted two weeks to prepare. So, I worked out for two weeks, got myself physically fit; read a lot; looked at the maps and took a flight from Kolkata to Delhi and Delhi to Leh…There were two of us who covered the war in Kargil, there was Sankarshan Thakur and me. He had to leave midway because his father died, but I was there when sound and fury was at its peak (R37, Dutta).

The respondent highlights that, despite being meritorious, he was not hubristic or over-confident about his skills as a war reporter. He provides details of his routine, which showcases his preparedness before he left for the war zone. He is the only respondent who mentions "working out," "reading the maps" and getting acquainted with the terrain for the purpose of reporting. While the "thrill" and fun are intrinsic

[32] Chhattisgarh is a heavily forested Indian state in the centre-east of India. Rich in natural resources, the state has been marred by internal insurgency driven by the Naxal movement, an anti-government militia violently protesting the excesses of the Indian government and military.

parts of war reporting, R37 exhibits a more planned and disciplined side to a war reporter, thus attempting to justify his place in the war zone and the field of war reporting at large. He further solidifies that justification with the story regarding his colleague, who had to leave midway due to a personal crisis, leaving him in the war zone when "sound and fury was at its peak"; therefore, stating he was in complete control of the situation as he not only had the advantage of prior conflict experience but was also better prepared to do the job compared to the others. The notion of being meritorious is manifested in the discourse above, where details of his earlier conflict experience along with his strategies for improving his performance in the Kargil war zone are described through language that is meant to illustrate his skills and confidence for the job. What is more, it signals towards his organizational position of experience that is indicative of his cultural capital (Bourdieu 1998). This further emphasizes his position as a war reporter who despite his previous experience believes in being prepared before entering the war zone.

Self-validation is an attribute connected with the self-perception of war reporters. Referring to oneself as meritorious is part of the process of being the chosen one for covering the Kargil war. The adulatory tone in which the India-based respondents describe themselves is synonymous with the way they speak about their job. The field of war correspondence is special, but the practitioners are constantly adding value to it. This is exemplified in language invoked by all 17 respondents, attempting to establish a self-image that is rooted in a strong sense of being worthy or meritorious. Video journalist R23, Jami, describes himself in similar praiseworthy terms, trying to establish himself as the best in the field:

> …You have certain strengths I suppose, the [media] organisation recognises your strengths, sends you out for [an] assignment where you would be able to fortunately perform possibly a little better than others, so that being the case, possibly if I am not blowing my own trumpet. That's possibly why they sent me (R23, Jami).

R23 had covered the civil war in Afghanistan (1992-1996) before he was sent to Kargil and claims to wear that badge of experience proudly. Being sent by NDTV to Afghanistan and then to India's first televised war is the respondent's way of reaffirming his strengths as a video journalist, who with his performance claims to rightfully belong to the club of meritorious war reporters. The context of this narrative is loaded with heightened self-worth, as this was a revolutionary time for Indian news television – Kargil being the first televised Indian war; to be chosen for an assignment like this, according to R23, was acknowledgement of his capabilities and talent. Through this narrative, R23 tries to solidify his place in history and in his field of war reporting.

According to R25, Pillai, senior in age but lacking in experience of conflict coverage compared to his colleagues, believes he seized the opportunities that came his way and proved himself, which paved the way for being sent to the war zone.

> …When I came to Delhi, we had a Srinagar[33] correspondent, Zafar Meraj and Zafar got shot by some separatist and he was incapacitated. We had just launched the magazine and they desperately needed somebody to go cover Kashmir. So, I was sent and perhaps I made a good job out of it or did fairly-reasonably well, which led me to become some sort of person to go whenever you needed a story of Kashmir (R25, Pillai).

The language in the above articulation is subtle when establishing R25's merit. He is not boastful but emphasises his risk-taking ability – in the face of accepting an opportunity where his colleague had already been shot. While this is indicative of fearlessness, as discussed earlier in this chapter, it further highlights the fierce competition that exists within the field of conflict/war reporting in India, where reporters are ever-ready to go to dangerous places to prove their superiority and ability. Further, the articulation also emphasises R25's skills as a reporter, where he claims to have impressed his bosses with his work, earning him a spot in the Kargil war zone. Additionally, during the interview, the respondent validates himself as the chosen one because he had done a good job covering the Mumbai crime scene, consisting primarily of illegal activities of various mafia groups, also referred to as the Mumbai underworld.[34] Sixteen of the 17 respondents interviewed for this thesis described themselves as worthy and refer to themselves as the chosen ones for the Kargil war based on their passion and/or experience gained within conflict reporting. Only one respondent, R33, Saha, attributed luck to his being chosen to cover the war. He described the moment of his selection for Kargil, when he was informed of the editorial team's decision, as "Santa smiling at him on Christmas." R33, a junior broadcast reporter at the time, speaks of favouritism and organisational politics coupled with cut-throat competition between reporters for a coveted assignment like the Kargil war.

> …I never thought in my wildest dreams that I, being the last person in the queue, would be chosen for it. Because it would be the favourites who would get the chance, most of these people have not come out of reporting. They were essentially desk people…and my heart kept pounding that they would never let me go but I knew I could cover it…When Vaibhav said no [to covering Kargil war], it was Christmas for me, I said Santa is smiling at me! (R33, Saha).

The discourse touches on internal organisational favouritism and tries to assert the respondent's faith in his own merit. Even though R33 might have been given a lucky break, he was already confident of his skills and ability to turn this luck into success. His perception about his abilities and merit is clearly displayed in his choice of language to describe his organisation and himself – that, despite him not being his organisation's first choice, he had no doubt about his own capabilities of rising to the challenge of covering the war. The fierce competition is yet again evident from the narrative above, suggesting how war reporters are constantly facing challenges from members of their own field.

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33 The capital city of the erstwhile north Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. Since 2019, the state was bifurcated into two union territories: Jammu and Kashmir in the west and Ladakh in the east.

34 The Mumbai underworld is a term used to describe various criminal gang networks operating in Mumbai – capital city for the state of Maharashtra, India. Mumbai commonly known as the financial capital of India is considered to have a towering presence of 'Cosa Nostra' or the organised crime families engaging in illegal actions both domestically and overseas.

Having presented merit factors, including risk and danger, which qualify war reporting to be considered an exclusive club, it is equally important to look at the hardships and sacrifices expected of those who practice war reporting.

5.2.3 Ability to endure hardships and sacrifices like no other

This sub-category presents discourse that captures the exclusive aspect of war reporting in relation to the notions of sacrifice and hardships as understood by the India-based respondents. The language used within this sub-category varies from "living in hotels under constant shelling," "working long hours without food and water" and "sleeping in the jeep" to leaving behind family for a long time, which signifies the respondents' self-identification as eligible claimants to an exclusive club of reporters based on their extraordinary experiences from the war zone.

According to the India-based respondents, this exclusive and special club of war reporting demands extraordinary sacrifices to be made by war reporters and only those who are willing and capable of leaving families and loved ones behind with the uncertainty of never coming back can be part of it. All 17 respondents imply a war reporter is not only meritorious and physically brave but is also mentally strong and can function without their loved ones for a long time from a war zone that is marred with extreme realities. Such implied understanding regarding mental strength remains undisputed and is widely shared among those who cover conflicts in India, further signalling towards a presence of journalistic doxa (Schultz 2008) within the field of war reporting. The 17 respondents interviewed for this thesis describe physical and emotional hardships – R23, R31, R34, R33, R36, R37 and R39 speak of physical fatigue and lack of food and water. R34, Thakur, and R37, Dutta, recall their living conditions in the war zone as "basic," where the hotel was under regular shelling, making it unsafe for the journalists living there. R37 claims he preferred to live in his hired jeep, which he drove to get to various parts of the war zone, making it unsafe and extremely uncomfortable. R23, Jami, mentions "mattresses infested with bed bugs" and "very little to no water" for daily use, recreating the challenges faced by those who covered the war. Even though the respondents refer to these issues as occupational hazards, their assertion of being able to cover the war without much food, water and rest – by invoking language and imagery that highlights their capacity to function in difficult situations, without their loved ones – is indicative of their self-image as war reporters; in other words, an extraordinary set of people who are prepared for hardships and sacrifices that are an integral part of war reporting.

R36's description of the life of a war reporter resonates strongly with that of the other respondents:

> …A friend of mine used to say that the day I get back from the war zone, I will go to a disco club. Obviously, it is not a very easy life; rather, it was not an easy life at all. First of all, your living conditions were appalling, there was no food. As I said, half a bucket of water, you could get shelled, shot anytime. And sending the stories from the war zone was not easy. But you felt great because you were getting great stories and you were the one doing it (R36, Chowdhury).

Respondents also speak about leaving behind families and the impact it had on their loved ones. R33, Saha, states that, as a reporter he was overjoyed for being chosen to cover the war, but as a newly married man he was also aware of leaving his wife behind with the uncertainty that surrounds the life of a war reporter.

> …I had just got married and, seven months into my marriage, I had to leave to cover Kargil. Look, war anyway is an uncertainty. One could argue that our sitting here and chatting is also a kind of uncertainty. But a war is a much greater uncertainty. I was excited. My wife was petrified. Today, for example, if I tell her that I am going to cover another war, the quotient of anxiety will be slightly less because the last time I did not come back in a body bag. But those days she was petrified and mind you there were no cell phones and therefore no way of getting in touch (R33, Saha).

Both narratives underline the physical and emotional stresses that war reporters must learn to deal with. Not only must they adapt to difficult terrain, poor living conditions and the emotional stress of leaving loved ones behind, but they constantly must find ways to work around technology or the lack of it. Coverage of the Kargil war was especially challenging as it lacked widespread access to modern and sophisticated technology, making the job of a reporter harder. R38 and R34 declare that sending their tapes and stories back to head office proved to be a struggle as they were either dependent on one public telephone booth or the military to fly the tapes back to New Delhi, India's political capital and country headquarters to several media organisations, suggesting this is no straightforward job with simple tasks at hand. The narratives demonstrate the skills required as a war reporter to function efficiently in an environment that is mostly challenging and trying. These props or requirements as stated by the respondents can also be understood as reinforcement of journalistic autonomy. By evoking such norms and practices, they claim ownership of their autonomy. The sacrifices they make in their personal lives to not compromise their professional performance is an example of normative manifestations of professionalism. Through these props, war reporters earn the tag of authenticity and worthiness.

The final subcategory within grand motivations presents discourse that sheds light on the claim made by Indian respondents of being better reporters compared to their Western counterparts. This section analyses the manner in which Indian respondents demarcate themselves as superior war reporters, where their primary capital is their skill set, unlike Western reporters who, according to India-based reporters, enjoy additional facilities, such as safety training, personal security and combat pay. This assertion suggests a superior self-image and attempt to distinguish themselves as more worthy and professional, claiming ownership of a group where the Indian war reporters continue to excel despite the lack of perks and assurances from the media organisations they work for.

5.2.4 India-based war reporters claim superiority to their Western counterparts

The fourth sub-category presents discourse where notions of superiority – being better conflict reporters than their Western counterparts – manifests in language that signifies such claims through the words

and phrases used by the 17 respondents. Usage of phrases such as “I did not go on any war correspondence courses” (R27), “no combat pays or security” (R39), “never had a flak jacket” (R37) and “do not travel in business class” (R39) signifies their view of pampered Western war reporters who enjoy facilities that are not available to the Indian respondents, despite which they continue to cover conflicts and wars.

The perception of war reporters relying purely on their skills to perform to the best of their abilities is evident in the narratives of the India-based respondents. R27, Baweja, takes pride in her ability to survive and perform within the war zone without any expectations of assistance from her employers.

> …Different war zones have different rules. I adapt and learn with each experience. I have never worked for any organisation outside India and, as you know, here you are pretty much on your own when you leave for assignments like these. Unlike the BBC, which has a war correspondent course, the training, etc. We do not have anything. I remember seeing a lot of foreign journalists wearing bulletproof vests. I [did] not have one for sure (R27, Baweja).

Although the narrative highlights the lack of safety training[35] for reporters in Indian media organisations, it is not intended as a criticism. On the contrary, the notion of superiority in this case can be understood as denoting a sense of greater resilience and hardiness, which the BBC reporters do not possess. It can also be read as R27’s expanded sense of self-importance, where she claims she does not need bulletproof vests to keep her safe. The articulation above also suggests a work culture where only reporters who are skilled and self-confident can survive war reporting. She claims to have survived 30 years of conflict reporting without any training or courses; therefore, trying to establish herself as a superior reporter who has taught herself how to adapt and function within extreme situations. R39 echoes similar sentiments when comparing himself to his Western counterparts; he recalls his experience of the Afghanistan war (2001), where he claims that foreign media journalists came prepared with bulletproof vests, private security arrangements and personal tents with shower facilities. R39’s reference to combat pay, business class travel and Land Rover jeeps for travel creates an image of a pampered Western war reporter. The respondent says his own living conditions in Afghanistan stood out sharply in contrast to the Western reporters:

> …Here was the BBC, which was protected in Afghanistan by the SAS. They had British army Land Rover jeeps with them; they had cabins with shower facilities. I didn’t take a bath for a month because it was too cold and there were no bathrooms. But here you have BBC crew members with portable shower facilities and commandos protecting them. It was unreal (R39, Som).

Similar to R27’s articulation, R39 is not so much offering a critique of Indian media organisations; rather, he uses it to showcase his abilities as a war reporter and his professionalism. Through this narrative, R39 tries to attest himself as tougher than his over-indulged Western counterparts. Other respondents

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35 Hostile environment training entails training for journalists covering dangerous and hostile environments. The course [is] devised to help war reporters cope with a variety of difficulties they may incur during their time on the field. The training is held by experienced retired professionals from the field of military and covers topics on first-aid, kidnappings – a practical guide on how to survive in a war zone (Laforet, 2003).

(R29, R28, R31, R32, R34, R36, R37 and R38) draw a similar parallel when describing their Western counterparts. R29, Panjiyar, recounts covering the First Gulf War (1990-1991) and turning up in the war zone wearing regular clothes, "just a cotton shirt on my back," while he claims finding the foreign war reporters arriving prepared with body suits in the eventuality of a chemical, biological or nuclear warfare. He also makes comparisons regarding access to technology, which makes war reporting less stressful. While the foreign war reporters had personal satellite phones, R29 did not even have a mobile phone, making his job harder. These assertions imply the job of the India war reporter is much harder as compared to their Western counterparts. R37's gushing narrative makes strong claims regarding Indian war reporters' skills and capabilities.

> …The only difference between them [foreign reporters] and us [Indian reporters] is money. We are better journalists than them. I never had a flak jacket. If you want to be a journalist, you have to have the passion for it…we have fire in our bellies. In Kargil I was not wearing any protective gear and in Iraq [2003] I was not allowed to travel with the British officers because I was not wearing a bulletproof vest and I did not have a gas mask. At that point, it was all about the WMDs, remember? (R37, Dutta).

The imagery of "fire in the belly" and "passion" is a self-perception that is not only symptomatic of reporters who practice war reporting, but more importantly this narrative yet again tries to present a magnified version of Indian war reporters. Journalistic boundary maintenance methods utilise overt and explicit discourses to demarcate within professional groups. The above narratives are ways through which the India-based respondents claim to be more skilful, creating demarcations between them and their Western counterparts.

While, eight of the 17 respondents robustly warrant their superiority by comparing the working conditions and organisational support between the Indian and British media companies, R30, Swami, points towards the lacklustre attitude of Indian media organisations, which rests on the daredevil attitude of the journalist. The lack of safety training, according to the respondent, is described as "callous." He does not completely support the others' assertions of being tougher and braver on these grounds. However, he is aligned in the belief that Indian war reporters must work harder due to the lack of organisational support.

India-based war reporters understand their grand motivations in relation to risk, thrill, merit, hardships and sacrifices, which they view as essential elements of being a war reporter. Furthermore, the language used by the 17 respondents signifies views on self-identification as risk takers, thrill seekers and meritorious war reporters. However, it is equally important for this thesis to examine the ways in which the UK-based respondents understand their motivations of becoming a war reporter. The section below presents discourses of the 22 UK respondents in relation to their grand motivations.

5.3 Grand motivations of respondents in the UK

This section presents discourses of the 22 UK-based respondents, explaining their attraction to war reporting, which they claim is an exclusive club of special reporters. Through textual analysis of the language used by the respondents, this thesis seeks to understand the ways in which they understand their motivations of covering wars. Notions of risk are articulated by the UK respondents; however, there is a difference in the way it is articulated when compared to their Indian counterparts. For the 22 UK respondents, the notion of being a risk taker is conjoined with being a storyteller. Hence, it manifests in language that highlights grand motivations as understood by them in the form of telling big stories that are historically significant. Risk, therefore, becomes an aspect that must be handled but is not a primary motivating factor on its own.

5.3.1 Exclusive club: No trivial matter

The discourses categorised within this section present respondents who emphasise that war reporting is not just a job. Through language analysis, the views of the 22 UK respondents covering wars in Kosovo (1998), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) have been classified under this category. Respondents' views in relation to their motivations for choosing war reporting – through the use of words and phrases such as "being able to become a part of the biggest stories of the day" (R7), "being able to witness history first-hand" (R9) and their claim to the exclusive group of war reporting by emphasising on how war reporting is not a trivial job – therefore, something special – signifies their interpretation of why war reporting is not like any other form of reporting. This notion of self-identification is exemplified in language that often compares other forms of reporting, such as sports, travel and even political reporting, with war reporting – highlighting the unique characteristics of the latter, which allows for extraordinary experiences of "adventure," "glory and fame" and "becoming a part of history in making" (R11, R9, R13, R16 and R15). These phrases convey an understanding that highlights the importance of "adventure" or "risk" in delivering to the war reporter a place in history, by allowing them to cover wars and conflicts that are big stories as they have the potential to shape history and politics of nations.

It is also important to highlight the motivations of the UK respondents are presented in the context of three wars – Kosovo (1998), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003).

Tight alignment can be found between the 22 respondents who interpret their attraction towards the practice of war reporting by asserting the exclusive nature of war reporting through factors such as "being able to become a part of the biggest stories of the day," "being able to witness history first-hand" or war reporting "not [being] a trivial job due to the extraordinary factors involved." All of the above are signifiers of the UK war reporting habitus (Schultz 2008) that is distinct from their Indian counterparts. The undisputed understanding within the UK respondents' motivations of being a war correspondent comes from their ability to tell stories that are big and important.

Eleven of the 22 UK respondents who covered the Kosovo war (1998) were not experienced in war coverage at the time. While the respondents claiming to have several years of experience saw the war as yet another opportunity to "tell big stories" and be "part of history in making" (R11, R9, R13, R16 and R15), younger and inexperienced respondents at the time of the war emphasised the aspect of wanting to be part of the elite and exclusive club of war reporting, insisting that reporting wars allowed them to be counted among the stalwarts of their field (R7, R8, R18 and R20); therefore, claiming membership through boundary maintenance – demarcating and privileging war reporters over non-war reporters. Both perspectives shed light on the importance of their role within the practice of war reporting. R16, Bell, war correspondent for the BBC, commenting on how war reporting is not "just any job" as it involves bigger risks and even bigger opportunities, says

> …No! This is not just a job. It is a special job and these narratives [about risks and opportunities] do come into your mind. I don't know how it is in India, but with us it is a fiercely competitive environment. If you are a sports correspondent or a political correspondent, it is nothing like being a war reporter (R16, Bell).

The respondent's articulation above claims war reporting is "special" by comparing it with other forms of journalism (sports and politics), further laying demarcations between war reporting and other forms of reporting, and suggesting those who practice war reporting are faced with bigger challenges or risky situations and are more skilled than journalists who do not cover wars. R16 also points towards the existence of "fierce competition" within the field of war reporters, which can be understood as a contradiction to his earlier laid demarcations of war reporting as a unified special club of reporters who are equally talented. The reference made towards competition sheds light on further challenges faced by members of this elite club. Furthermore, it signals towards the power play that occurs within the journalistic field in order to attain a position of maximum autonomy as previously addressed by Bourdieu (2005).

Similarly, the 12 respondents interviewed in relation to their experience of covering the Afghanistan war (2001) use language and imagery that highlights the elements of "adventure," "risk taking," "witnessing history" and "glory and glamour" as intrinsic parts of war reporting (R3, R4, R5, R7, R10, R11, R14, R15, R17, R19, R21 and R22). R21, Somerville, a BBC Middle East correspondent, similar to R16, foregrounds the exclusivity of war reporting through his experience of the Afghanistan war, stating that no other form of reporting could promise him the "thrill and risk" as war reporting.

> …I could have become a travel reporter and could have gone to five-star hotels! I imagine it could be very nice doing that as a job but obviously there is a thrill here in what I do. Moving with soldiers, militia men, with fighters, with anybody carrying guns, it is great to be in those situations where more important things are happening, and you are able to get the story back in one piece (R21, Somerville).

The articulation above emphasises the element of living on the edge. Furthermore, the constant comparisons between war reporting and other forms of reporting by R21 and R16 are also a mode of demarcation that is shared by all 22 British respondents interviewed for this research, implying a strong

sense of boundary marking between what is considered to be challenging, arduous and industrious reporting. The British respondents, in making a choice to be war reporters, also understand their role as more thrilling and bolder than reporters outside the practice of war reporting. R21 is clearly aware of his status as a risk taker who manages to get the story in "one piece" despite the dangers involved in war reporting. Similarly, R7, Pannell, a war correspondent for the BBC, highlights these demarcations by invoking language through subverting meanings of what is considered normal – claiming that for him it is the daily routine of being in an office and participating in routine behaviour that feels abnormal. He says,

> … I have covered a significant number of conflicts and here is why I think I am drawn to that: there is something personal about it; I have always been a risk taker; I do not respond well to normal. I am not driven by rules and order, I do not like offices; I do not like newsrooms; I do not like sitting around with lots of my colleagues talking about internal BBC nonsense (R7, Pannell).

The articulation above also presents war reporters as autonomous figures who "are not driven by rules" and "are drawn to risks." The language used by R7 attempts to characterise what war reporters understand as normal – danger and conflicts. It also demonstrates the view that war reporters are lone figures who do not comply with rules, making the war reporter suitable for war zones marked with chaos and danger.

Six of the 16 respondents interviewed in relation to their experiences of the Iraq war (2003) use grand motivations to explain their role within the practice of war reporting (R6, R8, R10, R11, R19 and R20), appearing to be in tight alignment with other respondents who covered the Kosovo and Afghanistan wars. R8, Dymond, a foreign correspondent for the BBC, while justifying his choice of reporting from Iraq in 2003, notes,

> …People completely fail to comprehend why anyone would want to risk their lives. They think it is an insane risk to take; they should bear in mind that it is part of the fun. That is where the glory is and this is special (R8, Dymond).

R8's narrative is demonstrative of how war reporters view the challenges within their field as an opportunity for glory and fame, laying further boundaries between how meanings of danger and fun are understood differently by those within and outside the practice of war reporting.

Furthermore, notions of risk and adventure are understood in relation to grand or awe-inspiring experiences that come in the form of conflicts that allow the war reporter to chase big stories. This points towards the relevance of storytelling in the pursuit of which risk, thrill and adventure become relevant aspects of war reporting. R17, Patience, a war reporter for the BBC, recounts his experience from Afghanistan explaining why war reporting is addictive and exclusive,

> …It can be quite addictive; gets addictive in the sense that conflicts are often the biggest stories in the world and if you want to be a journalist covering bigger stories, you can have amazing adventures and it feels like it matters because it does matter. Imagine the adrenalin rush and

> life and death is on the edge. You do meet extraordinary people and you see extraordinary things and you see the very best of life, of human beings and you see very very worst, but yes, those extremes can be thrilling (R17, Patience).

R17's articulation sheds light on the elements of risk and thrill as an integral part of war reporting. However, more importantly, the notion of being a storyteller of the biggest stories is emphasised – "you can have adventures and it feels like it matters because it does matter." The language attaches a sense of meaning behind risk and adventure – the claim is that war reporters are not thrill-junkies who are addicted to danger; on the contrary, there is an invocation of self-image that asserts war reporters as journalists who are motivated by telling the biggest stories of the day and, to do so, they go through extraordinary experiences of finding themselves in life and death situations.

While the grand motivations of the India- and UK-based war reporters across the wars has remained the same in relation to both groups claiming membership to an exclusive club of reporters – notions of risk, thrill and adventure are articulated differently. While the former explains their motivations as thrill-seekers and risk takers through language that exemplifies an understanding of their self-identification through discourse that is heroic, brave and macho, the UK respondents invoke language that primarily exemplifies their self-identification as reporters wanting to tell the biggest stories and become part of history-in-the-making through their storytelling experiences. Therefore, viewing risk and thrill as integral to war reporting but not as the main motivating factors for becoming war reporters. Furthermore, for the India-based respondents, the notion of being meritorious and superior to Western war reporters manifests in their discourse, which they understand as motivating factors for choosing war reporting.

War reporters understand their motivations in grand and instrumental ways. While grand motivations present an inflated and magnified view of war reporters' understanding of their attraction towards the practice of war reporting, instrumental motivations help this thesis explain the incentives of going to war, as understood by the India and the UK respondents. Identifying the instrumental motivations is equally important for this thesis as it helps answer the first research question about the role perception of the respondents and the factors impacting it.

5.4 Instrumental motivations – India-based respondents

The dictionary meaning of the word instrumental is – serving as a means or influence; helpful. This categorisation relates to discourse from the 39 respondents who understand and describe their attraction towards war reporting as a means to pursue their aim or to play a part in bringing something about, therefore, instrumental in nature. This section will first present instrumental motivations as understood by the 17 India-based respondents followed by the understanding of the 22 UK-based respondents.

The 17 India-based respondents interviewed for this thesis also understand their motivations for going to Kargil as serving a means or boosting their career, based on textual analysis of the views of the India

respondents. The respondents use words and phrases such as “India’s war with Pakistan” (R23-R39), “telling stories of the soldiers” (R24, R26, R27, R28, R29, R32, R33, R36 and R37) and “It goes on my CV” (R33 and R37), highlighting reasons for covering the Kargil war other than thrill, danger or superiority. Reporting on the Kargil war witnessed an overnight rise for junior reporters and unheard names turn into household brands. The incentive of getting the opportunity to cover India’s first televised war has been acknowledged by all 17 respondents. R33, Saha, unabashedly recalls the Kargil war as a “great experience” and his biodata will always reflect this valuable addition to his career. Similarly, R39, Som, states the importance of being part of this war, which made him an overnight sensation and a front row witness to history-in-the-making,

> …It was India’s first televised war, India’s first twenty-four hours coverage of the Kargil war in your living rooms. It marked a transition in Indian television, which I was very much a part of and at that time I had no idea of how big it was (R39, Som).

The 17 respondents also claim Kargil, being India’s war with neighbouring Pakistan, was not only important but historically relevant. The geopolitical narratives surrounding the Pakistani infiltration into Indian territory that resulted in the war required detailed coverage. The ramifications of this act in the midst of peace talks had larger implications, which needed to be covered. R24, R26, R27, R31, R33, R36, R37 and R39 unhesitatingly refer to the Indian side as the “aggrieved party.” R23, R24, R25, R27, R31, R32, R33, R36, R37 and R39 also admit that telling stories of military courage and valour was equally important, especially in a war that was not of India’s making. Four of the 17 India-based respondents (R26, R33, R36 and R37) strongly identified themselves as “patriots,” reinforcing their role in supporting the military and keeping up the morale of the men in uniform through storytelling. R26, Sawant, compares his experience of covering the Kargil war with his experience in Iraq (2003).

> …Telling a story is my passion. It connects you to the world. Telling a story from difficult areas is altogether a different experience. When you are telling a story of your own soldiers – you meet some you have grown up with and have met in the past decades as a journalist – so the connect and storytelling is very different, perhaps not as dispassionate as reporting from Iraq (R26, Sawant).

R26’s reference to the Indian military as his “own soldiers,” some of whom the respondent was known to, invokes language that clearly rejects dispassionate storytelling, shedding light on his understanding of being a war reporter who is bound to differentiate between wars, especially ones that involve his own countrymen. It also suggests the practice of neutrality depends on factors such as the war reporter’s home country being involved in the war being covered, soldiers belonging to reporter’s own country, etc. Two of the 17 respondents’ (R23 and R34) state the importance of doing stories on the impact of the war on civilians and the toll it takes on women and children. However, only four respondents (R25, R28, R29 and R30) point out the importance of investigative journalism to understand the level of the security breach that occurred and led to the war. These four respondents claim the military intelligence failure is an equally relevant story as the war; therefore, maintaining a war reporter’s job is not limited to an acquired paramilitary status of reporting alongside the military on the obvious spectacle, but it is

also to investigate and report on the broader narratives or reasons for war, including intelligence failures on behalf of the government or military. Among the instrumental motivations, while career advancement was a claim most respondents refer to by invoking language that emphasises the importance of such opportunities, there are also specific motivations of wanting to tell stories of soldiers fighting in the Kargil war, which they understand as instrumental.

An argument can be made that, in comparison to the grand motivations, the instrumental motivations of the India respondents appear to be limited. This thesis explains the imbalance through reasoning that India respondents primarily understand their motivations of wanting to be war reporters in the context of the grand narratives, which manifests in language that sheds light on how they understand their self-image in relation to risk, thrill, merit, etc.

5.5 Instrumental motivations – UK-based respondents

This section presents the instrumental motivations as viewed by the 22 UK respondents covering the three wars. These can be understood in accordance with the political narratives and strategic priorities surrounding the three wars, as discussed in Chapter 4.

NATO's justification for its involvement in Kosovo was based around the principle of humanitarian interventions (Hammond 2007), where its proponents mark the necessary use of military forces in the face of human rights abuse and the rights of its citizens over state sovereignty. The politically and culturally complex civil war in Yugoslavia since the early 90s played a major role in New Labour's rebranding of its foreign policy with a moral imperative. The ethical foreign policy (Dunne & Wheeler 2001) could be seen as part of New Labour's identity, which it sought to project onto the public and media's consciousness. It arguably marked a discursive break in how states justify their military activities. More fundamentally, it could also be seen as an assertion of NATO's strength following the fall of communism. As argued by Hammond (2007), the 1990s and early 2000s were characterised by aspects of humanitarian interventions on the part of major Western powers. Although there is no dearth of research on the impact of foreign policy, the framing of the Kosovo war within media reporting, as suggested by Hammond, is that media reporting does not happen in a bubble. The strategic priorities seem to shape the way war reporters understand their role within humanitarian interventions. The image of an ideal Western self – a romanticised embodiment of the values of the West, whether in Bosnia (1992) or Kosovo (1998) – resulted in a shift within war reporting, especially in the way reporters re-evaluated their role and the usefulness of journalism from a war zone. The instrumental motivations further shed light on the way the 22 war reporters understood their role in the Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq war zones.

5.5.1 Telling stories of suffering

Respondents covering the Kosovo conflict describe their motivations through their interest in "telling stories from dark places"[36] (R15 and R9). The language invokes an image from Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, referring to the inner darkness and primitiveness people possess. The racist undertones regarding how such a world is in need of saving can be construed, especially when the respondents understand their role as "exposing the wrongdoings, evil and suffering" at the hands of the Serbian military on the Albanians, thereby saving the victims through storytelling. The 11 respondents who covered the Kosovo conflict claim in doing so they were not shielding their audience from what is gory and troubling, fulfilling their roles as informers. R18, Guerin, a war reporter for the BBC explains,

> …I am not in the school of thought that you should shield the audience from the horror of what is going on. I think we have the responsibility to show it all. Now that does not mean dead bodies or footage that is so gory that people would just turn off, because then you lose them. But I do not believe we should be sanitising what is happening. It is important to tell the stories of the victims and their suffering (R18, Guerin).

The respondent in her narrative understands her role as a moral witness (Peters 2001) to the atrocities of the war; journalists and politicians invoked language of the Holocaust in relation to the wars in Yugoslavia and Kosovo. R18's imagery and understanding of her role is, therefore, a reflection of Hammond's (2007) argument regarding how humanitarian narratives are not only imposed on the press by its government but this imposition is readily accepted by those who cover these interventions. For instance, R18's understanding of her role is limited to her focus on the victims and their plight, and not so much on the circumstances or context of the conflict.

Foreign policy in relation to the Kosovo conflict was framed in humanitarian reasons. It was Britain's first war where the use of an ethical foreign policy came to the forefront. Narratives of being a saviour and protecting the world from evil dominated the discourse within Britain's strategic priorities. The impact of this narrative can also be seen in the respondents' understanding of their role as war reporters. The emphasis on the educational role, characterising British journalism as being oriented towards acquiring and imparting information (Donsbach 1983), is a resilient concept, even during the Kosovo war to an extent. The views of the 11 respondents regarding their role can be divided into two distinct categories.

(A) The journalist is an observer, informer and detached storyteller. R3, R8, R9, R11, R18 and R20 explain their role from this position and lay claims to fulfilling the responsibility towards their audience, which expects a truthful account of the war zone. These professional beliefs regarding who a war reporter is not only signal towards a particular set of values within the journalistic doxa (Schultz 2008) but also become a powerful discursive practice where those agents who do not adhere to similar values

[36] See fn 28.

are criticised and controlled by it. One of the respondents, on conditions of anonymity, describes how they view those who claim to uphold values of attachment while reporting on wars and conflicts,

> …I would like to be treated anonymously here. The journalists who connect with the story the way Martin Bell did in my view have given up the job. I do not think journalists should be appealing to anyone, I certainly do not think they should be adopting children. I think the over-association with one group or another is wrong. And I am deeply suspicious of the motivation as well. It is also very successful journalism and I am perhaps not a terribly successful journalist [scoffs sarcastically]. But to me, it is an abrogation of a duty that we have (Anonymous).

The respondent's articulation above invokes language that is critical of those war reporters who adhere to the value judgement aspect of storytelling. Notions of who a war reporter is are exemplified in language that assigns meaning to the respondent's claim of journalists who connect with Bell's concept of journalism of attachment – thereby failing at their duty as a war reporter. The value judgement aspect of storytelling brings with it notions of duty as opposed to success, which the respondent is signalling as a marker of his objective and detached image as a war reporter. Furthermore, the language is used to create boundaries between those storytellers who believe in a role that goes beyond storytelling and gets involved personally. The discourse, therefore, emphasises the respondent's understanding of who is not a war reporter.

Similarly, R17, Patience, a war reporter for the BBC, explains the relevance of keeping one's personal views in check to appear credible in the eyes of his audience. He says,

> …I had very strong views on what was happening in Afghanistan. You have to keep those views in check. You must try and keep that as private as possible because I think as soon as you cross that line, you lose credibility. I think that people come to the BBC because they think this is an organisation that will try and get the facts and try and get both sides or every side the fair amount of say and I think that is what you need to strive for. I am not saying it is easy but that is why we are kind of highly trained (R17, Patience).

The articulation above highlights the conscious choice war reporters must make to legitimise what they do. His claim of being a war reporter wanting to tell big stories – devoid of personal feelings, emotions or sensationalism – sheds light on his understanding of who a war reporter is and the way they must approach storytelling. Furthermore, the language invokes the importance of brand value – "people come to the BBC…for facts" – is another means through which he views his position as a war reporter: the organisation and brand values are markers for excellence and working for certain organisations make reporters look more credible than others. Finally, there is also an assertion on being highly trained, further demarcating those who are probably less trained and allow for their views to impact their storytelling (Bishop 2004)

The respondents who identify with the role of an informer refer to "involved and attached" journalism as "juvenile and lazy journalism" (R11), "crusading reporting leading to oversimplification" (R20) and "untrained and inexperienced" (R20), suggesting that journalists who do not adhere to being neutral while covering wars lack training and experience (R9) and are only fit for professions such as "activism

and policy making" (R18). The above respondents also present their understanding of objectivity norms (Tuchman 1972), using words such as: accuracy, detachment, fair, truthful and neutrality to an extent.

(B) In contrast to those journalists who seek to define themselves as neutral informers and are critical of those who do not adhere to similar storytelling practices, other respondents (R7, R12, R13, R14, R15 and R16) understand and define their role as compassionate storytellers, whose job it is to expose the ugliness of the war zone. R12, Pilger, a former foreign correspondent from the *Daily Mirror*, describes how he understands the instrumental motivations of being a war reporter,

> …Hostile environments were of course part of my brief; yet the more I travelled the more I saw journalism as telling the stories of ordinary people and analysing and reporting the forces that shaped their lives…Objectivity is a good word long co-opted and almost denuded of its dictionary meaning. It's a word used extensively by media corporations, such as the BBC, to describe a form of stenographic journalism that is not objective in the literal sense but reflects the received wisdom of institutions, the established political system and authority. This form is often accepted without question in journalism schools; it has little to do with independent journalistic investigation (R12, Pilger).

The articulation above highlights the way R12 views his self-image – where he upholds the function of storytelling that shapes the lives of ordinary people. Further, meanings of objectivity further manifest in his discourse through language that critiques objectivity, especially in relation to the BBC – describing it as a "form of stenographic journalism." The respondent views a balanced and presenting-both-sides-of-the-story approach to be the opposite of independent investigative journalism. The use of phrases like "objective journalism reflects the received wisdom of institutions, authority" highlights his views in relation to the autonomous position of journalism, suggesting the field of war reporting is not only being shaped by members from within but from institutions and systems on the outside. The language also invokes boundary maintenance by emphasising how notions of objectivity – where a balanced approach might have been accepted as relevant values for reporting – has no bearing on independent journalism. The criticism R12 subjects on values associated with objectivity sheds light on how he understands war reporting.

The war reporters, in performing their role, make conscious and unconscious decisions regarding the direction they wish to pursue and add particular set of meanings as intended by them (Alexander 2004). The respondents above not only understand the attributes of a war reporter but clearly draw boundaries against certain practices of their profession, which, according to them, do not fit within the framework of war reporting.

Interventions during humanitarian crises can be distinguished from the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Operation Allied Forces in Kosovo (1998), reportedly a humanitarian intervention, rarely involved the deployment of troops in major combat roles and involved human rights issues rather than matters of national interest. These so-called humanitarian wars raise a question for media–state relations where there is a concern over the effect news media coverage of people in adversity and agony has emboldened Western governments to intervene during these crises (Robinson 2002). Wars like

Afghanistan and Iraq are considered “limited wars” (Carruthers 2000), at least from the British perspective, as the mobilisation of armed forces was for relatively short periods without the nation being placed on a war footing. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq also represent “wars of choice,” distinguishable from “total wars” such as the World War II, which involved a direct threat to national survival and, consequently, little expectation of an independent news media (Carruthers 2000).

Moving to the Afghanistan war, the framing of it by the political elites as a War on Terror further emphasised it as being a war between good and evil. The war was set to be a default test by President Bush to discover America’s global friends and enemies. All 12 respondents interviewed in relation to their experiences of the Afghanistan war agree the involvement of the war reporter’s country and military forces proved to be a major source of motivation to cover the war as it directly impacted their country, military and audience. The respondents also agree it made coverage of the war more personal. R17, Patience, war reporter for the BBC, places the importance of covering the Afghanistan war in terms of its newsworthiness for Britain (Harcup & O’Neill 2017):

> …If you look at the Middle East and Afghanistan, those conflicts have repercussions elsewhere. For example, the Afghanistan war was about Al-Qaeda, the 9/11 attacks on America and then you had British troops fighting in Afghanistan. So, it had a direct impact on the country I was from (R17, Patience).

The narrative reiterates Galtung and Ruge’s (1965) and Harcup and O’Neill’s (2010) news values, which make bad news stories with particularly negative overtones, such as conflict or tragedy, newsworthy for its audience. The War on Terror – also known as the Global War on Terrorism, an international military campaign launched by the US government after the 9/11 Twin Tower attacks in the US – was deemed newsworthy on international and domestic fronts as it directly involved the British military and government in the campaign. Therefore, placing wars and conflicts as relevant and important stories for its audience, who rely on war reporters for the coverage of foreign events.

Furthermore, respondents also describe the incentives of going to war, which this thesis categorises under instrumental motivations. Those covering the Afghanistan war describe their willingness to cover wars because of reasons such as “it turbo charges [a reporter’s] career” (R22), “[gets a reporter] more money” (R7), “[is a] source of approval [of] young reporters by their superiors” (R22), “the well-known brand of media they get to cover the wars for” (R7) and “these wars also reflect the organisational interest and priorities in those regions where the reporter is sent” (R19). These three respondents point out the instrumental side of opting for the genre of war reporting. While R7, R19 and R22 understand their choices within the grand narratives presented above, they also claim to be aware of the practical reasons for doing war reporting. Respondent 22, Smith, says,

> …I think young men can be prone to seeking approval. I think we all can, perhaps when we are young and are working our way in the world, war reporting can quickly accelerate that process…the thrill of it is true, of course, but news has a lot of rewarding mechanisms. If you did something really great, you could win an award and get huge amount of peer approval. A competitive environment as this, it is good to know you beat the competition (R22, Smith).

R22 points towards the news mechanism, which awards exclusive and good stories, resulting in peer approval, money and awards. The argument that it strengthens the war reporter's position within the field of war reporting is also a source of motivation, for which the respondent goes beyond thrill seeking. Similarly, R7 also highlights the BBC brand, which serves as a motivation, since it is a highly respected, well-known brand. The self-image of the war reporter within the genre is, therefore, viewed by the respondent in relation to the organisation they work for. Finally, R19 draws attention to the interest and priorities of the organisation a reporter works for. Here, the respondent touches on the wars that are chosen to be covered, as according to him not all wars are covered with equal interest by reporters and the organisations they work for.

> …I think you have to keep in mind that these are wars where the media wants to send you, it is also places I want to go but me wanting to go would be insufficient, it has to be places that television or print or radio wants to send journalists (R19, Cockburn).

This understanding of the practice of war reporting also attempts to challenge the view on autonomy that the majority of respondents claim while describing the nature of their work. The sense of power and autonomy (also found in grand narratives) through which war reporters tend to explain their work within the field is not so autonomous after all, making it semi-autonomous where they might not be confined to an office but nevertheless are governed by organisational priorities, audience expectations, mutual understanding of occupational practices and military–media relations, all of which has the capacity to influence a war reporter.

Finally, the instrumental motivations of the Iraq war, where military action was launched by a US-led coalition as a pre-emptive strike, substantiated primarily through accusations of Iraq's possession of the WMDs, a claim that was later found to be incorrect. The last justification prior to the war was that of Operation Iraqi Freedom – to liberate the Iraqi people and install a democratic government, thereby setting a positive example for the wider region (Hammond 2007). The instrumental motivations of the 16 respondents who covered the Iraq war remained the same as above – an opportunity to tell stories of extreme suffering; reporting on the experiences of one's own military; and the response of the Iraqi population towards the coalition army. The respondents understand their role as being not trivial, as they view war reporting as a means of making a difference in the lives of the victims they come across in the war zone. It is equally important to point out that none of the 16 respondents mentioned WMDs or Saddam Hussein's alleged link with Al-Qaeda to be among their motivations of covering the war. In fact, only two respondents (R19 and R21) describe their interests in Iraq in a geopolitical context. The remaining respondents mainly claim to focus on British military, Iraqi civilians' experiences under Saddam and the Iraqi liberation operation in their stories, therefore, demonstrating their understanding of their role as war reporters, which is mainly to tell stories of suffering without questioning the context or justifications of the intervention.

The instrumental motivations of the India- and UK-based respondents highlight notions of their self-identification, which is exemplified through language that has been analysed in terms of how they

understand their attraction towards war reporting that goes beyond motivations of risk, adventure, glory and fame, as highlighted within the section on grand motivations. While the India-based respondents view career advancement, telling stories of Indian soldiers as instrumental motivations of covering the Kargil war, the UK-based respondents claim to understand it as being able to tell stories of suffering – within which they invoke language that signifies their self-image as storytellers, upholding values of being a detached or moral witness.

5.6 Comparison of the findings of the India- and UK-based war reporters

This section compares findings in relation to both sets of respondents covering wars in Kosovo, Kargil, Afghanistan and Iraq.

5.6.1 Motivations remain resilient for the India- and UK-based respondents

The respondents' motivations can be broadly understood through their description of their job and the way they see themselves within it. Both sets of respondents describe the job of war reporting as not being trivial because it allows for a special kind of storytelling. This emanates from being a privileged witness to history in the making. Furthermore, there is also an abiding attraction (as the 22 UK respondents claim) towards telling the big stories of the day, which are also difficult stories of life and death. The 17 India respondents' understanding of their role from the Kargil war zone mainly highlights the swashbuckling and/or natural risk taker image of a war reporter, convinced of their self-claimed superiority over their peers and Western counterparts. The grand motivations of the India-based respondents highlight their focus on their ability to tell stories despite the hardships and lack of facilities, as established above. The respondents' understanding of their role within the Kargil war can be further understood in the context of the war itself – being the first televised war in India and, more importantly, the respondents' claim of it being unjust, where the Indian state was protecting its sovereignty. Both these factors can be used to explain their self-perception of brave, heroic, thrill-seeking, risk-taking and meritorious reporters who belong to an exclusive group of war reporters. The hero syndrome can be broadly observed among the India-based respondents, who through their gushing narratives of the war zone invoke the figure of the "warcos," an abbreviation for war correspondents who reported in World War II, an abiding image of the war correspondent – intrepid individualist, long on courage and short on introspection (Collier 1989, p. 20). This can be further demonstrated through the instrumental motivations, where only four out of 17 India-based respondents describe their role as investigators (R25, R28, R29 and R30), wanting to enquire regarding the Indian military's security breach that led to the Pakistani infiltration.

Unlike the India respondents, the 22 UK respondents' understanding of their role from the three war zones separates the thrill-seeking, swashbuckling, camel riding image while amplifying the image of a risk-taking war reporter interested in moving their audience through stories of intense suffering. While aspects of thrill and danger are not completely rejected, the younger generation of the UK war reporters

provide self-perceptions of being emotionally fragile and humane (R2, R3, R4, R7, R8, R15, R20 and R21), where they are impacted by the extreme realities of the war zone. References to PTSD were made by R2, R4 and R8. Nevertheless, the UK respondents primarily segregate themselves by claiming membership to an exclusive club where war reporting is warranted as an opportunity to inform their audience while exposing the brutalities and suffering in the war zones. The reference to telling big stories from dark places and the ability to change people's lives (according to the UK respondents, including R2, R3, R4, R5, R7, R10, R11, R14, R15, R17, R19, R20, R21 and R22) in relation to the three wars highlights an understanding of their role – which demonstrates the presence of a saviour complex.[37] The imagery and language used by the UK respondents display a larger focus on the wrongdoings, death and destruction in the three wars. The Kosovo war was broadly emphasised by ten respondents as exposing the wrongdoings, evil and suffering of the Albanians at the hands of the Serbian military. No other context to the war was provided by the respondents who claimed to have covered it; only R3 reminisced regarding the complex narrative of the Kosovo war, so straightforward reporting was not possible. Even though R3 claims to have an understanding of this complexity, reporting from Kosovo largely adhered to Hammond's (2007) identification of a moral and Manichaean construction of the conflict – therefore, supporting strategic priorities – ethical intervention – of one's government to save the Albanians.

Similar moral identifications were found within the UK respondents covering the Afghanistan and Iraq wars. The Manichaean construction of the two wars can be further demonstrated through the understanding of the respondents' roles in Afghanistan and Iraq. The 12 respondents who covered the Afghanistan war emphasised the importance of the War on Terror, where their focus was either on the British military involvement and experiences or the conditions of the Iraqi people living under the Taliban regime. Similar interests were exhibited in relation to the Iraq war, where the 16 respondents who covered it emphasised their role as informers and storytellers of the atrocities on the Iraqi people living under the brutality of dictator, Saddam Hussein. The UK respondents' alignment with their government's framing of the intervention as Operation Iraqi Liberation was projected through the interests in giving voice to the sufferings of the local Iraqi people. More prominent claims presented by the UK government regarding Saddam Hussein's alleged links with Al-Qaeda and amassing WMDs were neither mentioned nor contextualised within the narratives presented by the 16 respondents while describing their experiences of the Iraq war. This reinforces the UK respondents' understanding of the relevance of the practice of war reporting – which grants the war reporters an opportunity to draw attention to the world of suffering that is in need of rescuing.

Common understanding was found among the 39 respondents (UK and India) in recognising the sacrifices they make in their personal lives to not compromise their professional performance. The UK

37 See fn 27.

respondents make no secret of their fractured personal lives and claim to not regret the choices they make in wanting to be war reporters. R10, Muir, a BBC Middle East reporter, points out,

> …Well, I do not have a straightforward family situation. I have been married twice. I have four kids…my kids are all dispersed. I have one son in Australia, one in Spain, a daughter in Cyprus and another one studying here. So, I do not have a simple family situation where people sit down worrying about me, they probably do, but I have always disappeared for long periods and they often do not know where I am and what I am doing. It is not that kind of tight-knit family thing where I kiss goodbye to the wife and she sits wringing her hands in anxiety. That is not how it works with my family (R10, Muir).

The narrative while drawing attention to a range of tropes found within war reporting reinforces the war reporter as a loner, who is emotionally disconnected yet vulnerable at the same time. Furthermore, the narrative foregrounds the sacrifices made by the respondent in his personal life for the sake of his work. The narrative also suggests an understanding that, despite the fractured personal life, there is a bigger role to fulfil as a war reporter. The UK and India respondents continue to draw on specific symbolic vocabularies and use them to further highlight the image of a war reporter who leaves their family behind in order to fulfil their responsibility of telling difficult stories.

5.6.2 Mandatory hostile environment training courses for UK respondents versus lack of training for India respondents

The absence of safety training courses in India for war reporters was frequently cited by the 17 respondents, demonstrating their understanding of a superior class of war reporters in comparison to their Western counterparts. For the UK respondents, the training courses provided by media organisations, while mandatory, are reportedly a fairly recent addition to the practice of war reporting. Senior war reporters, including R9, R10, R11, R13, R19 and R16, during the Kosovo conflict claim to have travelled into war zones without any risk assessments or personal security arrangements and discuss the war zones becoming unsafe during the Afghanistan and Iraq wars. They argue the need for training courses for war reporters, adding the responsibility for their security lies with their organisations. As described by R10, Muir, a Middle East reporter for the BBC,

> …A lot of the most important reporting that I have done would not be possible today. I covered 15 years of war in Lebanon without a safety advisor or risk assessment. Now a days you just could not do that. No one [media organisation] would sign off the risk assessment forms for anything like what I did before (R10, Muir).

The majority of the senior war reporters view risk assessment and hostile training courses as a requirement to get access to the war zones. With organisational requirements of mandatory completion of hostile environment courses[38] before entering a war zone, the onus of safety and security is on the

[38] Hostile environment and first aid training (see fn 33) is mandatory for all BBC staff who are covering countries that are recognised as dangerous. Refresher courses are expected to be completed every three years making it compulsory to have an updated training record before staff can be sent to such places. .

media organisations the journalist works for. As noted by R17, Patience, a foreign correspondent for the BBC,

> …Reporters have become more conscious of safety and security, journalists are now a target, and danger has increased. Hence, more planning is required. Now the onus is more on the organisation for planning, so that the reporter can focus on their work (R17, Patience).

Few respondents – R8, R6, R7 and R14 – who covered Afghanistan and Iraq view the usefulness of the hostile environment courses as limited to its first aid element. As noted by R8, Dymond, a foreign correspondent for the BBC,

> …I think the courses are largely irrelevant. The first aid bit is useful and important, but they may be as important in a road traffic accident on the M1[39] as anywhere else. The hostile side means they might teach you a few tricks; the impression I have got on the course and on the ground, that so much of it is dictated by luck (R8, Dymond).

Whereas others – R2, R3, R15, R17, R22 and R20 – view them as necessary and reassuring. R3, Wyatt explains,

> …I think these courses have got better with time. They are necessary because they tell you what to do if your limb is blown off, how do you spot improvised explosive devices, when they tell you, do not pick up debris or anything shiny on the path…I think these are lifesaving tips for anyone who has limited or no experience in the war zone (R3, Wyatt).

5.6.3 Safety considerations impact war reporters' self-image

The implications of safety management and risk assessments have not only impacted the way journalists work and report within the war zone but also on the way they view their image within it. Meaning, the older and experienced war reporters, who have covered dangerous frontlines without safety considerations, describe themselves as war-hardened and natural risk takers. As pointed out by R13, Adie, a foreign correspondent for the BBC,

> …The most hardened combat soldiers know what fear is…we are no different. When I covered wars, my generation did not talk about how we felt. We were professionals. I went through thousand pounder bombs during wars without thinking much about it (R13, Adie).

The comparison of war reporters with hardened soldiers suggests processing fear and extreme situations is part of the job. This is indicative of how the older generation understands war reporting and themselves while doing the job. R13 also mentions how the younger batch of war reporters make a big deal of their situation when they speak of PTSD in relation to their experiences from the war zone.

However, some younger and experienced respondents who have covered more recent wars in Iraq and Syria talk about their experience not as hardened war reporters but emphasise the impact it has had

[39] M1 refers to a 311km motorway (or highway) in the UK connecting the city of London to Leeds.

on them on a human level. R2, Hawley, a foreign correspondent for the BBC having covered the Iraq war, says,

> …[the] Iraq war zone was physically exhausting. I felt like I was adrenaline depleted. Every day there were bombs going off, threats to our lives had increased. It was emotionally and physically draining to be living there for a long time. A lot of us who lived there actually had treatment for PTSD. I know Catherine Philp [R3] wrote a big article on it. I think it hits you the hardest when you come back because you have let down the barriers and you are like: Oh! My lord, all the things I should have cried over – the man running down the corridor with his five-year-old son whose leg had been blown up, all the things that would make you cry, but you did not because you were so busy doing the job. A lot of us were treated for PTSD (R2, Hawley).

The anecdotal description of R2's experience stands juxtaposed to R13's narrative, where R2 admits to being "adrenaline depleted" as opposed to R13's "hardened war reporter." R2 is also honest about how she felt when she saw the man with his badly injured young son. She describes her feelings and claims she felt like crying but reminded herself of the job at hand. Therefore, unlike R13, the respondent does not hesitate in revealing her emotional distress and vulnerabilities but embraces them while continuing to do the job. The human experience, which impacts reporters such as R3 and R2, is also a way through which one can trace the shifts that have occurred with perceived images of a war reporter. The risk taking, thrill seeking, swashbuckling image has slowly progressed into a more humane, emotionally vulnerable image, as suggested by the respondent above. The common motivations of the 22 respondents regarding choosing the genre of war reporting remain consistent across the board; that is, of war reporters belonging to an elite club and being in an extraordinary position of privileged witness, demonstrating resilience in certain concepts relating to the genre of war reporting. It is equally important to highlight that, unlike previous research done on war reporters (McLaughlin 2002, 2016) where it was found young broadcast journalists saw war reporting no different than other journalism beats, this research found the opposite.

According to the findings of this research, it can be argued that all 39 respondents (from the UK and India) describe their job as not trivial and distinguish their genre of reporting from others by saying, "It is not like politics, or sports" (R16, Bell), "I could have been a travel reporter but it would not be the same" (R17, Patience), "This is more important than presidential elections in the US or anywhere. This is life and death" (R7, Pannell), and "Conflict reporting makes everything else look so ordinary; the challenge and intensity is overwhelming" (R24 Dutt). Furthermore, all 39 respondents add that their job is like no other as it involves large personal sacrifices. Therefore, this research found over the course of the three conflicts, certain aspects of the war reporter's image (as discussed above) remain resilient; however, with the changing nature of war zones, safety concerns and their experiences in Kargil, Afghanistan, Iraq and the ongoing war in Syria, concepts about who a war reporter is and how they work within war zones have been disrupted.

5.7 Conclusion

The ascribed role perceptions of the India and UK respondents relate to reinforcing a professional identity through invoking tropes that are part of a very long tradition of war reporting – a certain identity through tropes: hardships, sacrifice, bravery, heroism – highlights the image of the archetypal war reporter (Knightley 2003) who is a natural risk taker and assesses mortal danger differently compared to most journalists. Further, the 39 respondents, through ascribing to a certain identity, are also self-reinforcing and emphasising existing notions of war journalism. The tropes that both sets of respondents invoke – through utterances regarding what they do and their perceptions of what they do – also reinforce what and who war journalists/journalism should be about.

The India-based respondents continue to reinforce that view and claim superiority by showcasing their machismo and bravado and identifying themselves as physically hardened and intellectually meritorious. The anecdotal descriptions of the 39 respondents highlight the element of danger and risks – being privileged witnesses – while covering wars. The element of sacrifice and war reporting not being a trivial job is a common theme running across most India and UK respondents interviewed for this thesis. Personal testimonies of war zones – Iraq (2003) being littered with dead bodies, visiting slaughterhouses built for human beings during the Kosovo war (1998), travelling with the Mujahedeen in Afghanistan (2001) and reporting amid heavy Pakistani shelling and firing in Kargil (1999) – highlight the ways war reporters reveal their investment in sustaining a certain discursive authority – that of being an eyewitness.

Another role emerges from the self-perceptions of the India-based respondents who covered the Kargil war and appeared to have a pro-Indian military stance (four respondents of 17), who understand war reporting as an opportunity to focus on patriotic fervour and the Indian military's valour. Six of the 17 respondents understood war reporting as an opportunity to humanise war-hardened soldiers, projecting a sentimental aspect of war. The understanding provided by the Indian respondents regarding the Kargil war, being a forced war, lends itself to evoking the image of the war reporter as a patriot who must support the military in its war effort.

Similarly, the UK respondents have a second kind of understanding of a war reporter, which stands in complete contrast to the archetypal image – an emotionally vulnerable war reporter who is affected by the trauma and tragedy found in their environment. For both these images, the motivations explain their attraction towards war reporting; while the former aligns itself with Knightley's (2003) description of early war reporters as tough and resourceful who travelled by horses, donkeys and camels to cover remote violence, the latter image invokes a more human and fallible impression of war reporters who suffer from PTSD and find themselves falling apart as a result of witnessing death and destruction.

R9 clearly sets out his own perceptions regarding war reporting, which go beyond the elements of risk and danger. He emphasises aspects of being able to witness large communities of people "doing

horrible" things to each other and states coverage of this is essential, making his job about witnessing and presenting stories that deserve to be told. Similar arguments have been put forward by R12, who wanted to travel to "see the world" and tell stories that would otherwise go unnoticed. R15, R16 and R17 perceive their role as reporters who are driven by storytelling of the people and places that do not have a voice, referring to the saviour syndrome of war reporters. As Keeble (2010) remarked regarding journalism fulfilling a social purpose, in the case of the 22 UK-based war reporters, war journalism provides an opportunity to extend their experience beyond the narrow expectations of their class. Further remarkable is their acute consciousness regarding their reality, which is only shared by those who are a part of their world – an attribute openly admitted by R3, R4, R5, R8, R13, R14 and R16. They highlight the uniqueness of this special club of war correspondents where the richness of experience results in a rare kind of camaraderie often not found outside. The narratives of these respondents build on the peculiarity of near-death experiences, witnessing history in the making and events that cannot be associated with regular and routine life. This suggests these experiences bind war reporters together, creating a league that is separate from the rest. Finally, the element of sacrifice, which has been underlined by respondents across the board, notes their recognition of their dedication to bolster performance and reinforce their autonomy within the field of war reporting. They also make sacrifices in their personal lives to not compromise their professional performance (Revers 2014). As R8 points out, the world of war reporting is "littered with broken marriages and unsuccessful relationships"; the fact only a handful of respondents can claim a stable family life demonstrates the personal sacrifices a war reporter makes for their profession. Even those respondents who claim to have an integrated family life admit their inability to spend time with their children and partners.

To understand the world of war correspondence and journalistic practices, Bourdieu's field theory is relevant for establishing power struggle amongst the war reporters. The actors within the field – war reporters – can accomplish by becoming an expert on the rules of the game – war reporting. Furthermore, they can advance within the field by acquiring personal and social capital. According to Bourdieu political and economic fields possess maximum power as it engages with actors who have acquired large volume of capital. War reporters employed by distinguished broadcast organisations are influential actors who enjoy some freedom within the field. This autonomy as explained by Bourdieu is the result of the actor's association with eminent organisations, their ability to command a lucrative allowance for their work, their standing in public and lastly, successfully avoiding writing accounts of events that cater to popular taste, in order to earn a livelihood (Bourdieu 1998). Furthermore, he claims that the reporters within the journalistic field have agency due to their cultural capital to influence other players; hence, they have the power to shape the role perceptions and impact how war reporting is practice. Cultural capital can be possessed in three different ways by actors who enter the field with the aim of trading. Investment in personal education, refining one's skills and craftsmanship, enhancing scholarship is indicated as one of the ways, according to Bourdieu that actors within the field acquire cultural capital – an aspect most India- and UK-based respondents seem to fulfil. UK respondents (R2, R4, R5, R21, R20 and R17) were the few who learnt foreign languages (Arabic and Persian) to get a

better understanding of the world they wished to report on. Whereas India-based respondents (R24, R26, R32 and R39) give details of their education and training to further highlight their capability for war reporting. The majority of the UK respondents pursued a degree in journalism and worked their way up from writing and editing to finally reporting on international events. More importantly, the UK war reporters are known to renew their course in hostile environment training every three years to assess their combative reality better. Another articulation of the cultural capital happens through the actor's output, for instance, in the case of a broadcast journalists it would mean producing news stories in that medium. Finally, there is institutionalised capital that refers to accolades earned in the form of rewards and recognition (honorary degrees) – R5, Lamb, was awarded the Young Journalist award for her reporting in Afghanistan; R16, Bell, won the Royal Television Society award for his reporting in Bosnia and was awarded an Officer of the British Empire (OBE) in 1992; R13, Adie, was awarded an OBE in 1993 and went on to win the Richard Dimbleby Award from BAFTA in 1990. She has also been conferred with honorary degrees from universities including York St John University and the University of Bath, along with an honorary professorship of journalism from the University of Sunderland. Among the 22 UK respondents, the majority are recognised as bestselling authors on war novellas or memoirs and have been awarded for excellence in reporting. The argument to be made in Bourdieu's framework is that these reporters within the journalistic field have agency due to their cultural capital to influence other players, thereby making it possible to impact how war reporting is practised.

Like the UK respondents, their Indian counterparts claim educational training and experience of covering internal conflicts for reputable Indian media organisations, exhibiting their hard work and merit. The 17 respondents, through means of bravery, natural instincts to deal with danger and lack of similar facilities as their Western counterparts, continue to influence how war reporting is understood in India. It is also important to reiterate the historical and professional relevance of the Kargil war, which was used as a reference by the India-based respondents to reinforce and establish their skills as war reporters. Due to the nature of it being the first televised war, it transformed journalists covering the war into household brands and overnight stars, which now have the capital within the field to shape role perceptions within it. While Bourdieu's field theory is helpful in understanding war reporting, the role perceptions of the war reporters go beyond the field theory – it sheds light on the enduring legacy of journalistic identity where war reporters emphasise existing notions of war journalism (hardships, sacrifice) and continue to reinforce these notions to define who a war reporter is – through invoking tropes that have remained incredibly resilient.

The established role perceptions of war reporters play an important role in explaining how war reporters understand their role within a war zone. War reporting is clearly a process that cannot be explained only through the respondents' role perceptions. This thesis is also interested in how the UK and India respondents understand journalistic practices within war reporting – traditional journalistic routines that emphasise objectivity, attachment and the extent to which their meanings have shifted within the field of war reporting. It is also essential to understand war reporting and reporters in the context of their

zone of relevance – war reporters do not operate in a vacuum; their relationships with the military and war victims, impact how they justify their newsgathering and storytelling processes. The next chapter presents findings of the India and UK respondents' understanding of journalistic neutrality and the role it plays in shaping the way war reporters gather and tell stories from war zones.

Chapter 6.0 Practices of war reporters

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed respondents' role perceptions and identity, while this chapter will discuss their practices that reinforce their role perceptions. The chapter examines one of the overarching questions of this research – the practice of war reporting by India and UK reporters who identify themselves as war reporters who have covered international conflicts between 1998 and 2003. As stated earlier, this study analyses the data gathered on journalistic practices in relation to the four wars that form the basis of the research questions. However, this study also considers the wars that respondents voluntarily discussed during their interviews. Additionally and particularly in relation to the longstanding conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, the respondents' views were not bound within the official timeframes of these wars and were considered equally relevant by the researcher even if the experience/s related to a period beyond the year 2003.

It is important for this chapter to focus on journalistic practices – the role it plays in creation, continuance and contestation of journalistic values that forms a part of the occupational identity of the journalist. It is not only about what journalists think they do, but it is also about the practices they engage in that reinforce the journalistic identity. This chapter, therefore, explores the various practices that underscore those role perceptions. The understanding of their professional roles in relation to what they do – during the phases of newsgathering and storytelling – allows this thesis to explain the concept of performance in relation to the journalist's occupational identity "as it is played out in an institutional context and which informs the journalistic community" (Bogaerts, 2011, p. 400). As noted by Mellado and Lagos (2014) "Professional roles have been understood as dimensions of professional ideology" (Cohen 1963), "professionalism" (Weaver & Wilhoit 1996) and "journalism culture" (Hanitzsch & Mellado Vos, 2012) (p. 2). To explore the formation of identity construction, the concepts of objectivity (Tuchman 1972; Schudson 1978, 2001; Patterson 1998; McNair 1998; Deuze 2005; Tumber & Prentoulis 2005) and journalism of attachment (Bell 1998); McLaughlin (2016); Waisbord 2009) play an important part in the examination of how diverse ideas of professional roles emerge in journalistic role performance.

This chapter will trace the aspects of war coverage at Kargil (1999) with reference to the India-based journalists and the Kosovo (1998-1999), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) wars with reference to the UK-based journalists. It will deal with issues in terms of normative ideas, cognitive orientations, professional practices and narrated performances. It is also important to mention a change in chapter structure – in the previous chapter, the data for the India and UK respondents was presented separately to bring out the differences in their understanding of notions of risk, adventure, heroism – as manifested within their language. However, the following two chapters integrate data from both sets of respondents as the discourses provided by the 39 respondents are similarly articulated and have been categorised on the basis of their understanding of the professional practices of objectivity, attachment and embedding.

Bourdieu's field theory acts as an analytical tool to explore the India and UK respondents' understanding and beliefs regarding their role as war reporters. It helps shed light on values and norms that have gained currency within the field of war reporting over the years. A set of shared values and norms are upheld and reinforced by the respondents to evoke professionalism and are used as a means through which the war reporters create demarcations between the field of war reporting and those who do not practice war reporting (Bishop 1999).

This thesis places itself within a larger research available on Western (particularly the UK) war reporters (McLaughlin 2002, 2016; Carruthers 2000, 2011; Korte 2009). Although there is no dearth of literature on how role perceptions impact implementations of journalistic values of objectivity and attachment (Skovsgaard *et al*.2013; Melado & Van Dalen 2014; Johnstone *et al*. 1972, 1973; Patterson 1998; Weaver & Wilhoit 1996; Weaver *et al*. 2007) in relation to Western journalists, one of the aims of this thesis is to test the resilience of established norms and professional values that impact the role perceptions and practices within the UK context and compare and contrast them with their India-based counterparts.

The journalistic practices of the 39 respondents allows this thesis to explore ways in which war reporters claim to understand their purpose in a war zone; therefore, the way it relates or shapes their enactment of the practice of war reporting. Furthermore, it probes established norms, professional values and organisational policies that the respondents evoke regularly to protect their autonomy. It also helps this chapter to test the resilience and extent to which these norms and values are embedded in the specific cultural context and strategic priorities of the specific wars they have covered as war reporters. The chapter demonstrates that the political framing of the conflicts also plays an important role in determining how war reporters understand their purpose within these war zones – that the India and UK government's foreign policy stance plays a role in shaping the understanding of the journalists' description of their role as war reporters. The Kargil war, being India's war against Pakistan, was perceived as a forced war on India; hence, the respondents primarily claim to focus on aspects of the war that relied on patriotic and nationalistic narratives. The fact Kargil was India's first televised war further shaped the way it was reported – broadcast journalists concentrated more on the theatrics of war, giving prominence to colour and drama, which resulted in reporting that was mostly impressionistic. Similarly, the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, which involved participation of the UK military, was viewed by the 22 respondents as an opportunity to bring stories of suffering and hardship of the victims and (their country's) soldiers to the forefront. However, Kosovo was viewed by the respondents as relating to humanitarianism, where the UK journalists claimed to focus on issues such as ethnic cleansing, death and devastation. The UK respondents also invoke the language of the Holocaust in relation to the war in Kosovo, suggesting an acceptance of the West's moral imperatives in relation to the war. The focus of the 39 respondents in relation to the nature of the stories they claim to have done during the wars has been divided into eight categories and is presented in section *Story focus* (6.3). The ways through

which the respondents claim to tell these stories of war – by making conscious and unconscious choices and projecting specific sets of meaning related to those choices – are concerns in this chapter.

War reporters can be active or passive journalists (Johnstone *et al*.1972,1973). A passive reporter, in performing their role, chooses to rely on traditional occupational values such as objectivity, neutrality and impartiality, thereby legitimising the role perception of a war reporter as an informer and/or educator (Donsbach 1983). However, the active reporter stands in contrast to the above and appears to challenge those values by criticising detachment and giving preference to the value judgements aspects of objectivity (McQuail 1992), projecting a role perception of a war reporter who does not restrict themself to mere descriptions of reality but enacts the privilege of bearing witness as a sacred duty that relies on a moral obligation towards those whose plight and suffering has been observed (Cottle 2013; Peters 2011).

The semi-structured interviews held with the 39 respondents in relation to their practice of war reporting can therefore be examined through their choices of newsgathering and storytelling. The journalistic identity reinforced through the practices the India and UK respondents engage in is explored within this chapter. The chapter divides the 39 respondents within three categories, under the section *Objectivity as a method of newsgathering and storytelling* (6.2), based on the linguistic categorisation of the respondents' utterances:

1) **Facts and balance** – Respondents within this category prioritise the objectivity norm (Patterson 1998; Tuchman 1972; McNair 1998), referring to values of neutrality, balance and truth. Notions of professionalism and their purpose of storytelling as claimed by them comes across through their language, where their vocabulary relies on phrases and descriptions such as "fairness," "presenting a reliable version of the story," "telling both sides of the story," "getting the whole picture," "reporting that gives information to the audience," "impartiality and cross checking," "not getting married to the story," "reporting without feeling the need to call out the evil" and "not indulging in sensationalism and exaggeration" – all the above are ways through which the India- and UK-based respondents within this category understand the performative aspects of objectivity that shape their role perceptions.

2) **Value judgements** – Respondents within this category reject values of neutrality and claim to be an involved witness, where they argue in favour of feeling a moral obligation towards those they report on (Bell 1998). Notions of objectivity for these respondents are connected with being able to decide and call out evil. Hence, their vocabulary relies on phrases and descriptions such as "telling both sides of the story is not objectivity as some sides not worth talking to," "reporting has to go beyond fairness and accuracy, emotions play a role too," "journalism cannot be dispassionate… humans first then a journalist," "getting the right help to those who are suffering is also part of the job," "detachment does not lead to engaging stories," "neutrality is ridiculous, one should not be afraid of calling out the evil," "passionate journalism and taking sides is good journalism" and "being

able to differentiate between the right and wrong is part of the job" – all the above are ways through which the respondents make meaning of their narrated performances that shape their role perceptions.

3) **Brands of objectivity** – Respondents within this category highlight the values that they claim are a part of their organisational policies – these act as a legitimising tool of their brand of journalism, along with creating boundaries among the war reporters who do not adhere to these policies. The use of language by the respondents from this category relied on references to their organisation such as "BBC impartiality," "BBC guidelines," "We at NDTV have no truck with [sensational and exaggerated] kind of reporting" and "We at Outlook concentrated on meaningful stories." All the above can be understood as ways though which war reporters justify the choices they claim to have made during the newsgathering and storytelling process.

Through respondents' understanding of their performances, this thesis determines the role perceptions that have remained resilient and/or those that seem to have been disrupted. In doing so, this thesis addresses the second research question about how the practice of war reporting in India and the UK has altered since 1998.

This chapter also provides an examination of the zone of relevance (Adoni & Mane 1984) in relation to the war reporter. The fact that journalistic performances do not happen in a vacuum, the acts of doing, reporting, selecting facts and quotes, presenting competing voices and constructing narratives are shaped by the war reporter's subjective reality, which is organised in terms of their zone of relevance. The section *Zone of relevance* (6.4) highlights the 39 respondents' views on their choices of newsgathering in relation to embedding and unilateral reporting. The negative and positive views of the respondents towards embedding presented in this section further allows this thesis to understand how war reporters claim to deal with issues of access and sources in relation to their storytelling. Zone of relevance also places importance on the nature of relationships forged between the military and media – highlighted within this chapter is a description of the military, where respondents' view of the combatants and military establishment further helps this chapter to realise factors that play a crucial role in shaping the way war reporters tell stories of war.

Finally, the section *Technology and medium of war reporting* (6.5) highlights ways through which the India- and UK-based respondents create boundary work (Bishop 1999) – where India print respondents claim to have produced detailed, critical pieces of journalism as opposed to the broadcast journalists, who were mostly limited to impressionistic reporting.

In relation to the UK respondents, despite their different understanding of the values associated with objectivity, it was found, in the case of war reporting, journalism's injunction to care disrupts the role of a neutral, distanced storyteller. The complexity of adjusting to a new reality – a military reality where civilian values are rendered redundant – further plays a role in shaping the way war reporters gather

news and tell stories. This was particularly found to be true for the Indian respondents, who claim the story of the Kargil war could not have been told in a detached manner. The majority of respondents understood their roles in relation to their country's military's image and national interest. While the UK respondents claim to have focused mainly on telling stories from "dark places"[40] and giving a voice to those who are suffering, the India-based respondents claim to have focused on stories of valour and sacrifice by the combatants. In both cases, the respondents seem to support the moral imperatives of their respective governments.

Journalism is all about the story and war is the big story, as pointed out by Williams (2012, p. 345); the respondents' self-identity plays an important role in getting the big story of the day, which involves newsgathering – that is collecting data, producing data, cross-checking information, constructing facts and storytelling – selection of facts and quotes, presentation of competing voices, construction of narratives, etc. A discussion of the journalistic practice of war reporters requires consideration of their ways of newsgathering and storytelling during the wars they covered; in this case, the understanding and views of the 39 respondents who covered the Kargil (1999), Kosovo (1998), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) wars.

As argued by Bogaerts (2011, p. 403), the standard of objectivity is concerned with such practices and allows the reporter to reach the maximum level of agreement between journalistic assertion and reality. An emphasis on the accurate use of routines during times when they face criticism or libel suits re-establishes objectivity negating threats ingrained in their profession. By invoking values of objectivity, reporters not only justify their work, but also claim trustworthiness and respect from their audience; hence, legitimising the role of journalism in society. Such legitimisation is considered necessary for war reporters, whose performance is constructed around particular aspects of their heroism, bravery, risk-taking ability, negotiating their relations with military personnel and civilian victims, and dealing with psychological trauma – so they can inform their audience to the best of their abilities. According to Boudana (2011) the assessment of performance of a war reporter can be done by examining the "degree of truth that characterises their report, higher the degree, better the performance" (p.395). War reporters like other journalists claim to be guided by the objectivity norm when they select, gather and present stories from war zones (Patterson 1998, p. 28).

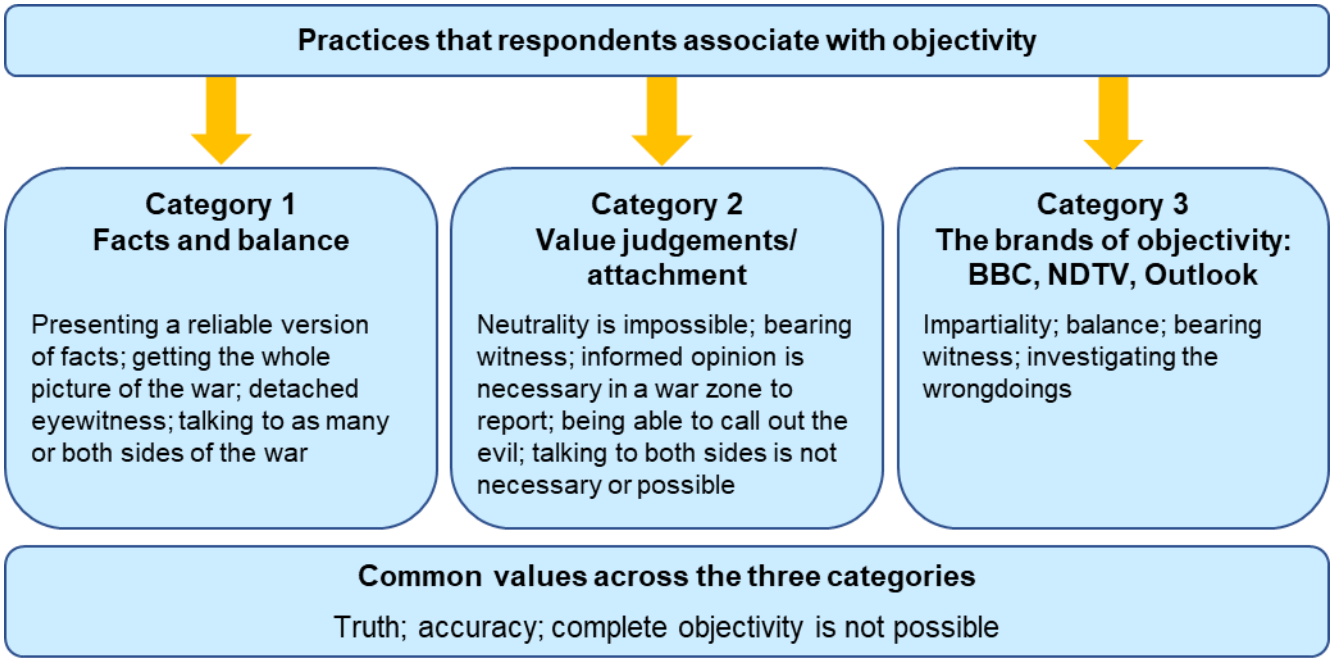
6.2 Objectivity as a method of newsgathering and storytelling

While objectivity is a commonly shared professional norm among journalists, this thesis argues there is considerable discrepancy in the way war reporters comprehend and enforce the norm. Objectivity as an ideal, as understood within scholarly works, and objectivity as a method of journalistic practice, as understood by journalists interviewed for this research, are distinctly separate ideas. This research divides the views of the 39 respondents' covering the Kosovo, Kargil, Afghanistan and Iraq wars into

40 See fn 28.

three main categories, as shown in Figure 6-A, where they present their understanding of the objectivity norm in relation to how they cover stories from a war zone. The values shared by the respondents have been divided into three categories: facts and balance; value judgements or attachment; and brands of objectivity or values originating from the respondents' media organisation.

Figure 6-A: Practices that respondents associate with objectivity



Separately, it appears all 39 respondents acknowledge, to an extent, the notion it is impossible to completely exclude one's own beliefs in journalistic work, suggesting that complete objectivity is next to impossible as factors such as the journalist's background, gender, race and education, which all play a role in shaping their sensibilities. However, despite their acknowledgement of this, not all 39 respondents are ready to adopt the notion of objectivity in which value judgements are considered an important component. The three categories are explained below and the reasons for their linguistic categorisation are outlined in Figure 6B.

The table below provides examples of the respondents' discourse – that is, words, phrases and sentences – used to answer the question on what they understood by journalistic objectivity; the contextual meaning of their discourse highlighted by the researcher and the qualifying criteria that the researcher used to categorise the discourse in a particular category.

Figure 6-B: Linguistic categorisation of responses

Respondents' discourse	Practical application	Qualifying criteria (to enter this category)
CATEGORY 1: FACTS AND BALANCE Emphasis is on providing facts based on a balanced approach that is detached from the story **and** neutral.		
"Presenting a reliable version of the story and being fair"	Reliability and fairness can be achieved within newsgathering and storytelling by talking to	The response uses language that relies on notions of balanced facts by fairly representing both or more sides within newsgathering and storytelling.

Respondents' discourse	Practical application	Qualifying criteria (to enter this category)
	both or more than one side in the war zone.	
"Fairness and telling both sides of the story"	Fairness is achieved through allowing both sides equal opportunity to present their version of truth.	The response uses language that exemplifies understanding of objectivity that relies on practices of newsgathering based on reporting facts through balance and being neutral to both sides of the story.
"Presenting the whole picture"	To get the facts, it is important to report on all sides which helps in getting the whole picture of events.	The response uses language that exemplifies understanding of objectivity that relies on practices of newsgathering based on reporting facts to get the whole picture – by being neutral to all sides and upholding the aspect of balance within reporting.
"Being impartial and cross-checking"	Being fair to all sides by being impartial and talking to both sides to check the facts.	The response uses language that exemplifies an understanding of objectivity based on newsgathering that relies on balance through an impartial approach.
"Reporting without feeling the need to call out the evil"	A neutral witness who must reports facts without taking sides – being fair to all sides.	The response uses language that exemplifies understanding of objectivity based on newsgathering and storytelling that reports facts with detachment – being fair and impartial to all sides.
"Not indulging in sensationalism and exaggeration"	Reporting that does not include elements of emotion or drama. A neutral witness of events where facts are reported in a balanced and detached manner.	The response uses language that exemplifies understanding of objectivity based on storytelling that reports facts that rely on balance and neutrality.
CATEGORY 2: VALUE JUDGMENTS Emphasis is on providing facts based on a moral obligation of distinguishing between good and evil**; being** an involved witness.		
"Telling both sides of the story is not objectivity as some sides are not worth talking to as they lie"	Reporting that is not neutral and is not afraid to take the side of the victim by differentiating between good and bad, by not allowing the perpetrators to spread lies.	The response uses language that exemplifies understanding of objectivity based on newsgathering and storytelling that has a moral obligation to reports facts by exposing those who are the wrongdoers and to not be impartial or neutral to the side that has committed atrocities.
"Reporting has to go beyond fairness and accuracy; emotions play a role too"	Reporting that is not detached or limits itself to a template of accuracy and fairness. War reporters are human beings who react to the death and devastation around them.	The response uses language that exemplifies understanding of objectivity based on newsgathering and storytelling that allow the war reporter to feel and not remain detached from their surroundings.
"Journalism cannot be dispassionate. Reporters are human first and then a journalist"	War reporting is about passionate reporting of truth as it is done by human beings who are journalists; hence, human emotions play an important part in reporting the truth.	The response uses language that exemplifies an understanding of objectivity based on newsgathering and storytelling that relies on values of attachment and feelings while reporting the truth.
"Getting the right help to those who are suffering"	Reporting truth does not mean one has to be detached from one's surrounding. As a human being one must be able to help those in need. That does not make anyone less of a journalist.	The response uses language that exemplifies an understanding of objectivity that relies on journalism of attachment, where war reporters must not be neutral bystanders but involved witnesses.

Respondents' discourse	Practical application	Qualifying criteria (to enter this category)
"Neutrality is ridiculous, one should not be afraid of calling out the evil"; "Differentiating between right and wrong is part of the job"; "Taking sides is part of passionate journalism and is good journalism"	Reporting truth in a war zone does not mean to be neutral or dispassionate. A war reporter must not be scared to expose those who are responsible for evil deeds.	These responses use language that exemplifies an understanding of objectivity that rejects neutrality and relies on reporting the truth as a moral witness, who must be able to distinguish between good and bad.
"Detachment does not lead to engaging stories"	Reporting truth in a war zone also means to tell them in an engaging manner. Detached approach does not allow the audience to connect with the story.	This response uses language that exemplifies an understanding of objectivity that rejects values of detachment.
CATEGORY 3: BRANDS OF OBJECTIVITY Emphasis **is** on organisational ideology**.**		
"BBC impartiality"; "BBC guidelines"	The BBC's impartiality, as found within its guidelines, is a mark of authentic objective journalism and should be aspired to.	This response uses language that understands objectivity as a brand product that invokes notions of impartiality, fairness as marker of authenticity and is considered to be exclusive to the brand.
"We at NDTV have no truck with reporting that is sensational or exaggerated"	NDTV does not believe in storytelling that is sensational or exaggerated. It believes in delivering facts based on truth.	The response uses language that views objectivity as a brand product that rejects aspects of sensationalism and exaggeration, claims it to be a mark of its authenticity, and is exclusive to the brand
"We at Outlook concentrated on meaningful stories"	The *Outlook* magazine was reputed to be the only media organisation that did investigative stories to find the truth regarding the infiltration that led to the Kargil war.	The response uses language that understands objectivity as a brand product within which values of truth finding through investigative newsgathering are considered a marker of the organisational authenticity and claimed to be exclusive to the brand.

6.2.1 Facts and balance

The first categorisation under the objectivity norm – based on a textual analysis (Fursich, 2009) of the views of 15 respondents (R6, R8, R9, R10, R11, R17, R18, R19, R21, R25, R30, R31, R34, R37 and R39) covering the four wars – signifies respondents' claim of being objective storytellers, where they claim to uphold values of fairness, neutrality and balance within their newsgathering and storytelling process. These claims are supported by the language used – words and phrases within the narration of the 15 respondents, describing the way in which they covered the four wars. Words and phrases included "fairness" (R17, Patience); "presenting a reliable version of the story" (R17, Patience); "telling both sides of the story" (R9, Bowen); "getting the whole picture" (R11, Simpson); "reporting that gives information to the audience" (R30, Swami); "impartiality and cross-checking" (R31, Joshi); "reporting the truth without thinking of the consequences" (R34, Thakur); "not getting married to the story" (R10,

Muir); “not indulging in sensationalism and exaggeration” (R39, Som); and “cross-checking all information” (R31, Joshi).

The above articulations by respondents, while describing their newsgathering and storytelling processes, signify their understanding of objectivity, allegedly devoid of personal bias and opinions (Chalaby 1998; McNair 1998; McQuail 2005) and portrays balance within stories (Tuchman 1972). Respondents claim to be detached observers and informers for their audience. This emphasis on the respondents’ educational role also sheds light on their understanding of their role as war reporters, where war reporting is oriented towards acquiring and imparting information (Donsbach 1983) and the 15 respondents explain their role from this position and lay claims to fulfilling this responsibility towards their audience, which expects a truthful account of the war zone.

R9, Bowen, describes his experience during the Bosnia (1992) and Kosovo (1998) conflicts:

> …I think a lot in war is wrong. I would prefer it does not happen. However, I do not think war is always illegitimate. There are reasons why it happens, and it will always continue to happen. For a journalist, there is a template made available, a template made up with the laws of war, international humanitarian laws. You can be quite scientific, quite forensic in how you discuss and report. Say, the one is Sarajevo about the dead kid, I wanted to just be angry but then I thought that is not why we are here. It is not about how you feel, it is more about the reality of what has happened. Many years later my piece was used in the trials of the former Yugoslavian war crimes tribunal. I was glad I did not let my emotions show on the day I did the story, or I would not have been able to give evidence (Bowen, R 9).

The reference to war reporting being based on a “template” and “scientific” are ways journalists interpret their roles as war reporters, along with trying to legitimise their newsgathering process by freeing it from their personal opinions. It further signals towards a journalistic habitus (Bourdieu 1998) that believes war reporting is scientific and is based on a template which then gives newsgathering and storytelling the ability to “routinize the unexpected” (Tuchman 1973), and claim accuracy and impartiality as dominant journalistic values (doxa). Bowen’s argument rests on the fact, while war zones will always include extreme realities, being able to demonstrate neutrality in reporting makes the journalist a reliable eyewitness as in his case, as it allowed him to subsequently testify against the war crimes. Bowen appears to be suppressing his moral standpoint for the greater good, even though he did not know this at the time when he was reporting on Sarajevo. However, one could also suggest his quote above also betrays a moral justification for his neutral or objective reporting of Sarajevo. In hindsight, the respondent has been able to reclaim the moral high ground as his neutrality was subsequently used for a good purpose. The relevance of such morality is not misplaced, especially during the Kosovo war, which was mainly justified by the UK on grounds of moral imperatives, thereby framing it as a humanitarian war. Foreign Secretary Cook’s earlier suggestion that Britain should have an ethical dimension to its foreign policy could be seen playing out during its support of the NATO intervention in Kosovo and upholding values of being able to do the right thing; for instance, rescuing the Albanians from Serbian atrocities by supporting the NATO bombings (Hammond 2007).

Similarly, R37, Dutta, a war reporter from the Indian English daily *The Telegraph*, covering the Kargil war, recalls feeling angry watching Indian soldiers being killed by the Pakistani infiltrators but claims to have kept his feelings under control:

> …It's impossible not to let [your] blood boil after seeing Indian soldiers get maimed and killed by the Pakistanis. It is difficult to keep emotions like these in check. A war where your own country is involved always will be difficult to distance oneself from…But as a war reporter my job is to report news rather than evoke feelings of patriotism. Journalism must stay away from sensationalism or over-the-top storytelling (R37, Dutta).

In this narrative, the respondent assigns meaning to his understanding of the objectivity norm by referring to it as distanced storytelling, devoid of personal feelings, emotions or sensationalism. The fact the Kargil war, an armed conflict between India and Pakistan, was caused due to the infiltration of Pakistani soldiers disguised as Kashmiri militants into military positions on the Indian side of the line of control, which serves as the *de facto* border between the two countries (Global Security 2009), allowed the Indian state to frame it as a just cause where India was defending its sovereign borders. The general tone of reporting during the war remained heavily pro-establishment where the mainstream media's support for the Indian military was depicted through jingoism and nationalism, according to Rai (2001). R37's narration not only highlights the role perception of a war reporter who does not allow personal, emotional factors to impact their storytelling, it also sheds light on the purpose of the respondent's storytelling – which, according to him, is to educate and inform the audience rather than move them emotionally. Additionally, and indirectly, R37 demarcates or maintains boundary (Bishop 1999) from his peers, who indulged in reporting that evoked patriotism. The boundary work present here can be better understood through Bourdieu's field theory (1993) where to exist in a field is to differentiate oneself. Actors compete internally to impose the dominant definition within the field by shaping its boundaries. This can be evidenced in the declaration made by R37 regarding journalism that should reject sensationalism.

Another respondent R39, Som, NDTV war reporter, refers to the Indian vernacular media as indulging in sensationalism and exaggeration, especially during the coverage of Kargil, and claims this to be symptomatic among the vernacular media in India. Boundary maintenance appears to be more direct in this case, as R39 notes:

> …I believe in storytelling that does not indulge in sensationalism and exaggeration and reporting the actual truth. We at NDTV have no truck with that kind of journalism, which is often practiced by the vernacular press where journalists blow up a story far beyond the actual truth (R39, Som).

Journalists make conscious and unconscious decisions regarding the direction they wish to pursue and meanings they wish to project (Alexander 2004, p. 550). R39's narration projects the respondent's understanding of the objectivity norm but more importantly highlights his role perception of being a truth teller for his audience. In addition, it refers to collective representations of journalists working for NDTV

and, in comparing them with those working for the vernacular Indian media, the narrative distinguishes between good and poor war reporting.

R30, Swami, another war reporter from the India-based English-language broadsheet *The Hindu*, explains his understanding of the objectivity norm by distancing himself from broadcast journalists altogether. Kargil, being India's first televised war, generated a large viewership for broadcast media organisations and, according to R30, the level of coverage, as a result, was limited to what he calls "colour and drama" – the inference being a lack of reporting aimed at informing the audience by providing the full picture, rather the reporting focused merely on the aspect of war as a spectacle to make it entertaining to watch. He points out,

> …Most journalists concentrated on the colour and drama of the war. Not the news aspect of it. Much of the reporting was very impressionistic. Almost no serious reporting of the politics of what was going on…Broadcast journalism was mainly interested in the theatricality of war... Concentrating on battles that were easily accessible…The battle of *Batalik*[41] went unreported because it required hiking for a day and half. [Broadcast journalism] also resulted in the invention of martyrdom on TV…the idea of a public funeral procession being televised never existed before. Reporting was…not informative (R30, Swami).

R30 is scathing in his criticism of the broadcast media, which according to him was responsible for lowering the level of discussion in the media regarding the Kargil war. Through his poor evaluation of the quality of coverage produced by the broadcast media – which missed out on crucial battles within Kargil just because they were harder to get to, or the focus on aspects of nationalism and patriotism through portrayals of martyrdom on television rather than trying to investigate the security breach that led to the war – R30 forthrightly tries to not only create demarcation between himself, a print reporter, and broadcast reporters, but also makes distinctions between professionalism and unprofessionalism in relation to the objectivity norm. In doing so he further signals towards the specific habitus of broadcast war reporters (Schultz 2008) who seem to uphold storytelling that relies on theatricality as opposed to informing the public. The attempt by R30 to establish print reporting as fulfilling the function of journalism in society is indicative of the power struggles that take place within the journalistic field of war reporting.

While all 15 respondents (R6, R8, R9, R10, R11, R17, R18, R19, R21, R25, R30, R31, R34, R37 and R39) categorised under facts and balance understand objectivity in terms of values such as truth, accuracy and maintaining distance with the story, this research found they do not seem to view neutrality – in terms of remaining neutral towards both or all sides of the war – as an important aspect of the objectivity norm. In fact, respondents admit to having feelings of anger, respect and regard for the military and soldiers of their own country, and argue that despite such feelings and personal views, it was not their job to take sides or call out the evil. R10, Muir, and R21, Sommerville, war reporters from the BBC, highlight the importance of speaking to all sides irrespective of the reporter's personal

[41] Batalik is part of Ladakh, a Union Territory administered by India since 2019. Prior to 2019, Ladakh was part of the erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir in the northern part of India. Batalik was one of the main regions in which the Kargil war was fought. It is 56km from Kargil.

feelings, to inform their audience to the best of their ability. R21, while reporting on the Afghanistan war (2001), states,

> …It's not my pain, my war, I am there as an observer. It is offensive to pretend that it is my pain. But you need to get the attention of the world on their suffering. It's not activism or crusading journalism, it's bloody good journalism. Objectivity is witnessing. It's not neutrality. You need to speak to all sides to get the story…No matter how shithead people are (R21, Sommerville).

In his articulation, the respondent distances himself from the pain that is part of the war zone and emphasises his role as an observer to inform his audience on all sides that are present in the war, irrespective of how some sides might appear to the reporter. His description of some people as "shitheads" can be qualified as a personal opinion which according to him has no place in his reporting. What is more, in declaring his understanding of "objectivity as witnessing and not neutrality," R21 points towards the presence of a "distinct understanding of journalism's role in society" (Hanitzch 2011, p. 479) that exists with the journalistic field – and is further viewed as "an arena of competition" where power struggles occur in order to "impose the dominant vision of the field" (p. 479).

It is imperative to add, during the war in Afghanistan, reporters were part of the pool system,[42] where they were mostly limited to the military base. The war zone has also been described as treacherous due to the extensive use of landmines by the Taliban and rebel groups (R14, R17 and R19). However, in relation to the Afghanistan war, R5, R7, R11, R17, R19 and R21 claim to have covered it by speaking to and reporting on multiple stakeholders, such as the Afghan civilians, NATO troops and Mujahideen fighters.[43]

R10, Muir, who covered the Iraq war (2003), also explains what he understands as objectivity in similar terms where he refers to some sides as "bullshit," yet argues in favour of including them in his newsgathering and storytelling process. Notions of objectivity therefore manifest through the understanding of a war reporter who performs the role of an informer:

> You need to hear all sides of the story, even [if some sides are] bullshit. Keep aside our personal opinions, find out multiple opinions, that's the job [and] not get married to the story. Maintaining objectivity means not allowing bias and personal opinion into the story (R10, Muir).

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42 Pool journalism involves an arrangement where a small number of reporters, video journalists, camera persons, technicians are allowed to cover an event that for reasons of security or lack of space cannot be made accessible to a larger number of journalists. The pool system allows for sharing of material in such arrangements. It was often made available to the journalists on short notices therefore maintaining military operational security during the early stages of the conflict. Furthermore, the system ensured that journalists accepting the pool status agreed on sharing their notes, images and news reports with other media persons interested but unable to directly cover the event. Although the arrangement did not leave any scope for exclusive coverage, it allowed media access to newsworthy events. (Carruthers 2000, 2011; Fahmy & Johnson 2005; Cortell et al.2009).

43 In the respondent's context, Mujahideen refers to opposition groups in Afghanistan during the 1970's - who were responsible for the insurgency against the pro Soviet Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The aspect of neutrality within newsgathering and storytelling is tied to the respondents' role perception – the essential ethos of war reporting that claims its discursive authority through the act of being an eyewitness (who has a first-hand account of events as they happen) – also understood as bearing witness to their surroundings (Chouliaraki 2009, p. 230). The distinction between bearing witness and being an eyewitness is made where the former exceeds the possibility of representation and overwhelms the spectators through ethical claims in the voice of the victim as opposed to reporting a first-hand account of events as they happen.

R3, Wyatt, war reporter from the BBC, speaks of her experience from the Kosovo (1998) war and argues that factual reporting leads to objectivity over time. Hence, being neutral in reporting allows the reporter to understand the various sides of the war zone without appearing to be partisan (Tuchman 1972). For instance, according to R3, the Kosovo war, which initially appeared to be a straightforward story with a "presumed clear narrative" that one side (the Kosovo Albanians) was being driven out and killed by the other side (Serbians), proved to be far more complex. R3 states,

> …We went in behind the German army to Prizren. A Kosovo Albanian family had come back to their homes or rather not been able to come back to their homes because it was occupied by the Serbs. The story became much harder to tell when we realised by meeting elderly Serbs that they were burnt out of their homes and that these were revenge attacks (R 3, Wyatt).

The respondent's articulation regarding how both sides were guilty of crimes highlights the importance of being a neutral eyewitness, where a war reporter's job is to report on facts rather than assumptions. In this case, the respondent claims the best way to serve her audience was to educate them by reporting the truth of both sides, including their actions, as opposed to picking a side. The respondent's claim that "there were wrongs being done on both sides" – hence, the conflict was not a "simple straightforward story" – clearly upholds the value of neutrality within the objectivity norm.

R11, Simpson, another war reporter from the BBC, draws attention to the primary role of war reporters as eyewitnesses by distancing himself from those who uphold the idea of "something must be done journalism" where reporters sacrifice neutrality by becoming involved in the story,

> …Kosovo was an awful business. It was a dreadful war crime; it should never have been allowed. But I did not feel there was any kind of obligation on me to say what should happen. It was so blatantly obvious that the Serbs were getting away with the most disgusting behaviour (R11, Simpson).

Within the above narration, the Serbs are clearly projected as the wrongdoers who were victimising the Albanian people. Although R11's position is different from that of R3, as the former claims to distance himself from feeling obligated to take a side, he argues in favour of being an eyewitness where he chooses to maintain his professional standards despite the situation "being blatantly obvious." R11's criticism of the practice of "something must be done journalism," as impacting the objective informer role of a war reporter, sheds light on the identification of a moral and Manichaean construction of the war by the UK government (Hammond 2003), which might have shaped R11's understanding of the

Serbs being the aggressors, who he describes as the ones with “disgusting behaviour.” Furthermore, his insistence on continuing to focus on the job of informing rather than becoming involved in the story highlights how notions of the objectivity norm manifest within the journalistic field where the 15 respondents in this category draw on specific symbolic vocabularies of fairness, balance and neutrality that legitimises these values as shared assumption of codes and practices by those who are a part of the field (Benson & Neveu 2005), allowing the researcher to understand the resilience of practices of war reporting described by the respondents in India and the UK.

All respondents belonging to this category employ discourse to define demarcations within a professional group – for instance, distancing themselves from those who uphold the values of journalism of attachment (Bell 1998). They refer to involved and attached journalism as “juvenile” and “lazy” (R11); “reporting like this is often done by untrained and inexperienced journalists” (R9 and R39); and values of attachment are fit for professions like “activism and policy making and not journalism” (R18). This internally present self-regulation of the ‘profession of journalism’ monitored by associated in-group members is also a means to signify their shared values (Bishop 2004) within the field of war reporting by attempting to critique values that might threaten to disrupt the professional codes and practices related to their field. In distancing themselves from those who appear to uphold journalism of attachment, the 15 respondents try on the one hand to impose the longevity of their occupational shared values and on the other go beyond distinguishing between good and bad journalism by recognising the bad and clarifying where and how the good differ (Eldridge 2014).

The next section discusses the second category of respondents, who view the objectivity norm under the lens of value judgements and attachment.

6.2.2 Value judgements and attachment

In contrast to journalists who seek to define themselves in relation to a specific objectivity norm, some of which are critical of those who did not choose to do so, what follows are examples of discourses from those who are less inclined to speak in terms associated with traditional journalistic objectivity. Through textual and language analysis of their views, 19 respondents (R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R7, R12, R13, R14, R15, R16, R20, R22, R23, R24, R26, R27, R32 and R33) covering the four wars have been classified under this category. These respondents also claim to be objective storytellers – where they uphold the values of fairness, truth and accuracy like the respondents in the first category. However, what sets this category apart from the first one is that these 19 respondents understand objectivity as involved storytelling where the war reporter is not afraid to call out the evil or take sides if necessary. Bell’s (1998) theory of attachment is widely accepted by the respondents in this category, who believe objective and dispassionate journalism has no place in brutal warfare. Journalism that cares as well as knows has a moral obligation to distinguish between good and evil (McLaughlin 2001; Bell 1998) within its newsgathering and storytelling process. As argued earlier, Bourdieu’s field theory (1984, 1993, 1996, 1998) is useful as it serves an important framework “for the analysis of journalism as an arena of

competition – a space of struggle for the dominant vision of journalism" between journalists adhering to distinct views on journalism's function in society (Hanitzch 2011, p. 478).

Respondents used words and phrases such as "telling both sides of the story is not objectivity as some sides are not worth talking to" (R4, Philp); "reporting has to go beyond fairness and accuracy, emotions play a role too" (R1, Loyd); "journalism cannot be dispassionate...humans first then a journalist" (R2, Hawley); "getting the right help to those who are suffering is also part of the job" (R5, Lamb); "detachment does not lead to engaging stories" (R7, Pannell); "neutrality is impossible" (R14, Sengupta); "neutrality is ridiculous, one should not be afraid of calling out the evil" (R15, Hilsum); "going beyond dry statistics and data, emotions help you to write better" (R27, Baweja); "passionate journalism and taking sides is good journalism" (R26, Sawant); and "being able to differentiate between the right and wrong is part of the job" (R24, Dutt). Respondents' articulation signifies their interpretations of attachment within the war zone. Their newsgathering and storytelling process does not restrict itself to mere "descriptions of reality" but also aims at subjective interpretations and "value judgements according to political, social or moral standards" (Donsbach & Klett 1993, p. 64). Respondents claim to be involved witnesses with responsibility – meaning the ability to perform a response to trauma, destruction and extreme realities of a war zone "though the provision of a discursive space that facilitates telling via empathetic listening" (Tait, 2011 p. 1227) (Felman & Laub 1992; Oliver 2001, 2004). To bear witness goes beyond the act of recording facts or reporting events. It refers to be accountable for the truth – to take a moral stand in a court of law, a court of history, or one's audience or readers. It then means to commit oneself, appeal to a community and lay the moral burden on it. It means "to take responsibility – in speech – for history or the truth of an occurrence" (Felman 2000, pp. 103-4).

Notions of objectivity in this case are not divorced from notions of attachment, meaning the respondents' claim to occupy the position of storytellers who have a responsibility towards their victims, soldiers and their audience. They find fulfilment through acts of physical help in case of war victims and supportive coverage in the case of soldiers fighting the wars. Finally, in an attempt to obtain the public's attention, it is suggested that journalism through departing from the 'ideal of objectivity' and actively telling the public 'how to react', within the social contract theory between the journalists and its audience, fulfils its role (Sjøvaag 2010, p. 883).

R7, Pannell, war reporter from the BBC, having covered the Iraq war, argues in favour of involved storytelling and refers to it as better journalism. His understanding of objectivity goes beyond the function of an educator or informer for his audience. He argues the purpose of his storytelling is to move the audience morally by presenting the extreme realities of war. He states,

> …Journalism is about getting to know the people you report on. To do engaging stories, you cannot be detached with your subject. Humanising your subjects whether it is the military or victims is important for me. Isn't it our job to get to know the sides closely? Also, I do not want this to be easy for the viewer, I never want my reports to be an easy watch, it is kind of Brechtian theory there; there should not be catharsis there. I do not want happy endings; wars don't have happy endings (R7, Pannell).

The respondent's articulation sheds light on his understanding of what journalism is about – normative ideas of journalism. Similarly, it highlights the narrated performance of the respondent (what they say they do) regarding newsgathering and storytelling. R7's description of the focus of his storytelling personalises the victims and those who are caught up in wars, making it an easy watch for his audience and provides an understanding regarding journalistic practice and orientations that the respondent uses to make his work meaningful. This understanding bases itself on the set of ideas that support the claim that the role of the war reporter is not merely to inform but somehow brings out the plethora of extreme realities almost in a claustrophobic manner so the audience is not able to escape it and is a site for the "*transmission of moral obligation"* (Tait 2011, p. 1227). Hence, the respondent's reference to the Brechtian theory, which consists of 'techniques to make the familiar strange to provoke a social-critical audience response', R7 strongly refutes suggestions of a disjoined and aloof style of storytelling in the name of objectivity. R7 holds the view that the role of a storyteller from a war zone cannot be from a detached position; he claims, to be an effective storyteller, it is imperative to get involved and project the same reality the reporter is a part of.

R14, Sengupta, also has a similar understanding that, in order to achieve better storytelling, detachment must not be aspired for. Furthermore, R15, Hilsum, war reporter from Channel 4 News, argues in relation to her experiences in the conflicts of Rwanda (1994) and Kosovo (1998) that neutrality is an undesirable aspect of war reporting,

> …I think the idea of neutrality is ridiculous in the sense that I am not going to say [that on] one hand it is a bad idea to try and massacre the children [and] on the other hand it is a good idea. Obviously, I am not going to say that. Obviously, mass murders are a bad thing and as a journalist it is your job to expose mass murders, atrocities and tortures. It is not your job to report on those things as if they were neutral events. That is insane (Hilsum, R15).

The respondent's articulation in relation to the function and role of war reporting emanates from the position of being able to distinguish between the right and wrong sides in a war zone. Her rejection of neutrality by terming it as ridiculous sheds light on the performative role of journalism as one that advocates the stance of marginalised groups in society as opposed to merely describing reality to its audience. The language used by R15 where she claims her job is to expose mass murderers, atrocities and tortures is indicative of journalism that feels as well as knows (Bell 1998) – such an assertion implies that neutrality – where journalists choose to remain detached or allow voices from both or multiple sides – is not desirable. Hence, advocating in favour of Bell's argument that war reporters have a new moral obligation to distinguish between "good and evil", thereby distancing themselves from the pretence of neutrality and express an emotional attachment to the side that is good. Moreover, the respondent's argument also suggests a role perception that is a product of active intervention by the journalist where they are shaping reality in the journalistic account rather than reflecting it (Johnstone *et al*. 1972-1973; Patterson 1998).

The respondents who agree with Bell (1998) with regard to the Kosovo war describe their reporting with words such as “calling out the evil” (R13); “concentrating on stories of suffering” (R7); “innocent Albanians being driven out of their homes” (R14); and “journalism that does not absolve one from humanity” (R16). Similarly, six respondents covering the Afghanistan war (2001) – R3, R4, R5, R7, R14 and R15 – appear to side with this position where the war reporter takes a more active approach as an advocate of certain social groups through their news selection. This is achieved through their claims of becoming an “involved witness” and “calling out the evil and the wrongdoing from a war zone,” enabling them as war reporters to tell stories of suffering in an invested manner and leading to effective storytelling.

The imagery created within the language used by these respondents rejects the notion of an objective, detached, neutral war reporter, as according to them it has no place within the war zone. They emphasise their role as a journalist who is also a human being and impacted by the sufferings of war, which eventually impacts their storytelling. In doing so, the respondents claim to present their understanding of the objectivity norm within a war zone where ideals such as neutrality and detachment must be made redundant; therefore, interpreting objectivity through values of factuality, attachment and accuracy.

The shift in understanding of the objectivity ideal regarding balance in storytelling (Patterson 1998, p. 28; McNair 1998, p. 65; Tuchman 1972; Chalaby 1998; McQuail 2005, p. 200) is further challenged by these respondents – R1, R3, R4, R14 R20, R24 and R32 – according to whom taking sides is not necessarily a negative practice within war reporting. R1 and R4 understand taking sides as a positive phenomenon. While describing her views on neutrality and balance within objectivity, R4, Philp, war reporter from *The Times*, says,

> …Live objectivity is irrelevant as there are sides not worth talking to because they lie and deceive. (R4, Philp).

Similar sentiments are exhibited by R24, Dutt, war reporter from NDTV, who distances herself from neutrality and balance in the context of the Kargil war (1999),

> …To be able to decide and differentiate between the aggressor and the wronged party is part of the job. Kargil was not a war of India’s own making. India was the wronged party…Pakistan was the aggressor (R24, Dutt).

R1, Loyd, war reporter from *The Times*, makes a further connection between activism and journalism,

> …It is not wrong to be attached, explain your attachment. Decide which side is the greater good, make your own judgements…Cannot report on certain things by just being fair and accurate; emotions come into play. Sometimes it appears like activism (R1, Loyd).

R1, R4 and R24 uphold the value judgement aspect of objectivity where they try to substantiate their work by referring to the normative ideas of journalism, its purpose and function. Respondents’ narrated

performance of what they say they do as part of newsgathering and storytelling process further highlights their orientations towards taking a moral stand from a war zone. Their rejection of the image of a detached and disinterested journalist is a means of boundary maintenance with those who argue in favour of neutrality. While R1 and R2 speak of deciding between good and evil, thereby choosing a side, R24 claims, in the Kargil war, no decision had to be made, as the facts regarding the context of Kargil – India being the wronged party – were known long before she entered the war zone, making her job straightforward. All three respondents, despite their support for an active stance – where the war reporter shuns neutrality and takes a position by incorporating value judgements and interpretations and their own voice in their story – adhere to values of facts and truth to be an important aspect of their newsgathering and storytelling. It is necessary for them to make a distinction between active and passive role performances while highlighting the common features of both positions, being truth and facts. So, while there is an effort to maintain distance with a more neutral and passive way of reporting, there is also legitimisation of the core values of journalism in which reliance on facts and truth remain intact.

Another view found under this category is the human aspect of a war reporter who is impacted by their surroundings; therefore, further trying to dismantle the established role of the journalist as an invisible narrator and neutral conduit for reporting events, arguing in favour of not only being an involved storyteller but a privileged moral witness (Cottle 2013, p. 242) to the extreme realities a war reporter is a part of. For instance, four respondents – R3, R5, R15 and R23 – believe reporters must not shy away from helping those who are caught up in a war zone either through taking a morally infused position where it is their sacred duty – the felt obligation to those whose plight and suffering has been observed and now must be communicated to the wider world, highlighting journalism's injunction to care (Cottle 2013, pp. 237–242) – or by personally helping out the victims or soldiers when possible. Thus, advocating a role where an active approach as a supporter of certain social groups is not limited through news selection and storytelling but goes beyond it – by getting involved in the lives of those they report on. R15, Hilsum, gives the example of her goddaughter from Rwanda and highlights that having human experiences and helping people in need does not make her a bad journalist. Furthermore, keeping in line with journalism's injunction to care, these respondents recognise they have the power to impact the lives of those they come across. R3, Wyatt, while recalling her experiences from the Afghanistan war (2001), states,

> …I did a lot of stories in Afghanistan post-invasion phase. Stories about women and what was happening on the sides, the injustices and the unfairness, the oppression in some case the horrendous things happening to young girls married off quite often into abusive families and you would be, probably, not a very good human being if you did not feel indignant about it or quite passionate about the wrongs that should not be happening. I know in two cases young girls we reported on. One who had been imprisoned for being raped, the other had been imprisoned by her husband's family in a cellar, had her fingernails torn out, her hair torn out and was in a terrible state…At least one of those women ended up taken out of Afghanistan by a charity because her life was in danger after she spoke to us. We encouraged her to talk

> to the media. In that sense, a journalist does become part of the story because you have changed the trajectory of someone's life by reporting on what happened to them (R3, Wyatt).

The framing of the Afghanistan war into "us" versus "them" was not a new phenomenon as the Cold War had already witnessed such divisions (Allan & Zelizer 2004). The conception of the enemy went beyond the 9/11 conspirators to a larger ideology of those who stood against the values of the free world, posing a danger to ideals such as democracy, liberty and freedom, and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq (2003) represent wars of choice (Carruthers 2000). The respondent's descriptive narration on the state of women victims, where they suffered inhuman treatment by their families, can be understood as a reiteration of the victim trope where ways of bearing witness and occupying a morally infused position within journalism is never innocent of politics, always constitutes who is "us" and who is "them," and is a form of selective attention to victims (Rentschler 2004, p. 298). While the articulation above claims a position of a privileged witness and speaks of the role of journalism as having a sacred duty as mentioned by the respondents, it goes beyond the function of claiming an ethical engagement with suffering. Such descriptions of victims and their trauma evokes the memory of the Holocaust, which has expanded from its historical experience to a cogent category of humanitarianism – it is a de-contextualised event, the memory of which is used to dramatise any form of injustice anywhere. It potentially triggers an interventionist cosmopolitan response to distant suffering (Levy & Sznaider 2002) and, in this case, justifies the intervention. Furthermore, it also highlights the role perception in relation to the respondent's narrated performance, where R3 chose to help the victims by encouraging them to speak to the media, which projects a position that is neither neutral nor detached.

Similar references to privileged witnessing are projected in the articulation below by R2, Hawley, who recalls meeting a girl named Mawa during the Iraq war (2003):

> …I remember reporting on a girl who had her leg blown off. She was called Mawa. We met her soon after the war and, in the end, she was going to Germany and we intervened and made sure she got the treatment and care that she needed because her family was so poor to not even afford painkillers. I think we spoke to the International Organisation for Migration [IOM] and she was eventually flown to Germany. We put her together with the IOM, but we never featured her in any story (R2, Hawley).

This anecdotal description is indicative of a role perception where war reporters feel a sense of responsibility towards victims of war – through sharing the pain of those they come across by being there as a privileged witness. However, another sense of privilege comes across in this narrative, which is based on **"**social privilege" that comes with holding a place of prominence or commanding a financially lucrative position in the first world thus making reporting on people who belong to the third world and are experiencing disaster, loss more "felt" (Cottle 2013, p. 242).

While two respondents in this category support the performative role of taking sides and passionate journalism, they also highlight the purpose of their reporting as that which does not hurt their nation's interests or military interest in the war. R26, Sawant, and R33, Saha, reject notions of neutrality, but

also reject values of accuracy and truth if found to be hampering the image of their country. Their reliance on phrases such as “putting national interest before interest of journalism”; “military interest [is] equally important” and “primary duty [is] to do what is in the best interest of my country” signify a stance in which journalism cooperates with those in power and protects the status quo. R26 states,

> …I don’t see myself as a citizen of the world. I am an Indian first. Objectivity is about accuracy that does not hurt the Indian military. It is also about self-censoring oneself if it means it would help the image of the military. Putting the cause of the nation first is my job and my red line would stop me from reporting something even if it is objective because it could help the Pakistani military (R26, Sawant).

The respondent’s affiliation to the concept that journalism is supportive of the national and military interests is projected through his identification not as a journalist but as an Indian citizen. The professional practice as understood by R26 encourages a sense of belonging to one’s country while strengthening national prestige (Mellado 2014, p. 2093). Whereas R27, Baweja, and R32, Pant, reject notions of value judgement within which feelings of patriotism replace the core values of journalism. R32, responding to the meaning of objective journalism states,

> …It is not jingoism or patriotism. It is reporting facts. Journalism is that which supports the weak and questions the powerful. I don't feel the need to prove my patriotism in a war (R32, Pant).

R27, Baweja, points out

> …Being able to process information and I was not being eager to take dictations from the military. I realised I was getting emotional during the war, but I don’t think it came in the way of my writing those stories; being able to separate patriotism and professionalism is also part of the job. I don't wear my patriotism on my sleeves. I was born with it, and it is engrained in me, [and] war was not an occasion for me to showcase my patriotism (R27, Baweja).

The above articulation by both respondents is within the context of the Kargil war (1999), where the Pakistani side was termed as an aggressor by R24. The argument it was a war to defend the Indian sovereign territory that was infiltrated by the “backstabbing Pakistani government” while the peace talks were in motion between the two countries, resulted in framing the Kargil war as primarily focused on military valour, sacrifice and heroism. Through analysis of the narrative of respondents, it was found that most of the India-based respondents relied heavily on official military sources for reporting. More importantly, according to respondents, Kargil being India’s first televised war also played an important role in determining the nature of coverage – predominantly focusing on colour and drama enveloped in patriotic and jingoistic narrative, thereby constructing a moral reference where the Indian military were forced into this war, yet were fighting bravely to protect their motherland. R32 and R27 differentiate between professionalism and patriotism – upholding values of maintaining editorial independence and not eager to become the military’s or government’s mouthpiece. The argument where journalism must claim its autonomous position and deliver what it has promised to its audience are ways the two respondents understand and justify their narrated performances.

Finally, within this category, positions of neutrality or attached and involved storytelling are understood through the practical aspect of access given to the reporter. The findings show three respondents, R3, R4 and R22, view access as one of the main factors that can impact aspects of objectivity – neutrality or attached reporting, depending on the side they can tell stories from. The three respondents understand attachment as a product of access, which allows the reporter to be present and write and/or film one side more than the other. According to R22, Smith,

> …Access and attachment go hand in hand. The side you have more access to, there are chances that the reporter will get attached to it. Meaning, he or she will base their reports more heavily [on] that side. A good reporter must be conscious of it (R22, Smith).

R3, R20 and R22 see attachment as a product of access – "the side you get most access to, is the side you'll do maximum stories on," according to R22, Smith. This understanding highlights the difference between the cognitive orientations (what they want to do) and professional practices (what journalists really do) of war reporters. Access being a physical requirement for newsgathering and storytelling is highlighted as a practical concern and considered as important a factor as the professional values of objectivity, neutrality or attachment, which shape war reporters during their newsgathering and storytelling process. According to R3, Wyatt,

> Reporters will always tell the story better of the side they have most access to (R3, Wyatt).

This view is in sharp contrast to the view expressed by R7, Pannell, in relation to objectivity in the Afghanistan war (2001). R7, an embed journalist in the Afghanistan and Iraq wars, argues why a journalist needs to think of access in the context of objectivity:

> If we report absolute accuracy, will there be a way back in [to the war zone as an embed with the British military]? Organisational pull is equally important – allows you to be autonomous. The BBC brand allows you a certain cover (R7, Pannell).

Taking the discussion a step further, based on his experience in Afghanistan and Syria (2012), R7, Pannell, challenges the concept of absolute accuracy in relation to access, where he sheds light on the aspect of a negotiated access – where being "absolutely accurate" might spoil future opportunities of getting to the frontline. The argument highlights the understanding of R7 regarding the image of a war reporter, who must prioritise access over others; hence, a war reporter must be able to negotiate meanings of objectivity while keeping their primary role in mind.

6.2.3 The brands of objectivity

Views of seven respondents (R6, R10, R18, R20, R25, R28 and R29) covering the four wars have been classified under this category. This categorisation focuses on ways in which the respondents articulate their professional roles within dimensions of the organisational ideologies for which they work. References to media brands are used by respondents to mainly justify and legitimise their work. Upholding their organisation's value systems and editorial guidelines as a marker for their performance

is a means through which the respondents create boundaries regarding the quality of their work from those who are not part of the same organisation. Respondents draw on words and phrases such as "BBC impartiality," "BBC guidelines," "we at NDTV have no truck [of sensational and exaggerated] reporting," "Outlook was the only media organisation that did investigative stories" and "We at Outlook concentrated on meaningful stories." These utterances regarding their organisational brand of objectivity further reveal how these India and the UK respondents understand their journalistic habitus of the field (Bourdieu 1993) of war reporting. Signalling towards news values which are legitimised through well-known news brands that also play a role in shaping meanings of good and bad journalism. What is more, by invoking these brands that have employed the UK and India respondents they further refer to their cultural capital (Bourdieu 1993) and differentiate themselves from other war reporters who are not part of such prestigious organisations.

Seven respondents of the 16 who covered the Iraq war (2003) brought up "BBC objectivity" (bbc.co.uk 2018) during the interview – ideals that they claim to have upheld during their coverage of the war. They describe these ideals as getting both sides of the story, reporting first-hand witnessing of events, impartiality, attaining balanced viewpoints and presenting facts. However, these ideals are also reflected in the narratives of Category 1 – facts and balance – respondents. In fact, three respondents from Category 1 – R10, R18 and R20 – in addition to outlining characteristics of an objective reporter in the context of the Iraq war, also outline the BBC's ideals on objectivity and claim to have practiced these ideals. R6, Gardner, a war reporter from the BBC claims,

> …The organisation I work for is very keen on impartiality and lack of bias. So, we certainly did not go into the war talking about our boys and our aims… (R6, Gardner).

The objectivity norm is a technique used by journalists to persuade audiences of their work as being trustworthy and accurate descriptions of reality. This legitimising function can be seen through continued references made by respondents through use of words such as "honesty," "accuracy," "both sides of the story," "neutrality," etc. Additionally, a reference to the brand of BBC objectivity is also an articulation of the product's (reports generated by respondents) authenticity, quality and excellence. This is also a way of distinguishing and demarcating themselves from others who do not follow or are not part of the organisation. However, it is vital to mention that two respondents – R2 and R7 – from the BBC support the performative role of an involved witness, rejecting the neutral aspect of objectivity. Based on the responses about their newsgathering and storytelling experiences from the Iraq war (2003), they have been classified under Category 2 – value judgements and attachment. Hence, R6's use of a plural claim that everyone who works at the BBC understands objectivity in relation to neutrality does not hold up.

R18, Guerin, another war reporter from the BBC, similarly refers to the BBC brand of objectivity as core values with regard to the normative ideas of journalism and goes a step further to argue the need for applying one's own standards and a critical mindset while reporting.

> It is our job to inform. The job must not to be done with the assumption that you will change things – if that's how you feel, be an activist or a policy maker. Balance and objectivity [are] sometimes attained over a period of time. [While] BBC objectivity [is] a way of reporting a story, apply [your] own standards to a story because a lot of [people] set themselves up as objective, but are thoroughly partisan (Guerin, R18).

India-based war reporters covering the Kargil war (1999) make similar references to their brands of objectivity where they employ professional norms as guidelines that they follow during the newsgathering and storytelling process. Three respondents – R25, R28 and R29 – working for the Outlook explain their narrated performances through the values of professionalism their organisation stands for. All respondents make similar claims of doing relevant investigative stories – that which goes beyond patriotic and jingoistic storytelling. They credit themselves with doing critical reporting where they expose military and intelligence failures on the Indian side, which eventually led to the Pakistani infiltration; hence, evoking ideals and standards that revolve around tenets of social responsibility of journalism. Furthermore, the three respondents distinguish between critical and jingoistic journalism by critiquing the way broadcast media chose to cover the war. R29, Panjiyar, states,

> …The broadcast journalists were only interested in colour and drama. They concentrated on the spectacle of war – glorifying soldiers and the military. Whereas the real stories of investigation and critical reporting was done by the Outlook (R29, Panjiyar).

During the interviews, the three respondents separately highlighted the flak they received from the Indian government for doing such stories. They claim their phones were tapped by the Indian government to determine the source of their stories; they were charged under the Official Secrets Act, India's anti-espionage regulation for those who help an enemy state, for allegedly writing on sensitive issues relating to the Indian military. They also claim to have been investigated by the political and military establishment for their stories. The three respondents claim, despite such pressures, the media organisation they worked for continued to publish their stories.

The respondents, in claiming to pursue and publish critical investigative stories despite the flak they received, shed light on the way they understand the purpose of objective journalism – where the focus was to lift the "veil on what some would like to leave in the dark" or "hide from the public". In this sense, the role of journalistic productions is understood as performances of objectivity (Boudana 2011, p. 395).

The discussion above on the way respondents understand objectivity sheds light on the fact that traditional notions of objectivity have been disrupted by those who uphold Bell's (1998) approach of journalism of attachment. The respondents categorised within the value judgement subcategory invoke the language of the Holocaust in relation to the Kosovo war, thereby signifying an acceptance towards their government's moral imperatives. In the case of the India-based respondents, it was found that those who were categorised within this section appear to view neutrality as a difficult concept, suggesting that notions of objectivity are further subject to disruptions when the reporter's home country is involved in the war.

6.3 Story focus

This section presents the nature of stories reportedly covered by the 39 respondents across the four wars. It is pertinent to note the scope of this research does not include reviewing the respondents' published works in relation to the four wars; rather, it is an analysis of the information provided by the respondents highlighting their cognitive orientations (what they want to do) and narrated performance (what they say they do or in this case did in relation to the wars under discussion). War reporting like any other news reporting is a method of selecting information and placing it in context. Hence, the information below helps this research to identify respondents' focus – which they also refer to as ideas at the forefront of their minds regarding how they want to cover these wars. Additionally, the theme of motivations (see Chapter 5 of this thesis) can be further understood in relation to their responses below as they shed light on the kind of storyteller they aspire to be or the image they seek to project. This allows the thesis to bring out the resilience of war reporters within the journalistic field.

The 39 respondents were asked to describe the kinds of stories they did while covering the wars in Kosovo (1998), Kargil (1999), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003). The kinds of stories they claim to have focused on have been grouped into eight categories, as shown in Figure 6-C below.

Figure 6-C: Story focus claimed by the respondents

Story focus (categories 1-8)	War	No. of respondents	Names of respondents	No. of unique* respondents	
1. Soldiers belonging to the home country of respondents	Kargil	7	R27(Baweja), R31(Joshi), R23(Jami), R24(Dutt), R26(Sawant), R33(Saha), R32(Pant)	7	18
	Afghanistan	7	R4(Philp), R5(Lamb), R14(Sengupta), R22(Smith), R11(Simpson), R17(Patience), R21(Sommerville)	7	
	Iraq	8	R4(Philp), R5(Lamb), R7(Pannell), R14(Sengupta), R20(Wood), R22(Smith), R2(Hawley), R3(Wyatt)	4	
2. Suffering of war victims/quality of civilian lives	Kargil	1	R34(Thakur)	1	17
	Kosovo	11	R3(Wyatt), R8(Dymond), R9(Bowen), R11(Simpson), R18(Guerin), R20(Wood), R7(Pannell), R13(Adie), R14(Sengupta), R15(Hilsum), R16(Bell)	11	
	Afghanistan	4	R4(Philp), R7(Pannell), R14(Sengupta), R11(Simpson)	1	
	Iraq	9	R1(Loyd), R2(Hawley), R5(Lamb), R15(Hilsum), R18(Guerin), R6(Gardner), R7(Pannell), R3(Wyatt), R8(Dymond)	4	
3. Military operations	Kargil	7	R35(Gupta), R37(Dutta), R28(Gokhale),	7	9

Story focus (categories 1-8)	War	No. of respondents	Names of respondents	No. of unique* respondents	
			R36(Chowdhury), R30(Sawant), R24(Dutt), R39(Som)		
	Iraq	2	R6(Gardner), R1(Loyd)	2	
4. Geopolitics of the war	Kargil	2	R27(Baweja), R37(Dutta)	2	5
	Afghanistan	3	R19(Cockburn), R21(Sommerville), R10(Muir)	3	
	Iraq	2	R19(Cockburn), R10(Muir)	0	
5. Sunni–Shia factions	Iraq	3	R3(Wyatt), R11(Simpson), R6(Gardner)	3	3
6. Anti-establishment (home country) investigative stories	Kargil	4	R25(Pillai), R28(Gokhale), R29(Panjiyar), R30(Swami)	4	4
7. Lack of resources for soldiers	Kargil	3	R37(Dutta), R30(Swami), R25(Pillai)	3	3
8. Women soldiers and war victims	Afghanistan	2	R3(Wyatt), R15(Hilsum)	2	2

** Unique respondents – refers to removal of repetition of respondents within each category (1-8 above).*

The two most popular themes claimed to have been covered by respondents across the wars was that of soldiers of their home country (18 respondents) and the suffering of war victims (17 respondents). The theme that was covered by the respondents across all four wars was that of the suffering of war victims. Nine respondents claimed to have covered the military's operations in Kargil and Iraq, while geopolitics of the war was covered by five respondents, followed by anti-establishment stories by four respondents in Kargil. Other themes also emerged, such as three respondents claiming to report on Sunni–Shia factions in Iraq, lack of adequate resources for Indian soldiers according to three respondents and two female respondents claiming to have reported on women soldiers and women war victims. Each theme is discussed below.

6.3.1 Soldiers belonging to the respondents' home country

Eighteen respondents claim to have focused their reporting on soldiers belonging to their home country while they covered the wars in Kargil, Afghanistan and Iraq.

Seven India-based respondents who covered the Kargil war – R23, R24, R26, R27, R31, R32 and R33 – concentrated on stories of young Indian soldiers, where the focus was primarily on their bravery, heroism, valour and supreme sacrifice of their lives to defend Indian territory. Additionally, it was observed, for respondents R31, R32 and R23, humanising the soldiers in uniform was thought to be equally important as presenting them in a heroic light. They used phrases such as "soldiers who are men and boys with families" and "who eagerly wait for letters from home" when reminiscing how they had reported on these soldiers.

Seven respondents who covered the Afghanistan war – R4, R5, R14, R22, R17, R19 and R21 – claim to have concentrated on the young British soldiers fighting the Taliban far from their home. R22 explains,

as a war reporter reporting from Afghanistan, it was important for him to bring out the "phlegmatic side of the soldiers" so the audience would not end up blaming the soldiers for the war. R21 points out he wanted to know if the mission to defeat the Taliban was going as planned and whether it was worth a 19-year-old from Birmingham or Yorkshire to give up his life for it. Similarly, R5 says her focus was to tell stories of the "awfully young guys" who had no experience or idea of what a war is about.

Eight respondents who covered the Iraq war – R2, R3, R4, R5, R7, R14, R20 and R22 – claim to have focused on young soldiers. The respondents explain their focus by using terms such as "soldiers are the sons and daughters of the audience back home"; therefore, stories on the soldiers are directly of interest to them. The seven respondents also claim to be interested in doing stories on how these young lads coped in Iraq. R22 states he wanted to bring out the sense of the duty and camaraderie that is part of a soldier's life. In addition to this, R3 claims it was also important to report the kind of reception the coalition forces were receiving from the local Iraqi people – suggesting the global context of the war was equally important and one of the ways of achieving it was by covering the soldiers and their experiences.

6.3.2 Suffering of war victims

Seventeen respondents who covered the Kosovo, Kargil, Afghanistan and Iraq war claim to have focused on stories of the suffering of victims from the war zone.

Eleven respondents who covered the Kosovo war – R3, R8, R9, R11, R13, R14, R15, R16, R18 and R20 – claim to have focused on the plight of the Albanians who were being massacred by the Serbs. All respondents allege to have concentrated on giving voice to the victims and often during the interviews referred to their Kosovo experience as telling stories from dark places – and suggest the purpose of their storytelling is to highlight the nameless, faceless war victims who are without any hope. The language invokes an image of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* – the inner darkness and primitiveness that people possess – the racist undertones regarding how such a world needs to be saved can be construed through this claim made by the 11 respondents. However, despite the difference in the respondents' stance on their understanding of objectivity – neutrality or involved and attached storytellers – all 11 claim to have been interested in doing stories on the war victims from the Kosovo war zone.

Only one respondent out of the 17 who covered the Kargil war, R34, claims to have focused on the war victims. He claims it was not just the soldiers who were suffering but also the civilians who had lost their source of livelihood, as all small villages around Kargil were potential targets of shelling by Pakistan. He recounts a civilian woman giving birth in a deserted hospital by herself and claims this aspect of the war was equally important as the one that narrated the heroism and patriotism of the Indian military.

Four out of 12 respondents who covered the Afghanistan war – R4, R7, R11 and R14 – claim to have focused on the suffering of the Afghani people. R5 states it was important for her to tell the stories of

the war victims who had been living under the Taliban regime for years and help them in whatever way possible. R7 separately said, “I am not working for [the] Tank Weekly and hence I am not interested in military strategy.” He claims he was focused on telling stories of the war’s impact on civilians.

Nine out of 16 respondents who covered the Iraq war – R1, R2, R3, R5, R6, R7, R8, R15 and R18 – claim to have concentrated on human interest stories of the Iraqi civilians’ suffering and plight under the regime of then dictator Saddam Hussein. R18 recounts doing stories on the lives of the Iraqi people living under economic sanctions imposed by Western countries. R2, R3 and R6 particularly highlight doing stories on torture chambers used by the Iraqi police under the regime of Saddam Hussein. All nine respondents claim to have also focused on the way war had impacted the lives of the Iraqi people.

6.3.3 Military operations

Nine respondents who covered the Kargil and Iraq wars claim to have focused on military operations.

Seven out of 17 respondents who covered the Kargil war – R24, R28, R30, R35, R36, R37 and R39 – claim to have focused on the Indian military’s operations and strategy during the war where they discuss combat stories, which highlighted the precision of the Indian military in warfare and reported on crucial mini-battles within Kargil and the final victory over Pakistan. R24, R36 and R39 also speak of reporting on the “treacherous Pakistani military” – where they would continue shelling and firing during the night. It is important to mention that no Indian respondent who covered the war had access to the Pakistani side. These alleged reports that respondents claim to have done were reported while they were based on the frontline and could witness the Pakistani actions first-hand.

Two out of 16 respondents who covered the Iraq war – R1 and R6 – also claim to have focused on military strategy, where they discuss combat stories, power balances and military precision of the coalition forces fighting the regime under Saddam Hussein. It is important to mention that both respondents before becoming war reporters had military backgrounds.

6.3.4 Geopolitics of war

Five respondents who covered the Kargil, Afghanistan and Iraq war claim to have focused on the geopolitics of these wars.

Two out of 17 respondents who covered the Kargil war – R27 and R37 – claim to have focused on the geopolitical context while covering the war. Both respondents claim it was imperative to discuss the roles played by the US and then President Bill Clinton, whose timely intervention in summoning the Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif brought the Kargil war to an end. R27 states,

> It was not a great war which India had won. I am sorry, if Clinton had not summoned Nawaz Sharif and met him on July 4th, which was American Independence Day, and ordered him to pull back his troops, the Indian army would have been stranded in those heights for longer (R27, Baweja).

Only three out of 12 respondents covering the Afghanistan war – R10, R19 and R21 – claim to have focused on the geopolitics of the war. R19 describes himself as a "trained historian" due to his background in academia, which makes him interested in British foreign policy in Afghanistan and its implications on the Taliban. He says the Taliban were still in business despite the war and reporting by Western media during the war failed to reflect that fact. R10 explains he views himself as a digger of raw material for future academics and historians; hence, a fuller context of war, including geopolitics, is not only required but imperative.

Only two out of 17 respondents covering the Iraq war – R10 and R19 –claim to have focused on the geopolitics of the war, explaining the larger implication of the invasion for Britain and the world, and discussing British foreign policy in Iraq.

6.3.5 Sunni–Shia factions

Only three respondents who covered the Iraq war claim to have focused on the divisions within the Iraqi factions. R3, R10 and R11 state they reported on sectarian violence and revenge clashes, which took place soon after the end of the invasion phase of the Iraq war.

6.3.6 Anti-establishment and investigative stories

Four out of 17 respondents who covered the Kargil war – R25, R28, R29 and R30 – claim to have done investigative stories, which were also anti-Indian military stories, according to them. All four respondents appear to credit themselves with unearthing the security breach that was responsible for the Pakistani infiltration, mainly due to military and intelligence failures (Surender Singh, cited in Rai 2001) on the Indian side. The respondents argue it was important to do these stories to highlight the lackadaisical attitude of the top brass of the Indian military, which caused the deaths of hundreds of Indian soldiers during the war.

6.3.7 Lack of resources for soldiers

Three out of 17 respondents who covered the Kargil war – R25, R30 and R37 – claim to have also done stories highlighting the poor facilities for Indian soldiers, including the conditions under which they were being sent to fight in high altitudes, approximately between 16,000-18,000 feet. The respondents described the poor-quality food served to the soldiers and lack of proper shoes and protective gear to shield them from extreme weather conditions. R37 recalls meeting with soldiers who had returned from a combat mission and complained of a lack of bulletproof helmets.

6.3.8 Women soldiers and war victims

Two out of 12 respondents covering the Afghanistan war – R3 and R15 – claim to have done women-oriented stories, which focused primarily on female soldiers and victims of war who had been shabbily treated by the Taliban forces.

The nature of stories reportedly covered by respondents and recalled by them during the interview demonstrates their focus and motivations – how they view their place in the war zone through their narrated performances. While the earlier thematic chapter on motivations (Chapter 5) refers to reasons for wanting to be a war reporter and describes their self-image in relation to the field of war (Bourdieu 1998) reporting, this section on the nature of stories explains the kind of storyteller they want to be projected as. While a war zone is full of different kinds of stories, it can be argued it is the motivation and understanding of the job that plays an equally important role in a war reporter's decision to focus on certain stories over others. As pointed out by R3, Wyatt, "A reporter does the story he or she finds or looks for." The argument is that reporting is a process of selection and placing information in context, both of which are decided by the war reporter to a large extent. Furthermore, it can be argued that R3 is, in a sense, emphasising a level of autonomy – specifically, content-driven autonomy where war reporters' focus in relation to the stories is self-deterministic. This therefore demonstrates that professional practices and cognitive orientations are constantly being shaped by their understanding of motivations and self-images as war reporters.

6.4 Zone of relevance of war reporters

To understand war reporters and their practices, it is also important to understand the surroundings in which they operate. The war reporter entering the war zone to cover wars find themselves in an arena (of the military field) – a zone where civilian values, behaviour, beliefs and attitudes towards others cannot remain unaltered. Therefore, journalists are required to integrate into their surroundings and its reality by making it their own. This adjustment and integration on behalf of war reporters in relation to the war zone is not without impact on the way they view the events and happenings; therefore, considered critical to investigate (Morrison 1994, p. 313). It is important to highlight these descriptions as the war reporter's subjective reality, which is organised through their zone of relevance and ultimately provides the basis for the meaningfulness of its symbolic expression (Berger & Luckmann 1967).

The section below discusses the findings of the 39 respondents' views regarding their choice of newsgathering and storytelling; embedding and/or unilateral; the working relationship between the military and war reporter; how do war reporters handle the condition of wars; how do they cope with pressure from military forces; and what measures do they take to get access to news – their responses to these questions shed light on the presence of negotiated relationships, upon which access is contingent. The war zone, therefore, becomes the zone of relevance, not just physically for the war reporter, but also a space where the reporter's values and sensibilities are constantly shaped through their role of being a witness who is in continuous interaction with their surroundings. The zone of relevance, therefore, plays an important role in shaping the war reporters' role perceptions.

War reporters have known to be accommodated in the war zone through means of pooling (Carruthers 2000, 2011; Lewis *et al*. 2006), embedding (Tumber & Palmer 2004; Fahmy & Johnson 2005; Cortell *et al*l 2009) and unilateral (Lewis *et al*. 2006).

Pool system involves an arrangement where a small number of reporters, video journalists, camera persons, technicians are allowed to cover an event that for reasons of security or lack of space cannot be made accessible to a larger number of journalists. The pool system allows for sharing of material in such arrangements. However, such an arrangement during war reporting comes with its own set of controversy. Originally planned by the Pentagon in the mid-1980s – the national press pool came into practice during the 1990 invasion of Panama where it was criticised for blocking the press pool access to the combat zone for most part of the invasion. Further damning assessment of the pooling system was highlighted during the Persian Gulf Crisis (1990-1991) – where the journalists were given limited access to the war zone. Pooling arrangement was therefore viewed as censoring tool in the armour of the military and the government to manage coverage and reporters. As argued by Carruthers (2000; 2011, pp.215) "in search of the supremacy over the information realm, the White House and Pentagon kept the journalists far from the scene of operation". Also, as noted by Tumber and Palmer (2004) the news organisations, editors and reporters presented a scathing review of Pentagon's rules for reporting the Afghanistan war (2001).It has been argued that the unpopularity of pooling system in Afghanistan resulted in a more popular embedding system in Iraq (2003) (Carruthers 2000, 2011; Fahmy & Johnson 2005; Cortell *et al*.2009).

The embed program was created by the Pentagon partly due to the demands made by the media organisations[44] which allowed 600 print, radio and television reporters to live with the coalition forces during the Iraq war (Cortell *et al*.2009). The war theatre had been opened up for the media where the program enabled journalists to get maximum access to the military and resulted in an in-depth coverage with dramatic visuals and first-hand accounts of combat (Kelly 2003; Ricchiardi 2003; Ganey 2004). The guidelines, rules and code of conduct regarding the embedding program during military operations and stationing were detailed in a document, also known as The Green Book,[45] released in February 2003. It was mandatory for reporters who accepted the position as embeds and their organisations to sign this document in the beginning and agree to follow the listed rules regarding what they could and could not report.

In contrast to the embedded journalists were the unilateral journalists (those who were not officially embedded by the coalition forces to report on the war). The Western coalition discouraged independent or unilateral reporters from entering Iraq, citing safety as a major concern. The independent reporters' movements were often hampered by the military during the war.[46] They were not dependent on the

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44 See Cortell et al. (2009) (pp. 661-668) for how the news organisations approached Victoria Clarke, Pentagon's Chief Spokesperson regarding embedding. Following the military – media working relationship in the war in Afghanistan, news editors were keen on an arrangement with the government where the media persons could be a part of future military operations.

45 The Green Book covers the working arrangements of the UK Ministry of Defence (MOD) with the media. The document functions as a guide for the news organisations, media personnel – reporters and editors on the code of conduct, protocol and ground rules regarding the embedding arrangement. It also informed the media person regarding realistic plans attached with reporting on operations.

46 The consequence of embed program was the adverse system of accreditation between the embeds and the unilateral journalists. The former was treated as official journalists and had access to the military,

military for food, shelter and, most importantly, access into the war zone, making their job even more dangerous.

The Kargil war (1999) witnessed an unstructured form of embedding where the respondents were not formally embedded by the Indian military. While the 17 respondents interviewed in relation to their experiences from the Kargil war zone claimed permission to enter the war zone was issued by the military operating in the Kargil area, there was no formal provision regarding rules that dictated the way journalists could cover the war. According to the descriptions provided by the respondents, it was suggested those journalists who had personal contacts in the military were able to live and cover the war with them. All 17 respondents interviewed in relation to the Kargil war argue it became a learning experience for the Indian military, which was inexperienced at managing media personnel at the beginning of the war.

It is important to note the UK respondents in this chapter refer to pooling as a form of embedding and use the two terms interchangeably.

6.4.1 Profiles and positions of the respondents in the four wars

Kargil

Out of 39 respondents, 17 were interviewed in relation to the Kargil war (1999), of which seven claim to have covered the war unilaterally (R25, R29, R30, R31, R34, R35 and R38), meaning they were independent of the Indian army; three respondents covered it as pure embeds (R26, R27 and R33), where they relied on the Indian military for access, shelter, food and stories; and seven respondents covered the war unilaterally and as embeds (R23, R24, R28, R32, R36, R37 and R39), where they relied on the Indian military for food and access but also covered parts of the war independent of the military.

It is also important to highlight that, while no respondent interviewed in relation to the Kargil war had personally served in the military, five respondents (R26, R27, R28, R32 and R36) had strong ties with the Indian military. For example, these five respondents had at least one parent who had served in the Indian military, hence were familiar with the way of life in the military from an early childhood and, as a result, some of these respondents harboured aspirations of serving in the military prior to becoming journalists. These five respondents came across as having a strong sense of familiarity with the military and, on the issue of access, claim to have felt less restricted by the Indian military as opposed to the others.

whereas, the latter were dealt with scorn and their presence in the war zone was disliked. See Shafer (2003). The unilateral journalists were denied access to the battlefield on many occasions particularly in areas where the invasion happened - southern cities of Iraq like Basra, Umm Qasr, Nasiriyah and Safwan. See Paul & James (2004, pp. 110-111).

Afghanistan

Out of the 12 respondents interviewed in relation to the Afghanistan war (2001), three claim to have covered the war unilaterally, meaning they were independent of the coalition army (R4, R10, R11); two covered it unilaterally and embedded with the British and American troops (R14) or with defectors of the Taliban (R19); and seven respondents covered the war as pure embeds where they relied on the coalition forces (primarily the American and British troops) for their survival and reporting (R2, R5, R7, R15, R17, R21 and R22).

Iraq

Out of the 16 respondents interviewed in relation to the Iraq war (2003), three respondents served with the military prior to a career in journalism (R6, R1 and R22) and all three claim to have covered the war as pure embeds where they were attached to British and/or American troops. Of the remaining 13, who did not have a military background, six respondents (R2, R3, R7, R8, R15 and R20) covered it by embedding with American and/or British troops; five respondents operated unilaterally during the war (R5, R10, R11, R14 and R19), and two respondents conducted a combination of embedded and unilateral reporting stints (R4 and R18) during the different phases of the Iraq war.

Kosovo

The 11 respondents interviewed in relation to the Kosovo war (1998) did not speak about their position of coverage as they stated access was granted to the war zone only after the NATO troops had intervened. Hence, safe passage for journalists was possible after the NATO invasion and did not comprise embedded or unilateral positions as understood in terms of wars like Afghanistan and Iraq.

6.4.2 Analysis of respondents' views on embedding

This section explores the range of views the respondents within this research express with regards to their views on embedding. The views of the 39 respondents on embedding, as presented in the figures below, have been categorised as positive or practical (Figure 6-D) and negative (Figure 6-E). Twenty-eight respondents have been grouped under positive (they viewed embedding to be an important or helpful process and approved of it) and practical (viewed it as necessary for access to the frontline even though they did not approve of it) views on embedding in relation to their experiences of covering the Kargil, Afghanistan and Iraq wars; whereas, nine have been grouped has having negative views on embedding in relation to the three wars. These views remained positive/practical and negative irrespective of their responses to whether embedding was restrictive for them in the wars they covered, highlighting their understanding of the relationship that is shared between the media and military.

Positive and/or practical views

Evidence of positive and/or practical views can be seen in the language and phrases that support the concept, where the opportunity to work with the military is an important aspect of the newsgathering and storytelling process.

Figure 6-D: Respondents with positive and/or practical views on 'embedding' during Kargil, Afghanistan and Iraq

Respondent	Position of coverage	*Was embedding restrictive for them?*	Wars covered
Hilsum (R15)	Embed	Yes	Afghanistan, Iraq
Patience (R17)	Embed	Yes	Afghanistan
Sommerville (R21)	Embed	Yes	Afghanistan
Hawley (R2)	Embed	Yes	Iraq
Philp (R4)	Embed and unilateral	Yes	Iraq
Pillai (R25)	Unilateral	Yes	Kargil
Joshi (R31)	Unilateral	Yes	Kargil
Wyatt (R3)	Embed	Somewhat	Afghanistan, Iraq
Pannell (R7)	Embed	Somewhat	Afghanistan, Iraq
Sengupta (R14)	Embed and unilateral	Somewhat	Afghanistan
Dymond (R8)	Embed	Somewhat	Iraq
Wood (R20)	Embed	Somewhat	Iraq
Panjiyar (R29)	Unilateral	Somewhat	Kargil
Dutta (R37)	Embed and unilateral	Somewhat	Kargil
Gokhale (R28)	Embed and unilateral	Somewhat	Kargil
Loyd (R1)	Embed	No	Iraq
Gardner (R6)	Embed	No	Iraq
Baweja (R27)	Embed	No	Kargil
Gupta (R35)	Unilateral	No	Kargil
Chowdhury (R36)	Embed and unilateral	No	Kargil
Sawant (R26)	Embedded	No	Kargil
Jami (R23)	Embed and unilateral	No	Kargil
Dutt (R24)	Embed and unilateral	No	Kargil
Pant (R32)	Embed and unilateral	No	Kargil
Saha (R33)	Embedded	No	Kargil
Som (R39)	Embed and unilateral	No	Kargil
Muir (R10)	Unilateral	NA	Afghanistan, Iraq
Sengupta (R14)	Unilateral	NA	Iraq

The respondents described embedding as that which allows safe access into impenetrable areas of the war zone (R1, R2, R3, R4, R6, R7, R8, R10, R14, R15, R17, R21, R29, R27, R37, R25, R36, R23, R24 and R32). Respondents also stated embedding is an arrangement that takes care of food, shelter and safety concerns in a war zone (R14, R17, R21 and R32). Furthermore, respondents pointed out that embedding opens a small window to the war zone and it is equally important to report on the military

and tell their stories, which includes the experiences of the soldiers (R1, R2, R3, R4, R7, R8, R10, 14, R15, R20, R23, R25, R28 and R39). Finally, most respondents refute the argument that being an embed leads to loss of editorial independence where the reporter is "in bed" with the military (R3, R7, R15 and R39); they claim that embedding is an important aspect to covering wars as military and journalism need each other. Respondent 7, Pannell, points out

> …Most people are critical of the embed suggesting you are in bed with the military. That is just nonsense! Go as an embed with the Americans and tell me that you have not had the opportunity to talk to the local people…honestly, you have got to manage the situation, you have to be a grown up about it. You are still in control to push back against being managed and can demand to speak to relevant sides. In the end, it gets you access into the remote areas where going on your own is not possible and not safe (R7, Pannell).

R7, Pannell, who reported the Afghanistan war for a television organisation, in pointing out the practical aspect of embedding, makes a case for journalistic freedom even within embedding through "pushing back" on restrictions imposed by the military. He refers to the autonomous image of a war reporter as one who is in control and must make the best of every situation. The respondent, through his understanding of embedding, also provides impressions of the image of a war reporter, which in this case signifies that which must constantly challenge the rules set for the embedded journalists, thereby aiming for freedom and autonomy.

R10, Muir, BBC Middle East correspondent covering the Iraq war, notes that, apart from being practical and safe, embedding forms an essential part of a war reporter's experience in a war zone,

> …During the battle of Fallujah when I was alone on the border for five or six weeks, we got to know these (soldiers) guys, which is a journalists' dream, really! Because then you can get to know them as casual persons. So, I enjoyed it…they look after you, literally a couple of times I was thrown out of the line of fire by these guys. You feel emotionally indebted to them. I do not think that is a problem if you do straightforward reporting. And do not get into advocacy (R10, Muir).

The respondent describes his experience of embedding with the American troops in Iraq and suggests embedding allowed for "getting to know the soldiers" in a casual manner. He, along with other respondents, considers embedding as enabling them to do their job, which requires the war reporter to get to dangerous places. The military is projected as a story but also an enabler or practical tool for war reporters to tell the stories of war.

Whereas R27, Baweja, war reporter from the *India Today* magazine covering Kargil states,

> …It was during my status as an embed with the Indian military that I reported on the freshly cut head of a Pakistani soldier that was planted on the tree.[47] No other journalist saw it first-hand. There was some backlash and some appreciation for this story. But I knew I had to do it (R27, Baweja).

[47] Also cited in Baweja (2019) and Dutt (2015).

R27 emphasises the importance of embedding through the story she broke – where a battalion from the Indian military had decapitated a dead Pakistani soldier and brought the head back to their base to boost the morale of the Indian soldiers who had suffered a severe setback within the first three weeks of the war. The respondent's claim is that such access to the story would not have been possible had she not been reporting on the war with the military. Her articulation also suggests, despite her dependence on the military for food, shelter and access to the war zone, her editorial independence remained non-negotiated. The fact she describes her feelings as "I knew I had to do it" highlights her understanding of role perception – that which must strive for truth irrespective of the position (embedded or unilateral) of the war reporter. Separately, R36, who was partially embedded and provided positive and/or practical views on embedding, revealed he purposefully self-censored from reporting this incident as he claims it would have harmed the image of the Indian military. He says in hindsight he should have reported it but at that moment he believed the story was against the Indian national interest and decided against reporting. R36's description, therefore, raises a question regarding the participant versus observer role of the reporter. R36's decision to self-censor surely suggests a more participative role in the war where he willingly chose not to report a story, citing reasons of image and national interest. Furthermore, as argued by Morrison (1994), there is more to it than becoming a participant. A war reporter adjusting to the realities of the war zone that shifts in order to legitimise behaviour and acts of violence otherwise thought to be impossible outside this specific authorised situation. The meaning attached to acts according to Morrison (1994) "whether permissibly sanctioned or not, must shift in the changed conditions of combat" (p. 317). Hence, the acts cannot be viewed in alignment with its meaning in the normal civilian world. Morrison argues that civilian values do not allow for an understanding of the cruelty and enormity of wars. The war zone and its extreme realities of death and destruction can only be judged by the civilian values. The fact R36 did not bother to report the decapitation, as he felt it could harm the image of the Indian military, should be seen as "dismantlement of the plausibility structures within which violent death draws its usual meaning and the construction of a new world of realities" (p. 317).

Negative views

Evidence of negative views can be seen in the language and phrases used by respondents where the military is perceived to be a tool in the hands of the government through which it controls information and manages the media in the war zone.

Figure 6-E: Negative views on embedding during the wars in Kargil, Afghanistan and Iraq

Respondent	Position of coverage	*Was embedding restrictive for them?*	Wars covered
Guerin (R18)	Embed and unilateral	***Yes***	Iraq
Philp (R4)	Unilateral	***Yes***	Afghanistan
Lamb (R5)	Embed	***Yes***	Afghanistan
Thakur (R34)	Unilateral	***Yes***	Kargil
Swami (R30)	Unilateral	***Yes***	Kargil

Respondent	Position of coverage	*Was embedding restrictive for them?*	Wars covered
Ali (R38)	Unilateral	***Yes***	Kargil
Smith (R22)	Embed	***No***	Iraq
Lamb (R5)	Unilateral	***NA***	Iraq
Simpson (R11)	Unilateral	***NA***	Iraq, Afghanistan
Cockburn (R19)	Unilateral	***NA***	Afghanistan

The remarks made by the respondents grouped under this category view embedding as excessively restrictive for journalists, as it was seen to be a tool for controlling their reporting (R11, R19, R22, R34 and R30). It was also viewed as a less safe way to cover wars since the military was a prime target within the war, meaning embedded journalists were also a target (R5, R11, R18, R19 and R22). Other criticisms included, "embedding [is] capable of clouding the judgement of reporters who are dependent on the military for their survival"; "journalists can become victims of propaganda" and "embedding also restricts the journalists' movements, you have to go where the military is going." R19, Cockburn, states,

> …Embedding is a tool like others in the hand of the governments and military to control the message and shape it to their purpose. It is a practical tool which provides safety and is cost free and mostly the television crew find it easy to operate within the war zone as it looks after your needs of shelter, food and safety. You do not need to spend any money as a news organisation in the war zone. The army does that for you. It is convenient. But it is obviously partisan, you get to see the action, but you are dependent on one party involved in war (R19, Cockburn).

R19, who claims to have covered the Afghanistan war as a unilateral working for the print media, also highlights the importance of embedding for television media organisations as being cost effective. In addition to sharing the common understanding of embedding with the other respondents, R19 finds the medium of television played an important role in opting for embedding. For the respondent, the image of a lone reporter having the freedom to operate without constraints fits closely with the medium of print, rather than television. The respondent, through his understanding of embedding, also provides impressions of the image of a war reporter, which signifies freedom and autonomy to report without the help of the military. R19 also creates demarcations between the mediums – print and broadcast, in this case – suggesting that requirements of the broadcast medium make those who cover for it more reliant on the military as opposed to him who belongs to the print medium and in comparison is more free and autonomous.

As mentioned by the five respondents within this category in relation to the Iraq war, the Green Book was a failure for journalism as it allowed methods of control and allowed the British military to decide who to embed and whom not to. As pointed out by R18, Guerin, another BBC Middle East reporter, who covered the war unilaterally and was later embedded after the invasion,

> …Embedding is not as important as [the] unilateral way of reporting. It is a part of coverage. It is restrictive. The troops are controlling [your] movement and who you are speaking to. They also decide what you can see as they take you to show some things and not others. It is also

> less safe as military convoys are often a target and travelling with them is risky…But the most important thing is that civilians are less likely to open up and talk to you when you are with armed soldiers. Yes, it allows you to do stories on the soldiers which too is a part of war reporting. Critical mindset must be applied when accepting to embed (R18, Guerin).

The views of R18 and others indicate embedding is a restrictive tool in storytelling as is it seen as an obstacle in performing the role of an informer and truth-teller. More importantly, they refute the view that embedding enables war reporters to tell stories by allowing safe access. They claim that travelling with the troops puts the journalists' lives at risk and intimidates civilians who prefer to talk to journalists who cover the war, independent of the troops.

One of the views on embedding, as pointed by R4, Philp, was how it helped make those embedded respondents an overnight star. A similar view was held by veteran reporters/respondents who covered Kargil, claiming young, inexperienced television reporters became overnight stars through their dramatic coverage of the Kargil war, which was the first war to have been televised in India. R4's view emanates from the fact that senior and seasoned journalists such as her, who had undergone the pooling system during the Afghanistan war (2001), expected a similar controlled and managed environment during the Iraq war. However, as discussed earlier, the amplified criticism of media management during the Afghanistan war paved the way for an embedding program that promised to give access to the frontline. The battle of Fallujah, according to R4, was one of the most intense and jaw dropping moments in the Iraq war where embedded reporters had complete access to the battlefield. R4, Philp, says, "I saw it on TV and my mouth just dropped. We had no idea that embedding would allow such an access. It did not happen in Afghanistan." The narrative particularly highlights how embedded reporters can become the story and these stories were narrated by embedded television journalists. Similar views were expressed by four Indian respondents (R25, R28, R29 and R30) in relation to the Kargil war, who claim broadcast journalists were mainly concentrating on the theatricality – colour and drama – of the war. R29 declares broadcast journalists were trying to be the story, where they showed themselves in a heroic and brave light; a theme that is part of war reporting, according to Carruthers (2000, 2011).

6.4.3 Themes found within embedding

British troops more controlling than Americans

All 18 respondents covering the Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) wars claimed to understand embedding as generally restrictive, however, to varying degrees. For those who embedded during the Afghanistan war, eight of the 12 respondents viewed the British military as being more restrictive and controlling compared to the American military. The remaining four respondents did not have a view on the subject since they did not embed during the war. The British military was described by R4, R7, R10, R14, R15, R17, R21 and R22 using words such as "controlling," "restrictive," "presence of minders" and "getting you to write good news stories," claiming that their movements within the British military camps

were constantly monitored by press minders and the respondents did not have the freedom to speak to soldiers or civilians unless authorised by the base's commanding officer. Respondents' views remain similar in relation to the Iraq war – the nine respondents – R2, R4, R7, R8, R14, R3, R15, R20 and R22 – who embedded with the British military describe it as, "managing the media and having a long leash of political control over them which then trickles to the media too"; "British troops not very easy to get information out of"; "British a bit more suspicious than Americans" and "British commanding officers look down upon journalists as troublemakers."

Lack of uniformity of experience as an embed

While the respondents who embedded with the American troops in both wars – R5, R14, R17, R8, R2, R7, R4, R15, R20 and R22 – describe their experience as, "Americans keener to show you things" and being "more confident about their message" (Lewis *et al*. 2006, pp. 85–89), shedding light on the lack of uniformity of experience depending upon the war reporter's position of embedding and the military they embedded with. It was found only R18, who embedded with the Americans, found them to be more restrictive than the British, with not allowing her to speak to soldiers independently during the war. R6 found neither the Americans nor the British to be restrictive during the war. Whereas, in the case of the India-based respondents, it was found that those who had personal contacts within the military received greater access to the war zone and, more importantly, had easy access to the top brass of the Indian military (R27, R26, R33, R36 and R39). Furthermore, it was found three respondents (R28, R32 and R39) held the view that all war reporters, irrespective of their physical position, are mentally embedded because of having to operate from the war zone. Hence, it is a part of being a war reporter.

Embedding makes storytellers into the story

While fewer UK-based respondents expressed that embedding allows the storytellers to become the story, nonetheless this was a view held by at least three UK respondents – R11, R4 and R19 – in relation to the Iraq war, where reporters' access to battles allowed them to view action like they had never seen before and shifted the focus of reporting from the battles to what was happening to the reporter during the battles. Similarly, four India-based respondents in relation to the Kargil war claimed that broadcast reporters indulged in reporting that was impressionistic and theatrical – where the focus was on their ability to report from danger rather than the event. It can also be understood through the views expressed by the India and UK embedded journalists who held positive views in relation to embedding; however, they said embedding only allowed part of the picture in the Iraq and Kargil wars. For R3, R2, R4, R7, R8, R15, R18, R20, R22, R39, R24, R36 and R33, the visual of being in the war zone, in the backdrop of danger and surrounded by men in uniform appears to be a significant part of the coverage. The presence of a paramilitary status further glamorises the aspects of mortal danger and heroism attached to the image of a war reporter.

6.4.4 Description of the military

While views on embedding provide an understanding of the respondents' position in a war zone, views on the military shed light on the nature of the relationship between the war reporters and military. This section provides the views of the 39 respondents in relation to the combatants and military, since both were described differently by the respondents. While the combatants or soldiers evoked feelings of sympathy, concern and respect among the respondents, the military – American, British and Indian – were seen as institutions representing value systems of integrity, decision making prowess, force of good, brave outfit and worthy of respect. It was found all 39 respondents agreed with the strategic and humanitarian goals of the military they were reporting with.

Views on combatants/soldiers

The respondents who claim to have embedded with the American and British forces appear to be more sympathetic to the young soldiers in uniform. The nature of their interactions with the soldiers further strengthens this finding. While American soldiers were primarily described as confident and articulate, British soldiers were described with adjectives such as "shy" and "guarded." Furthermore, common phrases and words used by the respondents to describe the British combatants were "clueless young lads"; "boys with a thousand-yard stare"; "they had no idea about the country they were supposed to be fighting in" and "they are the sons and daughters of the audience back home." It was found that 15 respondents of the 16 who covered Iraq – R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6, R7, R8, R10, R11, R14, R15, R18, R20 and R22 – were sympathetic towards the British and American combatants fighting in the Iraq war and express their sense of sympathy by referring to the soldiers using their age, experience and status as soldiers who are part of a bigger machinery in which they have to follow orders. The descriptions the respondents provided in relation to soldiers included, "young 18-year-olds worthy of admiration" (R3) and "pawns in a game not of their choosing" (R2). Respondents drew attention towards the differences and similarities between the soldiers and war reporters who work from the same war zone. R7 states,

> …When we did this big operation with the British in Afghanistan, there were young lads of 17 and 18 years of age. Sweet kids from north-east of England, we reported them so that we could humanise them. I am not telling you what to think but I do not want you to have the comfort of your own prejudices and preconceptions. My job is about telling you what you do not know…Most of the soldiers were working class lads who did not do particularly well in school and they see you as a posh bloke from the BBC who is being paid a fortune to be there covering the war they are fighting. It is not an easy relationship (R7, Pannell).

The respondent's views on soldiers and their level of experience in a combat zone not only demonstrates the sympathetic tone used to describe the "sweet young lads," but also highlights the way in which the respondent describes his job, which is to humanise the soldiers to further engage with his audience back home. While he claims he is not "telling his audience what to think," it is clear through his narrative that he does want his audience to be able to appreciate the individual within the military block. This is further emphasised by the emphasis on his own status as a privileged witness where the

difference in their social classes is highlighted through descriptions such as “working class lads” and the “posh BBC reporter.” R7’s articulation not only suggests a sympathetic view towards the young British soldiers, but also reflects his privileged status as a witness whose role is to humanise these “sweet boys.”

While the sympathetic view remained consistent with the India-based respondents’ descriptions of the Indian combatants during Kargil, where they described the soldiers as “tired and hassled,” “fighting without proper shoes,” “dealing with grief of losing their buddy” and “simple men who missed their families back home” (R23, R25, R27, R28, R29, R30, R34 and R37), another dominant view was expressed by R24, R26, R32, R33, R35, R36 and R39, which described the Indian combatants as “insanely brave,” “selfless,” “ready to make the supreme sacrifice of their lives,” “gallant” and “ready to take bullets for their motherland.” The language employed by the respondents highlights their sense of appreciation and awe towards the combatants for fighting the war and reliance on their bravery, selfless acts and gallantry are reiterated in the way the soldiers have been described. For instance, emotive descriptions that further highlighted feelings of awe were found to be true for the respondents above. R24, Dutt recalls,

> …We knew that these people would save our lives and they may never make it back and I…have to say something…so I had a little necklace, which I took off and gave it to the young soldier. And they have this dog tag by which you identify bodies and he gave me his. I still have it. The exchange remains the symbol of overwhelming attachment (R24, Dutt).

R24’s narration goes beyond a feeling of sympathy and takes the form of deep appreciation towards the soldiers for their selfless act of saving lives. Emotive details of the little exchange between the respondent and soldier also signify how the war reporter becomes incorporated into a new reality – that of the combatant – as a consequence of which their role as an observer is constantly disrupted or at the very least challenged by that of a participant, where the war reporter shares experiences with the combatants. Moreover, R24’s description of the exchange as a symbol of overwhelming attachment further sheds light on how the accepted role of a neutral and distanced storyteller is replaced by an emotional and attached one, shaping the way war reporters tend to report on those they cover.

Views on military

Eighteen respondents who covered the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq primarily viewed the military outfits as deserving of respect for their service to the nation. The use of phrases and adjectives for the military comprised, for example, disciplined (R1 and R22). While it was found most respondents (14 out of 18) described the British military as more controlling and restrictive, such views were expressed with regard to the working relationship between the media and military. However, in relation to how the respondents viewed the military and their performance – all 18 respondents appeared to have a positive stance when describing the British military. R21 views them as courageous and draws attention to the team spirit between the reporters and soldiers. He states,

> …The reporters are shoulder to shoulder with the military in dangerous situations. We are not part of the fight or their mission, but we are equally under attack when moving with them. I think very few people join the military for glamorous reasons. Of course, their courage is admirable. It is always interesting to spend time with professional soldiers and see how the military works (R21, Somerville).

The military is explained in terms of duty and service, and not glamorous. The majority of the respondents highlight, while a war reporter chooses to be in specific war zones, the soldiers follow orders – "[They] march to the war zones on orders." R5 and R14, while describing the soldiers, point out the combat experience of the soldiers, which they find to be far less risky as compared to their own experience. Furthermore, it was found the respondents also described the British military as a force of good, where they were involved in Afghanistan to get rid of the Taliban who had oppressed the Afghani people – Operation Enduring Freedom was pitched as a campaign to emancipate women and girls from oppression by the Taliban (Cloud 2004; Dubriwny 2005; Shepherd 2006). A similar view was dominant in the Iraq war, where the respondents described the British military favourably by pointing out their decision-making prowess and highlighting their humanitarian and nation building dispositions (R1, R6, R10, R20 and R22). R6, Gardner, Middle East reporter for the BBC who served in the military prior to a career in journalism, states,

> …Had the Arab media embedded with the British troops, they would have seen how British three-star lieutenant General Robin Brims was incredibly reluctant to go into Basra because he knew it would be a blood bath. So, he waited for the city to fall from within. They wanted to spare the casualties. They were cautious and sensitive. The British military post-invasion was concentrating on building repairing bridges, digging walls, trying to get the place up and running (R6, Gardner).

R6's articulation above highlights his view of the British military by citing the decision-making prowess of the British general. The narration especially sheds light on the humanitarian disposition of the British troops who wanted to spare causalities. The use of language where the British military is referred as cautious and sensitive further describes how R5 viewed this military outfit. Furthermore, the British military is described as benevolent nation builders who were in Iraq to liberate the Iraqis from the barbaric dictatorship of Saddam Hussein – Operation Iraqi Freedom – the third line of justification given by the US-led coalition before the war became the only official line of justification for the Iraq invasion during the post war period. Despite this convenient shift in the narrative regarding strategic priorities, it was found that 16 respondents who covered the Iraq war purely viewed the British military as liberating the Iraqis from a barbaric regime. The others who hold a similar view of the British and American troops describe the troops in terms such as "doing no wrong." R20, Wood, a Middle East reporter for the BBC, says,

> …It is the psychology of journalists to find wrongdoings of the army. But [my] reporting did not have it because they were not any wrongdoings. Stories were based on objective truths (R20, Wood).

The narration above conveys a sense where the respondent seems to highlight his confidence that the British troops were doing the right thing; therefore, were not morally compromised. R20's claim that stories were based on objective truth is a further reiteration of the set of professional values journalists rely on, projecting an equally uncompromised position for himself.

The views of the 17 India-based respondents in relation to the Indian military can be understood in the context of the forced war narrative that has been reiterated by the respondents interviewed for this research. While five respondents (R23, R26, R32, R33 and R35) describe the military in terms of their physical prowess – referring to them as "brave," "gallant" and "doing extraordinary things" – two respondents (R27 and R28) describe them in relation to their values and sentiments – referring to them as "morally stronger with great leadership qualities," "eager to win the war" and the "nicest people on the planet." Three respondents (R39, R24 and R36) spoke in terms of the military structure and their ways of functioning during the war – they referred to them as "more trained and more regimented," "hierarchical," "military was not organised while dealing with the media," "not too controlling, no toeing the line policy" and "Indian military had a very progressive policy during the Kargil war, no specific restrictions imposed" – while four respondents (R29, R30, R31 and R34) viewed them in relation to blocking access – referring to the military as "tightly managed," "holding information," "not going on record," "denying entry to the war zone" and "denying permission to attend press briefings." Furthermore, two respondents (R29 and R30) also viewed them in relation to efficiency, where the respondents associated the top brass of the military as reckless and inefficient, referring to them as "Indian military elite was inept," "responsible for a botched-up intelligence" and the "military top brass was in denial and they underestimated the infiltration." In relation to the Kargil war, it was found that most respondents held the military in high regard. The common consensus across the board was a favourable one towards the Indian military, except four respondents who pointed out the "inept military elite." R33's narration highlights the way the Indian military was mostly perceived by the respondents,

> …Honestly these are the nicest people on the planet God has ever made. It gives me goose bumps thinking how these people go out of their way to make you so comfortable. They love you, look after you and honour you. I remember going for dinner to a brigadier's house and he served me rasgullah [a sweet delicacy famous in the Bengal region of India] knowing that I was a Bengali. How hospitable and all this in the midst of a war when he could have been called for duty at zero-hours' notice (R33, Saha).

R33's articulation highlights the proximity between the journalists and military in a war zone. More importantly, it also sheds light on the aspect of Indian war reporters requiring to settle into this new military reality – the spectacle of the military as regimented, disciplined and more importantly non-autonomous, presents a reality that is opposite to that of the war reporter's. Furthermore, in the case of the Kargil war it was found that, barring four respondents (R26, R27, R28 and R32), who claim to have been a part of the military culture and grew up in a non-civilian environment as their parents served in the military, the rest of the 13 respondents were not familiar with the military as an institution and it was found the majority of respondents viewed the Indian military with awe and appreciation.

6.5 Technology and medium of war coverage

It is important for this thesis to draw attention to the various ways print and broadcast war reporters understand their roles and differ in the way they gather news and tell stories of wars. While the selection of the respondents for this research rests on random sampling, it was found, of the 39 respondents interviewed, 16 represented print media organisations and the remaining 23 worked for broadcast media organisations. Among the 22 UK respondents, only four represented print media, whereas of the 17 India-based respondents, 12 represented print media.

It was found, while the 22 reporters interviewed in relation to the Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq wars did not bring up the theme of technology as often as the themes of access and the newsgathering and storytelling choices they made, they were conscious of the changing nature of war zones in relation to technological developments that impacted them in the war zone. Out of the 11 respondents who covered the Kosovo war, only one respondent (R14) describes it as difficult due to the absence of film signal and lack of satellite phones. Similar responses were gathered from India print respondents (R34 and R36) who claim, unlike broadcast respondents in Kargil who had access to satellite phones, they were reliant on subscriber trunk dialling lines (STD or landlines) from the war zone, making it difficult to deliver stories to the newsrooms. Only one respondent working for a print organisation claimed to have access to a satellite phone in Kargil (R37). Furthermore, R36 pointed out that broadcast journalists were also supplied with credit cards; hence, did not have to work with a tight budget. The discussion on technology is important because it allows for this thesis to trace the shifts made within journalistic practices in war reporting. As argued by Carruthers (2000, 2011), reliance on military technology to send reports back was a contributing factor in media management, such as the one in Falklands war in 1982. However, by the 1990s, advances in satellite and cable television changed the nature of television news. The live broadcast from the Western correspondents from the First Gulf War in 1990 changed the way wars were reported. Technology played an important role in shaping the content and quality of coverage – which became more visual centric.

The emphasis by Western reporters on military precision and battle tactics resulting in a bloodless war, as claimed by those who covered the First Gulf War, also allowed for exciting visuals from the frontline (McLaughlin 2002). Technology, which resulted in the ease with which images and visuals could be uplinked and sent back to their London offices (headquarters), further improved for broadcast journalists with the help of a broadcaster kit (Tumber & Palmer 2004). Journalists were given little kits that contained a digital camera, laptop and satellite phones allowing them to shoot, edit, and send the story to the newsrooms, hence making the journalist's job much more instantaneous and immediate. British respondents continue to view technology as an important tool, especially in war reporting – where two respondents (R5 and R7) understand the role of technological advancements differently. While R5 claims technological inventions have made it possible for the war reporter to cover wars without putting themself in the line of fire, R7 views it as a last resort where, for instance, he mentions doing a Skype

interview with a commander in Syria since it was not safe to travel. However, he describes this kind of reporting as "soul destroying," suggesting that reporters are primarily witnesses of the stories they tell; hence, the performative act of telling a story without being physically present is not ideal but becomes necessary especially for those who cover wars and conflicts. In relation to the views of R5 and R7 it can, therefore, be argued that, while technology becomes an enabler in telling stories where access is not possible, it can also be construed as disrupting the normative ideals of journalism where the reporter no longer needs to risk their life to tell a story.

It was found the India-based respondents (R25 and R31) drew comparisons between Kargil and the First Gulf War – where they highlighted aspects of the theatricality, colour, drama and exciting visuals being shown on the television sets of their audience. Kargil, being the first Indian televised war, was also described as an opportunity where the broadcast journalists continued to focus on impressionistic stories – often where the storyteller's experiences became the story. R31 states, "TV journalists were busy in theatrics. Getting into bunkers for piece to camera, filming next to the Bofors[48] guns…" Five print respondents (R27, R29, R30, R25 and R31) claim that broadcast reporting was responsible for churning the war fervour – where reportage mainly produced patriotic and nationalistic narratives. Moreover, it was found the respondents who covered the wars for weekly newspapers or fortnightly magazines refer to the factor of time concerning deadlines. R5, who covered the Iraq war as an embed, refers to the requirements of news cycle that broadcast or daily newspaper respondents had to meet, thereby not getting enough time to "check things out." Similar views were found within the India respondents, where R27 and R28 also credit themselves for producing detailed and corroborated war copies; both these respondents covered the Kargil war for fortnightly political magazines. Four of the five broadcast journalists who covered the Kargil war also make comparisons with print reporters and argue that reporting becomes much more challenging and dangerous due to the requirements of the broadcast medium (R23, R24, R33 and R39). It was found all four respondents declared the importance of the Kargil war – the first televised war in India – and in relation highlighted the expectations from broadcast reporters, who unlike print reporters could not maintain a safe distance from the frontline. The fact that broadcast survives on visuals required reporters to be amid danger to bring images of the war zone into the living rooms of their audience. The multiple ways in which respondents within this section employ boundary maintenance is significant. While India-based print reporters claim to report from the war zones without the latest technology available to them yet claim to have produced a detailed account of war stories and kept their audience informed, this is no less evident than India-based broadcast reporters who claim to be more heroic so as to deliver their audience with the actual visuals of the war zone.

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48 The Bofors 40mm gun, also known as the Bofors gun, was designed in the 1930s by Swedish arms manufacturer AB Bofors. It was popular during World War II among Western Allies and Axis powers for its "anti-aircraft/multi-purpose autocannon" and "medium-weight anti-aircraft systems" (see Gardner 2014).

6.6 Conclusion

To understand war correspondence and journalistic practices within it, Bourdieu's field theory is relevant for establishing power struggles amongst the war reporters. The actors within the field – war reporters – can accomplish by becoming an expert on the rules of the game – war reporting. Furthermore, they can advance within the field by acquiring personal and social capital – as discussed under motivations (Chapter 5) of this thesis. War reporters employed by distinguished broadcast organisations are influential actors who enjoy some freedom within the field. This autonomy as explained by Bourdieu is the result of the actor's association with eminent organisations, their ability to command a lucrative allowance for their work, their standing in public and lastly, successfully avoiding writing accounts of events that cater to popular taste, in order to earn a livelihood (Bourdieu 1998). The argument to be made on Bourdieu's framework is that these reporters within the journalistic field have the agency due to their cultural capital to influence other players; hence, they have the power to shape the role perceptions and impact how war reporting is practiced. As argued by Benson (2006), Bourdieu (1998) and Hallin and Mancini (2004), the important aspect of autonomy lies in the culture of journalistic professionalism – where it is claimed that external sources allow journalists to evoke their moral, intellectual and professional resources. He further claims that a journalist looks within the field for strength and autonomy. (Benson 2006).

A fitting example of that is journalism of attachment by Bell (1998). It was found that 18 out of 39 respondents were supportive of this approach and towards value judgement aspects of objectivity, where they challenged traditional understanding of objectivity. Reliance on journalism's injunction to care (Cottle 2010), therefore, is an acceptance of the moral obligation of being a privileged witness, as its understanding disrupts the professional ideology within the field of war reporting.

Furthermore, central to the understanding of the India and UK respondents, especially those categorised under the *value judgement* aspects of objectivity are the ways they claim to bear witness – in case of the UK respondents, they claim to have focused mainly on stories of suffering and extreme realities and state similar motivations – which they refer to as telling stories from dark places and invoking an image from Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* – thereby referring to the inner darkness and primitiveness that people possess. Racist undertones of how such a world needs saving can be constructed from such a reference. Whereas the India-based respondents claim to have focused on stories of heroism and valour in relation to the combatants who fought in the Kargil war – a forced war, a war that was referred as a "backstab" from the Pakistani. This is coupled with the respondents' understanding of objectivity as that which does not harm national interests – these narrated performances as claimed by the India and UK respondents further prove that ways of bearing witness are never innocent of politics and always constitutive of who is "us" and who is "them" (Rentschler 2004, p. 298). It is important to highlight how, within an understanding of attachment, lies a narrative that resurrects the West as a point of "hope and help" for those caught up in the horrors of war. The

respondents who claim to highlight the “suffering” and “the plight of Iraqi civilians under the Saddam regime” not only present the pathos and sufferings of those they cover but also highlight the futility of the victims’ conditions, which can only be redeemed through help from the West. It is a moral mission on behalf of a demoralised society waiting to be rescued. For instance, R2, Hawley, recounted her interview with a five-year-old girl who left her doll behind and a UK toy company made a similar doll for the child. This narrative presents an image of the UK that is sensitive and caring to the pain and suffering of this girl fleeing chemical attacks. Similar suggestions of “saviour syndrome” can be found in the narratives of R5, Lamb, who clearly points out the failure of the Nigerian government in supporting the victims of abuse at the hands of terrorist organisations, underlining the importance of non-government organisations in the UK being in a better position to provide support and comfort to the girls. R15, Hilsum, candidly speaks in favour of calling out the atrocities in a war or genocide, arguing in favour of a narrative of storytelling that not only informs but also plays a role in rescuing those who are amid these extreme realities. It is important to point out the narrative on “attachment,” which argues for “journalism that feels and reports” and has common functions of furthering the image of the “West” as benevolent. The military interventions, therefore, become a part of that rescue mission, which is interpreted as a necessary evil. With the emphasis of those found within this understanding – their moral obligation of being a human and a reporter – it is imperative to underline their role, which through representation of a certain reality posits the ideology of supporting the intervention on humanitarian grounds.

As pointed out by Robinson *et al*. (2010), ideology operates at a wider level, where journalists, policy makers and public are thought to share “structuring frames of reference” (p. 37). The ideological objectives play a role in defending the essence of foreign policy. Furthermore, it diminishes and eliminates an “alternative position that might destabilise the dominant official frames” which play a part in legitimising the essence of foreign policy (p. 37). For instance, despite the strategic framing of the wars in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003), the respondents’ emphasis on “humanitarian” coverage of the wars conceptualises journalistic identity and the role of occupational values, where each of them lays a claim to the possibility of a truthful representation of reality. Whereas, in the case of the Kargil war, frames of military valour and sacrifice were found to be dominant despite evidence of a security breach, which was allowed to take place due to the complacent attitude of the Indian military elite (Rai 2001).

Therefore, the performance of rituals on a daily basis which in turn results in accurate news should be noted as journalism practice. Components of the journalistic texts involve dependence on information based on facts along with a reliance on first-hand account of events (Bogaerts 2011). It is the eyewitness account that gives the journalist their “special authority” to declare what really occurred. Morrison (1994) notes, to understand accounts of war, it is imperative to understand the world of the account giver. Meaning, how the war reporter makes sense of the events which they are asked to observe. The choice to go to war as a political response to a specific situation necessitates reasoning

to the public and the military for their support which is considered essential. War, like any political policy requires a stamp of legitimacy and it is this requirement that brings media performance to the forefront of the discussion. Adoni and Mane (1984) further argue that the social elements and actors with whom the individual (war reporter) interacts become part of the close zone of relevance for the individual. Therefore, the subjective reality (Berger & Luckmann 1967) of the war reporter is impacted and shaped by the zone closest to them – for example, the victims of the wars, the military and the strategic priorities of the war reporter's government.

This thesis, through the descriptions of Indian, British and American troops, Afghan civilians and Iraqi women highlight the zone of relevance for the UK and India-based respondents, who through the act of witnessing produce representations of the war zone that influences individual constructions of reality and its behaviour towards the political elite.

This thesis makes a distinction between the act of witnessing and being an eyewitness. As argued above by the respondents under the section on objectivity as a method of newsgathering and storytelling, it is important to further discuss the role of war reporters as witnesses. The respondents who claim to robustly argue in favour of witnessing that goes beyond the physical embodiment experience, highlight the importance of being an eyewitness where the storyteller lays the burden on the audience through the ethical claim of the voice of the victim. Within this identity, the respondents lay a claim to objectivity, which closely aligns itself to factual and honest reporting. They reject the argument that attachment leads to imbalanced storytelling. R2 claims to have been moved by the children caught up in the wars and justifies her role in helping them with bringing medical attention and toys. Her argument rests on her privileged position, which registers the morally charged sense of bearing witness; hence, making it her responsibility to highlight to the world the suffering of the children she reports on. Similar arguments are presented by R7, who admits he does not wish his storytelling to be an easy watch, suggesting he wishes to impact them through the chaotic reality of wars, which according to him have "no happy endings." The common narrative shared by those who view attachment as "necessary for effective storytelling" claim to understand the image of a war reporter as one who is able to influence the audience and has the ability to intervene and bring help.

Journalists use normative concepts as definitional devices; successive iterations of their evolving identity as "real" journalists as opposed to "fake" or "bad" ones have over time created a professional ideology that is broadly accepted and among widely shared values. Within the findings, the clearest example of this is the emphasis on objectivity and claims made to it, even though respondents seem to define it differently. It can be argued, the respondents' claims to BBC objectivity made by those while describing their reporting during the Iraq war (2003) or references invoking the brand, such as "We at NDTV…" or "Outlook was the only media organisation that did critical stories of the Indian military," articulate their boundary, where they put markers and distinguish themselves from others. The professional identity, in terms of belonging in or out is managed by making sure that actors are conforming to the set of values, standards, practices and models (Aldridge & Evetts 2003; Deuze 2005;

Ornebring 2009). To cite the example, as presented within the findings on Afghanistan and Iraq, the respondents lay claim to a kind of attachment and R5 argues “you are not a good journalist if you use people for stories and go back to your comfortable lives without thinking of them.” R39’s claim that storytelling according to him is devoid of sensationalism and exaggeration unlike the one that is produced by Indian vernacular media during the war. The adherence to values, which is the case for R5, and those who argue in favour of journalism of attachment can be seen as invoking ideals and standards that revolve around the professional identity of ‘advocacy roles’ adding to the underlying concept of journalism’s professional identity, just like values of detachment as projected by R39 contribute to a legitimisation of the established professional identity (Hanitzsch 2011).

It is also important to discuss the social construction of war by the war reporter – such as R36’s decision to not report the story where the Naga battalion of the Indian military had decapitated a dead Pakistani soldier, citing reasons that it would damage the image of the Indian military; therefore, self-censoring for the sake of his audience and the military, as claimed by him, further highlights aspects of how war reporting is a product of a social construction of reality (Morrison 1994) where the war reporter who is living with the troops is inducted into military experiences, resulting in acceptance of this new reality, which in an otherwise civilian world could not have taken place.

The respondents who support the objectivity ideal within this thesis claim to believe in their role as informers who are trying to present the reality around them without the expectation of influence or impact. The occupational values of journalism – objectivity, neutrality and fairness – are claimed to be the guiding force within the respondents that fall under this description. They denounce the practice of journalism of attachment ferociously and uphold the role of a detached storyteller, claiming the audience is not a fool, as pointed by R9, Bowen, who suggests the audience can make up its own mind without being told how to feel. The importance of factual and balanced storytelling is further highlighted by him when he reveals one of his stories during the siege of Sarajevo was presented as evidence during the war tribunal as it was devoid of any emotive elements. He refers to the war reporting as a privilege where the aspect of witnessing history in making is a special attribute; however, the argument made by him and others within this understanding regarding witnessing is different from the one made by those who uphold attachment. The respondents who claim to be informers emphasise the relevance of telling stories from dark corners of the world and describe them to be the top stories of the day, making them more desirable than any other story. Hence, privilege here refers to “social privilege” that comes with holding a place of prominence or commanding a financially lucrative position in the first world thus making reporting on people who belong to the third world and are experiencing disaster, loss more “felt” (Cottle 2010). R6, Gardner, reiterates a similar position of being an objective storyteller where he claims his reporting was devoid of taking sides of victims or the British armed forces during the Iraq war (2003). He refers to the stories he did, which involved presenting the “tortured tales of the Iraqis under the Saddam Hussein regime” and expressing the will of the Iraqi people, who according to R6 “supported the intervention wholeheartedly.” He describes the Iraqi society as one that could not comprehend the

reasons behind the anti-war arguments. He argues, as a war reporter, it is possible to tell balanced stories without attachment. While he declares the absence of a jingoistic narrative regarding the British armed forces, he stresses their characteristics of being “cautious and sensitive” where the British armed forces were not looking for a blood bath. He constantly refers to “precision” and the exactness of strikes during the battle of Basra, thereby creating an image of the Western armed forces as “saviours” of the Iraqi people who have been long “tortured” under a “brutal dictator.” The India respondents, on the other, viewed the Indian military with awe and respect. The four respondents who claim to have reported on the failures of the military and subsequent security breach that led to the Pakistani infiltration also primarily viewed it as a force of good, highlighting its dedication and integrity.

Through the discussion on the findings and comparison of the 39 respondents, this chapter presented the ways in which the concepts regarding image and practices of war reporters have either remained resilient or been disrupted through new articulations on who is a war reporter and what constitutes good war reporting. The aim of this chapter was to further highlight the process where the meanings of how journalists should be reporting are constantly rearticulated with new understanding. The field of war reporting is constantly being confronted with new material on meanings and understanding of images and practices, and it is this process that shapes the way war reporters understand their self and job. This thesis is also interested in the representations of war reporters through their accounts of their experiences as articulated within the interviews. The descriptions of the war zones by claiming certain motifs emphasise aspects of their journalistic identity. The next chapter presents findings of the India- and UK-based respondents’ accounts of their experiences by emphasising the aesthetics of the war reporter’s self-identity within the war zone.

Chapter 7.0 Aesthetics of the war reporter's self-identity

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the performative aspect of war reporting by focusing on narrative styles as provided by the respondents in describing the war zone they claim to have inhabited and observed. It further allows this thesis to explore its two overarching questions in relation to role perceptions and journalistic practices. With the self-image of being a lone risk-taker and seeking truth in a foreign land filled with danger, the war reporters interviewed for this research broadly claim membership to such an exclusive group, emphasising their role as a risk-taker and equally important role of a privileged truth-teller. Furthermore, it is within the performative utterances – ways of acting through language (Broersma 2010, p.18) or style of narrative representation that articulates the respondents' political stance and fundamental cultural assumptions – that shape and organise the way war reporters understand themselves and their war zones. Furthermore, construal and re-construal are forms of interpretations and subject to one's intentions, interpretive conventions and available meanings imposed by the usages of our culture and language (Bruner 1993, p. 38). The India and UK respondents' use of language to describe specific war zones, its civilians and topography – representations of backwardness, savagery, social turbulence and in some cases primitive beauty – act as cultural signifiers that, depending on the circumstance, evoke a place of adventure, romance or imminent threat.

The focus of this chapter is to examine respondent's accounts of their practice that is manifested in discourse that relies on the use motifs (food, landscape, modes of transportations, gothic) to invoke a sense of the war zone. Furthermore, the sensory perceptions – smell and sound – are claimed by the respondents while articulating their experiences of being in those places. Hence, such narratives seem to emphasise aspects of their journalistic identity. The essence of war reporting, like news reporting, relies on eyewitness reports. Claims of truthfulness and reliability are crucial for all journalists, especially war reporters whose discursive authority emerges from being a first-hand witness to the war zones. As argued in chapters 5 and 6, notions of risk and objectivity in relation to their self is understood differently by the India- and UK-based respondents – hence, their representations of the war zones they have inhabited present aspects of their interpretation of their professional lives and provides an important source through which the war reporters' self-images can be explored. It is critical to note that both Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) wars, which lasted several years, had significant impact beyond their official timeframes and generated personal legacies for the UK war reporters covering these wars. Consequently, this section considers the UK respondents' impressions about these war zones which were based on experiences of their foreign surroundings which were primarily combative in nature.

In order to examine narrative styles provided by the war reporters it is important for this chapter to consider arguments related to postcolonialism and travel writing. Griffiths (2012) states that "travel narratives have shaped the way we understand the colonial and postcolonial world" (p.58). Travel narratives within the "colonial travel literature" (Griffiths 2012, p. 58) have produced representations of

the world which in turn have influenced the perspectives and imaginations of Europeans. Furthermore, the importance of the genre in providing rationale for the imperial mission cannot be negated. Eighteenth century journalist and writer Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* is a befitting example of travel writing that presented colonial narratives of "rescuing the native from savagery and bringing him to civilisation" (Griffiths 2012, p. 61). Not only did it make a compelling contribution to "the representation of the world," but "underpinned and justified colonial expansion" (p. 61). While, the staple fiction within the genre surrounded by "repulsion and fascination" of the outside world continued to inform the imagination of its readers, the end of eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries observed literature that was based on "objective scientific discourse of exploration" (Griffiths 2012, p. 62), hence, claiming to be different from the previous 'fictional narratives' within the genre. However, as pointed out by Griffiths, such "objective scientific travel discourse" (p. 62) continued to be "saturated with alternative discourses of fantastic literary voyages and mythmaking". The biases of the colonial tropes could be found within the "so-called objective discourse of scientific observation" (pp. 62-63), diminishing any attempts towards a narrative that was free of the power of the imperial hold.

In fact, Griffiths' argumentation regarding the potency of such narratives is that it has been able to successfully permeate into an age of global politics and remain within professional travel writings of the early and mid-twentieth century. The neo-colonial articulations made visible through the binary trope of "them and us" signify the presence of "hierarchies and prejudices" (p. 71) within travel writing even when they are not blatantly expressed. Additionally, the trope of the "insider/outsider" within imperial fiction further brings with itself problems of identity. Writer Wilfred Thesiger is known for trying to revive the image of the "classic imperial explorer", who despite being an outsider, possesses "unique insight into and sympathy for the life of the people he travels with and among" (p. 71). Such a narrative, although appearing respectful towards the colonised who are not corrupted by civilisation, forthrightly establishes the fundamental role of colonisation in its duty to bring civilisation to the colonized. Thus, it would not be far-fetched to argue that signifiers of otherness have occurred in narratives even when they appear to be sympathetic to the cause of the colonised/oppressed. What is more, postcolonial travel literature writer Nirad C. Chaudhuri through his travel memoirs highlights "colonialist bias that burdens all travel writing" (Griffiths 2012, p. 73). The implication of such an argument rests on the fact that travel writing even in the post-independence era is regulated through "tropes and discursive formations of imperialism" where the traveller has already "encountered and naturalised" the world that he/she has yet to experience (p. 73). Hence, implying that irrespective of the "liberal intentions" of the writer/traveller they fail to defeat the "forces which control the limitations of the discourse in which their experience is inevitably framed" (Griffiths 2012, p. 73). Another postcolonial writer V.S. Naipaul identifies postcolonial disablement as the cause for such postcolonial disorder, which according to him cannot be eradicated or reversed. Speaking of modern European travel writers, he claims that the space of post colony is like a place where they are able to "nostalgically reconstitute colonial exotic" that further provides "distaste for the post-imperial colourless and increasingly uniform metropolitan spaces" (p. 75).

Further, the use of certain motifs and sensory perceptions within the respondents' articulations further sheds light on the culture of Indian and UK war reporting. For instance, the UK-based respondents' descriptions of traditions, food, civil society while referring to Afghanistan and Iraq can at times be viewed as conforming to linguistic strategies that focus on the deviance or negative behaviours of "others" (Cainkar 2004; Dunn, Moore & Nosek 2005). They fall within the othering paradigm (Said 1981; Poole 2002; van der Veer 2004) and point towards the common mechanism for constructing distinctions between "good versus evil" to emphasise the difference among people in terms of race, ethnicity and religion (Foner 2015). Said's (1978) *Orientalism* defines it as "a system of thought premised on an epistemological distinction between East and West that forms the basis for accounts of the Orient" (Silva 2017, p.140). Representations of the imperial gaze and the construction of the *other* can be seen in some of the language of the UK respondents where their vocabulary relies on certain phrases and descriptions of their surroundings. For instance, Iraqi food is described as "low quality" or "foul and disgusting" and phrases used for the Iraqi civilians' post-invasion varies from being "economically starved" and "waking up after a long slumber" to "these people are monstrous…they are blowing themselves", thereby attributing notions of otherness and presenting Iraq within the dimensions of good versus evil. Further, interpretations within the othering paradigm are present through descriptions of exoticism – a prominent feature that dates to the travel and literary writings on the Middle East in the nineteenth century (Nash 2006, p. 57).

The UK respondents' claim of wanting to tell stories of death, depravity and destruction – "Telling stories from dark places,"[49] categorised under instrumental motivations in Chapter 5 – not only highlights the elevated position of the war reporters in contrast to the civilians, but also has echoes of the *White Man's Burden*,[50] where the "trope of the insider/outsider" (Griffiths 2012. p. 71) seems to be in effect - highlighting the UK war reporters' self-identity as saviours of the civilian population. They understand their purpose of storytelling as also bringing hope to those suffering. The phrase "dark places of Earth" has racist undertones; moreover, use of such language fits within the geopolitical discourse – a representation of the world into "tame zones" and "wild zones" (Myers, Klak & Koehl 1996). The UK respondents' use of imagery found within their discourse invokes a similar sense of characterisation of conflicts – for instance, tribalism in the case of the Rwanda conflict. Moreover, such characterisations also shed light on colonial and post-colonial narratives and its sole purpose to augment power over the natives.

On the other hand, the India-based respondents' representational style in relation to the Kargil war utilises the motifs of landscape. The idyllic imagery of Kargil and its beautiful landscape and mountains stand in sharp contrast to the man-made technology in the shape of big Bofors guns and precision

49 See fn 28.

50 Rudyard Kipling's (1929) poem, *White Man's Burden: The United States and the Philippine Islands*, champions imperialism as a respectable venture where it was the obligation of the West to emancipate the East from its own darkness. He embraces colonisation and welcomes the idea of the American colonisation of the Philippine Islands upon which the lyrics of the poem is based.

weapons that are destroying the peace and tranquillity. Their vocabulary highlights various notions of beauty attached to Kargil[51] and its landscape. Reliance on phrases and descriptions such as "beautiful landscape," "scenic mountains" and "Kargil appeared to be like a picnic spot" are incorporated within the narrative of the India respondents. Furthermore, landscape motifs are also used within the articulations of the India respondents to emphasise the political aspect of the war. For instance, phrases and imagery such as the "mountains are mocking you" and "the beauty of the mountains are being destroyed" are used with the purpose of highlighting the unjustness of the war – where the Pakistan military and government are held responsible for destroying the peace, beauty and civilian lives in Kargil. Hence, the underlying connotations in relation to the Kargil war are that of an "unjust war" where India was forced to defend its sovereign territory. The India respondents' language and imagery, therefore, have a strategic emphasis when they refer to the Indian side as the "aggrieved party." More importantly, there is imbalance between the motifs used by the two sets of war reporters – emphasis on the other as exotic is not within the colonial tropes of the India-based journalists but is very much a part of British journalism and this may explain the differences in the construal construction of their war zones.

Motivating this research is the fact, despite there being a significant presence of conflict reporting in Indian journalism, within India's geographical "territory" where the India respondents claim to have covered internal insurgencies unfolding on various domestic fronts such as the Naxalite Maoist insurgency,[52] separatist movements[53] and domestic terrorism,[54] there is a lack of scholarship available on style and forms of reconstruction within Indian war reporting. Exploration of style, as found within the discourses of the India war reporters, is also an indication of the personal and social contexts of the speaker (Van Dijk 1988, p. 73). Hence, an argument can be made that, even though India journalists are absorbing tropes of journalism and journalistic identity and internalising them to a certain degree in their style of invocation, the ways in which the India respondents use language and motifs place Indian war reporting within its cultural context and explains their journalistic identity differently to that of the UK war reporters. Examining journalistic identity through the lens of colonial tropes (in the case of the UK respondents and its absence within the Indian narrative) results in a kind of self-identification. The fact India was not a colonial power, hence, the lack of emphasis on certain motifs, results in a separate Indian journalistic identity – an area that has not received much scholarship. This thesis therefore aims to fill that gap in the literature by examining the language and imagery as provided by the 17 India-based respondents covering the Kargil war (1999).

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51 The city of Kargil is situated within the Kargil district of Ladakh, since 2019 a Union Territory administered by India. Prior to 2019, Ladakh was part of the erstwhile Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir. Being the second largest in the region, it is 60km from Drass and 204km from Srinagar. Aligned with the Saryu River (Indus), it has an elevation of 2,676 metres. The town of Kargil confronts the Northern areas over the line of control. The region, like other Himalayan areas, witnesses extreme winters with temperatures as low as -48°C (Kargil District file, 2009; Kargil District archive, 2009).

52 See fn 23.

53 See fn 24.

54 See fn 25.

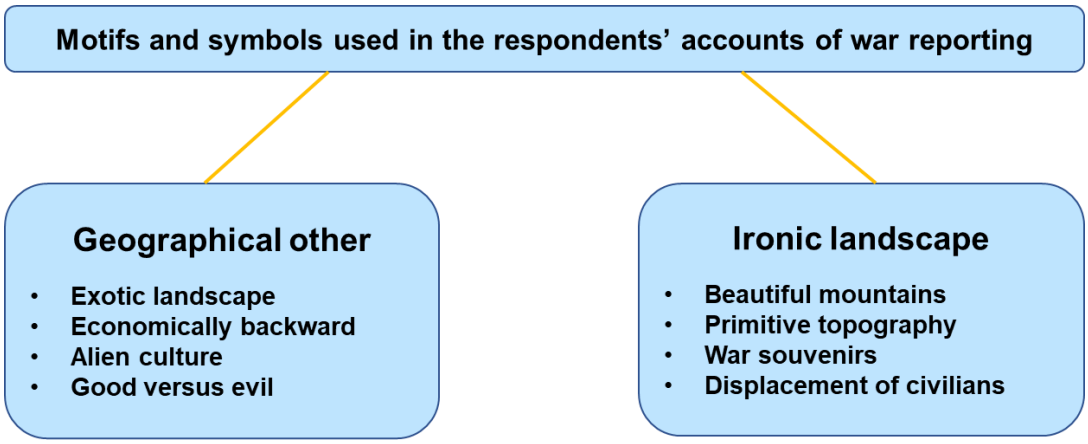
This thesis places itself within a larger research on Western war reporters/foreign correspondents, where, as travellers, Western reporters use colonial and travel tropes in their accounts while reporting on the wars they cover (Dodd 1982; Farish 2001; Espey 2004; Youngs 2006). The nature of colonial wars covered by war correspondents or foreign correspondents were short in duration and on a small scale where the reporters were accustomed to "exotic spectacles" that ended on a triumphant note. The war accounts during the imperial wars were an amalgamation of exotic travelogue and "ripping *Boy's Own* yarn" (Farish 2001, p. 274). However, as noted by Williams (2020) that the second half of the nineteenth century often considered as the 'golden age' of war reporting commenced on unfavourable grounds. The first war of Indian independence or as the British historians refer to it as the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny, witnessed scenes that were horrifying. And as pointed out by both Kaul (2016) and Williams (2020), the reporting on the Indian mutiny largely included accounts that depicted Indian sepoys as barbaric who were preparing for retribution. *The News of the World* (NOTW) newspaper, which did not have a permanently stationed correspondent in India at the time and relied on sources ranging from Anglo India press, British officials and Reuters telegraphs, particularly ran stories which vividly described the massacre of the British officials, women and children. Furthermore, it highlighted "desperate heroism of the besieged British officers" (Kaul 2016, p. 102) and viewed the brutality that was unleashed by the British in response to curb the mutiny as justified. Both Kaul and Williams point towards W.H. Russell, the chief foreign and war correspondent of *The Times* as being an exception to this kind of reporting, where Russell is claimed to be critical of "British actions and policy" which according to him would be intolerable in Europe (Williams 2020, p. 51). However, suggestions of a collusion between the authorities and Russell and others in the press regarding "withholding information about and images of the number of Indians dangling from gibbets" is also acknowledged by Williams (p.51). The imperial war reporting was largely characterised by the reliance of journalists on the military authorities – and in following the imperial adventure, many war correspondents were found to embrace and share military values and imperial objectives as that of the British army they travelled with. What is more, descriptions of the colonial wars became popular in magazines and newspapers due to the nature of their reporting that provided narratives of "romantic adventure and heroism" - where the military and the British generals were hailed as heroes and celebrated through accounts of wars that were "bloody but provided a glorious spectacle" (Williams 2020, p. 51). Additionally, such accounts allowed war correspondents to self-attribute similar values of heroism, patriotism and honour that they readily attached their military counterparts with, hence, making the war correspondent a figure that was equally heroic, brave and popular (Korte 2009; Williams 2020). There is also focused scholarship on the war correspondence of Martha Gellhorn and the use of literary device in her war reporting (Hinton 2000; Mercedes and Alastuey 2015). Although there is no dearth of literature on how Western travellers evolved into foreign correspondents (Fussell 1980, p. 217), by tracing their work during the First and Second World Wars (Farish 2001; Hammond 2004), one of the aims of this thesis is to test the resilience of the established tropes within the British context and compare and contrast them with their Indian counterparts.

7.2 Style and forms of reconstruction

The difference between the content and form-style of a news piece are presented through arguments that see the former as 'unique and incidental' and the latter as universal that consists of cultural discourses, routines and news conventions that are used extensively (Broersma 2007, p. 20). Conventions concerning form and style determine which and how stories are told, and by doing so they determine how the audience experiences the world. Schudson (1995, p. 109) claims that the power of the media not only exists in its function of "declaring things to be true, but to provide forms in which the declarations appear". According to Broersma (2010), "scholarship and popular speech, style is interpreted in terms of the personal qualities of individual journalists and the aesthetics of language." (p.23). Furthermore, style is not entirely dependent on the personal qualities of an individual journalist but can be understood as a marker of sociological context and group identity (Broersma 2010, p. 23). While the objectivity norm within journalism argues in favour of storytelling that educates and informs its audience, another argument can be made. The storytelling function derives its performative powers in relation to its readers by "satisfying aesthetic experiences, which help readers interpret their own lives and relate to the nation, town or class to which they belong" (Schudson 1978, p. 89). However, in the case of war reporting, the aesthetic experiences provided through the function of storytelling allow the audience to interpret their lives in relation to the foreign war zones – their culture and geography – to which they do not belong and have no experience of.

The India- and UK-based respondents covering the Kosovo, Kargil, Afghanistan and Iraq wars provide their observations of the war zones in relation to the culture, topography and civilians encountered during the wars. Their observations are categorised as: geographical other and ironical landscape, as depicted in Figure 7-A below. The first category includes the UK respondents' views that appear within the dimensions of colonial tropes that employ othering tools in places within the narrative. Additionally, it includes language used by the UK respondents that is inflected with the romance of foreign travel where the motif of landscape invokes the image of a place that is exotic, untouched by technology and is foreign. Furthermore, the trope of good versus evil features in the descriptions provided by the UK respondents even where they seem to be invoking a sense of their authentic experiences. The second category includes the India respondents' views that focus on the scenic beauty of the topography of Kargil to articulate political and strategic points in relation to Pakistan's involvement in the war. The use of impersonal irony as a literary device is particularly relevant to descriptions provided by the India respondents where it is used within the language for the purpose of "praising in order to blame for desirable qualities known to be lacking" (Muecke 1969, pp. 37-39). The Indian narratives further employ irony with the view to emphasise the juxtaposition between the beautiful landscape and the man-made sufferings that were self-inflicted.

Figure 7-A: Motifs and symbols used by the respondents to describe their war reporting



7.2.1 Geographical other

This section focuses on how respondents use post-colonial symbols of food, culture, traditions, transportation, civil society and popular tropes to depict the otherness of that which is foreign. The respondents in this case provide articulations that indicate reductive repetition motifs (Andreasson 2005) in their descriptions of the war zones they inhabit. It is also important to highlight such descriptions were provided only by the UK respondents who covered wars in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq. The descriptions provided by 18 UK respondents (R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R6, R7, R8, R9, R10, R11, R14, R15, R17, R18, R19, R20 and R22) use the language device of othering to stress difference and distanciation – by maintaining their visitor status – a cultural outsider who is fearless and adept at handling the danger and risks of the war zone.

R6's, Gardner, description of Iraq soon after the invasion is as follows:

> …Under Saddam it was stable, but an unhappy place starved of funds, starved of investment, discriminated against because it was the Shia part of Iraq and Saddam's regime was Sunni primarily. So, it was never a happy place under him. But it was okay in April 2003, you could sit outside a café in the evening and play backgammon and go to the souk and haggle over buying a shisha. You could go out into the field, the villages, interviewing people, go to incredible tents and witness tribes haggling over compensation for misdeeds done during the Saddam regime, you could do all of that. But the Jaishal-Makhte [a terrorist organisation operating out of Iraq] had started by that summer to form a resistance and of course Al-Qaeda [a terrorist organisation operating out of Afghanistan] had started to get active; they blew up the UN in Baghdad that summer. I am pretty sure it was 2003 and by the end of that year things had started to get very unpleasant (R6, Gardner).

The language choices, including words such as "souk," "haggling" and "shisha," invoke a sense of place and exotic locations; therefore, emphasising the unfamiliar territory and culture within which the war reporter must function. On the other hand, "haggling over compensation" suggests a chaotic society, invoking a picture of war that is not necessarily a direct result of the invasion, but rather displacement. Furthermore, the narrator's use of irony is evident throughout this passage by juxtaposing the regime under Saddam, which he claims was "stable" but "unhappy" and "discriminated." The use of imagery to contrast life before and after the regime of Saddam Hussein in Iraq possibly makes a political point in relation to the strategic priority of the reporter's home country. The Iraq invasion – also known as

Operation Iraqi Freedom – was reportedly claimed to liberate the oppressed Iraqi population from the brutal regime. Furthermore, the description of Iraq soon after the invasion is recalled by the respondent as more conducive for newsgathering and storytelling as he could travel without any fear of the regime. However, the frequent references to Al-Qaeda and Jaishal-Makhte and its attack on the UN building in Baghdad also act as an acknowledgement of the region's complex relationship with peace where Iraq continued to remain turbulent despite the overthrow of its evil dictator. Furthermore, it also highlights the nature of the threats and risks a war reporter operates under, indicating that war reporting is more than being in foreign countries and experiencing exotic culture. It is about constantly putting oneself in mortal danger for newsgathering and storytelling.

R18's account of her experience before the invasion similarly uses the othering device to highlight the quality of life in Iraq. It reflects on Iraq as economically starved and its society as "regulated," emphasising on the difference between the East and West. Further, the account, in drawing attention to "spying hotel staff," gives a suggested recreation of Iraq as untrustworthy:

> …I remember interviewing a young man when Iraq was still under Saddam's regime. I went to his house and saw how little furniture they had. His mother was worried about his future. It was visible that the sanctions were hurting the people and it was still a highly regulated society. The hotels we lived in had local staff spying on us. They had no choice, that was what they were instructed to do and I did not blame them one bit (R18, Guerin).

The mention of hotels and their staff – which in a Western context is a symbol of relaxation, fun and hospitality – invokes an image that is opposite of such elements. In fact, it bolsters an understanding that the Iraqi society was controlled by the regime and forced to spy on foreign journalists. It can be argued that this description provides grounds to consider whether the intervention claiming to rescue the Iraqi civilians from a despotic regime was just. Elements of constraint, untrustworthiness, fear and poverty are all ways through which Iraq is described. Despite the presence of the respondent's sympathetic view on the "blameless" Iraqi people who were living under poverty and forced to "spy" on foreign journalists under the despotic regime, the narrative invokes the image of the *other* which seems to fit within the dimensions of the binary trope of good versus evil (Griffiths 2012). Furthermore, it places the war reporter within a surrounding that is unpredictable, where they are spied on – again, articulating the constant threat and danger that is part of their newsgathering and storytelling process. R18's articulation on Iraq, post the invasion, contrasts the passage above:

> …The British army had taken over this absolutely massive, sprawling compound where Saddam had several palaces. We were operating out of the tents outside on the grass. And it was fascinating because you were, sort of, getting [a] glimpse of Iraqi society…It was like people were waking from a very long sleep. The kind of what you read about in fairy tales as a child. I think a lot of them could not believe the regime had gone (R18, Guerin).

R18's observations of the changing topography as a direct result of the war uses the landscape as a motif; the passage refers to the decadence of Saddam Hussein – "sprawling compounds" and "many palaces" – descriptions through which R18 contrasts the lives of common civilians to that of its dictator,

who was obviously untouched by the economic sanctions imposed by the West. Furthermore, references to the Iraqi population as a group of people who appeared to "wake up after a long sleep" and "their disbelief regarding [the] regime's defeat" invoke a sense of liberation. It allows the respondent to claim her discursive authority – as present in Iraq – and, by creating this image of liberated Iraqi people with hope and happy ending like a "fairy tale," it possibly agrees with the UK government's strategic priority, which used the liberation of the Iraqi people as one of the justifications for the invasion. Through such contrasting descriptions of palaces, civilians and their disbelief and hardships, the respondent understands the Iraq war zone, and, at the same time, there is acknowledgement of the just cause of the invasion. It can also be argued the respondent's account claims the landscape motif for describing her own experiences of being in that place. The liberation that the respondent feels on behalf of the Iraqi people – "almost like a fairy tale" – emphasises aspects of a journalistic identity – a more attached and involved way of storytelling that stands in sharp contrast to the journalistic identity of the war reporter as an objective and detached observer.

The UK-based respondents' descriptions of war-torn Iraq can also be understood through dimensions of the gothic, where it is one of the aesthetic templates through which the foreign has been viewed and has proved to be particularly 'durable'. This literary form originated during the eighteenth - century and became popular as a 'visual genre'. British writers utilised the genre through its 'symbols, images and themes' to describe the apparent boorishness and barbarism of the post-colonial regions (Hammond 2007, p. 118). The UK respondents' use of gothic can also be seen through their descriptions of Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq, where particular references are made to an outlandish array of tyrants, terrorists, sectarian violence and depicting the "underworld of primitive appetites and nightmarish events." The gothic, as used in the descriptions of the UK respondents, becomes the signifier of the *other*. R2, R4, R6, R9, R10 and R14, in their articulation of Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq war experiences, present an atmosphere of terror and violence. Kosovo was primarily described as a land of massacres, highlighting the graves of children and suffering of the Albanian Muslims at the hands of the Serbs, and evoking images of horror from the conflict and empathising with the civilian population who were being massacred. However, in the cases of Afghanistan and Iraq, the descriptions of the UK respondents can be further illustrated through the "tropes of discursive formations of imperialism" (Griffiths 2012) where the narrative implicitly relies on the concept of the Orient (Said 1978), laying the emphasis not only on the despotic regimes, the Taliban and Saddam Hussein respectively, but the civilian population, which is often subjected to an ideological gaze.

R10, Muir, in his description of Iraq soon after the invasion, conjures an image that is filled with terror and sectarian violence between the Shia and Sunni groups:

> …You had frontlines in the armies battling against each other while there was a strong strand of civil war between Iraqi Sunnis and Shias. Every night in Baghdad [a] hundred people were individually killed and dumped, and during the day some hundred bodies were found. People being picked up on sectarian grounds. Sunnis who fall in the wrong area or vice-versa, who had been tortured and killed and dumped out of revenge. It was a horrible situation. You also

> had car bombs and for us there was an added danger of kidnap from both Sunni extremists and Shia groups who were on a lookout for foreigners (R10, Muir).

R10's description places gothic at the heart of his narrative, where the atmosphere of imminent danger comes across and the urgency of such a situation is presented through his articulation. The image of a civil war between the Shia and Sunni factions depicts Iraq as violent and ruthless. This atmosphere of terror is further heightened by the feeling of being hunted by both factions, as claimed by the respondent who is a foreigner in this land. This articulation by R10 employs the gothic element to further emphasise the risk and danger that is a permanent feature of the war reporters' surroundings. The language foregrounds threat to life at the heart of his narrative – "people being picked up on sectarian grounds," "people falling in the wrong area killed and dumped," "car bombs and kidnapping" and "extremist groups on a lookout for foreigners" – these phrases are ways through which the respondent creates imagery of an imminent risk to life. The imagery invoked through the phrases above is that of a landscape that is marred with death, brutality and extreme danger for the respondent and the Iraqi people belonging to different denominations of Islam. Within the factual account of his surroundings there is a sense of brutality and disorder associated with the regions to which the respondent has travelled, further invoking a sense of the place that continues to be chaotic and unpeaceful. More importantly, the account links into the trope of danger and hardships, necessary for the war reporter to endure, in order to get the story.

R4's, Philp, account of the post-invasion phase projects similar representations of the other using gothic in relation to the Iraqi people. The language claims motifs of the Iraqi landscape and people while recounting her experiences of covering the war in Iraq,

> …I would say that destruction around you can become very daunting. Either it brings people despair or it will make you absolutely passionate about getting the message out. In a place like Iraq, who are you talking about to get the message out to? These people are monstrous, they are blowing themselves up, and this is an insane situation. I was diagnosed with PTSD by the end of 2005 and I think frankly most people who covered Iraq suffered from PTSD. What affected us was the constant threat, the idea of being hunted (R4, Philp).

R4 points towards the presence of elements within the Iraqi society that are "monstrous". Similar to the above descriptions of R10, the narrative here invokes an image of a place that is dangerous and filled with violence that is attributed to the suicide bombers who are "blowing themselves up". The relevance of such detailed imagery regarding a part of Iraqi war zone in its purpose of shedding blood is juxtaposed with that of the war reporters, who were there to "get the message out" – report on the invasion and the despotic regime. The articulation places Iraq within the dimensions of good versus evil where even though the narrative seems to be referring to a few suicide bombers is nonetheless indicative of an ideological gaze that is both "controlling and commanding" (Spurr 1993, p. 20). The violent images along with gothic motifs foreground an image of Iraqi otherness where the monstrosity of the suicide bombers stand in contrast to the war reporters, who despite their rich experience in covering risky places feel threatened and hunted. Furthermore, R4's account in claiming that war

reporters like her and many others who covered the Iraq war suffered from post-traumatic stress disorders also emphasises the disruption within the ways in which war reporters have been known to understand their self-image – the swashbuckling, camel-riding, war hardened image of the war reporter is not the only way they identify themselves. There is another self-identification – a more human and fallible one – one who is impacted by their surroundings and finds themself falling apart as a result of witnessing death and destruction.

Furthermore, the description above characterises Iraq with lawlessness, violence and death. Therefore, deficient or devoid of life, culture and normalcy. Such an image stands in sharp contrast to Western societies, which take pride in their civilised and lawful existence. The perceived degradation of the war zone and those residing in it can be found in what appears to be seemingly objective or scientific accounts of its landscape, culture and customs (Bullock 2014, p. 755). For instance, R20's, Wood, description of the Afghani soldiers stands in juxtaposition to that of the British military, where the former is described as "cowards" as opposed to the heroic British soldiers who were there to fight the Taliban:

> …When the Brits were in Afghanistan, the very first engagement they had was in a village called Tazarq. They had this briefing where they described how they fought and killed 20 Taliban in Pashtun meadows. So, I asked half-way through this briefing how did the Afghan police do, and this young British officer said, *Oh! They were terrible*. They took to their tail and ran as soon as the first shots were fired. Some of them probably were in league with the Taliban. And that was [the] central part of my report that day because the whole strategy in Afghanistan, as in Iraq, was to quote unquote train the locals to deal with insurgence (R20, Wood).

The passage outlining the strategy of the Western troops to train the locals and make them adequate to deal with the insurgents is a reminder of the White man's burden. The nobility of the cause behind the Afghanistan war is made apparent within the respondent's account; however, the failure to achieve the objective is further presented by contrasting the Afghani police who ran away and appear to be "cowards" in front of the image of the brave British soldiers who killed 20 Taliban members in a foreign land. Further, the Afghan police is also described to be complicit with the Taliban, invoking an image of untrustworthiness and presenting a view of Afghanistan as corrupt or cowardly. The narrative also emphasises aspects of his journalistic identity through claims of reporting on how the Western coalition strategy was failing in Afghanistan. R20 presents himself as a figure on a truth-finding mission – "I asked half-way through this briefing" – the phrase highlights the process of newsgathering, which relies on trying to gather accurate information so his audience can be informed of all the facts – "And that was the central part of my report that the strategy had failed."

Food is also a motif that has been used within the descriptions by the UK respondents to invoke a sense of the war zones they inhabit. In case of Iraq, R8's, Dymond, description of Iraqi food provides an understanding of Iraqi culture and links it to the trope of suffering and hardship that a war reporter has to go through in order to get the story:

> …We ate normally low, poor quality Iraqi food. The security fell apart, we ended up living in the bureau and we lived increasingly enclosed lives within the bureau, there was very high

> security. I mean, you ate local food, enormous amounts of chicken and rice, the great joke of Iraq because that is all you seem to eat, or that disgusting fish called Masgu [Masgouf] which tastes like it is made of mud and grease, which they prize over all things; I do not recommend it, that is foul stuff (R8, Dymond).

R8's personal taste and opinion of the Iraqi food and culture, with references to the food as "low," "poor quality," "disgusting fish," "mud and grease" and "foul," are part of his experience that stresses the hardships he had to endure in order to cover the war. Surviving on low quality food in a place that was marred with danger – "the security fell apart" and "we lived increasingly enclosed lives" – are ways through which R8 invokes his authentic experience through the language of suffering and hardship. The use of motifs as claimed within this account further invokes an alien culture whose culinary taste, he finds repellent. What is more, the narrative provided by R8 ascribes to tropes of otherness which also emphasise aspects of his journalistic identity. Hence, it can be argued that on such occasions vision is seldom naïve. Rather it communicates an eagerness to understand and codify unfamiliar spaces (geographical/cultural) from a point of view that is privileged therefore superior.

Another motif used by the UK respondents while presenting their accounts to the researcher was that of modes of transport. The war reporters' descriptions of their mode of travel to reach the war zone is, therefore, relevant as it suggests the dangers they undertake for the sake of storytelling. References to comfortless travel with the military, accompanying them on patrols in bulletproof jeeps, tanks and helicopters or travelling alone in a car or boat without any security vividly describe a sense of adventure, threat to physical safety and risks that war reporters experience. Transport in this case becomes a motif through which R1, R2, R3, R4, R5, R7, R8, R14, R19, R22, R15 and R17 further establish themselves as reliable witnesses who endure hardships and face dangers for the sake of storytelling.

R19, Cockburn, recalls his journey into Afghanistan post 9/11:

> …I flew into Tajikistan's capital Dushanbe, which shares a common border along the Amidala River with northern Afghanistan, and it is very difficult to cross the river. At the time, there were Russian frontier troops who were positioned on the river and one needed permission to cross legally and that seemed very difficult. I was planning to go up the river and get the smugglers [to] help me get to the valley. But it is quite a strong river to cross and it is basically uncross-able. I also tried to move through the Hindukush mountains into the Panjshir Valley, which is just north of Kabul. Fortunately for me, before that happened the Northern Alliance opposition got in touch and offered me a ride with other journalists on a Russian helicopter and flew us to the bottom of the valley. So, I spent three very uncomfortable months living in Afghanistan. It is very beautiful… this was the protected innocence of the autumn of the year so its wonderfully beautiful in the Panchal Valley and the other valleys into the main Kutch going to Hindukush, north of Kabul. (R19, Cockburn)

The passage highlights the issue of access and difficulties faced by war reporters to get to the war zone. The detail of the modes of transport along with the landscape creates a sense of adventure, thrill and risk that forms an essential part of the war reporter's experience. It also presents the way R19 views the foreign, for instance, the river that is uncrossable could be construed as that which cannot be tamed. Reference to the mountains suggests a landscape that is beautiful yet treacherous. R19's articulation

creates a contrast through the modes of travel – crossing the river by boat and walking through the mountains versus a helicopter ride. In invoking his authentic experience of the war zone, the narrative in its description presents an image of this travelled world that is untouched by technology and urbanism and remains "beautiful and innocent" in its primitiveness. The language within the narrative embraces the tropes of postcolonial travel writing where the respondent's journey is suggestive of romance of foreign travel, where the valleys in Afghanistan despite its obvious dangers remain a place of adventure and beauty. More importantly it strengthens his own identity of a hardened war reporter who is willing to take risks and endure a back-breaking journey for the sake of storytelling.

Similarly, R11, Simpson, by sharing details of his travel and mode of transport to enter Afghanistan provides comic relief but also a peek into Afghani society. Recounting the journey, he undertook to gain access to Afghanistan, he says:

> …I suppose it must have been a week after 9/11. I had rather good contacts and [a] fantastic cameraman who had spent almost the entire previous ten years in Afghanistan and Pakistan. He had a wonderful driver who had contacts with the cross-border smugglers from Pakistan to Afghanistan and the other way around. He got me a contact with a top smuggler and the smuggler simply said that if we take you in as you are, the way you look, we won't get anywhere, and you will end up dead. So, he said, you have to wear a *burqa* and I said, I am a bit tall for this. But the cameraman and I both wore *burqas* and we both sat at the back of the truck where women sit in Afghanistan, out in the sun and it was an extraordinary experience. I mean I am not at all sorry I did it. It gave me an understanding of what happens to women in a society like that. It was deeply exciting (R11, Simpson).

R11's account is an insight into the workings of a war reporter and how access is gained into war zones. Furthermore, it represents the image of countries outside Britain to be corrupt and lawless, where smugglers roam around freely and arrange travel in exchange for money. Further, the *burqa* incident, apart from providing the intended comic relief, highlights the culture of Afghanistan and the religious laws and customs practiced in the country that promote segregation of males and females in public spaces. R11's claim to feel the plight of women, while sitting at the back of the truck in the heat, invokes the image of a closed society that functions on strict codes of conduct for women. This image stands in sharp contrast to the treatment of women in Western societies, where they enjoy the same rights as men. Therefore, through the device of transportation, the respondent invokes an image of the East as the other. All respondents belonging to this category employ motifs within their discourse that strengthen the concept of the other. References to Iraqi food as "disgusting" (R8), Iraqi war zone as "monstrous" (R4) or the reduction of Iraq's identity to a place where "death became a way of life" (R14) are descriptions found within the articulations of the UK respondents that utilise motifs to invoke a sense of place but more importantly they also emphasise the journalistic identity by linking into the tropes of risk, suffering, sacrifices and hardships that war reporters go through for the sake of telling the story of wars. Chouliaraki (2009, p. 230) argues that "bearing witness as aestheticisation can be arranged into different kinds of discourse constituting selves and others: which is never innocent of politics" and is always constitutive of "who is *us* and who is *them*." Moreover, journalism, therefore, becomes responsible for much more than reporting facts or telling stories; it also determines how people see the

world (Kromelink & Meijer 2018). Furthermore, the argument regarding postcolonial travel writing that it continues to attribute the “tropes of colonial cultural formations” (Griffiths 2012) within itself, is also reflected within the narratives provided by some of the UK correspondents, demonstrating a legacy of the imperial world that some would claim as irreversible.

The next section discusses the second category of observations where respondents use irony as a tool to describe the landscape of the war zones.

7.2.2 Ironic landscape

The accounts provided in this section use the motif of landscape to invoke the scenic beauty of Kargil – which is being destroyed by the war. The imagery and language within the accounts of the Indian respondents is manifested in the journalistic identity – which upholds the value judgement aspect of the newsgathering and storytelling process. By claiming the motif of landscape, the 10 India respondents emphasise the strategic and political point where they hold Pakistan responsible for destroying the peace and beauty of Kargil. The emphasis on Kargil being an Indian territory is further highlighted in accounts where India cannot be held responsible for the war as it is the “aggrieved party” and, therefore, forced to defend its sovereign territory. The use of impersonal irony (Muecke 1969) as a literary device within the descriptions of the India respondents, where it is applied to praise the landscape and its beauty, brings out the juxtaposition between a beautiful landscape and man-made sufferings that are self-inflicted. Furthermore, irony here also serves another purpose – to blame – in this case the Pakistani side that is claimed to be the “aggressor” and a “backstabber” as it infiltrated Indian territory during the ongoing peace talks between the two nations. This further emphasises the nature of the Pakistani side which could not be trusted and was incapable of promoting peace. In contrast to the respondents who use motifs to invoke the image of the exotic other and depict their war zones through discourse that appropriates colonial tropes. This categorisation is based on the articulations of 10 India-based respondents (R23, R25, R29, R30, R31, R32, R33, R34, R37 and R39) who provide descriptions of Kargil in relation to its panoramic landscapes and spectacular views, invoking a sense of nostalgia and idealisation. Further, the respondents’ descriptions use irony, an important element in critical analysis; this enables the respondents to invoke an image with contrasting scenic views and souvenirs of wars, ultimately responsible for altering the landscape. The juxtaposition of beauty with violence, bloodshed and technology in the form of military tanks and Bofors guns creates a sense of irony within the landscape. The 10 India-based respondents covering the Kargil war claim to have been impacted by the beauty of the mountains in the Kargil district. The stark contrast between the landscape of New Delhi (where the respondents travelled from) and Kargil can be understood through their portrayal of its topography, referring to its unadulterated beauty up until the war.

R23, Jami, in his description of Kargil says:

> …War was destroying the serenity of the place. The puniness of the human conflict as opposed to the magnificence of nature. It almost felt like, as if the mountains were mocking you. Suggesting how pointless it is for people to wage war and kill human beings (R23, Jami).

R23's observations build the Kargil district as a quiet hill station, which is serene and in sync with nature. The image invokes a feeling of tranquillity only to be juxtaposed with references made to human beings who are waging wars and killing each other. By claiming the motif of landscapes – "mountains are mocking you" – a reading made by R23 in relation to the war that is being waged in front of his eyes suggests an attached and invested journalistic identity. The articulation of his experience invokes a sense of beauty only to shed light on the unethical war that Pakistan was waging against India. It is important to highlight that all 17 respondents clearly described the Kargil war as an act of betrayal where the Pakistani military was considered directly responsible for the infiltration that led to the war. Hence, references to the "puniness" or "pointlessness," language used by R23, can be read in the strategic context according to which India was forced into this war and could not be held responsible for defending its own territory.

Similarly, R25, Pillai, recalls his arrival into Kargil:

> …As soon as we landed, we could see the beautiful mountains. People carrying their food and it almost looked like a picnic spot unless you heard the shooting and the sound of the Bofors gun (R25, Pillai).

The articulation relies on language that invokes a sensory perception to claim discursive authority – of being present in the war zone and emphasising the role of an eyewitness, which lends legitimacy to the war reporter. Moreover, landscape here is used as a motif to highlight the beauty of Kargil – "beautiful mountains" – as opposed to the city from where the respondent has travelled. Further, comparisons of Kargil to a picnic spot allows the narrator to invoke an image of a retreat into nature or mountains leaving technology and the chaos of city life behind. However, this sense of a retreat into the mountains does not last very long for the respondent as it is interrupted by the sound of guns being fired. The account uses the motif of landscape to first establish Kargil as a place fit for a holiday, but thereafter, through the invocation of sound and sensation, presents a contrasting view, one that reiterates the political point regarding the war that is responsible for altering the peace and tranquillity of Kargil. Finally, references to the "Bofors gun" indicates the dangerous environment the respondent has entered, which is tied to the tropes of risk and danger, which are invoked to reiterate their self-image where it is essential for the war reporter to endure hardships and risks for the purpose of storytelling.

R31, Joshi, also utilises similar motifs of landscape and culture to invoke the sense of uncorrupted beauty, peace and tradition of Kargil to make the political point regarding the futility of wars but more importantly highlighting the political context – the unethical war waged by Pakistan – through language that provides detailed descriptions of the life in the mountains. He says,

> …Kargil landscape was beautiful. The mountains without trees, it is like a desert, like Tibet and it is beautiful. My first impression of Kargil was a sleepy town with a bridge. As soon as I reached the bridge there was a military establishment and lot of military vehicles. In Kargil, there is a tradition of a festival in May and June when young children go to the mountains to pick wild flowers which they give to their elders and grandparents. During the war, no one came to pick the flowers because there were no children. They had migrated to the plains. It all looked so beautiful with the red, pink and yellow flowers. Someone told me I should come back the next year to see children pick flowers. I remember thinking how all of this was another victim of the war. War can never be good (R31, Joshi).

R31's first impressions of Kargil as a "beautiful" and a "sleepy town with a bridge" highlights elements of primitiveness and the rawness that nature has to offer. However, this feeling of tranquil ease is short-lived as the respondent claims to encounter military establishments and vehicles. The description further draws attention to the changing landscape as witnessed by the respondent – the indigenous beauty and traditions of the place are being altered by the war. The respondent's personal emotional response to the festival of Kargil and the absence of children to pick flowers is that of irony – while mountains with "red," "pink" and "yellow" flowers appear beautiful, the reason they have not been plucked is due to the displacement of the people by war. R31's personal admissions of how war can never be good in relation to the depiction of Kargil provides the audience with a multi-dimensional view of the area's beauty and traditions along with the culture of war, which is responsible for human displacement and cultural disruptions.

The 10 respondents belonging to this category utilise landscape as a motif to describe the simplicity and beauty of the landscape to highlight the political context to the war. Their accounts also emphasise their journalistic identity, which is not detached; hence, it presents them as attached storytellers who appear to focus exclusively on the strategic aspect of the Pakistani infiltration being the cause of destruction and displacement of life in Kargil. There is no attempt by these 10 respondents to question the failure of Indian military intelligence, which made the infiltration possible.

7.3 Conclusion

The findings laid out in this chapter presented the ways in which the India and UK respondents claim the use of motifs of food, landscape, gothic and sensory perceptions to describe the war zones. These accounts are descriptions of their own experiences of being in the Kosovo, Kargil, Afghanistan and Iraq war zones and, therefore, shed light on aspects of their journalistic identities. Furthermore, it sheds light on the fact that post-colonial notions of representations (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin 2004) in relation to the Middle East continue to dominate the UK respondents' narratives while describing their experiences from Afghanistan and Iraq. The use of gothic as an aesthetic template (Hammond 2007, p. 118) to reiterate the violence and chaos of the Iraqi society which was at the receiving end of a brutal "sectarian violence" (R2, R4, R10, R20 and R6) or their economic and cultural otherness (R8 and R18), present them within manicheistic dimensions of good versus evil. Similar appropriations of the trope were found within the articulations on social, political, cultural and environmental aspects of Afghanistan and Iraq where despite the sympathetic intentions of the UK respondents, the narrative in places is a reminder

of hierarchies and prejudices that were once an integral part of the imperial world. These accounts also tie into the tropes of war reporting, which are defined in terms of risk, danger, suffering, sacrifice and hardship – as war reporters it is essential for them to be able to endure the above for the purpose of newsgathering and storytelling.

The India-based respondents, on the other hand, utilise the motif of landscape and sensory perceptions to draw attention to the natural beauty and simplicity of the Kargil district. For example, their descriptions highlighting the "beautiful" and "magnificent mountains" of Kargil (R23, R34, R32, and R25), which have allowed the region to retain its primitiveness, stand in contrast to descriptions of "Bofors guns," "military establishments" and "military tanks" (R23, R25, R31, R33 and R39). The language, which relies on the use of these motifs, emphasises their personal and emotional response to the war for which they blame the Pakistani military. Hence, reiterating the political point and claiming India as the "aggrieved party." In doing so, they uphold the value judgement aspect of objectivity. In relation to their journalistic identity, they can be seen as journalists who are attached and involved; therefore, do not hesitate to call out the evil.

Finally, the stark imbalance between the two sets of war reporters in relation to the use of motifs – the UK respondents use motifs that signify dimensions of 'good vs evil', and the White man's burden tied to the notion of othering is very much conjoined in the legacy of colonialism; and a relative lack of these motifs within Indian reporting can be explained through the fact India was never a colonial power.

Chapter 8.0 Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The work presented has emphasised the role perceptions of the India- and UK-based war reporters and their journalistic practices during their coverage of a number of wars between 1998 and 2003. As highlighted earlier, the four wars served in fulfilling the criteria for selection of war reporters for this study and this thesis endeavours to capture their views across these wars. However, the respondents' views were not limited to these four wars and as such have been considered in the analysis of data. Furthermore, Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) wars were longstanding conflicts with significant impact beyond their official timeframes. Naturally, therefore, the respondents' experiences and perspectives were not restricted in time and are relevant beyond the year 2003 where they recollect interactions with soldiers and victims of the wars. During the semi-structured interviews, respondents voluntarily discussed their experience of other conflicts which this study considers in analysing the broader issues of self-image, newsgathering and storytelling processes of reporters who regularly report from war zones. By examining discourses of the 39 respondents on self-images and journalistic practices, this research presented a comparative exploration of motivations and practices and how they manifested in the expression of professional identities ascribed by the India and UK reporters within the field of war reporting. This research determined how discourses in relation to the role perceptions of the India and UK war reporters continue to invoke traditional tropes around war reporting, such as bravery, hardship, risk, adventure and sacrifice; therefore, reinforcing a professional identity of what it means to be a war reporter. Accentuating the argument regarding resilience, on the basis of this research, it can be said, despite the challenges that journalism is facing, particularly in relation to technological and political transformations in war reporting, these tropes around war reporting and war reporters are incredibly resilient. However, though the context in which the India and UK respondents discussed these tropes appears to be different, nonetheless they remain resilient.

Furthermore, through analysing the respondents' articulations regarding their occupational practices, this thesis lead to enhanced understanding – that it is not only what war reporters think they do but also the practices they engage in that reinforce a professional journalistic identity. As journalistic actors (war reporters) endorse a sense of belonging to the double in-group and out-group, this model form of newsgathering and storytelling methods demonstrates prevalent perception of war reporting within the journalistic field through calling upon attributes of 'identity' as benchmark for belonging to the group. Moreover, the presence of myriad research on Western/UK war reporters (that present war reporting as an exclusive and special club of newsgatherers and storytellers – people who rationalise danger and risk differently than the rest), as opposed to a considerable lack of scholarship on Indian war reporters, informs this thesis where this study makes clear whether the values and practices that are shared within this exclusive club of war reporting are universal (Shoemaker & Cohen 2006; Waisbord 2013) or whether they are shaped by cultural factors – do Indian war reporters understand their

motivations and practices of war reporting in similar ways as their UK counterparts? To unpack these, the thesis sought to answer two specific research questions within a comparative framework:

RQ1. To what extent have journalists' role perceptions in the UK and India altered since the 1990s?

RQ2. How has the practice of war reporting in the UK and India altered since 1998?

The analyses and discussions in the previous three chapters examined these questions in several aspects. The main empirical findings are chapter-specific within the respective empirical chapters: Chapter 5 – Role perceptions of war reporters in India and the UK – and Chapter 7 – Aesthetics of war reporter's self-identity – addressed the first question, **RQ1**, and detailed the ways that the India and UK war reporters understand role perceptions. Furthermore, the analyses within these chapters showed how the journalistic identity represents the Indian and UK war reporters "as an in-group profession of war reporting (journalism) towards a journalistic field, enhanced through contrast in their projection of an out-group – non-war reporters" (Eldridge 2014, p.373) or those who lack the much-required heroism, bravery and appetite for thrill and hardships to survive in a war zone. Chapter 5 drew out this dynamic, looking at the way the India and UK war reporters demarcate themselves within the field of war reporting, while at the same time invoking tropes that are self-reinforcing, emphasising existing notions of war journalism about natural risk taking, suffering, hardships and sacrifice; hence, expressing their perceptions of who a war reporter is and what a war reporter should be.

Expanding on **RQ1** and addressing **RQ2**, Chapter 6 – Practices of war reporters – presented ways in which the India and UK respondents understand their professional roles in relation to what they do and how they engage in newsgathering and storytelling practices, thereby reinforcing journalistic identity through the performance of their professional roles. The chapter talked about the various practices that underscore their role perceptions. This was reinforced by the projection of an in-group identity by emphasising the role of a war reporter as one who informs and educates their audience; hence, claiming objectivity as a central norm in journalism and emphasising the role of a war reporter as neutral, impartial and fair to both sides of the story. Furthermore, the projection of an out-group identity is centred around value judgements and opinions – a reflective style of storytelling that bases itself on journalism of attachment (Bell 1998) and does not uphold the practice of impartiality and neutrality. Such projections of the out-group identity adhere to a practice of reporting where the war reporter feels the need to call out the evil in the process of newsgathering and storytelling. This demarcation highlighted cracks in the way an idealised profession of journalism is maintained. These cracks also revealed how war reporting is understood in the face of technological and political challenges; emphasising what war journalism should and should not be about. This boundary work was reinforced through discourse that ascribes to brands of objectivity, highlighting organisational policies that war reporters work for – "BBC guidelines on impartiality," "NDTV guidelines on fairness" and "The Outlook investigative style which focuses on truth" – justifying and legitimising their choices made during the process of newsgathering and storytelling. This chapter summarises and discusses

the implications of the findings in relation to the India and UK war reporters by emphasising the comparative aspect of the two sets of respondents.

8.2 Empirical findings

This section synthesises the empirical findings to answer the study's two research questions. The following graphical representations (Figures 8-A and 8-B), in word cloud format, indicate the articulations used by the India and UK respondents while describing their self-image during the four wars.

Figure 8-A**: Word cloud depicting role perceptions of the UK respondents**

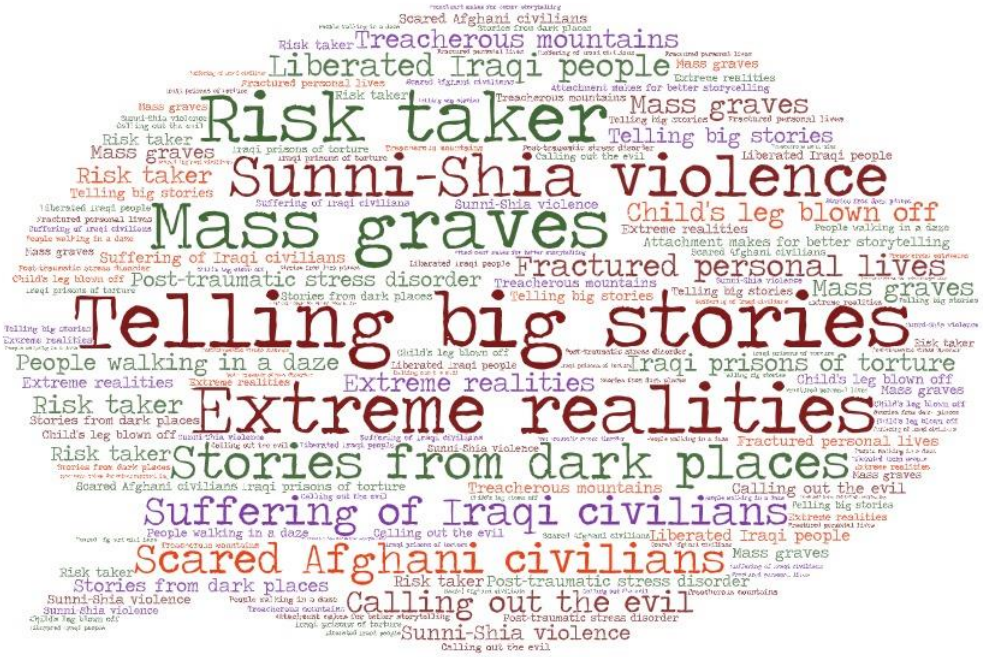
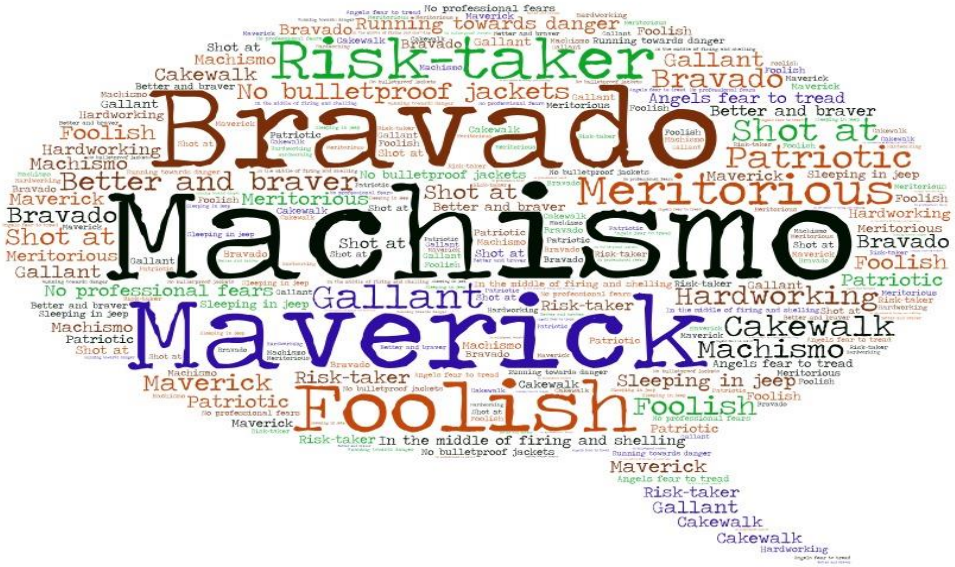


Figure 8-B: Word cloud depicting role perceptions of the India respondents



This thesis has relied on the approach of textual analysis (Fursich 2009, pp. 240–242) to analyse the language used by the 39 war reporters in order to capture their grand and instrumental motivations – this is also presented in chapter 5 on Role perceptions of India and the UK war reporters. The word clouds (in figures 8-A and 8-B) included in this section serve as an extension to the textual analysis done previously, providing a visual representation of the repertoire of language - words and phrases - used prominently by both sets of respondents during their interviews. Additionally, this form of visual representation not only depicts their self-image but is able to highlight the contrasting nature of their self-images – a comparison that this thesis is interested in. The figures depict the most prominent and frequently used words and phrases by the respondents in the discursive construction of their roles. For instance, as shown in figure 8-A – phrases such as "telling big stories", "extreme realities", "stories from dark places" were frequently used by the UK respondents when describing their motivations of being a war reporter. Similarly, in figure 8-B – words such as "bravado", "machismo", "risk-taker", "maverick", were among the frequently given responses of the India reporters to describe their motivations of wanting to cover wars and conflicts. Additionally, in both the figures the size of the phrases loosely attempts to signify their spoken frequency; the larger the size of the phrase/word, the more frequently it was uttered.

8.2.1 Tropes around war reporting remain resilient

The India and UK respondents' utterances describing their attraction towards war reporting were presented under grand and instrumental motivations. Both sets of respondents ascribing to role perceptions (categorised under grand motivations) invoked tropes of bravery, heroism, hardship and sacrifice, reinforcing a professional identity of war reporters who are natural risk takers – who rationalise danger, death, injury, kidnapping and harassment differently than those who do not cover wars. Both sets of war reporters drew from hardship and sacrifice tropes, highlighting their fractured personal lives – "littered with divorces," "preparing my will before I leave for a war zone" or "I was a newly married guy and my wife did not know whether I would come back in a body bag…" Similar utterances were found to be true for all 39 respondents, which highlighted the resilience of the tropes around war reporting and reinforced a professional identity that is self-enforcing and demarcating – meaning, only those who can handle hardships and are prepared for personal sacrifices can become a part of this exclusive club of war reporters. A similar understanding was located around the bravery and heroism tropes by both sets of war reporters, where they argue a war reporter is naturally brave and fearless – one who has an appetite for danger and can continue to successfully tell stories despite difficult and challenging situations. The set of beliefs held by both the India and the UK respondents regarding not only the meanings of war reporting but, more importantly, regarding who a war reporter is, signals towards Bourdieu's (1998) journalistic doxa that comprises a "particular point of view, the point of view of the dominant, which presents and imposes itself as a universal point of view" (p. 57).

8.2.2 Differences in role perceptions between India and UK respondents

Furthermore, the resilience of these journalistic tropes, which are part of a long tradition of war reporting, appeared in different contexts in relation to the two sets of war reporters. The 17 India respondents adhered to the swashbuckling, camel riding, gun-slinging image of a war reporter – where they claimed to be braver, more meritorious and convinced of their self-claimed superiority over their Western counterparts. The India respondents across the board highlighted their ability to tell difficult stories from war zones despite the hardships and lack of facilities for them; for instance, the absence of safety training, combat pay, private security and facilities that the India respondents believed their UK counterparts enjoyed. The India-based war reporters' self-image therefore emanated from hero syndrome[55] – where the Indian professional identity is strongly reinforced through their gushing narrative of the Kargil war zone, which places the Indian role perception within tropes of heroism – "a certain kind of machismo hit me," "Kargil war zone was a place where angels fear to tread" and "It was my first brush with death," as can be seen in Figure 8-B above. These narratives further illustrate how journalistic habitus (Schultz 2008) of India war reporters is a bodily knowledge, especially where they refer to themselves in heroic terms. The understanding that a war reporter is brave and meritorious are ways through which mannerisms of a war reporter are understood within this habitus. The 17 India-based respondents' articulations in relation to their bravery and merit not only highlighted their heightened self-worth based on their claim that they were chosen to cover the first televised Indian war, but also signified the cut-throat competition that existed within the in-group, suggesting how war reporters are constantly facing challenges from members of their own field. The utterances regarding the fierce competition within the India war reporters further highlight the dynamics of the social fields of actions or the habitus. As stated by Bourdieu (1998), within these social fields takes place intense struggle for positions of autonomy and the agent with maximum social capital or editorial capital (Schultz 2007) gets to influence the practices with which the game is played. Moreover, through the instrumental motivations, the India-based respondents reinforced another professional identity – a pro-Indian-military stance where the understood motivation was telling patriotic stories and humanising the war-hardened soldiers. All 17 respondents unanimously viewed the India side to be the "aggrieved party," which was backstabbed by the Pakistani government during peace talks.[56] This understanding of Kargil being a forced war lent itself into evoking the image of the war reporter as a patriot who must support the military in its war effort.

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55 See fn 26.

56 The Lahore Declaration was a reciprocal understanding and administration bargain between India and Pakistan. The settlement was marked on 21 February 1999, toward the finish of a noteworthy summit in Lahore and confirmed by the parliaments of the two nations that year. (See peacemaker.un.org.) The Kargil war changed the relations between the two countries after the disclosure that Pakistani soldiers had invaded parts of Indian Kashmir; the Indian Army was sent to oust the Pakistan armed force fighters and retake the contested domain. The two-month-long war killed several soldiers on both sides and brought the two countries to near full-scale war and conceivable atomic clash. After this contention, the "Lahore Treaty" was slowed down and no further talks occurred between the two nations on advancing the exchange and confidence-building measures started at Lahore in February 1999.

Whereas, the 22 UK respondents within their discourse emphasised the tropes of thrill and adventure, which are a part of the war reporting tradition, to highlight that war reporting is not a trivial job that could be compared with any other form of reporting. The UK respondents accentuated the unique characteristics of war reporting, which allow for extraordinary experiences of "adventure," "glory and fame" and "becoming a part of history in the making." While the tropes of risk, thrill and adventure remained resilient for the UK respondents, their focus was on being "able to tell the biggest story of the day" – stories of suffering that they often referred to as "stories from dark places," as can be seen in Figure 8-A. Thus, signalling towards a habitus of the UK war reporters (Schultz 2008) for whom the motivations of doing war reporting is understood within meanings of being able to tell big stories that are also relevant and, more importantly, which inform the world of the plight of people in far-away places of conflict. The UK respondents covering wars in Kosovo (1998), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) emphasised the tropes of suffering, which they witnessed first-hand. These journalistic tropes were very much anchored in journalistic identity – the role of a privileged witness who has a responsibility to inform and educate their audience by giving voice to those who are caught up in war zones. Despite the difference in the way the UK respondents understood styles of newsgathering and storytelling – neutrality versus value judgements – the 22 UK respondents unanimously understood their motivations of telling stories of suffering as fundamental reasons for being a war reporter. The role perception that the UK respondents ascribe to reinforce a professional identity of a war reporter who is not a war junkie driven by thrill and adventure but handled danger so as to tell meaningful stories of those who are suffering and have no hope. The UK respondents' self-image, therefore, emanated from a saviour complex[57] – where the UK professional identity was strongly reinforced through articulations that highlighted the humanitarian and liberation arguments in relation to the wars in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq, thereby claiming to tell stories of extreme suffering of Albanian, Afghani and Iraqi civilians and coalition troops (mainly the British troops fighting in Afghanistan and Iraq). Unlike the India-based respondents, the UK respondents did not view their self-image as thrill seekers; instead, they attached meaning to the tropes of risk and thrill tied to war reporting as being able to handle these to allow a war reporter to tell the big and difficult stories of suffering and extreme realities. Furthermore, within the UK context, this thesis found contrast to the archetypal image a war hardened reporter. Younger and experienced UK war reporters covering wars in Iraq and Syria (R2, R3 and R4) emphasised the impact these wars had on them personally. References to PTSD were made, giving way to an emotionally vulnerable war reporter who is affected by the trauma and tragedy found in their environment. The next section highlights the comparisons in relation to the practice of war reporting as understood by the India and UK respondents.

8.2.3 Journalistic routines for newsgathering and storytelling

It has been argued by media scholars that "routines are cultural values that are commonly shared by a group of journalists and determine what journalism is and what it should be to a specific group –

[57] See fn 27.

what news is and how a journalist should act" (Broersma 2007, p. xiii). Journalistic style also explains the way the UK and India respondents claim to understand their purpose in war zones, shaping their enactment of the practice of war reporting. This is further understood through active and passive roles (Johnstone *et al*. 1972, 1973). Passive reporters rely on traditional occupational values of objectivity, prioritising neutrality and impartiality; therefore, legitimising the role perception of a war reporter who is an informer or educator – limiting their storytelling to facts that have a balanced account of all sides involved. It is devoid of attachment and upholds the practice of a detached storyteller. The above findings regarding the UK war reporters relate to the concept of doxa (Bourdieu 1998) where meanings of war reporting are articulated through news values of accuracy, truth, and impartiality that have come to define journalistic norms which are integral to the field. Similarly, these values also appear within the case of the India war reporters, where only six respondents viewed their role as informers who were trying to present the reality around them without expectation of influence or impact. The Kargil war (1999), commonly perceived as a forced war by all 17 respondents, was claimed to be an emotional experience; hence, while the six respondents claimed to have upheld values of truth, accuracy and maintaining a distance from their subjects while newsgathering and storytelling, they did not view neutrality as an essential aspect of the objectivity norm. They admitted to having feelings of anger towards the Pakistani military and respect towards Indian soldiers, but claimed, despite such personal views, it was not their job to take sides, thereby demarcating themselves against reporting that indulged in sensationalism and exaggeration. Such demarcations were made specially to differentiate against vernacular media and/or broadcast media as both were held responsible for relying on colour and drama through impressionistic reporting that did little to inform the Indian audience. However, from the perspective of Bourdieu's field theory (1993) it is it is important to assume that the objectivity norm, as understood by majority of the UK respondents, will not be the same for all Indian respondents because "practices and norms can be contextualised in relation to the journalistic profession (journalistic field), in relation to power (the field of cultural production and field of power) and in relation to questions of "economy, politics and culture (the social fields in question for instance country) using the perspective of field theory" (Schultz 2008, p. 13). As can be seen in the case of the remaining 11 India respondents who reinforced the active role, where they criticised detachment and upheld the value judgement aspects of objectivity, reinforcing the professional identity of a war reporter who is not afraid of taking sides based on their personal judgements. The 17 India respondents' understanding of the Kargil war as a "backstab," where India was the "aggrieved party," aligned with the political projections of the Indian government at the time (Rai 2000). Hence, it can be argued an acceptance of the Indian strategic priority further enabled the 11 respondents to further call out the evil (the Pakistani government and military) and support the Indian military through a focus on its valour, sense of duty, soldiers' bravery and supreme sacrifice. Also found among the India respondents was an understanding of objectivity, which challenged aspects of truth and accuracy if they hampered national interests – thereby reinforcing the professional identity of a war reporter whose primary job is to strengthen national prestige at any cost. This understanding of objectivity which

dismisses values of truth and accuracy found within a minority of India reporters can be further contextualised in relation to the social field (Bourdieu 1993) of politics of India where a war between India and Pakistan demands a war reporter to display patriotism and loyalty towards their own country. Moreover, it is important to highlight that, out of 17 India respondents, only three claimed to have done investigative stories, exposing military and intelligence failures that led to the breach in security and the Pakistani infiltration. It was, therefore, found for a majority of India respondents, the role perception of a war reporter reinforced a professional identity where aspects of patriotism and jingoism were accepted by upholding practices of attachment and picking sides to ensure national interests and military morale were not hampered as a result of their reporting. While values of truth, accuracy and fairness were not completely abandoned within the claims of the India war reporters, they were definitely disrupted within the reinforcing of the professional identity of a war reporter who must be patriotic when their own country is involved in a war.

Whereas, for the 22 UK respondents covering the wars in Kosovo (1998), Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003), nine respondents clearly advocated in favour of objectivity – upholding the values of truth, fairness, accuracy and detachment. Similar to their India counterparts, they viewed neutrality as a difficult concept but claimed, despite their personal feelings towards the extreme realities, through reporting on mass graves of children in Kosovo or the conditions of the Iraqi and Afghan civilians under the Saddam/Taliban regime, they were able to demonstrate neutrality in their newsgathering and storytelling processes. These UK respondents argued against reporting that allows for taking sides on personal opinions suggesting the audience is not a fool and does not require to be told how to feel. They demarcated themselves against those who indulge in storytelling that identifies with activism. As war reporters they reinforced their professional identity which signals towards the journalistic doxa (Schultz 2008) with a dominant point of view regarding the practice of war reporting and the identity of a first-hand witness. In doing so they continue to claim their discursive authority to report on all sides without the expectation of impact or influence, thus aligning themselves towards a passive role. In contrast to these respondents are the 13 UK respondents who strongly rejected the values of detachment and neutrality as part of the objectivity norm. Bell's (1998) journalism of attachment, highlighting reporting that feels as well as knows, was upheld by the 13 respondents, who reinforced a professional identity that favours witnessing beyond the physical embodiment experience and advocates the importance of being an eyewitness. The rejection of values of detachment and neutrality can also be understood within the concept of Bourdieu's field theory (1993) where constant power struggles occur with the aim to achieve maximum autonomy in order to shape meanings of war reporters and war reporting. For instance, the meanings of being an eyewitness are further understood to be where the storyteller lays the burden on the audience through the ethical claim of the "voice of the victim" (Cottle 2013). It upholds values of attachment and advocates the practice of calling out evil in order to be a better storyteller and, in doing so, demarcates itself against the practice of neutrality and balance. This can also be viewed as an attempt to disrupt the values of the objectivity norm (Tuchman 1973) within the habitus (Bourdieu 1998) of war reporters in order to shape meanings of

war reporting that is not afraid to take sides. The respondents categorised under this value judgement did not agree in telling both or all sides of the story, as according to them some sides, responsible for murder, atrocities and torture, were not worth talking to. They claimed to have focused on stories relating to the suffering of war victims and their deteriorating quality of life. It is important to highlight, while the values of truth and accuracy remained intact for all 22 UK respondents, aspects of neutrality and impartiality were contested. Nonetheless, all respondents claimed objectivity as an essential part of their newsgathering and storytelling process, making it a resilient concept of war reporting.

Despite the available contrast in the understanding of objectivity, it was found that all 22 UK respondents seemed to view their purpose as war reporters who wanted to either cover the "dark places," which also happened to be big stories or give voice to the sufferings of those caught up in these wars. The 13 respondents categorised under the value judgement subcategory used language of the Holocaust in relation to the Kosovo war and continued to reflect similarly on the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, thereby aligning themselves with the concept of humanitarian wars as projected by the Western governments. In doing so, they also seemed to accept the moral imperatives of their government, where the West is projected as benevolent and a point of hope, especially for the civilians in Afghanistan and Iraq who were brutalised by their respective regimes. The remaining nine respondents, despite their advocacy of neutrality, impartiality and balance as important values of objectivity, neglected to question or look beyond the strategic framing of a humanitarian war. They too claimed to have focused on stories of suffering and extreme reality, although without calling out the evil. It is relevant to highlight that only three out of the 22 UK respondents claimed to have focused on stories related to geopolitics, explaining the larger implication of the invasion in Afghanistan or Iraq for Britain. The post-Cold War crisis of meaning, which was reflected in the humanitarian framing of the wars in Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq as discussed in Chapter 4 (Background to the wars), highlights how, through wars and intervention, the European leaders attempted to forge a sense of shared values and a collective project. Hammond's (2007, p. 27) argument in relation to wars becoming not the ultimate means to achieving an objective but an efficient way of finding one is applicable for journalism and journalistic practices. The shift from journalists being neutral spectators to involved witnesses where journalism of attachment and something-must-be-done journalism disrupt the former style of newsgathering and storytelling has also resulted in presentation of wars as a battle between good and evil or us and them – a Cold War phenomenon. The framing of the War on Terror further highlighted such divisions, making it a battle between the democratic, free world and terrorism. Interventions in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003) have long been referred to as a fight for the Western values of freedom, liberty and democracy. The perception of this ethical and humanitarian priority, as adopted by the West, can also be seen in the way Western (UK) war reporters understand their purpose as storytellers. For instance, it is interesting to note, despite the primary and secondary justifications offered by the US-led coalition in Iraq (2003) in relation to finding WMDs and unearthing connections between Saddam Hussein and Al-Qaeda respectively, the 22 UK war reporters claimed to have focused on the liberation of the Iraqi people, a third line of justification before the invasion. None of the

UK respondents spoke about the WMDs or brought up the subject of Saddam's alleged links with Al-Qaeda during their interviews with the researcher. In their articulations, the 22 respondents claimed to have solely focused on telling stories from "dark places" or "highlighting the suffering of the civilians." Such a focus not only suggested a saviour complex in the UK war reporters, but more importantly reinforced a professional identity of a war reporter who is impacted by the strategic priorities of their home country involved in invasions.

8.2.4 Embedding necessary for access

In relation to newsgathering activities, embedding was understood as necessary to gain safe access to the frontline by both sets of respondents. The practical aspects of food, shelter and security provided within embedding were pointed out by the India and UK respondents. Thirteen out of 22 UK respondents who embedded in Iraq, Afghanistan or both wars held positive or practical views regarding their experience. However, all 18 respondents who covered the Afghanistan and/or Iraq wars (as embeds or unilateral), viewed embedding as generally restrictive, while eight (of 18) respondents claimed the British military to be more controlling than their American counterparts, resulting in a lack of uniformity of experience as embeds. Nonetheless, embedding was viewed as important as it allowed the UK respondents to observe the military and soldiers closely, granting access to a part of war that otherwise would not be available. Whereas, five respondents (of 18) who covered the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq as unilateral and embeds expressed negative views regarding embedding, claiming the war reporters had a paramilitary status by virtue of working beside the combatants; thus, turning the storyteller into the story. Furthermore, the combatants or soldiers evoked feelings of sympathy, concern and respect among the UK respondents, as they were often referred to as "clueless young lads," "boys with a thousand-yard stare" or simply as "shy," as opposed to the American soldiers who were described as "confident and articulate." It was the view of majority of the respondents that British soldiers did not commit wrongdoings and were described as "cautious and sensitive" towards the civilians. The American and British military were considered as institutions representing value systems of integrity, decision making prowess, a force of good and brave outfits worthy of respect. The respondents also highlighted the British military's role in post-invasion Iraq, where it concentrated on building and repairing bridges, digging wells and "trying to get the place up and running."

In the case of the 17 India-based respondents, embedding was primarily viewed as positive or practical, with the exception of three respondents who held a negative view regarding it, arguing that it only allowed for television theatrics where Indian reporters were busy highlighting their paramilitary status. The practical reasoning in favour of embedding – access to the frontline, food and shelter – remained true for the India respondents; however, in contrast to the UK respondents' sympathetic view of the soldiers, the views of the India respondents in relation to the Indian military and soldiers can be understood in the context of the forced war narrative as reiterated by the respondents interviewed for this research. The respondents' descriptions of the Indian military and soldiers were expressed in

emotive and gushing terms where attributes of military valour, duty, bravery, heroism and hospitality were constantly reiterated. Furthermore, aspects of martyrdom and supreme sacrifice of soldiers were articulated through recounting experiences of the respondents' emotional exchanges with the soldiers. The Kargil war, being the first Indian televised war, was criticised in its broadcast coverage by the print reporters as the former were held responsible (by the respondents belonging to print media) for focusing on impressionistic and colourful aspects within which live telecast of the funeral processions and visuals of dead soldiers' coffins returning home from the war dominated the news. This was said to be responsible for churning war fervour where reportage mainly produced patriotic and nationalistic narratives, according to these respondents, taking focus away from the critical issues of the intelligence failure and security breach that were also responsible for the Pakistani infiltration.

8.3 Theoretical findings

8.3.1 War reporting different from other forms of reporting

The seminal study on war correspondents by Greg McLaughlin (2002, 2016) argued that war correspondents see war reporting as a "job or even a vocation" (p. 31). Furthermore, it says "…young broadcast journalists see war reporting as no different than other journalism beats," as it is simply about "reporting the facts and telling the story as best and as honestly as they can be" (p. 31). McLaughlin goes on to say, while these reflections as provided by the war reporters provide insights into the psyche of war reporters, they should be put into critical perspective as the memoirs written by the war correspondents signify a more glamorised version of their self. While this thesis does not explore the written material of the 39 respondents (news pieces or memoirs), this thesis demonstrated that all 39 UK and India-based respondents did not view war reporting as "just a job." Rather, they strongly demarcated themselves against any other journalism beat (sports, travel, politics), arguing that no other form of reporting could be compared to war reporting. This demarcation is further suggestive of the presence of a specific war reporter habitus (Bourdieu 1998) that claims superiority over other forms of journalistic habitus (Schultz 2008) within the journalistic field. Furthermore, it bases this claim on the nature of experience gained as a war reporter and the kind of storytelling that war reporting allows. Moreover, a section of the India and UK respondents strongly emphasised their role of a "privileged" witness, suggesting, while reporting in general is about honestly telling the facts, war reporting consists of something more – the privileged role reflects their understanding of being a moral witness – a "sacred duty" – "the felt obligation to those whose plight and suffering has been observed and must be communicated to others as the dead and dispossessed are not in a position to tell the world for themselves" (Cottle 2013, p. 242). Furthermore, some of the UK respondents, through invoking the language of the Holocaust when describing their war experiences, signified that war reporting is not merely about being able to tell the facts as honestly as possible. In fact, it was understood as a moral obligation, a duty that goes beyond telling a story as honestly as possible.

8.3.2 Dimensions of objectivity

The ways in which journalism maintains its position is through claiming its professionalism (Tuchman 1972; Soloski 1990) and conforming towards a habitus (Benson & Neveu, 2005). Unlike medicine and law that are amongst the classic fields and assert 'stable legitimacy' due to their distinct institutional apparatus which its members claim when pressured from either inside or outside the field – the journalistic profession finds its legitimacy from its everyday entrusted actions. As stated by Skovsgaard and Bro (2011), "The utility of journalism is often less self-evident as compared to medicine or law, which compels journalists to invariably negotiate and emphasise their authority through their daily work, truth claims and meaning-making purpose" (p. 321). It is through the notion of objectivity that journalists claim to serve the general public and further the utility of their profession. Furthermore, as pointed out by Skovsgaard and Bro (2011), despite the notion of objectivity being regularly questioned "on the premise that there is no such thing as a value-free judgement", the concept remains resilient (p.325). This thesis examined ways in which the UK- and India-based war reporters understand the performative aspect of objectivity. The values of fairness, contextual completeness, neutrality, accuracy, factuality, impartiality and balance (Tuchman 1972; McQuail 1992; Chalaby 1998; Patterson 1998; McNair 1998) have continued to remain intact (despite the disruptions) within the UK respondents' understanding of the newsgathering and storytelling process. This further signals towards the doxa that is "established between the habitus (war reporter) and the journalistic field to which it is attuned" (Bourdieu 1990, p. 68). The dominant set of assumptions or beliefs also have a regulating action within the field as can be demonstrated through the criticism levied on India and the UK war reporters who reject values of impartiality and embrace journalism of attachment. Furthermore, another interpretation of the objectivity regime – subject to national and regional variation (Donsbach 1993; Hanitzsch *et al*. 2011) – was found within the case of the India respondents, where the value judgment aspect of objectivity went beyond the understanding of calling out the evil (Bell 1998). Hence, acknowledging another dimension (Donsbach & Klett 1993) of objectivity that not only rejects neutrality and impartiality but also criticises the truthful and accurate side of objectivity; that is, if found to be hampering national and military prestige. It is important to add, although only a small section of the India-based respondents upheld the above understanding, nonetheless it was present. This minority view of objectivity can be further contextualised "in relation to journalistic profession (the journalistic field) (Bourdieu 1993), and its relation to power (the field of cultural production and the field of power in relation to questions of politics, culture [the social field of a country (in this case being India)])" (Schultz 2008, p. 13). Furthermore, this understanding clearly coincided with Wolfsfeld's (1997) conception of the news media as a faithful servant where its reportage supports the government and its goals. Moreover, this research in its findings in relation to the India and UK war reporters upheld Robinson *et al's* (2010) argument that, in the case of war, the 'elite-driven model' and its prediction of supportive coverage hold true.

8.4 Implications/reflections

The work examined here exemplifies the way in which journalistic identity becomes discursively reconstituted through self-affirmation via the various tropes as invoked by the war reporters. However, in recent years, the role of technology has transformed the characterisations of those identities, as explored within this thesis. War reporters reinforced the professional identity of a first-hand witness, claiming their discursive authority to report on both, all or relevant sides. The act of being an eyewitness was crucial for the war reporters, where the physical embodiment of the reporter in a war zone provides them with authenticity – "I am here" and "I am seeing it" attaches believability in the minds of the audience. There is no dearth of research on the ways the act of being an eyewitness has transformed in relation to war reporting. The four stages of eyewitnessing – report, role, technology and aura, as explained by Zelizer (2017) – suggest that conventional journalists are no longer in a position to determine what counts as eyewitness activity. The newly established alternative to the discursive authority – the eyewitnessing craft as claimed by journalists – has come in the form of proximity, authenticity, rawness, spontaneity and immediacy, which have been provided by activists, citizen journalists and bystanders (Zelizer 2017, pp. 43–60). The development of mobile technology in the 2000s, transformations in smart phone technologies and rise of social media have facilitated *and* disrupted the role of the war reporter as an eyewitness. The start of the twenty-first century has been significant in relation to the act of eyewitnessing as one can find links between journalism and eyewitnessing eroding. It has been argued the act has by and large lost its connection with its other constitutive features – report, role and technology – suggesting that, while journalism continues to invoke the stature of the eyewitness, it fails to provide the conditions from which that stature grew (Zelizer 2017).

Further, the act of being an eyewitness in a war zone cannot be separated from the issues of danger and access. Journalists are confronted with challenges in relation to gaining safe access to the frontline – the wars in Kosovo, Kargil, Afghanistan and Iraq highlighted some of these challenges. The issues of access and safety further erode the already broadened activity of eyewitnessing as a journalistic phenomenon. For instance, the war in Syria – an ongoing conflict that began in March 2011 as part of demonstrations within the Arab Spring movement and has lasted for over seven years – made the longstanding practice of on-site coverage not only difficult, but in parts almost impossible and UK journalists are not generally embedded there primarily due to the threat of being captured and killed. Such circumstances not only disrupt the conventional journalist's capacity to act in their traditional role, but also valorises non-journalistic eyewitnessing because of its proximity, spontaneity and rawness. However, this does not mean conventional journalistic roles are being replaced; in fact, the limitations of the non-journalistic act of eyewitnessing can be found in possible inaccuracies in the form of unreliable sources and a lack of verifiability (Day & Johnston 2005; Su 2014). More importantly, the highly contested nature of wars in Ukraine (2014) and Syria (2011-present) continue to disrupt the journalistic role of an eyewitness, which is undeniably attached to the notions of reporting the truth and

facts. To ensure continued access to an ongoing war, journalists have been forced to pick a side (opposition rebel forces, Assad regime, etc.) to report from – while, on the one hand, this to an extent provides access for foreign journalists, on the other, it disrupts the traditional role of eyewitnessing as a professional activity – the wars in Syria and Ukraine have limited the aspect of "telling both or all sides of the story." As one respondent commented in relation to Syria (R7, Pannell), if the choice was between continued access or reporting the whole truth at the cost of being blocked, access will prevail as it still allows the journalist to tell stories, which not only reinforces the importance of the much-defended "eyewitnessing" – the discursive authority claimed by journalism – but also highlights the necessity for documentation of human tragedies to be more important than the journalistic practice of objectivity. It can be argued, despite the technological and political transformations, the act of being a privileged eyewitness continues to be sanctioned in its status of accounting reality and telling stories of suffering. The war reporter's ability to convince the public of a distant experience allows for legitimisation of journalism and its authority, even though recent wars suggest a disruption of and challenge to the traditional journalistic norms through practices that only partly uphold those claims.

8.5 Recommendations for future research

The two main directions for future research are tied to the aspect of the war reporter's self-image. While this research does not examine war reporting through a gendered lens, it was interesting to note that male and female respondents largely had similar articulations about the notions of risk and bravery. Furthermore, it was observed that some female war reporters adhered to masculine notions of machismo; hence, nuanced differences in articulations of the genders could be studied in the future. Even though several female war reporters have joined the field of war reporting, the stereotypical representation of the profession continues to be male dominated (Tumber & Prentoulis, 2003, p. 224). One of the possible directions for future research could be to assess the ways in which men and women journalists understand notions of machismo within war reporting. Language analysis would shed light on the role perceptions as understood by both genders and provide understanding regarding whether this male-dominated profession remains resilient or whether the masculine hold has been disrupted by something new.

A second possible direction for future research can be identified in relation to Chapter 7 (Aesthetics of the war reporter's self-identity) of this thesis. In one of its findings, this research pointed towards a possible journalistic identity in relation to the UK war reporters, who seemed to be relying on colonial tropes within their discourse while recounting their experiences from the war zone. War reporting in its descriptions of foreign war zones – be it culture, topography, food, etc. – seems to borrow from the genre of travel writing, which is largely considered to be discourse that is "designed to describe and interpret for its readers a geographical destination together with its natural attributes and human society" (Bridges 2002, p. 53). Fussell (1980, p. 39) makes a distinction between explorers, travellers and tourists within the genre of travel writing, suggesting, while all three make journeys, while all three

make journeys, the explorer chases the unfamiliar, the traveller pursues "that has been discovered by the mind working in history" and finally, the tourist looks for "what has been discovered by entrepreneurship and prepared for him by arts of mass publicity". If the explorer is someone who moves towards risks of the formless and unknown, the tourist moves towards security. In between these two, the traveller mediates, retaining elements such as the unpredictable excitements that are attached to the pleasures of exploration. War reporting consists of travelling into the realm of risk and crises, as discussed at length within this thesis; however, it is worth exploring the discourses of Western war reporters in relation to the motifs they use to describe their experiences and the war zone they cover. This examination might enlighten the way war reporting utilises aspects of travel discourse and whether in doing so they continue to ascribe to colonial tropes that are also embedded in the concepts of Orientalism and the White man's burden.

8.6 Limitations of the study

Hanitzsch (2007) states that

> journalism culture manifests in the ways journalists think and act, it can be defined as a particular set of ideas and practices by which journalists, consciously and unconsciously, legitimate their role in society and render their work meaningful for themselves and others (p. 35).

It should also be noted, as Silverman (2007) argues, that "any research method, even content analysis, cannot transform what interviewees say into anything more than a category used at a particular point in some interview" (p.47). He draws the researcher's attention to the fact that analysis of the data is more important than its source. One must also consider several possible limitations and flaws in the research, such as interview setting, focusing on very few interview extracts and failing to draw comparisons to extracts from other respondents, understanding how the data has been gathered and being aware of the danger of choosing only those extracts that support the researcher's arguments. Although Silverman's position might seem to be against the method of interviews, what it actually tries to emphasise is that, as a researcher, one must be aware of the possible dangers or flaws before starting the research and attempt to avoid or minimise them.

In this research, while care was taken to mitigate the risks of interview settings potentially distracting the interviewee, and the average interview time per respondent was approximately 45 minutes, a few interviews were interrupted due to the interviewee's busy schedules. For example, an interviewee who spent 30 minutes discussing the Iraq war, could only spend 15 minutes discussing Afghanistan, since they had to leave prematurely for another meeting after 45 minutes. However, the researcher was conscious of such potential disturbances and tried her best to cover the questions and themes necessary for each interview in the time available.

Similarly, care was taken to ensure the research analysis was not lopsided; that is, the tendency of a researcher to pick out only those trends that further their arguments. In this case, the researcher

carried out multiple manual reviews of the raw interview data of the 39 respondents and conducted several levels and styles of coding to ensure the data was analysed from all possible angles and perspectives, and even the smallest trends and findings were captured.

8.7 Conclusion

This study was developed with the aim of gaining better understanding of India- and UK-based war reporters' self-perceptions and practices within the field of war reporting, who claim to belong to an exclusive club of risk-takers and brave journalists. In doing so, this thesis has produced new knowledge regarding the understanding of India-based war reporters' role perceptions and journalistic identity. This study has contributed towards the existing knowledge on war reporting that, despite the multi-levels of disruptions and crises that journalism is facing, the tropes that go back to the first war correspondent, William Howard Russell, are constant to a large extent and very much anchored in the journalistic identity of both UK- and India-based war reporters.

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Appendix A: Wars discussed or outlined by the UK respondents

Respondent no.	Respondent name	No. of wars named during interview	Beirut 1975	Afghanistan 1989	Cambodia ~1990	Gulf War 1991	Bosnia 1992	Rwanda 1994	Chechnya 1994	Kosovo 1998	Afghanistan 2001	Iraq 2003	Syria 2012/13	Indonesia	Total
1	Loyd	4					1		1			1	1		4
2	Hawley	1										1			1
3	Wyatt	3								1	1	1	1		4
4	Philp	4			1						1	1		1	4
5	Lamb	3		1							1	1			3
6	Gardner	1										1			1
7	Pannell	4								1	1	1	1		4
8	Dymond	2								1		1			2
9	Bowen	2					1			1					2
10	Muir	3	1								1	1			3
11	Simpson	3								1	1	1			3
12	Pilger*	0													0
13	Adie	3				1	1			1					3
14	sengupta	3								1	1	1			3
15	Hilsum	4						1		1	1	1			4
16	Bell	2				1				1					2
17	Patience	1									1				1
18	Guerin	2					1			1		1			3
19	Cockburn*	2									1	1			2
20	Wood	2								1		1			2
21	Sommerville	1									1				1
22	Smith	2									1	1			2
	Total->	52	1	1	1	2	4	1	1	**11**	**12**	**16**	3	1	54

Appendix B: War discussed by respondents in India

Respondent no.	Respondent name	Kargil 1999	Total
23	Jami, Ajmal (video journalist)	1	1
24	Dutt, Barkha	1	1
25	Pillai, Ajith	1	1
26	Sawant, Gaurav	1	1
27	Baweja, Harinder	1	1
28	Gokhale, Nitin	1	1
29	Panjiyar, Prashant (photo journalist)	1	1
30	Swami, Praveen	1	1
31	Joshi, Rajesh	1	1
32	Pant, Richa	1	1
33	Saha, Samiran	1	1
34	Thakur, Sankarshan	1	1
35	Gupta, Shekhar	1	1
36	Chowdhury, Srinjoy	1	1
37	Dutta, Sujohn	1	1
38	Ali, Faisal	1	1
39	Som, Vishnu	1	1
	Total->	**17**	17

Appendix C: Coding for Afghanistan

First level coding for Afghanistan

Twelve UK-based respondents discussed the Afghanistan war. The first level coding sheet captures not only their profile, but their views across categories. To make coding as simple as possible so the researcher could easily identify trends – similarities and differences in respondents' views – simple and consistent codes were used for all respondents, and in several places, a yes or no response was coded.

Using the Afghanistan war coding sheet as an example, the following information points were captured for each of the 12 respondents.

- **Theme or category discussed during the interview:** Information points captured in coding sheet – *codes assigned*.

Similarly, the information points below represent only some of the major categories that the coding sheet attempts to capture. Note: the categories presented for the Iraq war have not been presented here (however, these categories are captured in the Afghanistan coding sheet); rather, a different set of categories are presented here to give the reader a sense of the extent of information captured for each of the wars and respondents.

- **View on objectivity and neutrality:** What are their views – *(open-ended question) code response in a few sentences*; What do they seem to believe in/is pure objectivity is impossible in a war zone/neutrality makes for poor journalism – *short sentence response*

- **Perception of other reporters' practices:** How do they describe other war reporters – *short sentence response with examples*; Positive words/adjectives used – *limit response to a few words*; Negative words/adjectives used – *limit response to a few words*

- **Description of civilians versus military:** How do they describe the civilians – *short sentence response*; How do they describe the military – *short sentence response*

- **Description of living and working conditions:** How do they describe their working conditions – *short sentence response with example*; How do they describe their living conditions: *short sentence response with example*

- **Job motivations and de-motivations:** How do they describe their job in Afghanistan: *short sentence response with examples*; What were the job motivations: *imagery, analogy, discourse used to describe the ongoing war*; What were the negatives of covering the war/de-motivations: *short sentence response with examples*

- **War impact:** Do respondents claim to have been impacted by the war or remained detached throughout – *response in a few sentences*

- **Changes in war reporting:** How has war reporting changed according to the respondent and why – *response in a few sentences*

The first level coding sheet is based entirely on the information available in the raw data. See the Afghanistan coding sheet extract in Figure C-A. The first row depicts the information points developed under each category and the second and third rows present the responses of R3, Wyatt, and R4, Philp.

Figure C-A: Extract from the Afghanistan coding sheet depicting the categories

A	B	X	Y	AB	AC	AD	AE	AF	AG	AH
Respondent Number	Name of respondent	What do they seem to believe in: eg: objectivity and neutrality/ pure objectivity is impossible/ neutrality makes for bad journalism in a war zone	Views regarding Objectivity	How do they describe their living conditions	How do they describe their working conditions	How did they describe victims/civilians	How did they describe their military	Relationship between Access and story	How did they describe their job in Afghanistan	Job motivations
3	**Wyatt**	NA	NA	NA	Facebook, Twitter - easier to keep in touch with those you met in the war	Civilians not too open to speaking	(1) Constantly tries to keep a journalistic distance which is hard as they look after you, protect you. (2) Women bond with women soldiers.	NA	Journalists no more like civilians; being targeted by Taliban	Ability to change the course of someone's life; saving them; Tell the story you saw /accuracy; putting safety of sources first
4	**Philp**	NA	From a geo-political level, **complete objectivity is not possible**. This 'both sides of the story' is NOT objectivity, As some sides are not worth telling - those who torture people - not worth telling their stories.	NA	NA	NA	British army was restrictive; embedding was controlled but more safe than unilaterals.	NA	NA	Interested in storytelling - the elements of a gripping tale of an extraordinary situation

There is, however, some element of subjectivity involved when coding, because the researcher is responsible for making a decision regarding the nature of the responses under each category/ information point discussed during the interview.

Second level coding for Afghanistan

The second level of coding was done by analysis of a set of responses presented as codes in each category; hence, also involved a degree of subjectivity by the researcher. For example, under the category of "views on embedding," five information points are captured in the coding sheet (see Figure C-B) – (1) **Three key views of respondent**, (2) **Was embedding restrictive for the respondent during Afghanistan**, (3) **Why was it restrictive**, (4) **Is embedding generally restrictive**, and (5) **Which military was most restrictive in Afghanistan**. Based on the responses of all 12 respondents across these five information points, the researcher came up with a sixth column in the coding sheet to depict whether the respondents' views on embedding are positive, negative, positive-neutral or negative-neutral. This analysis and judgment were done in a consistent manner for each respondent.

Figure C-B: Extract from the Afghanistan coding sheet to depict second level coding

A	B	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Respondent Number	Name of respondent	Position of reporting	Embedded with which military?	Three key views on embedding	Was embedding restrictive for them in that war?	Why?	Do they think that embedding is generally restrictive?	Which military was more restrictive and why?	View on embedding (Analysis)
3	**Wyatt**	Embed	British	Lack of interpreters; moving with soldiers on patrol for access;	NA	NA	Yes	NA	Positive-neutral
4	**Philp**	Unilateral, briefly with Afghan army	Briefly moved around with Afghan army	It was very restrictive.	Yes	The pooling system, as it was called, did not allow much access to the frontline.	Yes	British	Negative

As seen in the figure above, for each respondent, columns E to K are coded according to the raw data. However, column L is based on the researcher's analysis of the data in columns E to K and has been assigned the code "positive-neutral" for R3 and "negative" for R4.

Coding role perceptions from Afghanistan

Based on the interviewees' responses regarding why they chose war reporting over other genres of reporting, the category of motivations was included in the coding sheet. Within this category, responses indicating the reasons why participants continued to cover wars – be it a means to do meaningful stories, give voice to victims of extreme realities such as death and destruction, or the personal sacrifices involved within the genre of war reporting – were also coded as phrases or single or multiple words. Related imagery, analogies and discourse provided by the respondents for each war were also coded under this category, albeit in a separate column. Similarly, descriptions of the war zone, victims, local people and their culture were also coded under a different category – geography, including descriptions of the way they viewed the war zone, country, culture, local food, local people and victims.

Figure C-C illustrates how R7's and R10's views were coded under the categories.

Figure C-C: Extract from the Afghanistan coding sheet depicting R7's and R10's views on role perception

A	B	AG	AH	AI	AJ	AK	AL	AM
Respondent Number	Name of respondent	How did they describe their job in Afghanistan	Job motivations	How do they describe the war - imagery, analogy, discourse	Demotivations	How do they describe the other war reporters?	Positive words/adjectives to describe reporters	Negative words/adjectives to describe reporters
7	**Pannell**	Taught me to separate the uniform from the individual. Humanising the subjects, making them more appealing.	Means to make more money; personal for him; life and death situations; tells us what is newsworthy, autonomy - nobody is telling me what to do. The BBC brand allows you a certain cover. Empowerment - you can get their voices heard - soldiers too. Creativity; live journalism of broadcast; autonomy; satisfaction of getting story out; informer BUT IMP to MOVE THE AUDIENCE - make them feel uncomfortable. Show interest in those who have a story to tell - observe, listen and empathise. Not a preacher.	Middle East is perceived as bearded men, blowing up things. Journalists' responsibility to make them appear more human.	Syria off charts - more dangerous with social media,	NA	Don't like rules, offices, newsrooms and internal politics; driven by telling stories; giving voices; strong moral compass; take risks and get back safely. Not a 9 to 5 office person.	Personal sacrifices.
10	**Muir**	NA	Privileged position as a witness to history	NA	Fear intrinsic part; personal sacrifice; not glamorous; violence is a major part; Taliban kidnapping of Muir	With scattered families	Raw material diggers; making things available for the academics	Scattered families

Appendix D: Coding for Kosovo

First level coding - Kosovo

Eleven UK-based respondents discussed the Kosovo war. The first level coding sheet captures not only their profile, but their views across categories. To make coding as simple as possible so the researcher could easily identify trends – similarities and differences in respondents' views – simple and consistent codes were used for all respondents, and in several places, a yes or no response was coded.

Using the Kosovo war coding sheet as an example, the following information points were captured for each of the 11 respondents:

- **Theme or category discussed during the interview:** Information points captured in coding sheet – *codes assigned*.

Similarly, the information points below represent only some of the major categories that the coding sheet attempts to capture.

- **Profile of respondent:** Does the respondent have a previous military background – *yes/no*; Position of reporting – *embed/unilateral/mix of both*; If embed, with which military was the respondent embedded – *British/American/other*

- **Views on embedding:** Three key views of the respondent – *short sentence response*; Was embedding restrictive for the respondent – *yes/no/not completely*; Is embedding generally restrictive – *yes/no/not completely*; Which military was the most restrictive in Kosovo – *British/ American/other*

- **News gathering methods:** How did the respondent gather news – *military embedded with/ locals/both/other*; Which stakeholders did the respondent have access to – *British troops/ American troops/both/locals/Iraqi government/other*

- **Nature of stories done:** What kinds of stories did the respondent claim to have done – *five-six options for coding based on review of the raw data*

- **Journalism of attachment:** Which stakeholders does the respondent sympathise with – *British troops/American troops/other country troops/own government/locals/Iraqi government/any other*; Which stakeholders does the respondent not sympathise with – *British troops/American troops/other country troops/own government/locals/Iraqi government/any other*; Whether the respondent stood for attachment with war victims – *yes/no/not completely/did not take a stand*; Top three views regarding journalism of attachment – *short sentence*

The first level coding sheet is based entirely on the information available in the raw data. See the Kosovo coding sheet extract in Figure D-A.

Figure D-A: Coding sheet extract – Kosovo – depicting categories coded

Respondent Number	Name of respondent	Military background of respondent?	War discussed during interview	Position of reporting	Embedded with which military?	Three key views on embedding	Was embedding restrictive for them in that war?	Why?
3	**Wyatt**	No	Kosovo (1998)	Unilateral	Neither	1. Long lasting friendships out of the Kosovo military experience.	NA	The NATO forces allowed the journalists in Kosovo to cover the aftermath of the massacre. Went in with the German army into Kosovo.
8	**Dymond**	No	Kosovo (1998)	Unilateral	Neither	NA	NA	NA
9	**Bowen**	No	Kosovo (1998)	Unilateral	Neither	It is restrictive. Allows for a narrow focus.	NA	NA

Second level coding - Kosovo

The second level of coding was done by analysis of a set of responses presented as codes in each category; hence, also involved a degree of subjectivity by the researcher. For example, under the category of "views on embedding," five information points are captured in the coding sheet (see Figure D-B) – (1) **Three key views of respondent**, (2) **Was embedding restrictive for the respondent during Kosovo**, (3) **Why was it restrictive**, (4) **Is embedding generally restrictive**, and (5) **Which military was most restrictive in Kosovo**. Based on the responses of all 11 respondents across these five information points, the researcher came up with a sixth column in the coding sheet to depict whether the respondents' views on embedding were positive, negative, positive-neutral or negative-neutral. This analysis and judgment were done in a consistent manner for each respondent.

Figure D-B: Extract from the Kosovo coding sheet to depict second-level coding

A	B	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
Respondent Number	Name of respondent	Position of reporting	Embedded with which military?	Three key views on embedding	Was embedding restrictive for them in that war?	Why?	Do they think that embedding is generally restrictive?	Which military was more restrictive and why?	View on embedding (analysis)
3	**Wyatt**	Unilateral	Neither	1. Long lasting friendships out of the Kosovo military experience.	N/A	The NATO forces allowed the journalists in Kosovo to cover the aftermath of the massacre. Went in with the German army into Kosovo.	Yes, to an extent	N/A	Positive-neutral
8	**Dymond**	Unilateral	Neither						
9	**Bowen**	Unilateral	Neither	It is restrictive. Allows for a narrow focus.	N/A		Yes	N/A	Negative

As seen in the figure above, for each respondent, columns F to L are coded according to the raw data. However, column M is based on the researcher's analysis of data in columns F to L and has been assigned the code "positive-neutral" for R3, "negative" for R9 and no data for R8, since this respondent did not discuss this aspect in relation to the Kosovo war.

Appendix E: Coding for Kargil

First level coding for Kargil

Seventeen India-based respondents discussed the Kargil war. The first level coding sheet captures not only their profile, but their views across categories.

Using the Kargil war coding sheet as an example, the following information points were captured for each of the 17 respondents:

- **Theme or category discussed during the interview:** Information points captured in coding sheet – *codes assigned*.

Similarly, the information points below represent only some of the major categories that the coding sheet attempts to capture.

- **View on objectivity and neutrality:** What are their views – *(open-ended question) code response in a few sentences*; What do they seem to believe in/is pure objectivity is impossible in a war zone/neutrality makes for poor journalism – *short sentence response*

- **Perception of other reporters' practices:** How do they describe other war reporters – *short sentence response with examples*; Positive words/adjectives used – *limit response to a few words*; Negative words/adjectives used – *limit response to a few words*

- **Description of civilians versus military:** How do they describe the civilians – *short sentence response*; How do they describe the military – *short sentence response*

- **Description of living and working conditions:** How do they describe their working conditions – *short sentence response with example*; How do they describe their living conditions: *short sentence response with example*

- **Job motivations and de-motivations:** How do they describe their job in Kargil: *short sentence response with examples*; What were the job motivations: *imagery, analogy, discourse used to describe the ongoing war*; What were the negatives of covering the war/de-motivations: *short sentence response with examples*

- **War impact:** Do respondents claim to have been impacted by the war or remained detached throughout – *response in a few sentences*

- **Changes in war reporting:** How has war reporting changed according to the respondent and why – *response in a few sentences*

The first level coding sheet is based entirely on the information available in the raw data. See the Kargil coding sheet extract in Figure E-A for R1's responses.

Figure E-A: Extract of the Kargil coding sheet – depicting the categories

Respondent Number	Name of respondent	How do they define attachment?	Were they pro-journalism of attachment?	Views on JOA	How do they define objectivity?	Views on Objectivity	Nature of stories they claim they produced during the war	How do they describe their living conditions during the war	How do they describe their working conditions
1	**Baweja, Harinder**	Conflict reporting is also a chance to do powerful human interest story - why young people pick guns, what motivates them? Why women became forefront of the frontlines in Kashmir insurgency. You cannot tell these stories by distancing yourself from your environment.	Yes	Go beyond the data and dry statistics. There is always a better story behind it. I realised I was getting emotional but I am not sure emotions came in the way of writing stories, I think it helped me write the story.	Being able to process information and not be eager to take dictations from the military. Being able to separate patriotism and professionalism. I don't wear my patriotism on my sleeves. I was born with it, it was something that was engrained in me but war was not an occasion for me to showcase my patriotism.	Report fairly, accurately, and as a journalist my first duty is towards telling the stories. Doesn't matter if they are treated as going against the war effort.	about soldiers. About the larger geopolitical context of the war and what it meant for Pakistan and USA relations, about the severed heads of Pakistani soldiers which were cut off by the Naga battalion and hung on the trees.	Comfortable. But dangerous. She lived with the military at all times. Food and shelter were not a problem.	Lot of movement and travelling within the war zone. Dangerous. And exciting.

There is, however, some element of subjectivity involved when coding, because the researcher is responsible for making a decision regarding the nature of the responses under each category/ information point discussed during the interview.

Second level coding for Kargil

The second level of coding was done by analysis of a set of responses presented as codes in each category; hence, also involved a degree of subjectivity by the researcher. For example, under the category of "description of Indian military," two information points are captured in the coding sheet (see Figure E-B) – (1) **How do they describe the Indian military**, and (2) **How do they describe Indian soldiers**. Based on the responses of all the 17 respondents across these two information points, the researcher came up with a third column in the coding sheet to depict whether the respondents' views about the Indian military were "ordinary," "sympathetic" or "over the top." This analysis and judgment were done in a consistent manner for each respondent.

Figure E-B: Extract from the Kargil coding sheet to depict second level coding

A	B	Z	AA	AB
Respondent Number	Name of respondent	View of Indian military (analysis)	How do they view/describe the Indian military? Phrases/adjectives/words	How do they describe the Indian soldiers?
1	**Baweja, Harinder**	Sympathetic.	Brave, eager to win the war, making personal sacrifices. Motivating its soldiers by hanging the severed Pakistani heads on the trees to boost the morale.	Brave, dealing with their grief of losing their buddy, dealing with loss, sacrificing their personal commitments towards their family. Efficient.
2	**Gupta, Shekhar**	Ordinary	As a citizen I see them as wow because when chips are down they are there. I don't think my military is better than others. I love my military because it is the only one we have got. But I think of them as just any other institution.	Brave, courageous, great heroism, competence.

As seen in the figure above, for each respondent, columns AA and AB have been coded according to the raw data. However, column Z is based on the researcher's analysis of the data in columns AA and AB and has been assigned the code "sympathetic" for R1 and "ordinary" for R2.

Coding role perceptions in Kargil

Based on the interviewees' responses regarding why they chose war reporting over other genres of reporting, the category of motivations was included in the coding sheet. Within this category, responses indicating the reasons why participants continued to cover wars – be it a means to do meaningful stories, give voice to victims of extreme realities such as death and destruction, or the personal sacrifices involved within the genre of war reporting – were also coded as phrases or single or multiple words. Related imagery, analogies and discourse provided by the respondents for each war were also coded under this category, albeit in a separate column. Similarly, descriptions of the war zone, victims, local people and their culture were also coded under a different category – geography, including descriptions of the way they viewed the war zone, country, culture, local food, local people and victims.

Figure E-C illustrates how R1's views were coded under the categories for role perception and geography.

Figure E-C: Extract from the Kargil coding sheet depicting R1's views on role perception and geography

A	B	AN	AO	AP	AQ	AT	AU	AV	AW	AX	AY
Respondent Number	Name of respondent	How do they describe the Kargil war - imagery, analogy, discourse	How do they describe themselves personally? (self-images)	Briefly summarise the anecdotes/stories they shared to depict their self image.	How do they describe the other war reporters?	How did they describe their job in Kargil?	Job motivations	Demotivations/ hardships/sacrifices	How do they describe danger in Kargil?	Why or how did they land up covering Kargil?	Why was covering Kargil so attractive for them? (If applicable for the respondent)
1	**Baweja, Harinder**	Standing at the tarmac where bodies were being lifted in helicopters and I remember young soldiers are not supposed to cry very easily, they were saluting his buddy who died. Bodies were being brough down from the mountains heights, from 15000-16000 feet, this was an artillery battle, treacherous heights, some bodies coming back mutilated with no face because of the splinters. soldiers trying to identify the body by turning it. It was not a great war which Indian had won, if Clinton had not summoned Nawaz Sharif and met him and ordered to pull back with troops the war would have prolonged much longer. lot of hand to hand combat, soldiers crying in pain with broken limbs lying in the snow waiting for choppers to come and rescue them.	No professional fears, Journalism keeps me a student for life. The job allows me to travel and meeting all kinds of people. Have covered lot of conflicts, politics, human interest stories, gender issues. Objective, emotional, having strong professional ethics, experienced in conflict reporter, not eager to make my mark some others.	NA	Making Kargil about them, too eager to make their mark, not as experienced as her, some very young. Not having the same access as her. Most people who covered the war came back and wrote a book, she claims she was the only one who wrote it from the perspective of the soldiers unlike others who made Kargil about them.	hectic, emotional, dangerous	Have no personal fears, always wanted to be a journalists. More than equipped in covering wars.	None	High + danger is opportunity	She was a very experienced conflict reporters, had great contacts in the military, she was the natural choice of India Today to cover the war.	Their own country's war

Appendix F: Google Drive link – Full coding sheets for Kosovo, Afghanistan, Iraq and Kargil

Full coding sheet

Appendix G: Google Drive link – Hand-coded coding sheets for Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq

Hand-coded coding sheets

Appendix H: Google Drive link – Raw interview transcripts of the 39 respondents

Raw interview transcripts