City Research Online

City, University of London Institutional Repository

This is the published version of the paper.

This version of the publication may differ from the final published version.

Bound by Exile: Exploring Kinship Dynamics and Role Perceptions among Diaspora Journalists

Tomás Dodds, Rana Arafat & Wang Ngai Yeung

Bound by Exile: Exploring Kinship Dynamics and Role Perceptions among Diaspora Journalists

Tomás Dodds [a], Rana Arafat[b] and Wang Ngai Yeung[c]

aLeiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL), Leiden University, Leiden, Netherlands; bDepartment of Journalism, City University of London, London, UK; cOxford Internet Institute, University of Oxford, Oxford, UK

ABSTRACT

The escalating dangers journalists face globally have led to a marked increase in media professionals seeking safety away from their home countries. As a result, journalists are increasingly forced to choose between silence and survival, with many opting for the latter in the form of diaspora relocation. This article investigates the role of kinship in community building among diaspora journalists, highlighting how these networks impact their collaboration and resource mobilisation. Drawing from interviews ($n = 12$) with reporters and editors from Latin America, Hong Kong, and the Middle East, this article examines diaspora journalists' changing roles and proactive measures in establishing inclusive information and educational infrastructures, enhancing advocacy and empowerment for their communities. Findings demonstrate how journalists leverage kinship to connect with their audiences and guide their journalistic practices, editorial choices, and technological adoption. Findings further revealed that the role of diaspora journalists is evolving into one characterised by what this article terms "civic information workers." These civic information workers are not only reporters but also intermediaries who provide vital data and insights that facilitate the everyday life and integration of diaspora communities into new societies, thus using journalism as a tool for civic empowerment.

Introduction

Journalism is a tough profession where many news workers struggle with unsatisfactory working conditions related to low and unstable incomes, restricted access to social insurance, censorship and political pressures, and limited career opportunities (Rick and Hanitzsch 2024), leading many journalists to leave their homelands searching for job security and better work environments elsewhere. As the world becomes more dangerous for journalism, reporters have also begun to migrate out of their home countries, looking for safe havens that will allow them to report the news more freely and safely. While the phenomenon of journalists seeking protection away from their home countries is not a

novel occurrence (see Burrows 2000), recent trends indicate a significant escalation in its frequency. Indeed, the exodus of journalists into exile is inextricably linked to the alarming spike in their killings (Balasundaram 2019). According to the latest report by the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) (Dunham 2023), "journalist killings in 2022 rose nearly 50% globally amid lawlessness and war." In this context, Latin America was the deadliest region for media workers, with 30 out of the 67 global fatalities occurring there. However, this number has been quickly surpassed in 2023 since the Israeli bombardments in the Gaza Strip. According to figures compiled by Reporters Without Borders (RSF) (2023), a total of 103 journalists have been killed only between October 2023 and March 2024 in the region.

Middle Eastern journalists have increasingly resorted to exile amid rising threats to their safety. The CPJ (Westcott 2023) has reported a 200% surge in assistance for these journalists, which indicates the worsening crisis for press freedom in that region. The lack of support mechanisms exacerbates the situation, as journalists who flee often find themselves navigating complex immigration systems with limited assistance. The CPJ also argues that Middle Eastern journalists may wait years for visas or frequently get stuck in bureaucratic limbos. This clampdown is part of a broader pattern of eroding media freedom and silencing critical voices. It also highlights the extent to which governments worldwide are willing to go to suppress dissent and control the online and offline information flow (Dodds and Geboers 2023). However, the troubling trend of curtailing press freedom extends beyond areas embroiled in conflict or anarchy. Notably, in Asia, Hong Kong—a region once heralded for its dynamic and unfettered media landscape—is experiencing a significant uptick in the expulsion and imprisonment of journalists, too (Koo 2024).

As a result, recent years have shown a noticeable rise in the formation of diasporic media organisations (Keles 2016). Diasporic media refers to media outlets created and consumed by diaspora communities, which are groups of people who have spread or been dispersed from their homeland to places across the globe (Ghorashi and Boersma 2009). These organisations often provide news, entertainment, and information that cater specifically to the interests and needs of these communities, maintaining cultural connections and addressing issues relevant to the diaspora's experience in a new country (Ogunyemi 2018).

Diaspora media serve as platforms for "self-expression, the representation of cultural artefacts and the contestation of negative stereotypes by migrant people in the public sphere" (Ogunyemi 2015, 1). Diaspora journalists might also mediate the ongoing conflicts in their homelands and engage in transnational advocacy practices in two unique ways: creating diasporic news websites that promote counter-narratives to the state-owned media (Arafat 2023) and building digital networks that "blur boundaries between journalism, activism, human rights advocacy, social movements, and civil society work" (Arafat 2021, 2174). They further use their diasporic communities to promote news safety in their conflict-torn homelands by providing professional safety training, releasing solidarity statements for detained journalists, offering emergency rescue for local journalists under attack, and releasing safety guides or codes of conduct (Porlezza and Arafat 2022). While literature focused on examining diaspora journalists' role in serving local reporters in home countries, little scholarly attention was given to comparing how different groups of diaspora journalists build their communities/networks and how their kinship dynamics shape their news reporting and role perceptions while away from their original homelands.

To this end, our paper delves into the pivotal role of kinship in fostering community building and facilitating collaboration among diaspora journalists across different regions of the world. It focuses on how different groups of diaspora journalists create networks and communities and mobilise resources to report the news for their communities. Beyond analysing the experiences and operations of diasporic media organisations, we are interested in how, if at all, transnational kinship plays a role in constructing unique ecologies for journalistic work. Furthermore, the research examines how diaspora journalists perceive their changing roles and the proactive measures taken by diaspora journalists to establish and utilise inclusive data and educational infrastructures, thereby bolstering advocacy and empowerment initiatives for fellow journalists living in the diaspora.

Conceptualising Journalism in the Diaspora

The term diaspora refers to the "voluntary and involuntary relocation and displacement of a group of people from their homeland" (Ogunyemi 2018, 1) while maintaining some connection to events in their home countries. The advancement of media and communication technologies has led to the formation of the "diaspora of the Internet" (Tettey 2009) or "digital diasporas" (Brinkerhoff 2009; Everett 2009) concepts used to refer to "diasporas using the Internet to connect and maintain bonds with their countries of origin" (Brinkerhoff 2009, 1). While diaspora was traditionally viewed as a result of compulsion that forces groups of people to experience resettlement outside their origin countries, the post-modern understanding of diaspora perceived it as a mode of "hybrid consciousness and identity" (Hickman 2002, 9). In this context, diaspora journalism refers to the:

> "Collective, organised, sometimes individual, sporadic practices of diasporic subjects to purposively engage in activities of news and information gathering and dissemination as a tool for self-expression and for engaging in the socio-political and cultural interests of self, and of community, in the contexts of their homeland and host country." (Oyeleye 2017, 24–25)

While the term "diaspora journalism" offers an overarching concept that describes journalists relocated outside their home countries for various political, personal, or professional reasons (Ogunyemi 2018), the term "exile journalists" describes a subgroup of news workers who were forced to flee their home countries due to threats, persecution, imprisonment, or censorship related to their journalistic work. In other words, all journalists in exile could belong to a diaspora, but not every member within a diaspora is necessarily in exile. Hence, exiled journalists are at a greater risk of physical and digital threats, including harassment and surveillance, that are inescapable across borders (Porlezza and Arafat 2022). Their pre-migration persecution experiences drive their desire to expose injustices, hold regime authorities accountable, and continue advocating for press freedom and human rights from exile, unlike other groups of diaspora journalists who might work for state-funded diasporic media outlets in their host countries (Arafat 2021). Also, some exiled news workers are activists-turned-journalists with a background in grassroots movements, advocacy organisations, or community activism (Ristow 2011; Skjerdal 2011).

As exiled journalists perform remotely from the country relating to its content due to persecution or danger, they use their new locations to promote counter-narratives, challenge the domestic mainstream media's coverage dominated by the homeland state

actors, and inform the outside world about the regime's violations and war crimes (Ristow 2011; Wojcieszak, Brouillette, and Smith 2013). For example, Burmese diasporic opposition media organisations created an alternative transnational flow of information to challenge authoritarian rule, political violence, and censorship and support the democratisation process in a repressive military regime (Pidduck 2012). Similarly, in times of war, the Syrian diasporic media served as development actors by providing informative humanitarian support to citizens of their home countries and adapting their news content to the needs of the affected target audiences (Kämpe 2017). In addition, Syrian diaspora journalists engaged in various online advocacy practices such as petitioning, releasing solidarity statements, participating in Hashtag activism, and lobbying the homelands to enact laws to mobilise for homeland-related causes (Arafat 2021, 2191).

These examples demonstrate how diaspora journalists challenge traditional journalism norms, perceiving that the "neutral-objective model of journalism is inadequate to fulfil their contradicting allegiances both to their profession and to their community" (Zou 2020, 230). To this end, diaspora journalists are considered pivotal actors in the hybrid diasporic public sphere, where diasporic counterpublics exchange information and advocate for democratic political reforms using social media platforms to create digitally empowered interactive collaborations with other exiled groups (Arafat 2022).

However, diaspora journalists encounter challenges that undermine their potential to collect first-hand news and threaten their sustainability. Among these challenges are access to sources, low budgets and advertising revenues, fragile economic sustainability, and transnational technological threats by hostile governments such as jamming radio signals or blocking internet websites (Ogunyemi 2018; Ristow 2011). In particular, the receiving and sending countries and the inter-state relations between them have a great influence on shaping the experiences of diaspora journalists as the "security threats imposed by the home country, as well as the digital infrastructure, and licenses provided by the host country present new aspects of state intervention influencing diaspora journalism" (Arafat 2021, 2189).

Since our study sample includes different groups of diaspora journalists, such as Arab migrant journalists working for state-funded media outlets in the UK and exiled Syrian, Chinese, and Cuban journalists working for state-opposition media, we have opted to use the term "diaspora journalism" throughout the text, except when we are purposely addressing the exiled journalists' groups in our sample and findings.

Networking and Kinship Dynamics in Diaspora Journalism

Guiding the present study is the notion of *kinship* — a complex system of "intersubjective participation […] founded on mutualities of being" (Sahlins 2011, 10). Kinship is a set of knots connecting distinct entities and beings bounded by "transpersonal unities of bodies, feelings, and experience" (Sahlins 2011, 11). In the case of diaspora journalism, these interconnections are constructed through their collective experiences of displacement and the assemblage of ideas, values, and ideologies rooted in their socio-geographical origins.

Diaspora journalists are caught between two worlds and thus are usually perceived as "journalists in transition" whose close collaborations and interactions with other diasporic groups, including diaspora activists and community members, are necessary to mobilise a

transnational political or social change (Arafat 2022; O'Loughlin and Schafraad 2016). Recent academic literature has reported how diaspora journalists build transnational networks to maintain strong ties with several actors and stakeholders in their home and host countries using various technologies to communicate ideas, values, and ideologies (Oyeleye 2017; Ristow 2011). Arafat (2021) argues that diaspora journalists' digital connections expand the networked journalism concept by "serving as digital transnational communities linking local and diaspora reporters, citizen journalists, and activists with audiences, social movements, and human rights defenders" (2191) promoting a hybrid journalistic culture (Porlezza and Arafat 2022).

In times of conflict, diaspora journalists' networks play a crucial "brokerage" role in supporting and mentoring local (citizen) journalists to tell their stories (Andén-Papadopoulos and Pantti 2013; Wall and el Zahed 2015; Yousuf and Taylor 2017) and promoting transnational news safety through providing emergency rescue to local journalists under attack, documenting violations and lobbying governments, and offering professional safety training programmes (Porlezza and Arafat 2022). Diaspora journalists further empower exile activists by amplifying their voices in the news, disseminating statistics and reports from political activist groups, and providing legitimacy and visibility to their efforts over others (Arafat 2022).

Previous literature has focused on how diaspora journalists create online networks to facilitate collaboration with several local and transnational journalists and non-journalistic actors to reinforce news reporting, advocate for transnational causes, and develop the media sector. However, little scholarly attention was given to comparing the dynamics of kinship and collaboration within different groups of diaspora journalists and how this constructs unique ecologies for exiled journalistic work that involves building connections with local and diasporic audience groups, which gives our study significant importance. Therefore, this paper aims to answer the following questions:

> **RQ1:** How do different groups of exiled journalists create networks and communities to mobilise resources for news reporting purposes?

> **RQ2:** What are the collaborative dynamics among diaspora journalists and their audiences?

Journalistic Roles in the Diaspora

Scholars identified three interrelated domains where independent journalistic roles emerge: the "journalistic voice," the "power relations," and the "audience approach" domains (Mellado 2020). The first journalistic voice domain intersects with the interventionist role linked with serving the participant (Donsbach and Patterson 2004), advocate (Janowitz 1975), and missionary roles (Köcher 1986) that involve incorporating a journalist's voice into their reporting. The second power relations role pertains to the different levels of relationship between journalists and those in power, where journalists might act as watchdogs (Waisbord 2000) who hold power accountable or as loyal facilitators who voluntarily collaborate with governments and serve as spokespeople to those in power. The third audience-oriented domain involves public service roles such as civic, infotainment, and service provider, where journalists empower, educate, entertain, and serve their audiences.

However, diaspora journalists challenge and expand some of these traditional role paradigms by serving as "active agents of change" (Balasundaram 2019). For example, Porlezza and Arafat (2022, 1884) proposed four novel roles of exile journalists in promoting news safety: (a) sousveillance (e.g., monitoring and documenting violations against reporters by regime forces and armed opposition factions), (b) defender (e.g., acting as lobbyists, relief workers, and fundraisers to defend, rescue, and support local journalists), (c) trainer (e.g., capacity building by offering training programmes), and (d) regulator/ policy developer (e.g., establishing codes of conduct and safety guides to regulate the media work and protect local and diaspora journalists' rights). However, performing these roles in exile is always challenging, given the various factors that impact and shape how diaspora journalists can fulfil these roles, such as the political, organisational, procedural, economic, and reference group-related influences (Arafat 2021).

Using Mellado's (2020) three role domains as a conceptual framework, this paper expands our understanding of journalistic role perceptions in the diaspora by examining and comparing how different groups of exile journalists working in other countries perceive their changing roles in the diaspora. Hence:

>   *RQ3:* How do different groups of diaspora journalists perceive their changing roles in exile?

Methods

Our research draws upon 12 semi-structured interviews with diaspora journalists from Latin America, the Middle East, and Hong Kong (see Table A1 for the titles and participants' affiliations). The Latin American sample included Cuban, Chilean, Colombian, and American-Mexican journalists (three males and one female). The Latin American sample included only U.S.-based outlets El Tecolote, Documented, El Kentubano, and Enlace Latino. The Middle Eastern sample mainly included Egyptian, Syrian, and Lebanese journalists (three females and three males) who work for various diasporic news organisations, including the U.S.-based Al-Hurra, France-based Radio Rozana, Turkey-based Enab Baladi, and U.K.-based Al Quds Al-Arabi. Four interviews in the Arab journalists' sample were conducted between November 2022 and June 2023, while the other two were conducted between November 2019 and March 2020. The Hong Kong sample involved a U.K.-based online news website and a U.K.-Netherlands-based social media news outlet. The names of these two interviewed organisations have been anonymised at the interviewees' request.

Participants aged 26 to 57 worked as reporters, editors, photojournalists, or chief editors of different diasporic news outlets. Given the geographical and cultural diversity of our sample, we note that it is necessary to acknowledge that the respondents have varying lived experiences as members of their respective diasporic communities. Precisely, our sample consists of diaspora journalists from Hong Kong, Syria and Cuba who are in exile. Meanwhile, other respondents left their countries for distinct reasons, including but not limited to seeking economic prosperity in a more economically developed region in the world. In this light, our sample cannot be painted with broad strokes even though they all perceive themselves as diaspora journalists. Because of such a diversity in lived experiences of the sample, the respondents have, conceivably, dissimilar perspectives towards kinship, expectations from their transnational communities,

interactions with their origin-host countries or even the very definition of their position-ality as people of diasporas. However, the diverse sample is also a strength of the present study. As will be shown later, despite the challenges of the generalizability of our results towards the respective diasporic communities or regions, consistent patterns were observed across respondents.

Interviews lasted between 30 and 63 minutes and were conducted in either journalists' native languages or English via Zoom, Skype, WhatsApp, or Signal calls, as they are located in different cities and countries. All recordings were subsequently transcribed and translated into English using GDPR-compliant software, and the materials were securely stored on a university server to safeguard the participants' privacy. The sampling followed a purposive snowball technique. We first emailed a group of diaspora journalists and then asked them to refer us to other diaspora journalists who work for the same exile media outlet. Our participants were asked four groups of questions about (a) background information concerning their journalistic career and the establishment of their diasporic media organisations, (b) the connections they maintain with local and transnational jour-nalistic and non-journalistic actors, (c) their kindship relations with their diasporic and homeland audience members, and (d) their perceptions of their changing roles as journal-ists in the diaspora.

The study employed thematic analysis following Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase guide that involves familiarising yourself with data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing a final report. We first conducted open coding to identify and list recurrent ideas and emerging themes in interview transcripts. Next, we grouped codes into categories and made new connections among them using the process of axial coding to develop theoretical exten-sions (Webb 2017).

Research Findings

Our findings offer important implications for understanding how journalists adapt in the context of war or political prosecution and how journalistic role perceptions and relation-ships with fellow reporters and audiences mutate when in exile to keep producing public interest content. Moreover, our results also show how, through diasporic journalistic organisations, communities and journalists partake in cultural preservation, identity reaffirmation, and transnational bridge-building, fostering a sense of kinship that trans-cends geographical boundaries.

First: Networks and Collaboration

Interviews with diaspora journalists indicated a clear pattern of collaboration that is predo-minantly inter-diaspora, that is, involving immigrants outside of the same ethnic or national diaspora community as well as collaborations with non-diasporic actors such as local journalists and activists in the homelands. These journalists appear to be bridging gaps across different immigrant communities, journalistic and non-journalistic groups, forming alliances as diverse as the diasporic landscape. Their collaborations are often with audiences and organisations that extend direct services, such as support groups for rural workers. As *Journalists 1*, a Colombian reporter working in the United States, argued:

> In North Carolina, where we are located, we collaborate with various organisations that provide direct services to rural workers. One notable example is the Episcopal Farm Worker Ministry, affiliated with the Catholic Church. […] Other American organisations are dedicated to workers' needs or serving the Mexican community in the eastern part of the state.

In addition, participants in our Middle Eastern sample reported different forms of inter-collaborations—partnerships and joint efforts with non-diasporic actors in homelands for news reporting and verification purposes. For example, *Journalist 9*, an Egyptian journalist who works as a content lead in the U.S.-based Al Hurra media organisation, explained that distance "no longer influences the speed or quality of diasporic news reporting as keeping transnational connections between local and diaspora journalists was made possible due to technology, especially safe encrypted messaging apps such as Telegram and Signal." He reported that he relies heavily on his contacts with journalists in the Arab region to facilitate reporting stories from a distance, compensating for the absence of established networks or communities for Egyptian or Arab journalists in the U.S. In his opinion, getting information about any topic's context and background story is particularly important as checking facts is a daily news reporting routine, especially in countries where the news organisation does not have foreign correspondents.

Findings further demonstrated the significant dependence of Arab diasporic media outlets on connections with local correspondents and citizen journalists as a primary source of first-hand information. Hence, participants explained how they are keen to offer training and protection for those local actors to maintain the sustainability of their transnational news reporting routines. For example, *Journalist 8,* a co-founder and editorial board member of the Syrian Turkey-based Enab Baladi diasporic website, explained how the news outlet depends on on-the-ground local correspondents in Syria to provide them with breaking news and shoot visual footage. Thus, they hold regular meetings to offer them training and guidance to improve their coverage. He added:

> We keep in contact with local reporters through social media and work groups. Each diasporic editor contacts several local correspondents and gives them feedback and guidance. It is hard to provide them with regular online training courses because of the instability of the internet and electricity services in Syria, digital surveillance in state-controlled regions, as well as the hardship of having all reporters simultaneously present online.

However, partnering with those local actors comes with a cost. As *Journalist 9*, a Syrian news editor in Enab Baladi explained, correspondents on the ground are not professionals. "They are more of citizen journalists who are residents in the region with a background on how to report events and news, but with no profound knowledge of the ethics and basics of the profession." This makes extensive news verification a daily part of diaspora journalists' practice. She also explained how local correspondents are not the only news sources, as they rely on photos, videos, and interviews of local analysts and official sources. Another form of transnational inter-diaspora collaboration involves non-journalistic actors such as fact-checkers. As *Journalist 7* further reported, he is seeking local fact-checking collaborators in the Middle East to form a partnership with Al Hurra news organisation for a project dedicated to enhancing the organisation's fact-checking capabilities.

Similarly, one of the Hong Kong journalists mentioned that inter-diaspora collaborations are crucial in exchanging tips and bringing political issues to a broader audience. Responding to inter-diaspora collaboration, *Journalist 5,* a freelance journalist and editor of a social media news outlet, elaborated:

> I met one of the journalists in Hong Kong during the protest, and sometimes he asks me for pictures [for a large Spanish media outlet] … [also] I met a Korean journalist in Hong Kong during the protest, and we still contact each other now. We just meet and share the information … and mostly talk about Hong Kong protest.

On the other hand, participants in our Middle Eastern sample reported different forms of intra-collaborations— with journalists and media outlets within the same ethnic and national diaspora community. Due to restrictions on the freedom of expression in their homeland, many Syrian diaspora journalists reported how moving to the diaspora made building connections with other exiled Syrian journalists much easier and faster. To this end, *Journalist 11*, an independent Syrian journalist, explained:

> Escaping the authoritative political oppression and leaving to diaspora gave me a lot of freedom that is unavailable in any place inside Syria. Freedom of movement outside Syria is very important for my work as it allows me to travel to Turkey and Germany to network with other Syrian media institutions. We used to encounter difficulties in coordinating meetings with journalists living in different parts of Syria. However, this is not an issue outside the country as we can meet and work together.

One example of these intra-collaborations was reported by participants working for the two diasporic Syrian opposition news websites (Enab Baladi and Radio Rozana) as they teamed up together to work on mutual investigative reports to defend human rights in Syria. However, distance does not always bring diaspora journalists from the same ethnic background together due to concerns of personal security, considering the political surveillance in some regions. For example, according to *Journalist 6,* a U.K.-based Hong Kong journalist, collaboration with another U.K.-based diaspora outlet is not feasible as they "consider the risk too high and [need to] protect the staff in Hong Kong." As a result, networking within a diaspora community emerges as a dangerous practice rather than a beneficial one in light of potential political persecution, which inherently hampers the possibility of intra-diaspora collaborations.

These findings suggest that while diaspora journalists are actively forging connections across different diasporic groups and with service organisations, they might remain hesitant to collaborate within their community's media landscape. This inward focus hints at an untapped potential for diaspora media to create a more unified voice and harness collective resources for a more significant impact. It also underscores the need for a deeper understanding of the dynamics at play within diaspora communities and how these influence the role of the media in fostering community cohesion and empowerment.

Second: Kinship Relations and Audience Engagement

Drawing from our interviews, we see that kinship plays a pivotal role for diaspora journalists. Our results show that journalists leverage kinship to connect with their audiences and guide their journalistic practices, content choices, and technological

adoption. Firstly, our interviews indicated that kinship serves as a bridge between dia-spora journalists and their audiences. Journalists with a shared cultural, ethnic, or national background as their audiences possess an intrinsic understanding of the com-munity's needs and preferences. As *Journalist 3*, a Mexican-American reporter working in the United States, argued:

> Often Latinos are stereotypically grouped as if we're a single entity. However, Latin America is a vast continent encompassing South America, Central America, and the Caribbean. What strikes me about this is the diversity within our diaspora. [Our news outlet] represents a myriad of voices, each with distinct experiences. Our ways of speaking Spanish vary, not just in dialects but in subtle nuances. In the past, these differences might have been seen as divisive. However, I see them as something to celebrate and explore. These nuances enrich our understanding and bring depth to the representation of our diverse community.

Nevertheless, some interviewees also indicated that their news is not geographically confined. When asked about their relationship with their audience, *Journalist 5* from Hong Kong provided exact statistics to support their global presence:

> The proportion of our audience [is] approximately 56–57% from Hong Kong. Meanwhile, for the remaining, around 20% of the audience [is] from the U.K. The rest come from Canada, Australia, Taiwan, the U.S., etc. From the audience's inputs or feedback, they consider us a bridge to connect between Hongkongers and Hong Kong.

She then elaborated on the forms of relationship that she built with her audience:

> There are many engagements. I have to say we're lucky that our audience is quite active on all of these [platforms such as Patreon, Facebook, YouTube]. Every day, we receive questions and comments from the audience. At the time when we have the live broadcast on YouTube, we have a livelier discussion with our audience, and they will chat with each other.

Secondly, findings further demonstrated that kinship informs the selection of topics and the angle of coverage. Through their lived experiences and cultural understanding, dia-spora journalists are adept at identifying issues that resonate with their communities. As *Journalist 2*, a Cuban editor, said, "It's tough to come from Cuba to Kentucky. You know, language. Winter. I mean, everything is new, so [the audience] is hungry for infor-mation. They need to learn too many things in a short period of time." This kinship con-nection enables them to cover stories that mainstream media might overlook, address misconceptions, and provide a perspective that is more aligned with the interests and values of their diaspora audience. According to *Journalist 1*, a Colombian editor, their audience "is very interested in knowing about the weekly dollar exchange rate because they send money home. They are interested in knowing about taxes, health insurance, and many things that affect their safety." The same was shared by *Journalist 4*, a Chilean journalist working from New York: "We know that a lot of Latino immigrants that have arrived recently are very likely to be asylum seekers. So, we made explainers on how to apply for asylum, get health insurance, and access mental health." Our analysis further highlighted that many diaspora journalists view their work as a platform to amplify the voices and concerns of their communities, which are often underrepresented or mis-represented in the broader media landscape.

Thirdly, understanding kinship ties helps journalists choose appropriate technologies to disseminate their content. Diaspora communities often have specific media

consumption patterns influenced by language, accessibility, and cultural preferences. Our interviewees shared that knowledge of these patterns is crucial for selecting the right mix of platforms, be it social media, traditional broadcasting, or newer digital formats. Sometimes, diaspora journalists need to supply the basic infrastructures for their communities to reach their content, as in this example explained by *Journalists 1*, the Colombian editor:

> When we go to the fields to talk to migrant workers, we're fully equipped with QR codes on paper, as we understand that everyone has a cell phone these days. However, we also carry portable internet hotspots because not everyone has internet on their phones. These QR codes guide them to our website and help them register with us. We also collect their information manually and provide them with pamphlets or documents that contain essential information about our services and rights.

Furthermore, later, she added:

> This method was initiated two years ago and has proven effective. We have served approximately 400 migrant workers in this period, many of whom have remained active in our WhatsApp group. This group serves as a platform for sharing specific information, responding to their questions, and maintaining communication, whether they are arriving, staying, or leaving.

Finally, and perhaps most significantly, the interviews underscored a profound sense of obligation and responsibility these journalists feel towards their communities. This kinship translates into a commitment to ethical journalists, emphasising accuracy, fairness, and the responsible reporting of issues related to their community. As the Cuban editor argued:

> If you're a diaspora journalist and are in a safe place, it's your job … your responsibility to be the mouthpiece for folks in lesser safe places. […] For Latin America, if you are from there but not there, so you have the privilege of being a journalist here, then it's our duty to be able to amplify the stories that journalists back there would risk their lives to tell. We have our feet in two worlds. Moreover, there are many misconceptions about these two worlds and how they mix. So, we must tell our own stories because our stories have been told for a long time for us.

Many Latin American journalists expressed that their role goes beyond mere reporting. Instead, they see themselves as custodians of their community's narratives and, as such, feel a duty to counter misinformation, challenge stereotypes, and provide a platform for dialogue and understanding. This is best exemplified in this quote from a Mexican-American journalist:

> Back then, San Francisco didn't have any newspapers that were reporting on the Latino community in a meaningful way. Look at the archives from that period. You'll see that the Latino community was typically mentioned in mainstream media only in the context of tragedies or crime-related stories. This portrayal contributed to a distorted public perception of Latinos as dangerous or degenerate. Recognising this media desert […], our newspaper was founded with a dual purpose. Our goal was to transform our community's public perception while providing a reliable news source for Latinos. We wanted to ensure that our people have access to reputable news about their neighbourhood.

A similar sense of responsibility was reported by Middle Eastern diaspora journalists who serve a public service role to offer help to their diasporic community members. For example, Syrian *Journalist 12* reported creating a Facebook group called (قلبي قلبك) - My

Heart is Yours) after she heard about many diaspora Syrian young men who had heart attacks, especially in Germany. She allowed people to talk and ask for psychological and medical help; her group reached 15,000 members. To achieve wider visibility and influence, she turned her online service into a radio programme where she receives phone calls from distressed people. Although she started the group mainly for diaspora young Syrians, many people contacted her from inside Syria, including media workers in danger zones. She reported their cases to the Reporters Without Borders organisation, aiming to serve a humanitarian brokerage role.

As such, kinship emerges as a fundamental element in exile journalism. It shapes how journalists connect with their audiences and influence their editorial decisions and technological choices. More importantly, it imbues these journalists with a sense of duty to responsibly serve their communities. Our results show that this kinship-based approach also changes the perception of journalistic roles among these diaspora journalists.

Third: Changing Journalistic Role Perceptions in the Diaspora

Our results further indicate that diaspora journalists are increasingly focusing on disseminating critical information that assists migrants in navigating the complexities of life away from their homeland. Diaspora journalists guide legal processes, social services, employment opportunities, and cultural integration, bridging the informational gap left by governmental inadequacies. For example, the editor of one of the Latin outlets in the United States claimed that at some point, the audience started reaching out to them with questions:

> But not questions about immigration news. Questions about useful immigration things. Things like: "What do I do if Immigration comes to my workplace?" […] "Hey, I've been a citizen for 30 years and never voted. Can I vote?" Other people told us things like, "I'm afraid to vote because my mom and dad don't have documents, and they have told me that if I vote, Immigration is going to come and arrest me, my mom and dad." There was a vacuum of information there and much misinformation. These questions became constant. So, I started to think: What can I do?

As the editors put it, there was an information gap on practical issues related to public service knowledge. Thus, as their media outlets grew, diaspora journalists embraced a dual identity, retaining their traditional gatekeeping and watchdog roles while also assuming the responsibilities of what we categorise in this article as *civic information workers*. That is, journalists who go beyond conventional reporting and function as intermediaries who provide vital data and insights that facilitate the day-to-day living and integration of migrants into new societies. They effectively fill a gap that has emerged due to the lack of adequate information services the state provides for immigrants. *Journalists 4*, a reporter of another Latin-orientated media outlet in the United States, added:

> Through our online and offline conversations with immigrants, we can offer vital service information. For instance, we know that many Latino immigrants who've arrived in the past year are likely asylum seekers. In response, we've created guides on applying for asylum, obtaining free health insurance, accessing mental health services, and enrolling in schools, among others. This allows us to provide crucial information to help them make informed decisions.

Our analysis highlights that diaspora journalists are acutely aware of the unique needs and challenges faced by migrants. In this new role of civic information workers, they do

not merely report on events or issues but actively collect and distribute data that has immediate and tangible benefits for incoming migrants. They are effectively transforming journalism into a tool of civic empowerment, aiding in decision-making and enhancing the capacity of migrants to assert their rights and fulfil their responsibilities in both their countries of residence and origin. This new role perception also distinguishes diaspora journalists from "traditional media." As *Journalists 1*, one of the Latin reporters explained:

> Sometimes, I sense that traditional media has veered off course, preoccupied with self-satisfaction and pursuing individual accolades. "I discover this, and I reported that" becomes the mantra, and we forget whom we're truly serving: the community. […] Journalism has shifted: It's no longer about us dictating the news. The community drives our reporting, asking questions and seeking information on issues that matter to them. This interaction is what should guide our pen. That's what journalism has always been. There's been a detour where we fancied ourselves as all-knowing, leading to a competitive rather than collaborative spirit. However, the reality is stark; without collaboration, media faces obsolescence.

Similarly, *Journalist 6,* a Hong Kong journalist, has also provided practical decision-making information to her audience regarding mental health issues:

> We cover the mental well-being of the migrants in the U.K., and there is a family therapist that we have interviewed in the program. We have received feedback from those community groups [mental wellbeing workers] that after the broadcast, they have more visitors [and a] real network. What we can offer is something virtual.

However, we have observed an internal conflict between being a professional journalist and a quasi-activist journalist. *Journalist 5* has worked in the news industry in Hong Kong for an extended period and is aware of the traditional definitions of a professional journalist. Although *Journalist 5 deems* that a professional journalist "cannot be a part of it [a protest]" and the only thing that a journalist can do is to "tell people the truth" with the evidence, the interviewee also admitted that "it is very hard to find a balance" between activism and journalism.

To this end, participants' reference to the role of diasporic media in challenging restrictions on freedom of speech in authoritarian countries was more evident in Middle Eastern interview data. For example, *Journalist 10*, an experienced Lebanese journalist who worked for several U.K.-based Arab media outlets, explained how independent diasporic pan-Arab journalism serves as a breath of freedom for some Arab audiences who perceive diasporic Arab news websites as an alternative to the local regime-controlled media. He added:

> In the past, audiences used to have limited news options. Now, the whole world is open before them, and they have multiple online options and alternatives. Readers now search for diasporic news that are more independent, professional, and free media, which they might not find in their home countries.

The implications of this shift are profound. It signals not only a change in the professional identity of journalists within the diaspora but also underscores a significant social development wherein non-state actors are taking on roles to support communities traditionally serviced by government entities. These results may signal a transformative period in the relationship between the state and journalism as reporters redefine their role in response to the evolving needs of the diaspora communities they serve.

Discussion and Conclusion

Diaspora journalism is a precarious institution where journalists in exile, away from their homeland, struggle for survival (Rick and Hanitzsch 2024). This struggle is often rooted in the very ontology of diaspora as identity-making and placemaking mechanisms (Hickman 2002). In other words, diaspora journalists are, in essence, distinct from the conventionally understood position and perception of a "professional" journalist. Hence, the study's main contribution lies in advancing our understanding of three key themes surrounding this conceptualisation of diaspora journalism, namely (1) network and communities, (2) kinship dynamics and collaborations, and (3) changing role perceptions using a diverse sample coming from different regions around the globe.

Functionality and Subversion in the Technological Networks of Diaspora Journalists

We found rather diverse networking and collaboration strategies adopted across various groups of exile journalists (RQ1). These strategies, however, are primarily mediated by digital platforms and mobile devices, even in rural areas. We understand this reliance on digital technology is primarily a response to the fundamental shift in diaspora, that is, from the diaspora as a geospatially defined group of people to a digital transnational community of displaced people (Arafat 2021; Brinkerhoff 2009). Our findings distinguished two types of collaboration partners, namely inter- and intra-diaspora partners. The former concerns joint efforts by immigrant communities from different regions and their wider collaborations with non-diasporic actors such as local reporters and human rights defenders. The latter regards collaborations within diasporic groups with the same region of origin. Inter-diaspora collaborations are notably dominant across all our samples. For instance, our interviewees indicated that relocations to a new country allow for greater freedom of mobility and expression. Due to shorter geographical distances, such freedom has made collaborations with media organisations outside their communities easier.

On the contrary, intra-diaspora collaboration is a less viable method of collaboration for communities at risk. As our interviewees from the Middle East and Hong Kong samples pointed out, intra-diaspora collaborations often come with personal and professional considerations. Thus, such a form of collaboration is adopted more prudently and, at times, hesitantly.

Across collaboration methods, these findings also suggest a critical functionality of technologies as a tool for collaborative efforts. This seemingly borderless infrastructure enables potential collaborations between diaspora journalists in different parts of the world. The use of platform technologies as a communication channel is twofold. Firstly, platform technologies are used *purely functionally* to overcome spatial–temporal barriers. Secondly, technologies are *politically subversive*. Precisely, technologies are not mere tools for communication, yet they serve the purpose of avoiding state surveillance and supporting grassroots movements. The encrypted messaging applications, which journalists use to connect still-at-home as well as exile journalists, are a clear demonstration of this nature of subversiveness. Subversive tactics emerging from intra- and inter-diaspora collaborations are thus beyond newsmaking. However, they are concerned with the survival

of diaspora journalism both individually and ecologically with techniques such as providing emergency information to journalists at risk (Porlezza and Arafat 2022). Such a relationship between diaspora journalism and technological platforms, one that is reliant on international technological infrastructure (e.g., Telegram, WhatsApp, etc.) that are less subject to local political control (Ogunyemi 2018; Ristow 2011), has therefore (re)configured and (re)defined the nature of diaspora journalism as a transnational phenomenon.

Kinship as a Driving Force of Exiled Journalistic Work

This paper further explored kinship as the key to a more nuanced understanding of diaspora journalism and the dynamics of collaboration (RQ2). In line with our expectations, kinship plays a vital role in shaping the ecology of diaspora journalism. On the one hand, kinship offers an anchor for journalists to gauge the needs and preferences of their audiences, for instance, in what language, through which channel and in what format a piece of news should be presented. On the other hand, kinship emerged as an underlying force for alternative framing (and potentially agenda-setting) for prevalent societal issues that mainstream media outlets often disregard, and this observation is commonplace across all diaspora groups.

The news these exiled journalists create is far beyond "hard news." They also relate to practical information on day-to-day insights on integration, taxation and community work. Such a mechanism of diaspora journalism is a reminiscence of civic and citizen journalism in ways that the journalists are disruptive, participatory, (hyper)local and empowering (Mutsvairo 2016; Togtarbay et al. 2023). However, the interviews have abundantly offered evidence that the patterns and structures of exile journalism are fundamentally different from these seemingly similar forms of journalistic practices, for kinship is at the core of diaspora journalism. Diaspora journalists are not pure observers but empathetic and direct kinsmen who make diasporic experiences and beings. The empathy from these journalists generates a sense of responsibility, again bounded by the shared experience as a person in exile.

The dynamics and collaborations within diaspora journalism have consolidated the delineating characteristic of diaspora journalism—deliberation through responsibility. This responsibility in its totality cannot and will not be explained by any institutionalised journalistic duties in as much as this responsibility is birthed from kinship. Alternatively, precisely, kinship is strictly confined within their communities. Indeed, a Cuban exile journalist cannot claim to be a Syrian exile journalist (and vice versa), nor can they truly empathise with their experiences even though they both are in exile. This unique positionality of exile journalists gives rise to the natural responsibility of kinship communities defined by collective experience, language, culture and needs.

Civic Information Workers as Core Role Perception of Exile Journalists

Lastly, we move to answer RQ3. Recall the domains of journalistic roles identified by Mellado (2020) and their extensions (Balasundaram 2019; Porlezza and Arafat 2022); our results suggest that diaspora journalists perceive a combination of these distinct roles. However, we found that the audience approach is the starkest domain of role

perception expressed by the interviewees. We categorise this role perception of exile journalists as *civic information workers*. Exile journalists do not follow the mainstream media logic of newsworthiness but choose topics that directly impact their audiences and are generally educational. Thus, the community is at the centre of diaspora journalists as civic information workers – the audiences are the agenda-setters of what exile journalists produce and deem essential to cover. Some interviewees, too, indicated that it is futile to *only* report on large-scale political events that have little to do with the people who "started the new chapter" *(Journalist 5)*. Instead, they report on the (hyper)local news to educate people about adjustments to their new environments or soft news, such as new businesses opened by people from the same diasporic community.

Nevertheless, this role perception is not mutually exclusive with the domain of *journalistic voice*. Our interviewees told us that since they "escape authoritative political oppression" and "have more freedom," they sense more responsibility as journalistic activists to report on things that cannot be reported in their homelands. Once more, kinship plays a role in forming this sense of responsibility as they are ultimately connected with the culture and history of their countries of origin; if they can contribute to social movements at home, perhaps being a journalist abroad can help them achieve these political goals. This role perception is, to some extent, interlinked with the role domain of power relations. Our results showed that diaspora journalists struggle against authoritarian regimes and compete with mainstream media workers at home. Per a few of our interviewees, mainstream workers in undemocratic societies such as Syria, Cuba and Hong Kong are rendered useless as journalists. In this sense, diaspora journalists take up their roles as watchdogs and mouthpieces for oppressed people.

All in all, this new journalistic perception aligns closely with the ethos of civic journalism. Still, it extends beyond the traditional boundaries by placing journalists as providers of public service, undergirded by kinship and a deep understanding of community needs, which typically falls within the purview of the state. Through their work, diaspora journalists are filling this void, responding to the critical need for reliable and practical information that assists migrants in making informed decisions about their lives.

It is worth briefly dwelling on a final point. Our sample is a diverse group of reporters, originating not only from different regions but also from countries with widely different cultural backgrounds inside those regions. Given the sample of this study, our interviewees do not represent large swaths of the population, nor are they representative of the subcultures and local identities of their hometowns. As we have seen in their answers, they have different experiences, including how they understand their journalistic vis-à-vis their advocacy role, the function they think media platforms should play in their daily jobs, how they interact with other organisations, and more. These similarities and differences between diaspora journalists' experiences are not only shaped by their ethnic backgrounds but rather their pre-migration experiences, threats imposed by home countries, as well as pressure and expectations posed by their target audiences. For example, our findings suggest how journalists' pre-migration experiences in their home countries influence and shape their diasporic work experience and the type of collaborations they prioritise. Unlike their migrant counterparts who prioritise collaborations with civil society organisations and churches in the host country, exiled Syrian and Hong Kong journalists shared a focus on creating inter-collaborations with local journalistic and

non-journalistic actors in their origin countries to report truth on local affairs and conflicts. This approach is usually driven by exiled journalists' sense of repression and responsibility and desire for justice and accountability despite the dangers that might follow them across borders (Arafat 2021).

Yet, despite the pointillism of our conversations, we found an unwaning result throughout our discussions. That is, diaspora journalists see themselves as civic information workers, a role that runs through all the interviews we conducted despite the difference of origin in our sample. A role that further bounds them all into improving their communities' lives, thus using journalism as a tool for civic empowerment.

Future Research

This paper offers significant insights into the multifaceted experiences of diaspora journalists from Latin America, Hong Kong, and the Middle East. Drawing on in-depth interviews, this article argues that the concept of diaspora journalism, as explored in this paper, highlights a unique blend of news dissemination, community service, and advocacy.

The emergence of new journalistic roles, such as the civic information worker, as identified in this research, presents another intriguing area for future exploration. This amalgamation prompts the need for research into how these journalists maintain *traditional* journalistic integrity while addressing their communities' specific needs.

Future research should also examine the role of civic information workers in building community resilience and empowerment among diaspora populations. This involves investigating their contribution to social capital, community cohesion, and cultural integration. Understanding the effectiveness of these efforts in fostering societal integration is crucial for a comprehensive view of diaspora journalism's impact on communities spread abroad and their home country.

Integrating technology in diaspora journalism, particularly within this new role of civic information workers, is another critical area of exploration. Future research should also focus on how these journalists use digital platforms to expand their research, engage with their audience, and overcome challenges like censorship.

Disclosure Statement

ORCID

Tomás Dodds 🆔 http://orcid.org/0000-0003-4724-5307

References

Andén-Papadopoulos, K., and M. Pantti. 2013. "Re-Imagining Crisis Reporting: Professional Ideology of Journalists and Citizen Eyewitness Images." *Journalism* 14 (7): 960–977. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884913479055.

Arafat, R. 2021. "Examining Diaspora Journalists' Digital Networks and Role Perceptions: A Case Study of Syrian Post-Conflict." *Advocacy Journalism. Journalism Studies* 22 (16): 2174–2196. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.1990110.

Arafat, R. 2022. "Rethinking Digital Media use for Diasporic Political Participation: An Investigation Into Journalism Advocacy, Digital Activism, and Democratic Divides (Dissertation Summary)." *Studies in Communication Sciences* 22 (3): Article 3. https://doi.org/10.24434/j.scoms.2022.03.3878.

Arafat, R. 2023. "Reporting on the Syrian Conflict from Exile: Examining Advocacy Strategies in Diaspora Journalists' Online News." In *Middle Eastern Diasporas and Political Communication*, 161–181. Routledge.

Balasundaram, N. 2019. "Exiled Journalists as Active Agents of Change: Understanding Their Journalistic Practices." In *Reporting Human Rights, Conflicts, and Peacebuilding: Critical and Global Perspectives*, edited by I. S. Shaw, and S. Selvarajah, 265–280. Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-10719-2_16.

Braun, V., and V. Clarke. 2006. "Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology." *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3 (2): 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.

Brinkerhoff, J. M. 2009. *Digital Diasporas: Identity and Transnational Engagement*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Burrows, S. 2000. *French Exile Journalism and European Politics, 1792–1814*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd.

Dodds, T., and M. Geboers. 2023. "Mapping Mobs: Technological Affordances, Metrics and Digital Violence against Journalists." In *Mapping Lies in the Global Media Sphere*, edited by T. Erbaysal Filibeli, and M. Öneren Özbek, 39–55. New York, NY: Routledge.

Donsbach, W., and T. E. Patterson. 2004. "Political News Journalists: Partisanship, Professionalism, and Political Roles in Five Countries." In *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges*, edited by B. Pfetsch, and F. Esser, 251–270. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511606991.012.

Dunham, J. 2023. *Deadly Year for Journalists as Killings Rose Sharply in 2022*. Committee to Protect Journalists. https://cpj.org/reports/2023/01/deadly-year-for-journalists-as-killings-rose-sharply-in-2022/.

Everett, A. 2009. *Digital Diaspora: A Race for Cyberspace*. New York, NY: State University of New York Press.

Ghorashi, H., and K. Boersma. 2009. "The 'Iranian Diaspora' and the New Media: From Political Action to Humanitarian Help." *Development and Change* 40 (4): 667–691. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7660.2009.01567.x.

Hickman, M. J. 2002. "Locating' the Irish Diaspora." *Irish Journal of Sociology* 11 (2): 8–26. https://doi.org/10.1177/079160350201100202.

Janowitz, M. 1975. "Professional Models in Journalism: The Gatekeeper and the Advocate." *Journalism Quarterly* 52 (4): 618–626. https://doi.org/10.1177/107769907505200402.

Kämpe, I. 2017. *Meeting Local Needs from a Distance: The Role of Diaspora Media Outlets as Providers of Informative Humanitarian Support Across Borders - The Case of Syria* [Lund University]. http://lup.lub.lu.se/student-papers/record/8924281.

Keles, J. Y. 2016. "Digital Diaspora and Social Capital." *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 9 (3): 315–333. https://doi.org/10.1163/18739865-00903004.

Köcher, R. 1986. "Bloodhounds or Missionaries: Role Definitions of German and British Journalists." *European Journal of Communication* 1 (1): 43–64. https://doi.org/10.1177/0267323186001001004.

Koo, A. Z.-X. 2024. "The Evolution of Self-Censorship in Hong Kong Online Journalism: Influences from Digitalization and the State." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 29 (1): 143–163. https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612221075553.

Mellado, C. 2020. *Beyond Journalistic Norms: Role Performance and News in Comparative Perspective*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Mutsvairo, B., ed. 2016. *Digital Activism in the Social Media Era: Critical Reflections on Emerging Trends in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-40949-8.

Ogunyemi, O. 2015. "Introduction: Conceptualizing the Media of Diaspora." In *Journalism, Audiences and Diaspora*, edited by O. Ogunyemi, 1–14. Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137457233_1.

Ogunyemi, O. 2018. "Diasporic News and Journalism." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.800.

O'Loughlin, C., and P. Schafraad. 2016. "News on the Move: Towards a Typology of Journalists in Exile." *Observatorio* 10. https://doi.org/10.7458/obs1012016869.

Oyeleye, A. 2017. "Diaspora Journalism and Conflicts in Transnational Media Circuits." In *Media, Diaspora and Conflict*, edited by O. Ogunyemi, 19–36. Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-56642-9_2.

Pidduck, J. 2012. "Exile Media, Global News Flows and Democratization: The Role of Democratic Voice of Burma in Burma's 2010 Elections." *Media, Culture & Society* 34 (5): 537–553. https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443712442700.

Porlezza, C., and R. Arafat. 2022. "Promoting Newsafety from the Exile." *The Emergence of New Journalistic Roles in Diaspora Journalists' Networks. Journalism Practice* 16 (9): 1867–1889. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2021.1925947.

Rick, J., and T. Hanitzsch. 2024. "Journalists' Perceptions of Precarity: Toward a Theoretical Model." *Journalism Studies* 25 (2): 199–217. https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2023.2293827.

Ristow, B. 2011. *Independent Media in Exile: A Report to the Center for International Media Assistance*. Washington, DC: Center for International Media Assistance.

RSF (Reporters Without Borders). 2023. *Killed because they are Journalists – Counted with Care*. https://rsf.org/en/killed-because-they-are-journalists-counted-care, December 14.

Sahlins, M. 2011. "What Kinship is (Part One)." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17 (1): 2–19. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9655.2010.01666.x.

Skjerdal, T. S. 2011. "Journalists or Activists? Self-Identity in the Ethiopian Diaspora Online Community." *Journalism* 12 (6): 727–744. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884911405471.

Tettey, W. J. 2009. "Transnationalism, the African Diaspora, and the Deterritorialized Politics of the Internet." In *African Media and the Digital Public Sphere*, edited by O. F. Mudhai, W. J. Tettey, and F. Banda, 143–163. Palgrave Macmillan US. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230621756_9.

Togtarbay, B., A. Zhaksylyk, M. T. Mukasheva, O. Turzhan, and N. O. Omashev. 2023. "The Role of Citizen Journalism in Society: An Analysis Based on Foreign Theory and Kazakhstani Experience." *Newspaper Research Journal*, 07395329231213036. https://doi.org/10.1177/07395329231213036.

Waisbord, S. 2000. *Watchdog Journalism in South America: News, Accountability, and Democracy*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Wall, M., and S. el Zahed. 2015. "Syrian Citizen Journalism." *Digital Journalism* 3 (5): 720–736. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2014.931722.

Webb, L. M. 2017. "Online Research Methods, Qualitative." In *The International Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*, 1–9. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118901731.iecrm0173.

Westcott, L. 2023. "CPJ's Support to Exiled Journalists Jumped 227% in 3 Years, Reflecting Global Press Freedom Crisis." *Committee to Protect Journalists*. June 16. https://cpj.org/2023/06/cpjs-support-to-exiled-journalists-jumped-227-in-3-years-reflecting-global-press-freedom-crisis/.

Wojcieszak, M., A. Brouillette, and B. Smith. 2013. *Facing Boundaries, Finding Freedom: An In-Depth Report on Iranian Journalists Working in Iran*. Philadelphia, PA: Annenberg School for Communication. https://repository.upenn.edu/handle/20.500.14332/37508.

Yousuf, M., and M. Taylor. 2017. "Helping Syrians Tell Their Story to The World." *Journalism Practice* 11 (2–3): 302–318. https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2016.1218296.

Zou, S. 2020. "Emotional News, Emotional Counterpublic." *Digital Journalism* 8 (2): 229–248. https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2018.1476167.

Appendix

Table A1. Sample description.

No. of Journalist	Title and Affiliation
J1	Colombian journalists in North Carolina, U.S.
J2	Cuban journalists in Kentucky, U.S.
J3	Mexican-American journalists in California, U.S.
J4	Chilean journalists in New York, U.S.
J5	Hong Kong editor and journalist, co-founder and photojournalist at a UK-Netherlands-based social media news account.
J6	Hong Kong journalist at a UK-based news website.
J7	Egyptian journalist, Content lead at the US-based Al Hurra news organisation.
J8	Syrian journalist, Co-founder of Turkey-based Enab Baladi news website.
J9	Syrian news editor in Enab Baladi.
J10	Lebanese journalist who worked for several UK-based Arab media outlets.
J11	Independent Syrian journalist in France.
J12	Germany-based Syrian journalist and radio presenter.